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Historical Context and the Information Age: the Diaspora of Holocaust Archives^{*}

Raymund Schütz

Keywords: *Holocaust Archives; Digital Archives*

Imagine the archive of the year 2151. It will be fundamentally different from the one we use today: there is no smell of old paper, no reading room, no grey-haired archivist, just servers linked to the cordless universe-wide-web. The information will be available to the users on their latest bio-digital computers which are integrated in their eyelids and linked to their brains. Let us suppose that a student of history, who lives in a peaceful colony on Mars, is interested in earth-history and wants to understand how the Holocaust could happen. When this question flashes through his mind, the computer immediately transmits a query to Boogle, the universal knowledge system. Of course Boogle almost instantaneously comes up with a number of suggestions: lots of movies like "Schindler's List", views of digitised books from the twentieth-century and a virtual tour of the "Anne Frank Museum" in Amsterdam, an exotic place. But our student wants to get to the core of things and selects something called 'Holocaust digitised paper archives 1933-1945'. To him the idea of paper as a carrier of information is hard to grasp. His mind is adapted to receiving and interpreting information that is presented to him by Boogle via his eyelids, but not to reading information on paper. Reading is something from the dark ages of human evolution. Being quite bright, although his IQ of 220 is only just above the average, our student understands that if he really wants to understand what happened more than 200 years ago on earth, he will need to analyse the way people and organisations communicated in those days. It takes him a couple of hours to find information about the paper bureaucracy, typewriters, secretaries, index card-files, pencils, Typex, telephone lines and telex-machines. Viewing "Schindler's List", once he has overcome the problem that it's not in 3D, gives him an idea of how all this worked.

Then, at last, he turns his mind again to the 'digital paper archives'. He works through all the lists, the cards and other documents. And it is quite mind-boggling to him. Our poor student gets frustrated for the first time in his academic life. Yes, all these documents are available with all sorts of data, but there is no logic. Some documents seem to be copied many times. On many documents he perceives handwritten notes that he can hardly decipher. The meaning of stamps and abbreviations is unknown. For a second he even thinks that it all must have been a big hoax, but then in a bright flash he sees the problem. The files presented in the

The author would like to thank Megan Koreman, Peter Tammes and all those who reacted on the draft version of this article on academia.edu for their comments and editing suggestions.

cloud must be in disarray. Worse still, the most important ones are missing: the files that give information about the creation of these records and about the interrelations between the files. These missing paper files and records must have existed for the system to work, but for some strange reason they are not present. The poor earthlings must have forgotten to transfer the key-documents to the digital cloud. Suddenly our student feels the urge to see and feel the old paper, which would be an exciting experience in his interstellar life. He soon finds out that it is stored on earth. He travels through quantum space-time to a forgotten site on earth where all the paper originals are stored. And yes, he soon finds out that what is presented in Boogle is only a small part of the available information. After two years of classic, if not dark age, archival research he writes his e-book on Holocaust-history and is revered by all historians in the universe.

The student realised that he needed to investigate the origin of the paper-born digital records to be able to interpret the historical data they represented. He could see the records, but he wanted to **understand** them. That is not a technical problem, but a classical archival one. Virtually all digitising projects pay attention to digital sustainability. Files must be readable in the future so that the digital images of our valuable documents will not be lost. A long-term vision of digital sustainability usually mentions technical solutions to achieve this goal: open source software, upward compatibility of current systems, backward compatibility of future systems. As a consequence of this approach the long-term compatibility of our digital archives is now mainly seen as a technical problem. But apart from the technical side we need to be aware of the contextual history of those records, otherwise it will be impossible to interpret the digitally preserved historical documents. Can we understand their meaning without comprehensive context information or **metadata**? No. This is a fundamental question for historical research, but strangely enough this problem is put aside when it comes to digitising archives. This article investigates how this problem can be addressed and resolved in the future.

The concept of context in the information age

The digital age has fundamentally changed the balance of power between society and the archives, the traditional classic keepers of information¹. Millions of people have added personal context to social websites like Facebook and LinkedIn. They expect the same functionality and detail from on-line historical archives. The public interest in genealogy is huge and the desire for information about ancestors who were involved in past conflicts has grown accordingly. Public demand is met by municipal archives, state archives and private institutions by putting their historical records online². The success of such projects is usually measured in statistics: hits,

¹ Rudi Laermans and Pascal Gielen, *The archive of the digital an-archive*, "Image & Narrative" 17 (2007): http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/digital_archive/laermans_gielen.htm; viewed 21 September 2011.

² On the internet the Digital Monument to the Jewish Community in the Netherlands is a monument dedicated to preserving the memory of all the men, women and children who were persecuted as Jews during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands and did not survive the Holocaust:

visits and page-views and, inevitably, the ranking in Google search results. But do those statistics prove that the internet users actually got the information they wanted? No. Did they understand the meaning of the document on their screen? We can only guess. These questions are irrelevant for technicians, but very relevant for archivists.

As our archives become more technically sustainable and accessible, the user need for context will grow accordingly. This responsibility is closely linked to the classical role of the archivist as a keeper of and guide to historical records. It is the archivist's job to attain long-term **robust sustainability** with professional foresight. However, in the multi-disciplinary setting of present day record and file management, the input of the archivist is in many cases secondary to the impact of the technical IT-specialists and their jargon. Budgets are usually spent (or rather overspent) on developing and maintaining systems. The specialists design the systems, hopefully according to the specifications, while the archivists are responsible for the content. When the systems go down, all the responsibility rests on the shoulders of the technicians to make them run again. This also explains the shift of the power-balance to the technicians: they keep the systems running and are the captains of the ship, while the archivists are 'just' users.

Regarding the **content** of the systems IT-specialists and archivists have a fundamentally different approach to context. This significant difference is both theoretical and practical. The theoretical difference between both is in their understanding of the concept of context. Archivists have a static, if not to say narrow, view of the idea of context. This is a legacy from the days when they were the keepers of paper archives in large and slow-moving bureaucratic institutions and were the guards of administrative continuity. In their finding aids they usually limit themselves to the institution they are describing, focusing mainly on policy issues and their records. In the Netherlands this particular attitude has led to a lack of attention to individual administrative records. In the 1990's administrative records were selected for destruction, while policy records were retained³. Archivists 'solved' the problem of describing the details of the administrative context by simply destroying it, thereby undermining a substantial part of their own professional *raison d'être*. The National Archive in The Hague recruits technicians and management scientists, rather than archivists. On another level, the classic finding aids archivists produce until today are static and purely functional. Once written they are regarded as the *magnum opus* of their archivist authors and are seldom changed, possibly also as a result of a lack of time. However, in the digital age archives become more accessible for normal users and specialists. New insights will be gained and those should become part of the finding-aids and meta-data. The static concept of finding-

www.joodsmonument.nl. Separately, the memorial museum of camp Westerbork has created an elaborate victims-database "*Een naam en een gezicht*" ("a name and a face") which is available to visitors of the museum. Furthermore information can be found on several other private and official sites on the internet.

³ The Nationaal Archives in The Hague devised a system for retention scheduling called the PIVOT method. See website of the Nationaal Archief: <http://en.nationaalarchief.nl/appraisal-appreciation/opzet-selectielijsten-engelse-dummy/retention-scheduling-using-the>.

aids is a thing of the past. To bring the finding-aid to the **next level**, archivists need to cooperate with the technicians.

This leads us to the question: what is the position of archivists after the technical revolution of the information age? As professionals they should reconsider their organisational position and their approach to historical records management. Their professional scope in the digital age should be focused at keeping the historical records connected to their context in time. It is my view that the traditional role of the archivist should be reinvented, using the practical methods that information science has provided. In the new balance the archivist tradition and the world of technicians needs to be linked. To explore that possibility we have to take a closer look at the way the IT-world addresses the concept of context. Context is also hard to model for technicians, but they adopted a practical approach. When they look at a network they understand that every node in the system is a possible source of context for every other node of the system, and the system as a whole. When the Google-technicians add information about restaurants to Google Maps, they regard it as an extension of the context of the whole system. Every layer of connections enables the system to create new context. The computer scientists Dey and Abowd describe context as a dynamic structure of transactions:

“Context is any information that can be used to **interpret** the situation of entities (i. e. whether a person, place or object) that are considered relevant to the interaction between a user and an application, including the user and the application themselves. Context is typically the location, identity and state of people, groups and computational and physical objects.”⁴

Their practical and dynamic definition is also valid for historical records. Applications are in fact the digital counterparts of bureaucratic procedures. It is what I call the ‘network concept of context’ which is the basic-principle of a strategy to find ‘lost’ information in historical **paper** archives. This concept is especially applicable on Holocaust-archives.

Where does this take the archivist? The network principle of context can be applied to the analysis of the paper archives of bureaucracies. Context is a dynamic concept depending on time and place, depending on the questions that are raised by users of the archive. It involves transactions in a paper network that consists of individuals, groups and organisations that work according to procedures. Context inevitably leaves traces in the administrative records that were created. It will be time consuming to search for it on the micro-level, but it is there to be discovered. Lost information is partly recoverable: it was produced in a bureaucratic network and therefore has left its traces in different places. So it may have been lost in one place.

⁴ I have changed one word in the first sentence of this definition: ‘**interpret**’ instead of ‘characterise’. The definition is cited in *Definition and Implementation of Context Information*, *Proceedings of the 2nd workshop on positioning, navigation and communication (wpnc'05) & 1st ultra-wideband expert talk (uet05)* (ed. by M. Debes, A. Lewandowska, and J. Seitz); www.wpnc.net/fileadmin/WPNC05/Proceedings/Definition_and_Implementation_of_Context_Information.pdf.

but it can still be found somewhere else as a copy or in the form of reprocessed information. A scribble on one single record can explain the context of a batch of similar records. If we do not understand the digital image of a paper record, we must go back to the paper sources. To pinpoint in which archive we can expect to find context information, we have to reconstruct the paper network that created the document in question.

The backward paper perspective

Reconstructing the paper network, however, is not a simple task. The Holocaust – at least in Western Europe, was implemented using and usurping the existing bureaucratic systems, resulting in a scattering of archives and context information. The chaotic state of war-related archives was addressed soon after the war by the eminent Dutch historian Dolf Cohen, who at the time worked for RIOD in Amsterdam⁵. In 1951 he mentioned, among other reasons, the ‘sheer volume of present day, poorly organised archives and the lack of insight in the creation of those archives’. Even though the horrific events had happened recently, historians were struggling to recreate the context in which the records were created. This was the main reason why it turned out to be such a difficult task to edit and publish documentary source materials: the context of disorganised archives was lost. The great works of Dutch war historians like Jacques Presser and Lou de Jong were published almost twenty years after the war in the mid 1960’s. The disorganised state of war-archives contributed to that delay.

In the early days of historical research into the Second World War most work in the institutions that kept the war-records was dedicated to reorganising and selecting the available documents in an attempt to systematise their administration⁶. This reordering – quite contrary to the traditional archival **principle of respect des fonds** – took place in nearly all institutions and created a new contextual environment for these documents. Scientific institutions like RIOD acquired documents and reorganised their files of documents. Lou de Jong, who was commissioned to write his multi-volume History of the Netherlands in the Second World War, created his own huge card index. Other researchers also created their own sub-archives and (dis-)organised those as they pleased. In those days standardisation of information-management was an exotic concept.

But it was not only science that struggled with this huge pile of disorganised paperwork. Humanitarian organisations, which were under time-pressure to provide people with answers, developed their own systems to keep track of the huge number of personal records and files that were a result of their tracing-activities. The Information Bureau of the Netherlands Red Cross, that collected and processed victim-information, created a large card system (with approximately 900,000 entries)

⁵ The NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust en Genocide Studies in Amsterdam. It was established just after the war by the historian Louis de Jong, its name then being RIOD (*Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*).

⁶ J. C. H. Blom, D. E. H. de Boer, H. F. Cohen and J. F. Cohen, *A.E. Cohen als geschiedschrijver van zijn tijd*, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 112.

as an index on the ever growing number of paper personal records. The ITS in Bad Arolsen also created a gigantic card index. The alphabetically and phonetically arranged Central Name Index contains over 50 million reference cards for over 17.5 million people and is the key to the documents and correspondence files⁷. Because of time-pressure, documents that did not contain information about individual victims were usually discarded by the humanitarian information collectors. To work efficiently, they were focused on personal data like names, birth-dates, incarceration-dates and death-dates. That single-mindedness led to a loss of contextual information, because accompanying letters which explained the origin of list were stored in another part of the archive and the connection was in many cases lost. Tracing was built around the names-index, the central system of information, and all the rest was considered to be less essential. As a consequence of this practical development, in most cases when we look at 'war' – or 'Holocaust' – related archives we are actually looking at systems that were reorganised after the war. Yes, these files incorporate records that were created during the war, but they were re-used and restructured in the new post-war administrative reality. **When we want to analyse the context in space and time that a record was created, we have to realise that we usually perceive the war-record through a post-war archival environment.**

Every restructuring of archival records inevitably leads to a distortion of the original state and loss of context. In fact digitisation is also a process of restructuring the original state and context of the archive. When we use a query to search a digitised card index we can only hope that the names have been indexed correctly and that every card is indeed digitally available. Typists and OCR-systems make errors and scanners sometimes skip cards. And on a much more fundamental level, usually only certain 'important' archives are digitised because of financial constraints. In practice digitisation is only **partial** preservation after a process of selection and retention where blind spots occur. As a result, the historical connection to the contextual environment is broken: the images are digital, but the paper context is still in boxes or, worse, is lost forever. Digitisation without a context-focused strategy leads to invalid and chaotic systems similar to the chaos immediately after the war. The challenge in the digital age is to prevent such a disastrous situation from happening again. Digitising the archives of tracing-organisations involves a considerable amount of research to reconstruct the contextual environment. If we do not take up that challenge, future users will be not be able to understand the documents on their screens.

Recreating the context of the Jewish Council Index Cards

The problem of scattering is not limited to the Jewish Council archives; it is also prevalent for the government archives. For example, historians investigating the link between registration and persecution usually point to the Netherlands, where a new system of population registration was introduced in the mid-1930's. The detailed individual personal records were used to produce population statistics. For every

⁷ See the website of ITS: www.its-arolsen.org.

citizen a paper record ('*persoonskaart*') was created on which all his or her personal details were registered. Whenever a citizen moved to another city, the personal record with the personal history followed like a shadow. For those times this was an advanced and efficient system. Its overambitious designer, the Dutch civil servant Jacob Lentz, remained in office during the occupation and also designed the identification card '*persoonsbewijs*' that was introduced in 1941. The administration system was used within the repressive context of German occupation and contributed to the efficiency of the German anti-Jewish measures in the Netherlands⁸. We would expect that the '*persoonskaart*' of a deported victim would be at one place, the archive of the last city of residence, and that it would contain all the information until the moment of deportation. This however is not the case. '*Persoonskaarten*' are to be found, as expected, in the archives of the city of last residence. But they are also in the archives of the Netherlands Red Cross, the archives of the municipality of Westerbork and in the archives of the Bureau Vestigingsregister of the municipal archives in The Hague, because, administratively, the deported were treated as émigrés⁹.

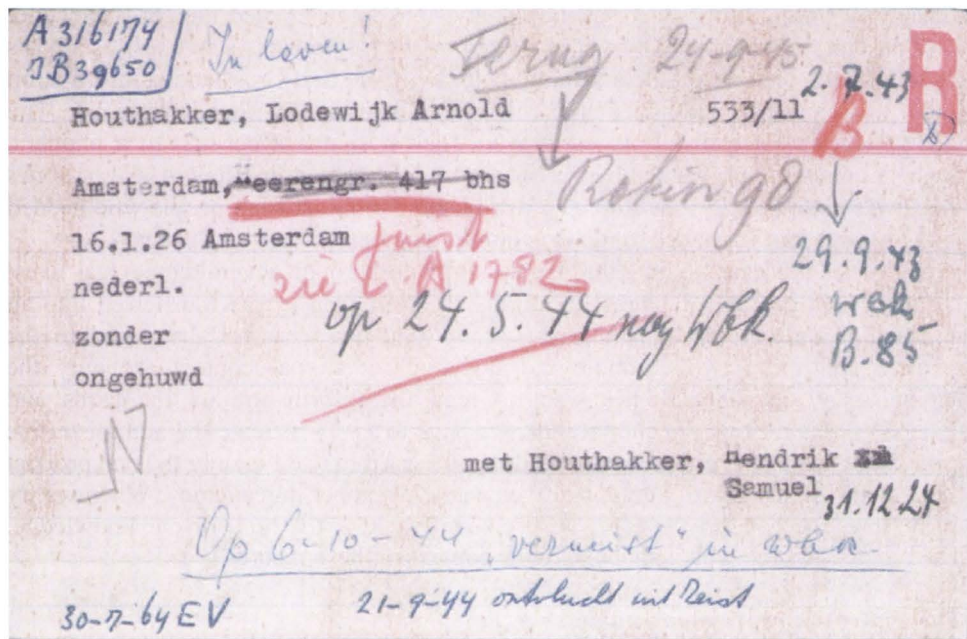


Figure 1. The Jewish Council Index Card of Lodewijk A. Houthakker. Since July 2, 1943 he was in the camp for the 'privileged' Barneveld. All the typed information was recorded

⁸ Götz Aly and Karl-Heinz Roth. *Nazi Census. Identification and control in the Third Reich*, Philadelphia, 2004, p. 66-68.

⁹ For a detailed description of the provenance of the bureaucratic network, see *Vermoedelijk op transport*, Leiden, 2010, my master-thesis written in Dutch which is available on Academia.edu.link: http://vu-nl.academia.edu/RaymundSch%C3%BCtz/Papers/607043/Vermoedelijk_op_transport.

by the Jewish council, as was the fountain-pen. All pencil grey and red is post-war (except the red B for Barneveld). Ballpoint-writing is post-war. The stamped red R(epresentative) is post-war (a representative was a survivor who could be approached for information about the camp). On September 29, 1943 Mr. Houthakker was taken from Barneveld to Westerbork (barrack 85). Then he was taken to the *Aussenkommando* Zeist. He escaped from there on September 21, 1944. Mr. Houthakker became a well-known art-dealer in Amsterdam. He died there in 2008.

Let me now illustrate my point about the Jewish Council archives. The index card file of the Jewish Council of Amsterdam is an essential part of the Information Bureau archives at the Netherlands Red Cross in The Hague. A large amount of personal and procedural information was recorded on these index cards by the staff of the Jewish Council during the occupation of the Netherlands. Nearly every Jewish person was registered individually on approximately 180,000 cards. Were all these cards created in a single administrative process? When we take a closer look at the system it is evident that the cards were created in several chronological phases and by different institutions¹⁰. First, we have the repressive context during the war, when the Jewish Council, or rather several subdivisions of it, created the cards. Second, after the war, the same card system was used by the Netherlands Red Cross as a basis for tracing the victims and determining their fates. The Red Cross added information to the wartime cards and added cards for people who did not already have one. The index file was reorganised: all cards were filed by name according to a phonetic lexicographic system. Remember, in those days the sacred principle of *Respect des fonds* was not a priority: the priority was to handle requests from people who needed to know what had happened to missing family-members.

It is important to note that the system went through several contextual lives. It started in a context of repression during the war, then it was transferred into an information system for humanitarian use, to find out what had happened to the victims. But these two chronological layers of creational context are only the beginning of the story. If we want to read the information on the cards and understand the meaning of the jottings, we have to try to recreate the administrative procedures that created these records. The paper card in itself is only the end product of a complicated chain of administrative events in a paper bureaucracy. When we try to interpret the data on the card, we are soon reaching the limit of our knowledge. The big question is: what happened to the context of these records?

The context of repression and persecution

It is important to realise that the Nazis were waging a war against the Jews. They made sure that the Jewish Council institutions could not operate adequately and efficiently. Jewish Council workers could be arrested and deported any minute of the day or night. As a result of the Nazis' repressive actions, the administrative procedures of the Jewish Council changed many times and, even worse, were scarcely documented. The Nazis used a secret language to disguise their aims which

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

affected all official correspondence and entries in card systems. The operational context was hidden and it changed continuously. The archives of the Jewish Council were partly destroyed and what was left of it after the war was scattered like gravel. The Nazi war against the Jews was secret and ferocious, the dynamics of which resulted in administrative discontinuity and scattered archives.

How can the archivist reconstruct the context of a system like the card index of the Jewish Council of Amsterdam? One approach is to recreate the paper network that existed when the card index was in operation. This consisted of the Jewish Council organisation itself but also of the nodes of the civil administration who registered the Jews in the first place. The civil administration in the Netherlands worked willingly together with the German repressive apparatus such as the *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung* of the German police that coordinated the deportations from the Netherlands. In *Judendurchgangslager* Westerbork a special branch of the municipal office registered the Jews after they were taken into the camp. In the camp itself, a central card index system operated under control of the German camp commander, but staffed with Jews. In the late stages of the war the bureaucratic network of the civil administration and repressive apparatus collapsed. Very soon after the war several interested organisations competed to get hold of the records. In the Netherlands many administrative systems were involved, with the consequence that the relevant archives and their context-information are scattered. These scattered paper remnants illustrate the 'meticulous functional division of labour' that according to sociologist Zygmunt Baumann characterised the implementation of the Holocaust in Western-Europe¹¹.

¹¹ Zygmunt Baumann, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 98.

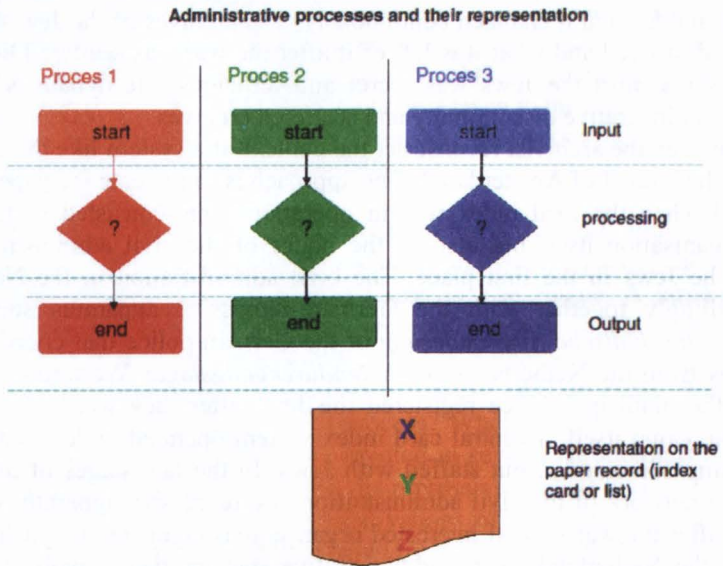


Figure 2. The information processing and output of a paper bureaucracy is illustrated here. Three separate processes produce recorded output. These processes can be simultaneous, but also successive. Each process has its own context. The result of each process is recorded on one paper card or list. If the records of the red, green and blue process are lost, it will be impossible to interpret the meaning of X, Y, and Z on the surviving paper record. The system can be seen as a paper records continuum. (the coloured figure is available in the online-version of this article)

The post-war paper context

The Information Bureau of the Red Cross and the Tracing Mission of the Ministry of Social Affairs were important nodes in the new bureaucratic network that evolved after the war. It amassed many (partly) surviving archives of prisons and concentration camps and tried to reconstruct the fate of the missing. The Information Bureau provided the Ministry of Justice with detailed information about individual missing cases. After this task was mostly completed in the early 1970's, the network became idle and the connections between the nodes were cut off. The paper records went into in the archives of the ministries, were partly destroyed and ended up in the National Archives. The Information Bureau of the Red Cross, however, remains in service today. To further complicate the situation, original documents relating to the administration of the Jewish Council can be found in the archives of NIOD in Amsterdam but **also** in archives of the Red Cross in The Hague. The records of the huge bureaucratic network of repression are spread over municipal, national and institutional archives, such as the offices of the Information Bureau of the Red Cross and at the National Archives. In consequence, the context-information of archive A could be in archive Z, and quite likely in a dusty cardboard box down in the back.

With the chronological levels of context in mind, three archival (topological) layers of context for the Jewish Council Card Index can be identified. The closest circle of context consists of the archives of the Information Bureau of the Red Cross, like deportation lists, personal files and other related collections such as the Westerbork files. The second circle consists of the external archives that contain context information and are scattered all over the Netherlands. They are at the NIOD in Amsterdam, the National Archives in the Hague and in many municipal and regional archives. But there is also a third, international circle of context: archives in Germany like ITS-Arolsen, where information is kept about prisoners of concentration camps and the archives of the Auschwitz Museum in Poland. The connection with Auschwitz goes back to the war period when the trains from Westerbork delivered the human load in Auschwitz, accompanied with the 'packing lists': deportation lists mentioning all the people in the trains. The connection with ITS is of a more recent date. Microfilmed copies of the Jewish Council Card Index were transferred by the Netherlands Red Cross to ITS-Arolsen in the 1980's. ITS later provided copies to Yad Vashem. Although state-of-the-art at the time, these microfilms are black-and-white, while the originals were dotted with colours. The microfilms were adequate for the tracing purposes in those days, but if we want to interpret the detailed process-information on the cards, colour is an indispensable part of the context. However, the transfer from the original to the black-and-white copy meant that creational context was lost and this will inhibit the interpretation of these records. In other words: questions about these records cannot be answered because the contextual environment is not available.

As a consequence of the multi-processing origin of the records, we need to add descriptive information to these records, that is searchable, so the users will understand how to interpret the information our systems provide. A couple of years ago, the Canadian archivist Laura Millar suggested a redefinition of the concept of provenance and the distinction of three related components: creator history, records history and custodial history¹². Over time paper records can have many (co-)creators, reflecting their multi-layered, dynamical administrative environment. The history of records-keeping of war-records is complicated, as we have demonstrated here. This complexity should be explained by the metadata attached to the digital records and files. And, above all, the importance of reconstructing the provenance for these archives can hardly be overstated.

The digital age: 'orphaned files'

The digital context contributes a fourth layer: file-sharing. Microfilms with records from other institutions like the Netherlands Red Cross have been digitised by ITS and made available to institutions like the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem, but also the National Archives in Brussels and Institute of

¹² Laura Millar, *The Death of the Fonds and the Resurrection of Provenance: Archival Context in Space and Time*, "Archivalia" 53 (2002), p. 12-14.

National Remembrance, Warsaw (*Instytut Pamięci Narodowej*) have all a full copy of ITS documents (except correspondence files)¹³.

The intentions were and are surely laudable, but the digital files are, as were their microfilmed mother files, in fact ‘orphaned’. They have no metadata attached to them about their creation, history and interrelations with other archives. Information gathered using the originals within their context was lost in the process of microfilming and even more so in the subsequent process of digitising. They are ‘flat’ black-and-white images, sadly unconnected to their contextual history and environment. Professional researchers of the Holocaust will not be able to use the full potential of these files, because the connection with their contextual environment has been lost. This ‘Diaspora’ of microfilmed and digital archives has led to a lack of context in the new digital environment that was created. This is clearly not a sound basis for real digital sustainability.

‘Orphaned files’: decontextualization in time

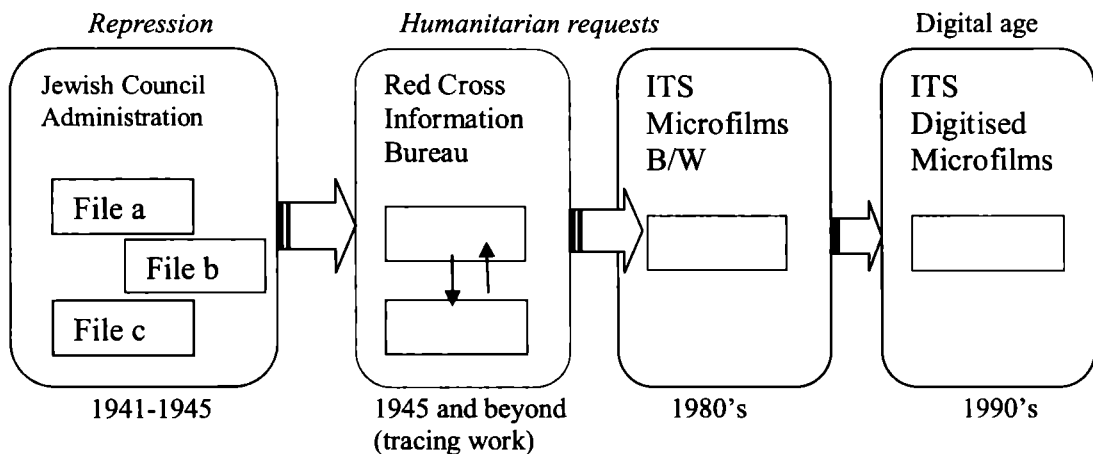


Figure 3. This illustrates the loss of context through time (custodial history): colours, representing context, become grey and the connections between files/archives are lost. The digital ITS copies are distributed as ‘orphaned files’ without context to other institutions in the world, which inevitably results in interpretation problems.

¹³ For a list of the institutions see the website of ITS-Arolsen: http://www.its-arolsen.org/en/service/links_and_addresses/other_international_institutions [viewed October 11, 2011].

A multidisciplinary approach

I have mentioned the responsibility of technicians and archivists, but there is another group of professionals who should be involved: the historians. The current general trend in European Holocaust research seems increasingly to be directed at the local level. In France and Poland new research zooms in on differences between the general implementation of persecution measures and what happened in specific towns and villages by combining the information in national and local archives with oral history¹⁴. This will increase the researchers' demand for context information. The more they zoom in, the more they will need to interpret the files and documents that they are finding. Furthermore, the connections with other archives will be important to provide additional context.

In the Netherlands, however, the research that is financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NOW) focuses on the aftermath of the war, such as the construction of memory, rather than on the war itself. Officially that chapter appears to be closed. It seems that all the questions have been answered. But is that really true? There is no doubt in my mind that this trend in the Netherlands will be and must be reversed. Historians, with the help of archivists and supported by technicians, will inevitably rediscover the war **itself**. The 'network concept' of archives and context will lead to new systematic questions and possible answers. As an inevitable consequence, Dutch professional historians will turn their research to the local implementation of the Holocaust and zoom in to the details. Sooner or later, the official historiography will follow suit and also enter the next level.

Conclusion: How to obtain robust digital sustainability

If we want to facilitate historical research we need to reconstruct the topology of the paper bureaucratic network to identify the data that were exchanged and processed. Only after we have established which organisations were involved will it be possible to pinpoint the archives where the historical records can be found, either physically or digitally. One must be aware that a large amount of records were destroyed during and after the war, some in accordance with the archival guidelines and some not¹⁵. So important parts of the context have been lost, but there is still a lot of information we can use, if we know how to find it. Finding context is a process that takes time. The classical finding aids should be able to change over time and incorporate the findings of researchers to recreate the contextual network. This means that finding aids should have a dynamic structure and should be able to absorb newly discovered information about the context.

To obtain robust digital sustainability, a detailed analysis of the interconnection of all these files is necessary. Ideally this analysis should be finalised before the digitisation, but that will not always be possible. The analysis aims to

¹⁴ I would like to thank Peter T. for attracting my attention to this fact.

¹⁵ It was not until the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust was adopted at the Holocaust Conference in the year 2000 that documents relating to the war and the Holocaust were protected from destruction. See website: <http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/about-the-itf/stockholm-declaration.html>; viewed 6 June 2011.

reconstruct the paper bureaucratic network (topology), and to identify the connected context-carriers. When finished, the analysis should become part of the attached metadata. Finding aids should be able to absorb new information about the network topology. Creating new dynamic systems is a job for the technicians, but the specifications of such systems should be the result of teamwork between archivists, historians and technicians. Otherwise, isolated digitisation of complex systems like the Jewish Council Records will lead to orphaned digital representations that cannot be fully interpreted.

Practically and financially it will not be possible to digitise every record until the last one. My point is that selection for digitisation should be based on contextual analysis. Those files (or individual records) that give meaning to other files should be digitised with priority. And if we analyse the provenance of micro-filmed archive, we may find that the original file has already been digitised somewhere else, and within its context.

We can fix our archives as digital pictures in time, but the context of the future users cannot be fixed: it will evolve continuously. Of course that is not just the case for Holocaust-related archives, but for all archives. What we take for granted now will not be self-evident for users in a hundred years from now. The new historian of the paperless information age will not routinely understand the way a paper bureaucracy worked. He will need context and it is our task as archivists to provide that. The historical archives of humanitarian organisations like tracing-bureaus are human-centred. Their organisation is fundamentally different from the archives of other bodies. The reconstruction of the context of these documents poses new challenges for archivists. It will take an effort, but the experience with the Information-bureau of the Netherlands Red Cross demonstrates that it can be done.

And if digitised archives are made public, the non-professional users will need comprehensive context information to understand and interpret the content of historical archives. The more digitally sustainable our archives become, the more flexible and dynamic our metadata systems should become. They are the connection between the past and the future and need to be revised continuously because the context of the present is endlessly evolving. The present-day archivist is standing on the edge of two worlds: a physical paper one and a virtual digital one. He should reinvent himself as a discoverer and keeper of context in the digital space-time. To put it bluntly, the management of archival institutions should put its money where its mouth is and facilitate the rediscovery and presentation of context. It is a monumental task, but many future students and quite a number of present historians will be very grateful if these archives achieve robust digital sustainability.

Archivbewertung im europäischen Kontext und die Entwicklung in Rumänien

Peter Moldovan

Keywords: *archivistic theory; archivistic evaluation; Archivistic National Fund; Decree 472/1971; Theodore R. Schellenberg; Bundesarchiv*

Die Feststellung des Wertes von Akten, die als Ergebnis der Verwaltungstätigkeit entstanden, beschäftigt und beschäftigt immer noch auf einander folgende Generationen von Archivaren. Durch seinen innewohnenden Informationswert wird ein Akt archivwürdig, um für eine lange Zeit aufbewahrt zu werden. Die Archivbewertung wird als eine wichtige Tätigkeit des Archivars angesehen, und zwar als seine wichtigste Aufgabe vom Standpunkt der Gesellschaft aus gesehen, sie bildet aber auch seinen anspruchsvollsten Tätigkeitsbereich¹.

Die Feststellung und Festsetzung von Wertkriterien für die Aufbewahrung von Akten wurde notwendig als Folge des massiven Anwachsens der Aktenmenge. Die Vervollkommnung der staatlichen Verwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert und die dadurch bedingte Vermehrung des Schriftgutes führten dazu, daß im Rahmen jeder Behörde eine eigene Registratur eingerichtet wurde. Die Archivare wurden vor die Herausforderung gestellt, entweder in an der Aktenmenge zu ersticken oder sie zu vernichten, oder auch nach Lösungen zu suchen, daß die Überlieferung historisch relevanter oder wichtiger Daten an die Nachwelt gesichert wird. Der Archivar mußte die Verwaltungsakten einsehen, und nach einer Analyse entscheiden, ob sie "eingeschert" oder "einbalsamiert", also vernichtet oder aufbewahrt werden sollten.

Der bekannte amerikanische Archivar Theodore R. Schellenberg stellt in seiner Abhandlung über die Archivbewertung der modernen Verwaltungsakten fest, daß unter den Archivaren aus verschiedenen Ländern, die Normen für den Prozeß der Archivbewertung festgelegt haben, vor allem deutsche Archivare sich hervorgetan haben. Dies ist ein

¹ Hans Booms, *Gesellschaftsordnung und Überlieferungsbildung. Zur Problematik archivarischer Quellenbewertung*, "Archivalische Zeitschrift" 68 (1972), S. 3.

triftiger Grund dafür, die theoretischen Diskussionen aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu verfolgen, die in ihrer Archivpraxis die Begriffe Staatlicher Archivfond oder Nationaler Archivfond nicht gekannt haben.

Die Diskussionen über Archivbewertung in Deutschland begannen schon vor etwa 150 Jahren.

Bevor im 19. Jahrhundert sich die kritische Geschichtswissenschaft entwickelte, bewahrte der Archivar – der meist eine juristische Ausbildung hatte – die Archivakten aus dem Wunsch heraus, an ihnen eine “gerichtliche Handhabe” für Präzedenzfälle zu haben. Im Allgemeinen wurden damals die älteren Akten vernichtet. Jedoch nachdem die Archive “Oasen der Geschichte” wurden, lehnten die Archivare aus den Verwaltungsarchiven es ab, die Akten wegen ihres Alters zu bewerten und auszuschneiden².

Eine Besonderheit der Archiventwicklung in Deutschland bestand darin, daß sich die Archive von den Institutionen loslösten, in deren Schatten sie bis dahin standen, und selbständige historische Forschungsstätten wurden. So erhielten die Archive eine doppelte Aufgabe – Bewahrung und Forschung –, die auch heute noch gültig ist, und die Archivare bekamen ihre spezifische Rolle, indem sie gleichzeitig auch Historiker wurden³.

Der Aufbau eines Netzes der Archive auf Landesebene oder auf Provinzebene im 19. Jahrhundert – also die Bildung der Provinzialarchive – führte dazu, daß diese Archive einen eigenen Zuständigkeitsbereich erhielten. So konnten die Provinzialarchive beanspruchen, die einzigen Institutionen zu werden, die das Rechts hatten, die Archive anderer Verwaltungsinstitutionen aus ihrem Zuständigkeitsbereich zu übernehmen. Dieses Recht wurde vom Staat anerkannt und gefördert und gehört zu den “Grundrechten” der Archive, auf das die Archivare nie verzichten werden. Der Anspruch und das Bestreben der Archive war, alle wichtigen

² Jürgen Treffeisen, *Archivübergreifende Überlieferungsbildung in Deutschland. Die vertikale und horizontale Bewertung* [<http://www.forum-bewertung.de/beitraege/1022.pdf>].

³ Georg Wilhelm Sante, *Archive und Verwaltung – historische Provenienz und Probleme der Gegenwart*, “Mitteilungsblatt für deutsches Archivwesen” 10 (1957), 1, S. 11.

archivalischen Quellen zu sammeln und der historischen Forschung zugänglich zu machen⁴.

Die Ausrichtung der Archivbewertung gemäß den Bedürfnissen oder Ansprüchen der Geschichtswissenschaft ist in Deutschland mit den Namen von Georg Hille und Woldemar Lippert verbunden. Lippert behauptete im Jahre 1901 den Vorrang der Archivpraxis zum Nachteil der Archivtheorie⁵. Er war der Meinung, daß "detaillierte und Systematisierungen über das, was kassiert und was aufbewahrt werden soll, haben keinen Wert; wie überall im Leben ist die Theorie wertlos oder geringwertig, nur die Praxis entscheidet". Hille war der gleichen Meinung: "Die Vorschriften und Instruktionen über die Kassation von Akten, die nicht aus der Archivpraxis hervorgegangen sind, sondern rein theoretische Gebilde sind, haben keinerlei Wert".

Die Archivbewertung war vor allem auf die Erfahrung und das Gespür der Archivare gegründet. In der Zeit des Historismus betrachteten sowohl die Archivare als auch die Historiker als natürlich und als Maßeinheit den "innewohnenden Wert". In dieser Hinsicht gab es zwei Bewertungskriterien: das Verständnis für die historischen Ereignisse und die Erfahrung des Archivars. Die Archivare hielten die Behauptung für eine sichere Wahrheit, daß die Hermeneutik die Grundlage der Geschichte ist. Diese Auffassung über das "Verstehen des Phänomens" war wesentlich für die historische Schule von Ranke, beginnend mit Droysen und bis zu Dithley. Die Fähigkeit die historischen Phänomene zu erfassen und ihre hermeneutische Auslegung wurden als Attribute eines Talentes gesehen, einer feinfühligten Begabung und als Zeichen menschlicher Reife. Der Archivar Hermann Meinert meinte: "Es gilt zu erkennen, daß der gute Archivar etwas von einem Künstler sein muss. Erfahrung und Übung machen viel aus, aber es genügen nicht, es bedarf der Passion und einer intuitiven Sicherheit"⁶.

In den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts begannen Zweifel angemeldet zu werden betreffend die Unfehlbarkeit der allgemeinen Regeln, die Archiverfahrung und die historischen Kenntnisse des Archivars bei der Aufstellung von Vorschriften betreffend die

⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 13.

⁵ J. Treffeisen, *op. cit.*

⁶ H. Booms, *op. cit.*, S. 17.

Archivbewertung⁷. Die Archivare verloren das Vertrauen in die "Meßinstrumente des selbstverständlichen oder innewohnenden Wertes" der Archivalien, und ebenso in ihre eigene intuitive Sicherheit und in ihr "Fingerspitzengefühl"⁸. Es wurden Amtsinstruktionen für die Kassation der Archivalien erarbeitet und es wurden spezifische Prinzipien für einige Geschäftsbereiche, Behörden und Abteilungen festgelegt. Es gab auch ein Bestreben zu versuchen, die Ablieferung der Archivalien von den Verwaltungsbehörden an die Archive zu umgehen, besonders im Falle von informationsreichen Archivalien.

Im Jahre 1937 setzte die Preußische Archivverwaltung eine so genannte Kassationskommission ein. Es wurden machbare Kassationsprinzipien eingeführt, die den Spürsinn und die Intuition des Archivars als Kassationsmethode für Archivalien ersetzen sollten. Als Kriterien für die Bewertung des ewigen Wertes der Archivalien wurden festgesetzt das Alter des Dokumentes, sein Inhalt sowie seine Wichtigkeit im Rahmen der archivbestandsbildenden Institution. Es wurde eine so genannte "Begründung" eingeführt, die der Archivar bei jeder durchgeführten Kassation ausarbeiten mußte. Diese wurde in den *Mitteilungen der Preußischen Archivverwaltung* veröffentlicht, so daß der Archivar schon dadurch gewissermaßen verpflichtet war, eine systematische und gründliche Arbeit vorzulegen. Der Zweite Weltkrieg unterbrach jedoch jäh diese Entwicklung des archivischen Denkens und Handelns⁹.

Der Archivar Heinrich Otto Meisner ist der Verfasser eines Handbuches der Archivwissenschaft¹⁰ und ist einer von jenen Autoren, die Grundsätze für die Kassation von Archivakten aufgestellt haben. Die Grundsätze von Meisner haben die Handhabung der Kassation von Akten wesentlich verfeinert und systematisiert¹¹. Ein anderer Archivar, Hermann Meinert, hat eine Neuerung in der Kassation vorgeschlagen und den Grundsatz der positiven Kassation der Akten eingeführt. Er empfahl auf den Grundsatz zu verzichten, die wertlosen Akten einfach zu kassieren,

⁷ J. Treffeisen, *op. cit.*

⁸ H. Booms, *op. cit.*, S. 18.

⁹ J. Treffeisen, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Archivalienkunde vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918*, Göttingen, 1969, 366 S.

¹¹ H. Booms, *op. cit.*, S. 19.

und schlug den Archivaren vor, sich mehr auf die Feststellung der inhaltlich wertvollen Akten zu konzentrieren¹². Gleichzeitig räumte er ein, daß eine positive Auswahl der wertvollen Archivalien nur dann methodisch verwirklicht werden kann, wenn das zu langdauernden Aufbewahrung bestimmte Archivgut in einer "Bewertungswerkstatt" beurteilt wird nach inhaltlichen Kriterien, die an solide Anhaltspunkte ausgerichtet sind, die ihrerseits übergeordneten Wertprinzipien entsprechen. Zu diesen zählte Meinert das Volk, den Staat und die Kultur¹³.

Das Erscheinen der Arbeit von Theodore R. Schellenberg *The Appraisal of Modern Public Record* im Jahre 1956 in den Vereinigten Staaten bedeutete einen Wendepunkt für das Archivwesen. Die theoretischen Auffassungen von Schellenberg betreffend die "Funktion" und die "Funktionalität" des Aktes waren von der struktural-historischen Schule der amerikanischen Soziologie beeinflusst¹⁴. Schellenberg betrachtet die Analyse des Aktes als die wichtigste Etappe bei der Archivbewertung. Die wichtigste Aufgabe der Archivbewertung besteht in der Identifikation der einzigartigen Information. Nach seiner Meinung müssen alle Akten, die in einer Institution gebildet werden, der Analyse unterzogen werden. Vor der Übernahme der Dokumente mit dokumentar-historischem Wert müssen die zur Kassation bzw. Ausscheidung vorgeschlagenen Akten zuerst einer gründlichen Analyse unterzogen werden¹⁵.

Die Gesichtspunkte, die von einer Anzahl von Archivaren aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in ihren Arbeiten geäußert wurden, wurden zu Marksteinen in der Entwicklung der Erörterung betreffend die "wachrufende Kraft" des Aktes, die ein Kriterium für die Definition der Grundsätze der Archivbewertung war. Bei diesen Erörterungen im deutschen Archivwesen waren einige Meinungen besonders anregend, wie z. B. die von G. W. Sante, Wilhelm Rohr, Fritz Zimmermann oder Hans Booms.

¹² *Ibidem*, S. 27.

¹³ *Ibidem*, S. 25.

¹⁴ Ingo Rösler, *Erkenntnistheorie archivischer Überlieferungsbildung in Deutschland. Ansichten eines Archivars der ehemaligen DDR* [<http://www.forum-bewertung.de/beitraege/1025.pdf>].

¹⁵ J. Treffeisen, *op. cit.*

Die von Georg Wilhelm Sante und Wilhelm Rohr vorgeschlagenen Modelle wurden als bemerkenswerte Bestrebungen für die Lösung der Fragen der Archivbewertung betrachtet und ihnen ein großer Einfluß zugesprochen bei der zukünftigen Erörterung dieser Frage. Sie gründen sich auf das Bewußtsein, daß die Archivare immer hilfloser werden und nicht mehr die menschliche Fähigkeit haben, das Phänomen der "Hypertrophie der Akten" zu bewältigen, das heißt sie können die großen Mengen von übernommenen Akten aus ihrem Zuständigkeitsbereich nicht mehr bearbeiten. Sante schlug im Wesentlichen vor, daß die "Destillierung" – also eine erste Bewertung – schon in den Registraturen durchgeführt werden sollte. Dann hätten die Archivare – um die immensen Mengen von Schriftgut unter Kontrolle zu bewahren – die Archivbewertung nur für eine stark reduzierte Menge Schriftgut durchzuführen, die schon vorher bewertet war¹⁶. In der Vorstellung von Sante ist die Archivbewertung die enge Pforte, durch die die in der Registratur gebildeten Akten hindurch müssen, um das Recht zu erwerben, in das Archiv zu gelangen¹⁷. Eine andere theoretische Ausrichtung von Sante war – wahrscheinlich von Schellenberg beeinflusst – die Archivbewertung mit Rücksicht auf die Funktion, die von der betreffenden Institution erfüllt wird. Sante hat den Begriff der "Funktion" in die Debatte über die Archivbewertung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei der 35. Auflage des Deutschen Archivtags im Jahre 1957 eingeführt¹⁸. Seiner Meinung gemäß, muß der Archivar bei der Entscheidung, daß gewisse Akten wertvoll sind, die Funktion berücksichtigen, die die archivbildende Institution eingenommen hat, sowie ihre daraus resultierende Wichtigkeit. Der Archivar muß zuerst genau feststellen, welches die Funktionen einer Institution waren und erst danach den Wert der Akten bestimmen¹⁹.

Weil die Auffassung von Sante keine konkreten Bewertungskriterien bot, war Wilhelm Rohr derjenige, der bestrebt war, die Prozedur-Methode von Sante anwendbar zu machen. Er betrachtete den *hierarchischen Aspekt* als absolutes Kriterium für den Wert der Dokumente. Er nahm an, daß je mehr ein Archivbildner einen

¹⁶ H. Booms, *op. cit.*, S. 21.

¹⁷ G. W. Sante, *op. cit.*, S. 16.

¹⁸ J. Treffeisen, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ H. Booms, *op. cit.*, S. 21.

hervorragenden Platz im Rahmen einer Verwaltungsstruktur innehat, auch die von ihm gebildeten Akten um so wertvoller sein müssen. Hans Booms, der das von Sante und Rohr entwickelte Modell einer Analyse unterzog, kam zu dem Schluß, daß dieses im Wesentlichen nicht den Weg für eine positive Auswahl des Wertes darstellt. Ihr Modell bleibt in seinen wesentlichen Zügen dem herkömmlichen Kassationsverfahren verpflichtet, und zwar durch Ausscheidung der wertlosen Akten. So verwendeten die Archivare weiterhin starre, formale und verwaltungsimmanente Kriterien im Prozeß der Übermittlung wertvoller Dokumente für die Zukunft²⁰.

Ausgehend von den Schwächen des Modells Sante-Rohr versuchte der Archivar Fritz Zimmermann einen objektiven archivischen Wert zu finden für die Akten und Dokumente, die "reif" waren, um archiviert zu werden. Im Jahre 1957 hegte Zimmermann die Überzeugung, daß die von der Kassation und Aktenbewertung aufgeworfenen Probleme oder Fragen notwendigerweise die Ausarbeitung einer *Theorie des Archivwertes oder des archivischen Wertes* erforderten, sowie die Vervollkommnung eines möglichst detaillierten Systems des archivischen Wertes. Die Theorie des Archivwertes sollte ihren Ursprung in dem Begriff der "Archivwürdigkeit" haben²¹. Nach der Ansicht von Zimmermann konnte der Wert eines Dokumentes von dem öffentlichen Interesse dafür abgeleitet werden: "Die Nachfrage von Seiten der Menschen ist es die ein Archive wetvoll macht"²².

Nachdem im Jahre 1965 in der DDR die "Grundsätze der Wertermittlung..."²³ eingeführt worden waren, brachte dies einen neuen Aufschwung auch für die Erörterungen betreffend die Archivbewertung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Der damalige Präsident des Bundesarchivs seit 1972, Hans Booms, brachte die Bestimmungen des ostdeutschen Normativaktes in einer kritischen Analyse zur Debatte für

²⁰ *Ibidem*, S. 23.

²¹ Fritz Zimmermann, *Das Wertproblem der modernen Akten als Aufgabe der neuzeitlichen Archivlehre*, "Der Archivar. Mitteilungsblatt für deutsches Archivwesen" 10 (1957), 5, S. 241.

²² H. Booms, *op. cit.*, S. 23.

²³ *Grundsätze der Wertermittlung für die Aufbewahrung und Kassation von Schriftgut der sozialistischen Epoche in der DDR (Principiile pentru stabilirea valorii în vederea păstrării sau casării patrimoniului arhivistic al epocii socialiste din RDG)* (Hrg. von der staatlichen Archivverwaltung im Ministerium des Innern der DDR), Potsdam, 1965.

die westdeutschen Archivare²⁴. In seiner Untersuchung, die von deutschen Archivtheoretikern oft zitiert wird, versucht Booms zum ersten Mal, die Gesellschaft in die Problematik der Archivbewertung einzubeziehen und damit implizite auch in den Prozeß der Überlieferung des Archivgutes für die Zukunft. Das Ergebnis, zu dem Booms kam, war, daß die zur Archivbewertung notwendigen Modelle nicht mehr nach der Methode der Funktionalität, sondern unmittelbar aus den gesellschaftlichen Prozessen abgeleitet werden müssen. Booms schlug vor, daß der Prozeß der Überlieferungsbildung²⁵ für die Zukunft mit Hilfe eines "Dokumentationsplanes" (eines Aktenplanes) verwirklicht werden solle, der durch eine öffentliche Diskussion angepaßt bzw. verbessert werden sollte²⁶. Der Begriff war an sich nicht völlig neu, er bestand schon in den Vereinigten Staaten als "*documentation strategy*" und hatte sich dort vor allem in der Archivpraxis der Universitätsarchive durchgesetzt. Booms schlug damals auch vor, daß jede archivbildende Institution im Laufe der Zeit eine "Chronik der Zuständigkeiten" ausarbeiten solle, und zwar weil in Deutschland sich die Zuständigkeiten einer Institution verändern oder von einem Ressort zu einem anderen übergehen, für gewöhnlich dann, wenn eine neue Regierung gebildet wird. Einige der heutigen Archivare betrachten den von Hans Booms in die Problematik der Archivbewertung eingeführten Begriff der "gesellschaftlichen Relevanz" als überholt²⁷, andere behaupten sogar, daß Booms bei seinem Versuch, die Gesellschaft zu definieren, gescheitert ist²⁸.

Die Entwicklung in Rumänien

Bis zur Vernichtung des kapitalistischen Staates durch die Einführung des Kommunismus nach sowjetischem Vorbild, hatte die

²⁴ J. Treffeisen, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Booms definiert den Begriff "Überlieferung" als Gesamtsumme aller vorhandenen Beweise für die Geschehnisse geschichtlicher Natur und dieser Begriff bezieht sich auf die physischen Unterlagen bzw. Informationsträger über die wichtigen Geschehnisse aus der Vergangenheit.

²⁶ I. Rösler, *op. cit.*, S. 47-49.

²⁷ Siehe bei: Robert Kretzschmar, *Tabu oder Rettungsanker? Dokumentationspläne als Instrument archivischer Überlieferungsbildung*, "Der Archivar" 55 (2002), 4, S. 303-305.

²⁸ Clemens Rehm, *Kundenorientierung – Modewert oder Wesenmerkmal der Archive? Anmerkung zur Transparenz und Partizipation bei archivischen Bewertungen* [<http://www.forum-bewertung.de/beitraege/1007.pdf>].

rumänische Archivwissenschaft im Allgemeinen eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie ihre westlichen Vorbilder. In den Jahren 1831-1832 wurden die Staatsarchive in den rumänischen Fürstentümern Moldau und Walachei gegründet als Institutionen zur Entlastung der Registraturen. In den Archivordnungen von 1869 und 1872 war vorgesehen, daß die Ministerien und die ihnen untergeordneten Behörden die für die laufenden Arbeiten unnötig gewordenen Akten an die Staatsarchive abgeben sollten²⁹.

Das erste rumänische Archivgesetz aus dem Jahre 1925 sah grundsätzlich vor, daß das von staatlichen, Verwaltungs-, kirchlichen und militärischen Institutionen gebildete Archivgut mit einem größeren Alter als 30 Jahren an die Regionaldirektionen der Staatsarchive abzugeben seien³⁰. Die Durchführungsprozedur wurde jedoch vom Gesetz nicht näher angegeben. Erst im Jahre 1932 wurde durch die Ergänzungen zum Gesetz von 1925 eine gewisse Kontrolle der Staatsarchive über die Archive der öffentlichen Institutionen eingeführt³¹.

Die Behörden waren verpflichtet, den Staatsarchiven an jedem Jahresanfang eine Liste der im vergangenen Jahre gebildeten Akten zu schicken. Ohne eine beständige Kontrolle seitens der Staatsarchive, die dauernd an einem Mangel von qualifiziertem Personal litten, vernachlässigten die Behörden im Laufe der Jahre diese gesetzliche Pflicht. Obwohl das Gesetz von 1932 die Einsetzung eines sogenannten Vervollkommnungsrates vorsah, der die Zuständigkeit haben sollte, über das zur Kassation vorgeschlagene Archivgut zu entscheiden, erfüllte dies Gremium seine vorgesehene Rolle nicht. Ebenso blieb auch die Möglichkeit der Anlernung der Archivare an ihrem Arbeitsplatz eine nicht umgesetzte Option³².

Unter diesen Bedingungen wurde die Durchforstung des Schriftgutes eine von Formalismus geprägte Tätigkeit. Die

²⁹ Marin Radu Mocanu, *Cu privire la preluarea în custodie. Opinie*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1984, 3, S. 325.

³⁰ *Legea de organizare a Arhivelor Statului*. Textul legii, expunerea de motive, dezbaterile parlamentului, Bukarest, 1925, S. 6.

³¹ *Lege pentru modificarea unor dispozițiuni din legea pentru organizarea Arhivelor Statului*, veröffentlicht im Amtsblatt Rumäniens, 81 (5. April 1932), S. 2235-2236.

³² Ioan Mărcuș, *Asupra unei probleme de arhivistică: organizarea arhivelor autorităților și instituțiilor publice*, Revista Arhivelor, 1941, 2, S. 384-388.

Verwaltungsbehörden erlangten leicht die Genehmigung, aus ihren Archiven von ihnen als wertlos betrachtete Akten von weniger als 30 Jahren Alter auszuschneiden, um zerstört zu werden oder um als Makulatur verkauft zu werden. Das Fehlen von Grundsätzen für die Kassation, aber auch die fehlende Strukturierung der Akten in den Registraturen hat die Archivbewertung von Unterlagen mit wertvollen Informationen erschwert. Die Akten vieler staatlichen Institutionen waren gar nicht in Dossiers gegliedert. Die Erfahrung, die Intuition und der Subjektivismus der Vertreter der Staatsarchive waren die einzigen Bewertungskriterien.

Die rumänischen Archivare aus dem Königreich Rumänien haben keine Grundsätze für die Kassation von Schriftgut hervorgebracht und haben keine theoretische Erörterung zur Feststellung des Wertes von zu archivierenden Akten eingeleitet. Sie waren aber auf dem Laufenden mit den Diskussionen zu diesem Thema in den europäischen Ländern. Der bedeutendste rumänische Archivar jener Zeit - Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu - behauptete mit Überzeugung, daß "die Kassation ein Prüfstein für die Archivare ist"³³. Trotzdem hat er keine Theorie über den Wert der Akten ausgearbeitet. Nach seiner Ansicht wird "der Wert der Akten von ihrem Inhalt bestimmt, unabhängig ihrem Alter, Ausstellungsort oder Verfasser bzw. Aussteller"³⁴.

Die neue sozialistische Archivwissenschaft in Rumänien verstärkte nur die Nichterfüllungen oder Mängel aus den vorangegangenen Jahrzehnten, nachdem der Staat sie durch strukturelle Veränderungen umgestaltet hatte. Zugleich behauptete die sozialistische Archivwissenschaft ihre Überlegenheit über die Archivwissenschaft in den kapitalistischen Ländern. Diese Überlegenheit glaubte sie durch die "Durchführung der Kulturrevolution" erworben zu haben, und sie war gegründet auf den Gedanken, im Dienste der Interessen des gesamten Volkes zu stehen. Wir zitieren dafür folgende Aussage:

"Die bürgerliche Archivwissenschaft hat die Archive den tendenzausgerichteten und reaktionären fälschenden historischen Werken untergeordnet, zur Verherrlichung der herrschenden Klasse, und war vom Volk und seinen Bestrebungen getrennt". [...] Die (Kommunistische) Partei gab den Werktätigen im neuem Leben, das sie schuf, auch die Freude, die wahre Geschichte unseres Vaterlandes zu erkennen, gegründet auf voll vertrauenswürdige Dokumente,

³³ Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica*, Bukarest, 1970, S. 144.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 169.

die sich in den Archiven des Landes befinden, die früher versteckt waren und nur aus der Sicht der Unterdrücker und Ausbeuter verwendet wurden“³⁵.

“Die neue sozialistische Archivwissenschaft unseres Landes unterscheidet sich grundlegend von jener aus den kapitalistischen Ländern. [...] Die Dokumentarmaterialien dienen in den kapitalistischen Ländern den Kapitalisten, aber in unserem Land dem Volke“³⁶.

Die Wahrnehmung, daß die Unterordnung der Staatsarchive unter das Innenministerium im Jahre 1951 ein Teil von dem umfassenden Staatsprogramm zur absoluten Kontrolle über die Gesellschaft war, wird erhärtet oder vermehrt durch die Art und Weise, in der die Rolle und der Platz der Staatsarchive in der Gesellschaft festgesetzt wurde. Die im Verhältnis zu der vorigen Zeit umfangreiche Archivgesetzgebung hatte auch tatsächliche Tugenden oder positive Aspekte. Vom qualitativen Standpunkt aus betrachtet jedoch war sie der materialistisch-dialektischen und wissenschaftlich-sozialistischen Ideologie des sowjetischen Vorbildes verpflichtet. Angesichts einer von außen aufgedrängten Archivgesetzgebung, die im Einklang mit den Interessen des autokraten Staates stand, wurden die “Archivare des neuen Typs” zu Konformisten, oftmals zu einfachen Befehlsvollstreckern ohne Weitblick. Die einem dynamischen Fachgebiet – wie es die Archivwissenschaft ist – eigene Kreativität wurde gelähmt und die Archivare pflegten die Selbstzensur. Es fehlten die freien theoretischen Erörterungen, die uneingeschränkten Polemiken zum Fortschritt der Archivwissenschaft, einschließlich betreffend den Wert der Verwaltungsakten und die Kassation sowohl nach westlichen, als auch nach sowjetischen Auffassungen³⁷.

“Zugleich mit der Schaffung der sozialistischen Archivwissenschaft wurde geboren und entwickelte sich ein Archivar neuen Typus, ein Archivar des Volkes, ein von der Partei erzogener Archivar. Dieser kämpft für die Einführung

³⁵ Gheorghe Ungureanu, *Cu privire la evidența, păstrarea și folosirea materialelor documentare aflate la organizațiile socialiste din Regiunea Iași*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1961, 2, S. 20.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, S. 24.

³⁷ Zu den bemerkenswerten Ausnahmen zählen wir zwei Aufsätze, die die Behandlung der Akten in der Registratur betreffen: Teodor Necșa, *Evidența documentelor create și deținute de organizațiile socialiste și de celelalte organizații*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1979, 4, S. 408-410; Mihai Apan, *Câteva probleme în atenția comisiilor de selecționare de la organizații*, *Revista Arhivelor*, 1983, 4, S. 415-417.

des Neuen in der Archivwissenschaft. Die Archivwissenschaft aus den sozialistischen Ländern legte nach dem fortschrittlichen Vorbilde der sowjetischen Archivwissenschaft die Grundlagen eines entsprechenden Unterrichts für Archivare, der Fachkräfte mit einem hohen ideologischen Niveau und mit einer breiten oder weiten wissenschaftlichen Perspektive hervorbringen sollte”³⁸.

Die von der Generaldirektion der Staatsarchive im Jahre 1955 ausgearbeiteten Archivinstruktionen³⁹, die dem Dekret über die Gründung des Staatlichen Archivfonds vorangingen, legten das Monopol der Staatsarchive “durch ihre Organe” auf dem Gebiete der Bewertung des Archivgutes fest. Die neugegründeten Kassationskommissionen wurden mit dem ausschließlichen Recht eingesetzt, über die wissenschaftliche und die praktische Bedeutung des Archivgutes zu entscheiden. Die Bewertungskriterien sind ziemlich kurz und nicht eindeutig formuliert:

“Bei der Bewertung der Akten sollen die historischen Bedingungen berücksichtigt werden, unter denen der Archivbildner seine Tätigkeit ausgeübt hat“. Wie diese Berücksichtigung erfolgen soll, wird aber nicht klar gesagt. Wir können das aber vermuten, nach der Heftigkeit, mit der das bürgerlich-gutsherrliche Regime und seine Verwirklichungen gebrandmarkt wurden, die als Hindernisse bei der Bildung des „neuen Menschen“ betrachtet wurden.”

Die Dekrete zur Gründung des Staatlichen Archivfonds im Jahre 1957 und des Nationalen Archivfonds im Jahre 1971 (zusätzlich dazu die Wiederveröffentlichung des letzteren Dekretes im Jahre 1974, das zum Dekret 206 wurde), waren unserer Meinung nach programmatische Dokumente. Sie nahmen sich von Anfang an vor, “die zentralisierte Evidenz der Bewahrung und der Benützung zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken der Dokumentarmaterialien zu sichern”⁴⁰. Vom Standpunkt der Archivbewertung haben die erwähnten Dekrete den Archivaren Kopfzerbrechen erspart, weil sie sich auf diese Dekrete wie auf ein Allheilmittel berufen konnten. Alle Diskussionen betreffend die in den Registraturen gebildeten Akten und die Kassation der Akten bei den Archivbildnern kreisten um das Dekret 472/1971 betreffend die Gründung

³⁸ Gh. Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, S. 15.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, S. 24.

⁴⁰ *Decret nr. 353 pentru înființarea Fondului Arhivistic de Stat al Republicii Populare România*, veröffentlicht im Amtsblatt der Großen Nationalversammlung der RVR, 19 vom 26. Juli 1957, Artikel 1.

des Nationalen Archivfonds. Die theoretischen Aufsätze dazu beschränkten sich auf Kommentare zu verschiedenen Artikeln des Dekretes. Von Neuerungen oder Erörterungen betreffend den Wert der Akten, die über die Bestimmungen des Dekretes 472/1971 hinausgingen, konnte keine Rede sein.

“Der neue Normativakt (das Dekret 472/1971- unsere Anmerkung) ist ein Instrument von größter Bedeutung für die Verbesserung der Archivarbeit in unserem Land, er stellt einen originellen Beitrag dar und ist gleichzeitig eine Zusammenfassung sowie eine Anhebung der wertvollsten Traditionen der rumänischen Archivwissenschaft auf eine höhere Stufe. Er stellt den Staatsarchiven neue Zielsetzungen. [unsere Hervorhebung]”⁴¹.

Der Begriff “Archivbewertung” der Akten hat es tatsächlich in der Fachsprache der rumänischen Archivwissenschaft in der Nachkriegszeit nicht gegeben. Dafür wurde aber ein anderer Fachausdruck gebraucht “Bewertung der Archivadokumente”. Dieser Ausdruck kommt zuerst vor in zwei Ministerratsbeschlüssen vom 1. April 1975 und betraf die Kriterien zur Bestimmung eines nominellen Wertes der Güter aus dem Nationalen Kulturpatrimonium⁴². Im Jahre 1985 gingen auch die Rumänischen Staatsarchive daran, den Wert von Dokumenten mit historischer Bedeutung in der Landeswährung “Lei” festzulegen⁴³. Wenn wir die Dinge symbolisch betrachten, stellen wir fest, daß der kommunistische Staat manchmal seine eigenen Prinzipien untergrub. So können wir feststellen, daß die Archivschatze nicht von “unschätzbarem Wert” waren, wie man damals immer wieder behauptete, sondern sehr wohl einen feststellbaren Wert zum Tageskurs hatten.

Abschließende Schlußfolgerungen betreffend die Archivbewertung für das Schriftgut der Nachkriegszeit bei den Archivbildnern in Rumänien können erst in Zukunft erfolgen, wenn die Ergebnisse von Forschungen über die Archivpraxis in dieser Zeit und auf diesem Gebiet vorliegen, jenseits von den “undurchsichtigen” Instruktionen und Normativakten, und nachdem auch die Archivwissenschaft in der Sowjetunion in Theorie und Praxis als Vorbild für Rumänien besser erforscht sein wird.

⁴¹ Gh. Titileanu, *Probleme actuale ale activităţii arhivistice (Aktuelle Fragen der Archivtätigkeit)*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1972, 3, S. 353.

⁴² *Legislaţie cu privire la Arhive*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1975, 2, S. 186.

⁴³ Vasile Arimia, *Câteva probleme pe linia aprecierii valorii documentelor*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1985, 4, S. 392.

Comment j'ai créé mon archive. Récit d'une enquête d'histoire orale¹

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Keywords: *Totalitarianism; Oral Memory; Persecution; Prison Experience*

En 2003, j'avais commencé une recherche sur la mémoire des persécutions politiques communistes en Roumanie postcommuniste. L'absence d'un discours au féminin sur la répression m'a frappé toute de suite. J'ai décidé alors d'entamer une enquête d'histoire orale auprès des anciennes détenues politiques roumaines.

Familiarisée déjà avec la méthode biographique grâce à ma participation dans un projet d'histoire orale, **Vivre ensemble. La mémoire dans les sociétés post-totalitaires**², je me suis investie à fond dans l'enquête. Écouter quelqu'un/une qui raconte sa vie bouleversée par une expérience traumatisante permet de mieux comprendre l'impact que cette expérience a eu sur le parcours de sa vie. Les soupirs, les silences, la liberté d'expression, l'absence des contraintes imposées par l'écriture, s'avèrent significatifs pour la compréhension des témoignages. De surcroît, en utilisant les récits de vie on peut mieux saisir le fonctionnement de la mémoire, le rôle de l'oubli et les manières de mise en discours de celles-ci pour construire une identité personnelle.

Cet article se propose de rendre compte des étapes et de la méthodologie de recherche. Il met en évidence les difficultés et les réussites d'une enquête d'histoire orale. Qui plus est, j'y réfléchis sur l'utilité d'une telle enquête pour la compréhension de la mémoire individuelle, mais également collective des anciennes persécutées politiques roumaines.

1. La méthode biographique

La méthode biographique semble être la plus appropriée pour la mise en discours du vécu des femmes persécutées pour des raisons politiques. Comme il s'agit de femmes d'un certain âge qui parlent de leur vie entière et des expériences

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¹ Je reprends dans cet article des idées et des formulations qui se retrouvent également dans mon livre, *Vies menottées, paroles libérées. Témoignages des anciennes persécutées politiques roumaines*. Éditions universitaires européennes, Saarbrücken, 2010.

² Le projet, *Vivre ensemble. La mémoire dans les sociétés posttotalitaires*, a été coordonné par Bogumil Jewsiewicki, Titulaire de la Chaire de recherche du Canada en histoire comparée de la mémoire, Université Laval.

lointaines, leurs récits sont à la fois le résultat d'une construction permanente de soi et le souvenir immédiat d'une demande contextuelle.

La méthode biographique a été développée dans l'espace francophone par Daniel Bertaux. Le sociologue français définit les récits de vie comme "le produit d'une forme particulière d'entretien, l'entretien narratif, au cours duquel le sujet raconte son expérience vécue"³ au moment même de l'interview. Un récit de vie n'est pas simplement une somme de renseignements, il est une structure (c'est-à-dire la reconstruction discursive d'une expérience vécue) et un acte de communication⁴.

Je suis consciente que les récits de vie des anciennes persécutées politiques ne m'ont pas donné accès à leur vie, à l'histoire toute crue, tout authentique, mais qu'ils sont une construction ou une reconstruction de leur vie et de son histoire⁵. Néanmoins, ce "récit-écran"⁶ déconstruit peut rendre visible un récit sur la répression vécue au féminin, sur le communisme et sur l'identité de la femme-témoin des persécutions politiques.

Il s'agit d'une mise en discours d'une mémoire individuelle imprégnée du social, le social de la famille, des groupes d'appartenance, même de la nation. Maurice Halbwachs appelle ces cadres de remémoration: "cadres sociaux de la mémoire". Ils sont avant tout des cadres mentaux, des structures inductrices de souvenirs. "À chaque instant, le cadre social donne à nos souvenirs l'éclairage de sens commandé par la vision du monde actuel de notre groupe"⁷. Néanmoins, selon Halbwachs, ces cadres ne sont pas immobiles, figés dans le temps et dans l'espace: "Par cadres sociaux de la mémoire nous entendons non pas seulement l'ensemble des notions, qu'à chaque moment nous pouvons apercevoir parce qu'elles se trouvent plus ou moins dans le champ de notre conscience, mais toutes celles où l'on parvient en partant de celles-ci par une opération de l'esprit analogue au simple raisonnement⁸."

Intimement liée à la mémoire, l'identité⁹ est une construction sociale, d'une certaine façon toujours en devenir dans le cadre d'une relation dialogique avec l'Autre¹⁰. Isaac Chiva la définit comme "la capacité que possède chacun de nous de rester conscient de la continuité de sa vie à travers les changements, crises et ruptures¹¹" grâce à la mémoire comme disait Halbwachs en donnant l'exemple de la fille esquimaude perdue et qui n'avait aucun souvenir et par suite aucune identité.

³ Daniel Bertaux, *Les récits de vie*, Paris, 1997, p. 6.

⁴ Philippe Lejeune, *Je est un autre. L'autobiographie de la littérature aux médias*, Paris, 1980, p. 278.

⁵ Michel Légrand, *L'approche biographique. Théorie et clinique*, Marseille-Paris, 1993, p. 193.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

⁷ Gerard Namer, *Mémoire et société*, Paris, 1987, p. 37-39.

⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris, 1994, p. 129.

⁹ Quant à l'**identité de groupe ou collective**, elle est plus difficile à définir. Joël Candau considère l'identité collective ou l'identité d'un groupe comme la représentation que le groupe ou la communauté a de soi. Joël Candau, *Mémoire et identité*, Paris, 1998, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1-4.

¹¹ Isaac Chiva, in *Territoires de la mémoire* (dir. Marc Augé), Thonon-les-Bains, 1992, p. 14-16.

Selon Paul Ricœur¹² l'identité ne peut être qu'une identité narrative. Le philosophe français considère que "toute identité est une identité narrative dans le sens que toute compréhension de soi soit une interprétation et l'interprétation trouve dans le récit une médiation privilégiée qui emprunte à l'histoire autant qu'à la fiction faisant de l'histoire d'une vie une histoire fictive ou une fiction historique"¹³. Néanmoins, "l'identité narrative n'est pas une identité stable et sans faille, de même qu'il est possible de composer plusieurs intrigues au sujet de mêmes incidents, de même il est toujours possible de tramer sur sa propre vie des intrigues différentes, voire opposées"¹⁴. Le social joue un rôle important dans cette interprétation de soi, dans la construction de plusieurs trames narratives. Paul Ricœur affirme d'ailleurs que "le soi ne se connaît pas immédiatement, mais seulement indirectement par le détour de signes culturels de toutes sortes qui s'articulent sur les médiations symboliques qui toujours déjà articulent l'action et, parmi elles, les récits de la vie quotidienne. La médiation narrative souligne ce caractère remarquable de la connaissance de soi d'être une interprétation de soi."¹⁵

Le concept d'identité narrative explique cette capacité des anciennes détenues politiques de construire plusieurs récits au sujet de leur vie. Le contexte social et politique a forcé les femmes ayant subi la violence politique de raconter leur vie différemment d'une époque à l'autre. Elles ont forgé plusieurs histoires de vie et ont mis en avant plusieurs identités. Cela permet de comprendre pourquoi, en dépit des divers récits, les personnes n'ont pas ressenti une Malaise et une fracture identitaires. Mon analyse cherche à dégager dans le discours actuel des anciennes persécutées politiques la mise en récit du hasard, des choix, des rencontres et des projets afin d'en faire une nouvelle trame. Je pense que le contexte postdécembriste et de la recherche pèsent lourdement sur leurs récits de vie.

En partant de ces considérations théoriques, j'ai entamé ma recherche auprès de quelques anciennes détenues politiques. J'ai été avertie qu'un tel sujet reste sensible du point de vue émotionnel, social et culturel pour les personnes interviewées, mais également pour la société et pour moi-même. Pour limiter au maximum ma présence dans les récits de femmes interrogées, j'ai décidé d'adopter la technique de l'entretien non directif. Cela a été possible grâce à mes bonnes connaissances de récits de la répression et du milieu dans lequel j'allais faire mon enquête.

Une vie peut se raconter en une heure, en dix, en cinquante¹⁶. Mais la quantité d'information n'augmente pas proportionnellement à la durée de l'enquête, seulement la richesse de l'information s'accroît. Je me suis rendue compte de la pertinence de cette assertion après avoir fait plusieurs séances d'interview avec les anciennes persécutées politiques pendant le régime communiste. En moyenne, les

¹² Paul Ricœur, *Soi-même comme un autre*, [Paris], 1990.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 138 note 1.

¹⁴ Idem, *Temps et récits*, III: *Le temps raconté*, Paris, 1985, p. 446.

¹⁵ Idem, *L'identité narrative*, "Esprit", juillet-août 1988, p. 304.

¹⁶ La part de l'oubli, les non-dits sont extrêmement importants pour la durée du récit.

femmes ont raconté leur vie en deux heures. Chacune d'entre elles a raconté sa vie sans contraintes de ma part et sans souci du temps écoulé.

Il peut paraître étonnant qu'une vie pleine d'expérience puisse être dite en si peu de temps. Il est vrai qu'un témoin qui rend compte des faits traumatiques ne cherche pas d'habitude des effets oratoires¹⁷. Cela est possible puisque les récits rendent compte moins du contenu de la vie, que de sa forme dans la mémoire, de l'unité et du sens que les témoins essaient rétrospectivement de donner à leur vie.

Au cours de mon enquête, j'ai fait douze entretiens dans un milieu homogène, c'est-à-dire un milieu organisé par le même ensemble des rapports sociaux -structurels¹⁸, à savoir la classe moyenne de l'entre-deux-guerres¹⁹. Il s'agit d'un groupe d'intellectuels appartenant à des familles des libres professionnels: des médecins, des avocats, des journalistes, des fonctionnaires. À cela s'ajoutent deux entretiens faits avec des paysans.

Trois raisons principales m'ont incitée à un tel choix. La première raison est que la plupart de mes interviewés ont été victimes de leur propre activité politique et non seulement de celle du hasard et de l'appartenance à une classe sociale. La deuxième raison renvoie au niveau de scolarité élevé que tous mes collaborateurs/collaboratrices ont, niveau qui constitue une prémisses importante pour la construction particulière de leur discours. Quant à la troisième, elle traduit une contrainte importante liée à l'espace et au temps, toutes ces personnes résident à Bucarest, situation qui a facilité mon travail.

J'ai réalisé sept entretiens avec des femmes et cinq avec des hommes. Le nombre des personnes a été imposé par la spécificité de ma recherche. Tout d'abord, la difficulté de trouver des gens en bonne santé physique et psychique pour participer à l'enquête et également disponibles à témoigner de leur expérience de la répression. Ensuite, la limitation méthodologique, je me suis intéressée aux gens appartenant à la classe moyenne ou selon la nomination des communistes "la bourgeoisie" puisque cette classe sociale a été l'ennemie par excellence que les communistes se sont acharnés à détruire.

2. Mon enquête

Ma démarche part d'une informatrice principale qui m'a recommandée à ses amis. Ensuite, une amie de ma collaboratrice m'a mise en contact avec son amie à elle et ainsi de suite. Pendant l'enquête, j'ai également essayé de diversifier les informateurs et les informatrices, pour que ma recherche ne se cantonne pas dans le même groupe d'ami(e)s. Il est vrai que d'une certaine manière ils se connaissent

¹⁷ Bruno Gelas, *Le témoignage et la fiction*, in *Le témoignage*, Cahiers de Villa Gillet, n° 3, novembre 1995, p. 61.

¹⁸ D. Bertaux, *L'approche biographique: sa validité méthodologique, ses potentialités*, "Cahiers internationaux de sociologie" 69 (1980), p. 205.

¹⁹ Bien que pendant l'entre-deux-guerres on ait essayé d'établir une distinction entre les intellectuels et la bourgeoisie, cela n'était pas facile. Les choix politiques et sociaux des intellectuels et des bourgeois étaient souvent les mêmes. En outre, les deux groupes étaient consommateurs de la même culture et ils lisaient la même presse. Maria Bucur, *Eugenie și modernizare în România interbelică*, Iași, 2005, p. 176.

entre eux, les femmes, ayant été incarcérées dans les mêmes prisons²⁰. Les hommes aussi se connaissaient de loin ou de près mais il n'y a pas eu de contact entre eux pour ma recherche. J'ai interviewé soit des hommes que j'avais déjà fréquenté pour mes autres enquêtes de terrain, soit les maris de mes collaboratrices.

Ma recherche a débuté en été 2002. Dans le cadre du projet "Vivre ensemble", j'ai recueilli trois récits de vie: d'un ancien combattant de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, d'une femme ayant subi des persécutions politiques pendant le communisme, mais sans avoir connu l'expérience carcérale, et d'un ancien détenu politique. C'était à cette période que je me suis familiarisée avec la méthode des récits de vie. Une méthode qui permet de ne pas imposer aux autres nos propres catégories, le cadre d'ensemble étant déterminé par l'informateur et non pas par le chercheur comme cela aurait été le cas si on avait fait un questionnaire²¹.

L'ancien combattant était un monsieur âgé de 90 ans, un paysan qui vivait seul dans un village roumain. Soldat dans l'armée roumaine, il avait combattu à côté des Allemands sur le territoire de l'ex. URSS, où il a été fait prisonnier par l'armée soviétique. Il a connu les camps soviétiques de prisonniers de guerre. Après quelques années passées dans les camps, il est rentré en Roumanie dans son village natal où il a continué à vivre. Il n'a pas connu les persécutions politiques communistes. Son récit m'a aidée à mieux comprendre les récits des anciens détenus, à réfléchir sur le discours des hommes, sur les thèmes récurrents de leurs récits.

La deuxième personne interviewée provient d'une famille des paysans riches, une sorte de koulaks roumains. Pendant la collectivisation de l'agriculture, elle et son mari ont subi des persécutions puisqu'ils ne voulaient pas renoncer à leurs propriétés terriennes et à leurs animaux. Maltraitée par la milice et les officiers de la Securitate, elle a eu la chance de ne pas connaître les prisons communistes. Elle demeure toujours dans son village.

Le troisième entretien que j'ai fait a eu un impact essentiel sur ma recherche concernant les persécutions politiques. Il s'agit d'un très apprécié historien, un intellectuel renommé et ancien détenu politique. Appartenant à une famille "bourgeoise" dont plusieurs membres ont été incarcérés, de santé fragile pendant sa jeunesse, il a été arrêté et condamné pour avoir fréquenté l'Institut français de Bucarest. Son récit, réfléchi et bien élaboré, est une leçon d'histoire et de morale de la part d'un intellectuel raffiné.

Cette expérience m'a donné une motivation additionnelle pour ma recherche sur la mémoire des persécutions politiques. Je me suis demandée si les femmes qui ont connu la prison pour des raisons politiques ont vécu leur expérience sur un autre plan que les hommes. J'avais avancé l'hypothèse qu'on peut plaider pour une mémoire de la violence politique "au féminin" et que cette mémoire subit fréquemment de puissantes influences de la part des représentations masculines. En outre, je pensais que le témoin des persécutions politiques n'est pas seulement le

²⁰ Les prisons pour les femmes ont été peu nombreuses. La plus fréquentée était celle de Mislea. En outre, tout le monde passait par Jilava qui était une prison de transit.

²¹ Paul Thompson, *Des récits de vie à l'analyse du changement social*, "Cahiers internationaux de sociologie" 69 (1980), p. 254-256.

porte-parole d'une factualité dans l'espace public, mais qu'il est aussi engagé à promouvoir un jugement éthique sur le sens du Pouvoir. Deux questions me paraissaient exprimer le mieux l'enjeu de mon enquête: Comment le passé politique traumatisant fait irruption dans le récit de vie des anciennes détenues politiques? Peut-on parler à la fois d'une éthique et d'une esthétique du témoignage lors de la mise en intrigue du récit de vie des anciennes persécutées politiques?

L'enquête est partie d'une informatrice principale qui travaille à la Fondation Culturelle *Memoria*. Il s'agit de la rédactrice en chef de la revue de la fondation, une ancienne persécutée politique. Il m'a semblé évident que c'était cela mon point de départ. Elle me connaissait déjà, j'avais d'ailleurs habité dans sa maison, elle correspondait à mes critères de recherche: femme, intellectuelle, faisant partie des milieux bourgeois. Je lui ai expliqué ma démarche et je l'ai priée de collaborer à ma recherche.

J'ai réalisé mon premier entretien avec elle à l'été 2003. Je me suis rendue à cette interview avec une série d'idées préconçues concernant la mise en discours du récit, des préjugés qui relèvent du *doxa*. En tant que femme postmoderne, j'étais à la recherche d'une identité féminine dans le langage, à savoir une écrasante présence du corps dans le discours, une absence de l'action et un langage de Dedans, de l'intérieur du corps²². Je pensais que le temps du récit serait cyclique, qu'il y aurait une discontinuité du discours et que le bavardage sur le corps, vu toujours comme une marque de l'identité féminine, serait essentiel pour le discours²³. Tous mes préjugés ont été infirmés dès le début et les autres entretiens n'ont fait que les infirmer encore plus.

L'interview a été faite chez elle, en roumain, et il a été enregistré sur bande. Je lui ai demandé de me raconter sa vie en tant qu'ancienne détenue politique sans pour autant insister sur les persécutions politiques. Je lui ai donné la liberté totale en ce qui concerne son récit. Je ne lui ai pas posé de questions, je n'ai pas demandé des détails. J'ai employé cette technique puisque j'ai voulu déceler les principaux thèmes de son récit, quelles sont les périodes de vie privilégiées dans le discours et quel sera le ton général de l'exposé. L'entretien s'est bien déroulé, sans pauses et il a duré environ deux heures.

Cette première interview m'a permis de mieux me préparer pour mon enquête. J'ai remarqué le discours logique et clair, la mise en évidence du devoir de mémoire et l'importance des cadres de la mémoire pour la mise en récit de la répression et du vécu communiste. Ce premier entretien m'a confirmé que le choix de cette technique d'interview est le meilleur pour ma problématique.

À la fin de cette première séance, j'ai prié cette dame de me mettre en contact avec ses amies, anciennes détenues politiques. En sachant que la participation à une telle recherche peut être délicate pour les femmes, je lui ai demandé de me présenter à ces dames et de leur présenter mon projet. Elle les a contactées et elle m'a

²² Béatrice Didier a établi les caractéristiques de l'écriture et du discours féminin. Béatrice Didier, *L'écriture - femme*, Paris, 1991, p. 15-40.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

recommandée à ses amies. Ensuite, ma tâche a été de les contacter à mon tour et d'établir un rendez-vous.

Le premier contact a été téléphonique. Je me suis présentée en tant qu'historienne intéressée aux persécutions politiques. J'ai expliqué à chacune de ses dames mon projet et mon intention de réaliser des entretiens sur le sujet avec elles. Lorsqu'elles ont accepté, je me suis rendue chez elles. Une fois arrivée, je me suis présentée encore une fois, comme historienne, encadrée dans un programme de maîtrise en sciences sociales à l'Université de Bucarest déroulé sous l'égide de l'École Doctorale Francophone en Sciences Sociales. Je leur ai également décrit cette institution qui donne la possibilité de présenter ma recherche à l'extérieur du pays. D'ailleurs, cet aspect a été important pour l'enquête. Les dames et les messieurs interviewés se sont montrés heureux de faire connaître leur expérience au-delà de la frontière roumaine. Ensuite, j'ai explicité ma recherche. Je leur ai dit que je m'intéresse à la mémoire des persécutions politiques chez les femmes ayant subi la répression communiste. Je les ai priées de me raconter leur vie en tant que témoins de celle-ci sans insister sur les tribulations carcérales.

Dans un premier temps, j'ai réalisé cinq entretiens. Suite à cette première étape, j'ai rédigé un mémoire de maîtrise en 2004 présenté à l'École Doctorale Francophone en Sciences Sociales, Europe Centrale et Orientale. Intitulé "Raconter au féminin. Mémoire et identité des anciennes détenues politiques", ce travail m'a permis de mieux saisir les voies de développement de mon projet.

L'analyse de ces cinq récits de vie des anciennes détenues politiques m'a fait élaborer un concept exploratoire. Il m'a semblé que la mise en discours du vécu de ces dames porte le sceau de l'*habitus* tel qu'il fut défini par Pierre Bourdieu. Selon le sociologue français, l'*habitus* désigne des manières d'être, de penser et de faire communes à plusieurs personnes de même origine sociale, issues de l'incorporation non consciente des normes et des pratiques véhiculées par le groupe d'appartenance. Néanmoins, il n'entraîne pas mécaniquement des conduites identiques, mais plutôt des tendances à certaines conduites. Bien que dans la même classe sociale les *habitus* soient proches, ils ne sont pas identiques, car chaque individu est confronté à des expériences sociales plus ou moins diverses²⁴.

Pierre Bourdieu parle des *habitus* clairement différenciés selon le principe de division dominant et capables de voir le monde selon ce principe. "Les divisions constitutives de l'ordre social et, plus précisément, les rapports sociaux de domination et d'exploitation qui sont institués entre les genres s'inscrivent ainsi progressivement dans deux classes d'*habitus* différentes, sous la forme d'*hexis* corporelles opposées et complémentaires et de principes de vision et de division qui conduisent à classer toutes les choses du monde et toutes les pratiques selon des distinctions réductibles à l'opposition entre le masculin et le féminin"²⁵. L'*habitus* féminin selon Bourdieu met en évidence le fait que les pensées et les perceptions des femmes en tant que dominées soient structurées conformément aux structures mêmes

²⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique*, Paris, 1980, p. 88.

²⁵ Idem, *La domination masculine*, in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, n° 84, septembre 1990, p. 29-36.

de la relation de la domination qui leur est imposée. "Leurs actes de connaissances sont ainsi des actes de reconnaissance, de soumission. Néanmoins, il y a toujours une place pour une lutte cognitive à propos du sens des choses"²⁶.

À partir de ces considérations, j'ai cherché à dégager un *habitus* de la femme bourgeoise roumaine. Bourdieu considère que "les femmes restent séparées les unes des autres par des différences économiques et culturelles qui affectent entre autres choses leur manière objective et subjective de subir et d'éprouver la domination masculine – sans pour autant annuler tout ce qui est lié à la minoration du capital symbolique entraîné par la féminité"²⁷. J'ai supposé que les personnes de sexe féminin de la classe moyenne ont incorporé dans le processus de socialisation la domination masculine de l'époque. Cette domination valorise les modèles et les valeurs masculines et masculinisantes et assigne des rôles et des valeurs spécifiques aux deux sexes. Pendant l'entre-deux-guerres les hommes étaient destinés à l'espace public et au champ du pouvoir tandis que les femmes étaient vouées à l'espace privé. L'émancipation de la femme restait toujours dans les extensions de l'espace privé qu'étaient les services sociaux et éducatifs et dans les univers de production symbolique comme les champs littéraires, artistiques et journalistiques. J'ai supposé que par le biais du concept de l'*habitus* je peux expliquer leur discours, les motivations de leur témoignage, mais également comprendre leur identité. J'ai aussi pensé que c'est l'*habitus* qui permet à mes collaboratrices de se reconnaître comme restant les mêmes à travers le temps et en dépit des bouleversements de leur vie.

Après avoir soutenu avec succès mon mémoire de maîtrise et ayant obtenu les ressources pour continuer ma recherche, j'ai décidé d'approfondir et d'élargir mon projet. Tout en utilisant les récits recueillis, le réseau déjà formé et l'expérience accumulée, j'ai décidé de faire des entretiens en profondeur. J'ai été à la recherche d'une individualité qui m'avait échappé à une première analyse de leurs récits. Je suis donc revenue chez les dames interviewées pour d'autres séances d'entretien. Je les ai priées de me raconter encore une fois leur vie, plus en détail s'il est possible.

J'ai pensé que la confiance déjà établie, il sera plus facile pour les femmes de s'ouvrir envers moi. J'ai également espéré que le temps écoulé entre les entretiens va faire surgir d'autres souvenirs. Néanmoins, cette démarche n'a abouti à aucun changement spectaculaire en ce qui concerne les récits. Dans la plupart de cas, j'ai écouté le même discours. Pour les autres, il s'agit seulement de détails qui se sont rajoutés au premier récit.

Il semble que leur récit avait déjà pris une forme, je peux dire, même dans leur mémoire. Marc Augé affirme que la mise en récit des souvenirs influence la capacité ultérieure de remémoration²⁸. Il est vrai que le contexte social et politique n'a pas changé entre les deux périodes de temps. Les néo-communistes étaient toujours au pouvoir, le procès du communisme impossible, les problèmes liés aux propriétés confisquées par les autorités communistes restaient à l'ordre du jour. Néanmoins, je considère que cette constance du récit vient d'ailleurs. Mes

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 101.

²⁸ Marc Augé, *Les formes de l'oubli*, Rivages Poche, 2001, p. 29.

collaboratrices avaient raconté leur vie à plusieurs reprises, leur discours étant déposé dans leur mémoire. J'ai appris que toutes ces femmes ont témoigné pour l'Archive d'histoire orale de l'AFDPR, qu'elles ont été interviewé par d'autres chercheurs et/ou par des journalistes ce qui pourrait expliquer dans une certaine mesure leur discours.

Qui plus est, plusieurs d'entre elles avaient déjà publié des articles sur leur expérience carcérale et même des livres d'entretiens. Donc, leurs récits de vie ont eu dans leur mémoire, peut-être virtuelle, une forme bien établie, leur propre style. En outre, je pense que la posture autobiographique ait été déjà intériorisée, que la conscience réflexive ait travaillé sur le souvenir²⁹. En outre, il semble que les souvenirs devenaient les prisonniers de leur mise en discours. Au fur et à mesure que l'identité se forgeait, la quête de soi devenait plus formelle.

En 2005, j'ai pris contact avec deux autres femmes, l'une appartenant au même cercle d'amies, une autre recommandée par ma directrice de thèse à Bucarest, toutes les deux appartenant au même milieu, à savoir "la bourgeoisie". J'ai fait deux séances d'entretiens avec chacune d'entre elles et je me suis rendue compte que leurs récits de vie confirmaient mon interprétation concernant les autres.

J'ai jugé alors nécessaire de faire des entretiens avec les hommes pour vérifier les conclusions de mon mémoire de maîtrise et l'interprétation que j'ai envisagée à donner à ces récits. J'ai fait cinq entretiens en deux et parfois trois séances avec d'anciens détenus, la plupart d'entre eux des parents des femmes interviewées. Leurs récits renforcent certaines de mes hypothèses tout en infirmant d'autres.

L'examen à chaud des entretiens m'a incitée à revenir pour une continuation, ensuite avec une grille de questions. Tant les hommes que les femmes ont répondu à un questionnaire inspiré par la situation politique et culturelle de la Roumanie de ces jours-là. La question centrale portait sur la victimisation des anciens détenus politiques dans l'espace public.

La nécessité de trouver cette capacité de raconter des histoires, de mettre en scène des caractères, de produire des effets dramatiques m'a poussée à faire des entretiens avec des gens appartenant à un milieu intellectuel bourgeois³⁰. Il est vrai que je me suis sentie plus à l'aise à parler avec des gens d'un milieu dont je fais partie, un choix déterminé par mon *habitus*³¹. D'autre part, il a été plus facile d'entamer ma recherche auprès des personnes que je connaissais déjà et qui gravitaient autour de la Fondation Culturelle *Memoria*.

²⁹ D. Bertaux, *L'approche biographique* cit., p. 216.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 215. Il avance l'hypothèse que "l'autobiographie est une forme d'expression qui n'appartient qu'à la culture occidentale, seule culture dans l'histoire à avoir dégagé le Moi, l'individu du tissu social communautaire." L'autobiographie, avec la capacité de raconter des histoires, de mettre en scène des caractères, de produire des effets dramatiques, est une caractéristique non seulement de la bourgeoisie occidentale, mais également de la bourgeoisie roumaine qui suivait le modèle occidental.

³¹ Bourdieu montre que *l'habitus* tend à se mettre à l'abri des crises et des mises en question critiques en s'assurant un milieu auquel il est aussi préadapté que possible. *Pierre Bourdieu, le poids des premières expériences*, in Alain Accardo, Philippe Corcuff, *La sociologie de Bourdieu*, [2^{ème} édition], Bordeaux, 1989, p. 73.

Après avoir réalisé ces douze entretiens et après avoir écouté les réponses à la grille des questions, j'ai avancé l'hypothèse que le témoignage individuel des anciennes persécutées politiques ayant participé à ma recherche se veut une preuve quantitative qui s'inscrit dans le paradigme dénonciateur du régime communiste, ainsi qu'un récit d'une trajectoire individuelle réussie par rapport aux buts du régime voué à les détruire. Donc, le témoignage des anciennes détenues politiques de la classe moyenne est à la fois un devoir envers l'histoire de la Roumanie (à savoir, envers une société, une mentalité, une morale, une visée éthique de la vie "bonne"), mais également la mise en discours d'une identité narrative propre à chaque personne interviewée, identité tributaire de l'*habitus* typique à la classe moyenne roumaine caractérisée par une manière propre de construire le féminin.

Les récits de vie que j'ai recueillis pendant mon enquête auprès des anciennes détenues politiques roumaines peuvent être interprétés comme exemplaires pour un modèle narratif sur la répression communiste. La structure, la forme, le contenu, la vision du monde de ces récits se ressemblent à un tel point qu'ils peuvent être considérés comme un archétype du discours des femmes persécutées de la classe moyenne. Il s'agit là d'un témoignage au féminin. C'est un féminin qui subit l'influence du modèle masculin de l'époque de l'entre-deux-guerres: l'usage d'un langage masculinisant, un récit court, logique et rationnel, l'absence du corps dans le discours, la dévalorisation de l'expérience personnelle féminine dans l'espace public.

Les récits des anciens persécutés politiques mettent en évidence un témoignage caractérisé par un discours long, détaillé et plus personnalisé. Trouvant son explication dans l'habitude de l'homme de s'exprimer publiquement, leur témoignage rend compte d'une responsabilité assumée. L'homme est responsable de *res publica*, il est de son devoir de parler de l'état de la nation, de présenter son passé et de penser son avenir.

Je peux affirmer que si mes collaborateurs parlent en leur propre nom, mes collaboratrices témoignent au nom de leur famille, de leur milieu (et ses valeurs) détruit par les communistes. Leur témoignage se caractérise par une aspiration vers les valeurs universelles des droits de l'homme.

Conclusions

Lorsque j'ai démarré mon enquête, j'étais à la recherche d'un effet d'authenticité qui aurait dû surgir des témoignages des anciennes persécutées. En tant que témoins, les femmes que j'ai interviewées ont récréé pour moi la communauté des prisonnières politiques; elles m'ont fait apparaître un monde disparu. Même si je suis restée toujours dans l'attitude d'une experte, n'ayant pas vécu cette expérience, je m'approprie cette mémoire à double titre, de femme et de Roumaine, devenant ainsi un "vecteur" de transmission de cette mémoire, l'inscrivant dans mon héritage.

Ma recherche a également joué un rôle dans le processus de reconquête mémorielle et identitaire de mes collaboratrices. Elle leur a offert à égale mesure la possibilité de dénoncer encore une fois le communisme. Ces femmes ont participé à mon enquête en espérant qu'un travail académique donnera une légitimation et une dimension scientifiques à leur témoignage. Éduquées et munies d'esprit civique, elles

ont la conscience de l'importance d'un travail de recherche pour la mise en théorie de leur expérience. La généralisation de leur vécu et sa mise dans un contexte plus large leur permettent de surpasser le trauma. D'ailleurs, la plupart d'entre elles ont collaboré à plusieurs autres projets scientifiques ou artistiques sur les persécutions politiques.

La méthode des récits de vie semble bien combler le sujet de la répression des femmes. La liberté donnée par l'entretien non directif a permis aux anciennes détenues politiques de raconter seulement les aspects de leur vie qui leur convient le mieux. Les questions auraient pu sembler indiscrettes et auraient pu donner l'impression que je ne m'intéresse qu'à ma recherche.

A Short Review over the Evacuation of the Administrative Archives of Caliacra and Durostor Counties Following the Cession of Southern Dobrudja in 1940

Virgil Coman

Keywords: *Archives' Evacuation; Southern Dobrudja*

Previous to establish the sense of our investigation, it is necessary to specify that in a first instance we intended to approach the matter of the evacuation of all the categories of documents belonging to the National Archival Fonds that had been created in Caliacra and Durostor counties between 1913 and 1940, meaning in the period when they were part of Romania. Unfortunately, the documentary testimonies identified by now have not allowed us to completely clarify the issue. Henceforth, the present study confines itself to the administrative archives that had been evacuated from the two counties in the second half of 1940, as a consequence of the cession of Southern Dobrudja towards Bulgaria. However, the precursory moments had taken place in the summer of 1939.

The failure of the British-French-Soviet negotiations¹ on the one side, and the conclusion of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement on August 23, 1939² – that shared the domination and influence areas in Eastern Europe – on the other directed towards a new conflict. Only few days after, having the deterioration of the international relationship in the background, the Second World War would outbreak, on September 1, 1939, when Poland was invaded by the Germans³.

After the opening of the military operations and the proclaiming of the Romanian neutrality on September 6, 1939, the diminishing of the political-military isolation and the preservation of the territorial integrity of the country became the major objectives for the Romanian diplomats.

It was during the first months of 1940 when, having the divergences of opinions and national interests as background, the co-operation relations inside of the Balkan Agreement deteriorated. The growing process of political isolation of Romania and the more and more intense pressures exerted by nazi Germany – which

¹ *România în relații internaționale 1699-1939* (coord. by Leonid Boicu, Vasile Cristian, Gheorghe Platon), Iași, 1980, p. 517; Ioan Talpeș, *Diplomație și apărare. Coordonate ale politicii externe românești 1933-1939*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 307; Viorica Moisuc, *Premisele izolării politice a României (1919-1940)*, Bucharest, 1991, p. 361-362; Eric Hobsbawm, *O istorie a secolului XX. Era extremelor. 1914-1991* (transl. by Liliana Ionescu), Bucharest, 1999, p. 165-166.

² In this sense, see generally Em. Bold, I. Ciupercă, *Europa în derivă (1918-1940). Din istoria relațiilor internaționale*, Iași, 2001, p. 221-257; Gh. Buzatu, *România și Marile Puteri (1939-1947)*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 41-52.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 55; V. Moisuc, *op. cit.*, p. 362-366; I. Talpeș, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

needed the Romanian grains and oil in order to maintain a far-reaching conflict – on the one side, along with the Allies' failures on the Western front and King Charles II's wish to preserve his throne, would represent the main causes of the new direction of the Romanian policy towards the Axis powers. Thus, on May 28, 1940, the renunciation to the traditional foreign policy of Romania and the approaching to Germany were discussed and recommended in a broadened assembly ordered by the Romanian king and assisted by the main members of the Council of Ministers⁴.

The new political-diplomatic direction proved to be unrealistic for the Romanian political circles, since Germany was not interested in preserving the *statu quo* of Romania and neither was willing to take any pledge in this sense. Therefore, consequent to the ultimati on June 26-27, 1940 directed to Bucharest, the Soviets occupied Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and the county of Herța. Naturally, the revisionist approaches of Bulgaria and Hungary were amplified.

On July 4, 1940, King Charles II encharged Ion Gigurtu to form the government, the portofolio of the Foreign Affairs being entrusted to Mihail Manoilescu⁵. Confronted with all possible pressures, the two statemen visited Berlin and Rome on July 26-27, 1940, discussing with Hitler, Ribbentrop, Mussolini and Ciano, the conclusion being that the Romanian state should peacefully satisfy the Hungarian and Bulgarian territorial claims. The Treaty of Vienna on August 30, 1940, by virtue of which Hungary annexed Northeastern Transylvania, would be followed by the Treaty of Craiova. Practically, Romania was forced to cede Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, that is Caliacra and Durostor counties⁶.

Thus, it resulted the Romanian-Bulgarian Conference in Craiova, which proceedings took place between August 19 and September 7. It had to settle the technical matters of the treaty's form, territorial matters, exchange of population⁷ and last but not least the indemnifications. It is no less true that since August 8 the government of Marea Country summoned the prefects of Caliacra, Constanța, Durostor and Ialomița counties, in order to settle some decisions regarding the evacuation of the Romanian inhabitants in Southern Dobrudja (Cadrilater). Six days later, the Royal Governor of Marea Country, Traian E. Grigorescu, submitted *Studiul asupra evacuării județelor Durostor și Caliacra* [*Study upon the evacuation of Durostor and Caliacra counties*] to the superior authorities involved in the settlement of this dispute. The study enumerated the basic principles that were to be implemented during the process⁸. Moreover, between August 15 and 20, the Office

⁴ Academia Română, *Istoria Românilor*, VIII: *România întregită 1918-1940* (coord. by Ioan Scurtu), Bucharest, 2003, p. 546.

⁵ Stelian Neagoe, *Istoria Guvernelor României de la începuturi – 1859 până în zilele noastre – 1995*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 135.

⁶ Adrian Rădulescu, Ion Bitolcanu, *Istoria Dobrogei*, second revised edition, Constanța, 1998, p. 438.

⁷ Virgil Coman, *Mișcări de populație în ținutul dintre Dunăre și Marea Neagră. Meglenoromâni între 1940-1948*, in *Dobrogea – model de conviețuire multietnică și multiculturală* (coord. by Virgil Coman), Constanța, 2008, p. 299-337.

⁸ Valentin Ciorbea, *Evoluția Dobrogei între anii 1918-1944. Contribuții la cunoașterea problemelor geopolitice, economice, demografice, sociale și ale vieții politice și militare*,

of Evacuation was established in Marcea Country and on August 20 it issued *Instrucțiuni în vederea evacuării Dobrogei de Sud (Cadrilaterul)* [*Instructions regarding the evacuation of Southern Dobruđja (Cadrilater)*]. They brought a series of completions and changes to the document issued on August 14 by the Royal Governor Traian E. Grigorescu⁹.

The evacuation of the archives¹⁰ was stipulated in *Capitolul XII – Diverse* [*Chapter XII – Miscellanea*]:

“Autoritățile vor pregăti din timp arhivele ce trebuie luate procurându-se lăzile necesare. Pentru actele de stare civilă se va proceda astfel: pentru nașteri și morți, pentru anii trecuți începând de la 1913, urmează să se ia registrele de stare civilă de la tribunal; pentru anul în curs, comunele urmează să ridice toate dosarele privind pe locuitorii ce se evacuează; asemenea actele de naționalitate. Comunele locuite numai de români vor ridica întreaga arhivă, iar acele comune care nu au depus registrele la tribunal sau nu le au la curent pe cele în curs pentru tribunal, le vor ridica pe cele originale, urmând ca ulterior să se înapoieze, după ce vor fi copiate.

Domnii prefecti vor da ordine precise, controlând executarea acestei prescripții.

Se vor ridica toate cazierile funcționarilor care se evacuează. De asemenea actele fondului pentru concentrați, soldul comunelor, sinistrați etc.

The authorities will prepare the archives that should be taken in time, by providing the necessary chests. For the acts of civil status one should proceed this way: for births and deceases in the past years since 1913, the registers of civil status should be taken from the court; for the present year, the communes should collect all files that regard the inhabitants that are to be evacuated. The same is for the acts regarding nationality. The communes inhabited exclusively by Romanians will collect the whole archive, while those communes that had not hand the registers in the court or have not those [acts] that are current in order for the court will collect the originals, and following their copy they [the acts, emphasis mine] would be returned.

The prefects will issue precise orders, controlling this regulation's putting into practice.

All the evacuated functionaries' records will be collected. The same is for the acts of the fonds for those reservists, the communes' balance, the victims of disasters, etc.”¹¹.

Constanța, 2005, p. 260; see also Ion Giurcă and Ion Crînguș, *Cedarea și evacuarea Cadrilaterului în anul 1940, în Dobrogea 1878-2008. Orizonturi deschise de mandatul european* (coord. by Valentin Ciorbea), Constanța, 2008, p. 463.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 463-464.

¹⁰ For this topic, see also V. Coman, *Unele considerații privind evacuarea arhivelor din Dobrogea de Sud ca urmare a aplicării prevederilor Tratatului de la Craiova din 7 septembrie 1940, “Arma Pontica”*, no 3 (12), October 2012, p. 10-12.

¹¹ Florica Dobre, Vasilica Manea, Lenuța Nicolescu, *Anul 1940. Armata română de la ultimatum la dictat. Documente*, III, București, 2000, p. 103-104.

The evacuations began as far back as in August 17 august. By August 20, only the cattles, especially the ships, were transported. Beginning with this date the inhabitants began also to be evacuated, so that by September 3 the number of families was 5,249, meaning 17,933 inhabitants, who were transported with around 15,000 carts in established settlements¹².

On September 6, 1940, King Charles II abdicated and in the same day his successor Michael was sworn as king. At the same time, the political regime in Romania came into a new stage of evolution, in which the prevailing figure would be Ion Antonescu¹³. Taking advantage of increased powers conferred to him by the decree signed by the new king, the new prime-minister would assume the mission of the state surveillance since the very first day of his office, under the new circumstances of the territorial losses in the summer of 1940¹⁴. The treaty of Craiova would be signed on the very next day by Alexandru Cretzianu and Henri G. Meitani from the Romanian side and by Svetoslav Pomenov and T. Papazoff in the name of the Bulgarian delegation¹⁵. It had seven articles, subsequently followed by a “*Protocol la articolul I al Tratatului semnat la Craiova la 7 septembrie 1940 (Anexa A)* [Protocol to Article 1 of the Treaty concluded at Craiova on September 7, 1940]”, and then by “*Acord privitor la modalitățile de evacuare și de transferare a*

¹² Virgil Coman and Nicoleta Grigore, *Schimbul de populație româno-bulgar. Implicațiile asupra românilor evacuați. Documente (1940-1948)*, Constanța, 2010, p. 133-136.

¹³ Academia Română, *Istoria românilor* cit., VIII, p. 598.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 565-598. For the matter of the Romanian-Bulgarian population exchange and its implications over the evacuation of the Romanians as they were debated in the assemblies of the Council of Ministers during Ion Antonescu government, see generally Arhivele Naționale ale României, *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri. Guvernarea Ion Antonescu, I-XI: Septembrie 1940-august 1944*, Bucharest, 1997-2008.

¹⁵ For the Treaty of Craiova on September 7, 1940 and its implications, see also Ministerul Regal al Afacerilor Străine, *Tratat între România și Bulgaria semnat la Craiova, 7 septembrie 1940*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 4-18; Dimitrie Gherasim, *Schimbul de populații între state*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 88-115; V. Ciorbea, *op. cit.*, p. 449-480; Idem, *Tratatul de la Craiova (7 septembrie 1940)*, “România de la Mare” 3 (1994), 3-4, p. 55; Adrian Năstase, *Drepturile persoanelor aparținând minorităților naționale – Reglementări în dreptul românesc – 1918-1989*, III (ed. by Roxana Frailich), Bucharest, 1998, p. 245-255; Ion Giurcă, *Anul 1940. Drama României Mari*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 148-181; Dorel Baneș, *Social și național în politica guvernului Antonescu*, Bucharest, 2005, *passim*; Gheorghe Zbucnea, *Tratatul de la Craiova – parte integrantă a Dictatului de la Viena*, “Document. Buletinul Arhivelor Militare Române” 3 (2000), 2 (10), 2000, p. 25-32; Corneliu Mihail Lungu, Ioana Alexandra Negreanu, *România în jocul Marilor Puteri 1939-1940* (second edition, with an introd. by Dinu C. Giurescu), Bucharest, 2003, *passim*; Aurel Preda-Mătășaru, *Tratatul între România și Bulgaria semnat la Craiova la 7 septembrie 1940. Trecut și prezent*, Bucharest, 2004, *passim*; Constantin Tudor, *Administrația românească în Cadrilater, (1913-1940)*, Călărași, 2005, p. 300-309; George Ungureanu, *Chestiunea Cadrilaterului. Interese românești și revizionism bulgar (1938-1940)*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 111-129; Idem, *Problema Cadrilaterului în contextul relațiilor româno-bulgare (1919-1940)*, Brăila, 2009, p. 355-359; Cătălin Negoită, *Țara uitată. Cadrilaterul în timpul administrației românești 1913-1940*, Craiova, 2008, p. 460-518; I. Crînguș & I. Giurcă, *Cedarea și evacuarea Cadrilaterului în anul 1940*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 2010, p. 9-410; Fl. Dobre & V. Manea & L. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 1-392; V. Coman & N. Grigore, *op. cit.*, p. 7-422.

teritoriului (Anexa B) [Agreement regarding the methods of evacuation and transfer of the territory (Appendix B)]”, “*Declarațiune* [Statement]”, “*Acordul privitor la schimbul de populație română și bulgară* (Anexa C) [Agreement regarding the exchange of Romanian and Bulgarian population (Appendix C)]” and “*Acord financiar* (Anexa D) [Financial Agreement (Appendix D)]”¹⁶.

The situation of the archives was stipulated on point 2 in Appendix B, as follows:

“Arhivele comunelor și județelor, ca și arhivele tribunalelor și celorlalte autorități publice de stat existând în teritoriul transferat Bulgariei, vor fi remise autorităților bulgare. De asemenea, li se vor remite planurile cadastrale care sunt depuse în teritoriul transferat. În ceea ce privește planurile și registrele cadastrale depuse la București și alte documente, se vor remite guvernului bulgar copii certificate.”

The archives of the communes and counties, along with those of the courts and other state public authorities on the territory transferred to Bulgaria, will be delivered to the Bulgarian authorities. The cadastral plans in the transferred territory will be also delivered. As for the cadastral plans and registers deposited in Bucharest and other documents, copies will be remitted to the Bulgarian government.”¹⁷

The responsibility over the evacuation and transport of the inhabitants subject to the compulsory exchange of population devolved upon the Romanian-Bulgarian Mixed Committee, in co-operation with the General Commissariat for Population Exchange and with the Romanian and Bulgarian military and administrative authorities¹⁸.

The setting up of the General Plan for Evacuation devolved upon the General Commissariat, in agreement to the Mixed Commission. As the head of this organism a general commissary was appointed, whose office would be legally fulfilled by the Royal Governor of Marea Country, under the instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, the General Commissariat did not practically take the part invested with, especially after the abolition of the royal governments, the structure most highly involved in the operation of the population exchange being therefore the Romanian-Bulgarian Mixed Commission¹⁹.

The situation of the personal properties and buildings was also regulated, so that the Bulgarians that were subject to the population exchange were to lose their initial citizenship and the rural real goods of the inhabitants transferred were considered “abandoned goods” and became part of the state. As for the urban real goods, they remained in the possessions of the keepers, getting under the jurisdiction of the country on which territory they were. Meanwhile, the persons that were

¹⁶ “Monitorul Oficial”, part I, no 212 in September 12, 1940, p. 5351-5365.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 5355.

¹⁸ D. Gherasim, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

subject of population exchange had the right to keep the personal properties, cattles, agricultural implements, etc. The rural goods in Caliacra and Durostor counties that belonged to the Romanian population that was not subject to the transfer could be liquidated in a term of 18 months after the remission of the ratification instruments, after which date they being able to be expropriated by indemnification by the Bulgarian state.

The evacuation of the Romanian authorities from Southern Dobrudja and the settlement of the Bulgarian ones was supposed to take place in the period between September 20 and October 1, 1940, every day and hour being specified so that the convoys of the countries do not come into contact²⁰. However, on September 9, 1940, the leadership of the Direction of the State Administration in the Ministry of Interior transmitted Telegram no 14.074 A to the Royal Governor of Marea Country, in which he mentions the general and particular instructions regarding the decisions to be taken in order that the Romanian-Bulgarian population exchange take place in optimal circumstances. This goal would have been finalised by December 15, 1940²¹.

On its turn, the leadership of the government of Marea Country, through the agency of the Evacuation Office set up and submitted several instructiuns in the territory, according to which it described in detail the instructions that were to be fulfilled by the organisms involved in the evacuation process. According to them, the authorities had the obligation to fulfill tasks such as: the extremely detailed preparation of the evacuation; the settlement of those evacuated and of the resources inside Marea Country, where their definitive residence was to be established; the evacuation and placing depending on the *plase*, led by persons that were to prepare and coordinate the entire operation; the locations settled for those evacuated, and so on.

In order to develop the evacuation process under the best circumstances, the Government of Marea Country-Office of Evacuation also issued Instructions No 4554 on September 3, 1940, which stipulated that the fulfillment of this goal would be put into practice after the negotiations in Craiova. Afterwards, they detailed the manner of evacuation for the authorities and their obligations, the limits of the new boundary and the control of the evacuation activity, the proceedings of the transfer of the public real goods, how the ceded territory would be evacuated, the situation of the abandoned harvests, and so on²². On September 9, the same authorities completed the above instructions with supplementary data, consequent to the conclusion of the Treaty of Craiova on September 7²³. Regarding the situation of the archives, the instructions contained the same proceedings as Appendix B of this treaty.

Actually, the Romanian authorities applied the proceedings of the instructions in August 20, the archives of the Caliacra and Durostor prefect's offices being temporarily evacuated, along with those of preturac of *plasă*, townhouses and

²⁰ Ministerul Regal al Afacerilor Străine, *Tratat între România și Bulgaria*, p. 4-18.

²¹ V. Coman & N. Grigore, *op. cit.*, p. 142-144.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 136-142.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 144-149.

other institutions. They were moved to Constanța and Ialomița counties and delivered to the prefect's offices, preturæ and townhouses in these two counties, where the refugees were initially settled²⁴.

According to the documents in the administration of Constanța County Office of the National Archives, it was on September 30, 1940 when the delivery-receiving minutes were signed for the archive of Durostor Technical Office to the prefect's office of Ialomița county, and on November 1 the one of Durostor prefect's office²⁵. As for the archive of Caliacra Technical Office, it was delivered to the prefect's office of Constanța county on the basis of the minutes on October 3, 1940, and on October 23 for the Caliacra prefect's office was deposited in 131 chests²⁶.

The data centralised at the level of the prefect's office of Constanța county demonstrate that the process of delivery-receiving of the archives evacuated from Caliacra county took place between October 1, 1940 and March 15, 1941²⁷. Henceforth, the praetura of the *plasa* Mangalia took over the archives of the praeturae of the *plasa* Balcic, the praetura of the *plasa* Constanța the one of the praeturae of the *plasa* Șabla, and the praetura of the *plasa* Negru Vodă the one of the praetura of the *plasa* Casim. On its turn, the townhouse of Constanța took over the archive of the townhouse of the city of Bazargic, the townhouse of the city of Mangalia the one of the townhouse of the city of Balcic, the townhouse of the city of Medgidia the one of the townhouse of the city of Cavarna, and the townhouse of the communes of Viroaga, Movila Verde, Agigea, Schitu, Cumpăna, Chirnogeni, Valu lui Traian, Bărăganu, Biruința, Darabani, Măgura, Cotu Văii, Osmancea, Albești, Tătaru, Techirghiol, Viișoara, Vâlcele, Tuzla, and Lipnița the archives of the communes of Arman, Carali, Ceairlighiol, Dropia, Duranlar, Chirnogeni, I. Gh. Duca, Gargalâc, Ghiaur-Suiuciu Șabla, Regina Maria, Preselenți, Prisăcani, Rogojina, Rasoviceni, Albești, Șerpeni, Spasova, Teche, Unirea, Vasilieva, Vulturești, and Chiose <Aidin?>/<Abdi?> respectively²⁸.

According to *Tabloul de arhivele administrațiilor locale din Cadrilater lăsate în păstrare în județul Ialomița* [Table of the archives of the local administrations in Cadrilater preserved in Ialomița county], the townhall of the city of Călărași had already taken the archives of the townhalls of the cities of Silistra and Turtucaia under its administration, while the townhalls of the communes Pietroiu, Cocargeaua (nowadays Borcea), Gâldău, Șocariciu (nowadays Unirea), Perișoru, Gârbovi, Valea Măcrișului, Bărcănești, Manasia, Coșereni, Eliza Stoienești (nowadays Pelinu), Grindași, Amara, Bora, Ghimbășani, Grivița, Ion Ghica, Miloșești, Pribegi, Traian, Cacomeanca (nowadays Grădiștea), Carol I (nowadays Nicolae Bălcescu), Dichiseni (partly), Găunoși (nowadays Gălățui), Mircea Vodă, Ulmu, Zimbru, Roseți, Ciocănești, Rasa, Cocora, Balaciu, Andrășești, Căzănești, Ciochina, Sf. Gheorghe, Dragalina, Mihai Viteazu, Ștefănești, Lehliu, Dor Mărunt,

²⁴ SJAN Constanța, fond Prefectura județului Constanța, file 69/1940, p. 158.

²⁵ Idem, fond Rezidența Ținutului Marea, file 20/1940 p. 59-59v, 96.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 2, 9-10, 12, 19, 24-27.

²⁷ Idem, fond Prefectura județului Constanța, file 69/1940, p. 171.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Răzvani, Radu Vodă, and Rași had taken those of Sahinlar, Beibunar, Pândâcli, Ghiulerchioi, Avdula, Curt-Bunar, Căzâlgicli, Cainargeaua Mare, Asfatchioi, Covangilar, Uzulchioi, Vischioi, Rahman-Așiclar, Denizler, Cusuul din Vale, Ezibei, Hardali, Ghelengic, Cămilaru, General Stan Poetaș, Hasi-Kioseler, Ceamurlia, Srebârna, Bazarghian, Haschioi, Arabagi, Golebina, Calipetrova, Garvăn Cioara, Bosna, Aidemir, Vetrina, Popina, Doimușlar, Kilikadi, Bazaurt, Stejaru, Florica, Echiscea, Bairam-Bunar, Aiorman, Caraorman, Balabanlar, Acadânlar, Doccelar, Sungurlar, Ciler, and Baharchioi respectively²⁹.

Towards the end of 1940 and during the first months of the next year, the Direction of Local Administration inside of the Ministry of Interior asked repeatedly to the Prefect's Office of Constanța county for situations regarding the state of the operations of delivery-receiving of the archives evacuated from Southern Dobrudja.

On March 11, 1941, address no. 005388 of the Ministry of Interior – Direction of the State Administration remitted to the Prefect's Office of Constanța county specified among others that:

“Întrucât între timp, Comisariatul Populațiunii evacuate și al recolonizării din Dobrogea a dispus în parte așezarea multor coloniști, trimițându-i pe comune întregi și în județul Tulcea, Ministerul Afacerilor Interne nu mai cunoaște locul unde se află arhivele fostelor primării din Cadrilater, dacă au rămas tot la primăriile din județele Constanța și Ialomița sau au fost duse în județul Tulcea. Față de această situațiune, vă rugăm să binevoiți a da dispozițiuni organelor din subordine să cerceteze la primăriile din județul dvs. dacă au în păstrare arhivele în cauză. Rezultatul centralizat, vă rugăm a-l trimite ministerului, într-un timp cât mai scurt.

Since in the meantime the Commissariat of the evacuated population and for the recolonisation in Dobrudja disposed partly the settlement of many colonists by sending them in many communes and in Tulcea county, the Ministry of Interior was not able to know anymore where the archives of the former townhalls from Cadrilater were, whether they still remained at the townhalls in Constanța and Ialomița counties or were taken to Tulcea county. Confronted by such a situation, we ask you to be willing to give orders to the subordinate organisms to make a research in the townhalls in your county in order to find out whether they preserve the abovementioned archives. We ask you to send the centralised result to the ministry as soon as possible.”³⁰

The situation of the archives evacuated from Southern Dobrudja was unclear even for the General Commissariat of Dobrudja in Constanța, as it results from address no. 12772 on April 24, 1941:

“Avem onoarea a vă înainta în original un tablou de comunele evacuate din județele Durostor și Caliacra, cu arătarea comunelor din județele Tulcea și

²⁹ SJAN Ialomița, fond Prefectura județului Ialomița, file 283/1941, p. 63-68.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 167-167v.

Constanța unde au fost repartizate. Totodată, vă aducem la cunoștință că repartizarea s-a făcut în mod provizoriu, iar ultima rubrică referitoare la arhive nu a putut fi completată din lipsă de date.

We are honoured to forward the original of a table of the communes evacuated from Durostor and Caliacra counties, specifying the communes in Tulcea and Constanța counties where they were allocated. Meanwhile, we inform you that the allocation was done temporarily, while the last heading referring to the archives could not be completed because of the lack of data.³¹

Unfortunately, the evacuation of the archives from Caliacra and Durostor counties took place in haste and the personnel involved in this activity did not respect completely the provisions of the evacuation plan. Thus, on January 21, 1941, the Prefect's office of Tulcea county informed the Prefect's office of Ialomița county that the archive of the townhall of Trupcilar was already in the possession of the former mayor, Manea A. Leu, settled in the commune of Turda, Tulcea county. At the same time, it requested to be ordered to the subordinated authorities to take this archive in order to be delivered to the townhall of Muntenii-Buzău, since the former councillor had had no possibility to transfer it there³². On January 29, 1941, the notary of the townhall of Carol I in Ialomița county delivered a report to the prefect's office in which he presented the case of the archive of the townhall of Frașari, temporarily evacuated to the townhall of Roseți. He also requested to be ordered to the secretary Ion Pană, who administered it, to finalise the proceedings of delivery-receiving³³. Another example is the one of the archive of the townhall of Carasular that should be taken by the townhall of Bordușelu, Ialomița county, but had been delivered by the former mayor Gheorghe Voicu, originated in Chirnoieni, Constanța county, on January 30, 1941, to the townhall there³⁴.

According to the report of the former notary of the townhall of Dragoș Vodă, dated February 7, 1941, it results that he had transferred the archive to Constanța through the agency of the Police of Bazargic previous to the evacuation of Southern Dobruja, since he had worked as informer at the Romanian-Bulgarian mixed Commission as encharged by the Ministry of Interior. In the moment when this document was created, the archive was in his possession and he was supposed to deliver it to the townhall of Slobozia Nouă³⁵. It was neither the townhall of Sărățeni to finalise the documentation for delivery-receiving of the archive of the townhall of, and neither the townhall of Rovine for the archive of the townhall of Enigea, as it results from a report of the praetura of *plasa* of Căzănești submitted to the prefect's office of Ialomița county on February 14, 1941³⁶. On his turn, the former mayor of the commune of Belica would make a request to the prefect of Ialomița county so

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 158.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 22.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

³⁴ *Idem*, file 282/1941, p. 12.

³⁵ *Idem*, file 283/1941, p. 33.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

that the archive of this townhall, temporarily deposited at Oltenița, be transferred at the townhall of Moldoveni³⁷.

We consider as illustrative the several examples that clearly attest that the plans of evacuation for the archives in Caliacra and Durostor counties were precisely put into practice. Moreover, alongside the final settlement of the refugees from Ialomița county to the counties of Constanța and Tulcea, a part of these archives were the subject of another process of transference, which would not remain without effects. Henceforth, some of them were destroyed during the evacuation, while some others in the following years, because of the negligence of the office workers that were supposed to take care of them³⁸, of the disasters during the Second World War and even as a result of some fires. The latter was the case for the archive of the prefect's office of Caliacra county, destroyed in the evening between July 28 and 29, 1948 when the basement of the prefect's office of Constanța county where the documents were deposited broke out in flames. According to the minute set up by the commission nominated to search the causes of fire, it was mentioned that "*în starea în care se găsește această arhivă a Prefecturii jud. Constanța, fostului Ținut Marea precum și fostei Prefecturi Caliacra pe anii 1919-1943 inclusiv, care de asemeni se găsea depozitată în subsolul acestei clădiri, cu greu se mai poate reconstitui vreun act ce eventual s-ar cere de vreo instituție sau particular* [considering the state of this archive at the prefect's office of Constanța county, the former Marea country and the former prefect's office of Caliacra for years 1919-1943, which was also deposited in the basement of this building, it is extremely difficult to restore any act that could be requested by any institution or private person]"³⁹.

However, in order to have a clearer image of the complex matter of the archives' evacuation from Caliacra and Durostor counties, it is undoubtedly necessary to endeavour a detailed research of the documents issued by both the administrative authorities and the other institutions where they had been temporarily transferred.

Translated from Romanian by Șerban V. Marin

³⁷ Idem, file 282/1941, p. 11.

³⁸ For the archive evacuated in Ialomița county that suffered destructions due to the negligence of the office workers involved in its care, see also Nicolae Țiripan. *Arhivele Naționale - 50 de ani de activitate. În anii '50 istoria se păstra în pod*, "Pământul" 8 (632), February 28-March 6 2002, p. 3. Actually, we should thank for our better knowledge of the topic to the goodwill of our colleague Nicolae Țiripan, who identified several documents regarding this matter in Călărași branch of the National Archives and sent us a series of copies. For this reason we express our gratitude. See for instance BJAN Călărași, file 1/1952, p. 10-11, 40-41v; file 1/1953, p. 12-13, 16, 150-151v.

³⁹ SJAN Constanța, fond Inspectoratul General Administrativ Constanța, file 5/1948, p. 62.

Jacques Baret, seigneur de La Galanderie. L'écrivain et son œuvre*

Emanuel Constantin Antoche

Keywords: 17th Century Moldavia; Samuel Korecki; Charles de Joppecourt; Jacques Baret; French baroc literature

Dans une étude que nous avons consacrée, bien des années auparavant, à l'*Histoire sommaire des choses plus mémorables advenues aux derniers troubles de Moldavie*¹, nous nous sommes proposé d'effectuer quelques recherches supplémentaires sur Jacques Baret, seigneur de La Galanderie (1579-vers 1650). Celui-ci rédigea en effet, l'ouvrage suscitée concernant les événements tragiques auxquels fut confrontée la famille de l'ancien prince Jérémie Movila, dont l'épouse Elisabeth Movila Lozinschi ainsi que ses derniers rejetons mâles finirent enchaînés à la merci du padichah qui régnait sur les rives du Bosphore (1616)².

Il n'est plus question de s'attarder davantage sur la valeur historiographique et bibliophilique de l'*Histoire sommaire*, soulignée pertinemment par Nicolae Iorga dans *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains*:

“[...] Et le récit de ces exploits de guerre, fait oralement, par le gentilhomme lorrain Charles de Joppecourt, fut publié par un autre Français, Baret, à Paris, en 1619... Joppecourt prit part, bien entendu, à la plupart des combats entre les deux partis, qu'il raconte, en commençant par l'année 1607. Il n'était pas seul: la veuve du prince Jérémie Movilă, le protégé des Polonais, avait engagé pour soutenir les droits des son jeune fils Alexandre un capitaine de routiers français,

* Cette étude a été effectuée dans le cadre du projet *Științele socio-umaniste în contextul evoluției globalizate – dezvoltarea și implementarea programului de studii și cercetare postdoctorale*, développé par *Academia Română* en collaboration avec l'EHESS (contrat POSDRU 89/1.5/S/61104).

*Histoire sommaire des choses plus mémorables advenues aux derniers troubles de Moldavie. OÙ sont décrites plusieurs batailles gagnées tant par les Princes Polonois, que par les Turcs, et Tartares: Ensemble l'évasion admirable du Prince Correcki des Tours noires du Grand Turc, par l'invention et assistance d'un Parisien. Composée par M. Jacques Baret Avocat en Parlement sur les mémoires de Charles de Joppecourt Gentilhomme Lorrain, qui portoit les armes durant ces troubles à la suite des Princes Polonois. A Paris, chez Toussaint du Bray, MDCXX, in 8°. Ses 374 pages sont réparties en soixante-dix-sept chapitres sans compter les douze folios non numérotés qui comprennent le titre, l'avant-propos, ainsi que l'extrait du privilège du roi, daté le “[...] septiesme jour d'Aoust 1620”. Deux exemplaires de l'ouvrage se trouvent d'ailleurs répertoriées dans le *Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, “Auteurs” 78 (1923), sous les cotes J. 16. 644 et M. 17. 266.*

² E. C. Antoche, *Le gentilhomme lorrain Charles de Joppecourt et l'histoire de la principauté de Moldavie dans la deuxième décennie du XVII^e siècle*, in *Combattre, Gouverner, Écrire. Etudes réunies en l'honneur de Jean Chagniot*, Paris, 2003, p. 26-27.

Montespin, qui commandait «soixante cavaliers françois, armés de toutes pièces» ... Lorsqu'Alexandre fut contraint de se retirer à Hotin, la «compagnie française» était dans sa suite: dans une reconnaissance sur le Pruth, à Ștefănești, ces soldats d'élite furent cependant surpris par les Tatars et, bien qu'ils «avoient accoustumes d'estre tousjours vainqueurs», cinq seuls en échappèrent. Mais Tomșa se hâta de racheter le capitaine, qu'il fit entrer à son service. C'est pourquoi Joppecourt est en mesure de raconter aussi les actes suivants de ce drame militaire qui finit par la victoire durable de l'influence turque. Le reste, les aventures d'une sœur d'Alexandre, femme du Polonais Korecki, devenue prisonnière des Tatars, est arrangé par Baret pour en faire une longue nouvelle romantique, dans laquelle il mêle les souffrances d'un esclave français à Constantinople, le capitaine Rigaut, qui parvint à se sauver en même temps. **Tel qu'il est, cet opuscul, bien informé et souvent très précis, est le premier livre qu'un Français ait consacré aux vicissitudes des Roumains³.**

Afin de rendre justice à cet écrivain il serait plus approprié de renoncer aux vieilles convenances et habitudes et le citer finalement à la place du chevalier lorrain, dont on ne sait pas grande chose sur sa biographie, à part les informations insérées dans le titre de l'*Histoire sommaire*⁴, ni sur l'existence prouvée de son

³ N. Iorga, *Histoire des relations entre la France et les Roumains*, Jassy, 1917, p. 33-36, (éd. française, Paris, 1918). Une autre analyse dans Iderm, *Istoria Românilor prin călători* (éd. Ad. Anghelescu), Bucarest, 1981, pp. 205-208. L'ouvrage de Baret fut reproduit avec des erreurs de transcription par Al. Papiu-Iliarian dans *Tesauru de Monumente Istorice pentru România*, II, Bucarest, 1863, p. 5-136, qui l'accompagna d'une traduction en roumain peu fiable, effectuée par le poète George Sion. Il s'agit de la version citée habituellement par les historiens qui l'utilise sans la confronter à l'original, ce qui peut conduire à des confusions ou à des erreurs d'interprétation. Voir notamment le cas de Șt. S. Gorovei, *Doamna Elisabeta Movilă. Contribuții pentru o biografie nescrisă*, in *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, II: *Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca*, Mănăstirea Sucevița, 2006, p. 297 note 122. Quelques fragments de la version de Papiu-Iliarian furent reproduits en roumain et analysés par M. Holban dans *Călători străini despre țările române*, IV, Bucarest, 1972, p. 378-414. Parmi les autres auteurs contemporains ayant étudié davantage l'*Histoire sommaire*, notons Al. Sadi Ionescu, *Bibliografia călătorilor străini în ținuturile românești*, Bucarest, 1926, p. 110-115 et C. Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, I: *De la începuturile neamului la epoca fanariotă*, Bucarest, 1932, p. 183-191. Elle fut insérée aussi dans la *Bibliographie franco-roumaine* (éd. Al. et G. H. Rally), II: *Les œuvres françaises relatives à la Roumanie*, Paris, 1930, n° 4631, p. 25-26 avec les cotes enregistrées à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁴ "Charles de Joppecourt Gentilhomme Lorrain, qui portoit les armes durant ces troubles à la suite des Princes Polonois", mais aussi dans l'introduction "Au lecteur", p. bII, où Baret nous dit que Joppecourt, "[...] estoit prest de partir pour accompagner Monsieur le Duc d'Angoulesme en son Ambassade, comme de fait il s'y est depuis acheminé". Il ne s'agit pas d'une mission diplomatique qui avait pour destination la Moscovie comme l'avait bien affirmé M. Holban, *Călători străini* cit., p. 380 mais de l'ambassade de Charles de Valois duc d'Angoulême (1573-1650) envoyée en Allemagne par Louis XIII, initiative française qui, suite au traité conclu à Ulm le 3 juillet 1620, obtint la neutralité des princes protestants de l'Union évangélique dans le conflit qui opposait pour la possession de la couronne de Bohême, l'empereur Ferdinand II de Habsbourg à l'électeur palatin Frédéric V: *Ambassade extraordinaire de Messieurs les Duc d'Angoulesme, comte de Bethune, et de Preaux Chasteau-neuf. Envoyez par le Roy Louis XIII vers l'Empereur Ferdinand II et les Princes et Potentats d'Allemagne en l'année 1620. Avec les observations politiques de Monsieur*

manuscrit⁵, source qui aurait sans doute facilité la tâche de l'historien littéraire pour y saisir les éventuelles différences rapportées dans le texte par Baret. S'agissait-il des mémoires rédigés en français, sachant tout de même que Charles de Joppecourt ne maîtrisait pas bien cette langue comme il l'avait d'ailleurs avoué à ses convives lors de la soirée où ils firent connaissance⁶?

Baret avait d'ailleurs inséré dans son récit des informations, auxquelles, Joppecourt, malgré ses aventures guerrières dans les contrées moldaves, ne pouvait pas avoir accès. Avait-il vraiment voyagé à Constantinople pour regarder de près la prison ou fut enfermé Samuel Korecki (1586-1622) après la débâcle survenue à Drăcșani (Drăgșani ou Draxini), le 2-3 août 1616⁷? Il s'agissait du plus illustre prisonnier capturé par les Ottomans qui ne pouvaient pas se tromper sur son identité⁸,

de Bethune, employé en cette Ambassade... Paris, 1667. De même, *Sixiesme tome du Mercure françois...*, Paris, 1621, p. 138-147.

⁵ Selon Iorga il s'agissait plutôt d'un exposé fait oralement. Une autre hypothèse qui semble complètement erronée a été avancée par C. Rezachevici dans les notes critiques qui accompagnent *Istoria românilor* du même historien, V, Bucarest, 1998, p. 416 note 13: "*Radu Șerban a trecut atunci în Polonia, la sfârșitul lui iunie 1616, cu o oaste de lefegii, între care și francezul Charles de Joppecourt, care a relatat evenimentele, pentru a veni în ajutorul lui Alexandru Movilă, cu sprijinul căruia vroia să redobândească Țara Românească, dar nu a ajuns la timp pentru a mai lua parte la bătălia de la Drăcșani!*"

⁶ Baret, "Au lecteur", p. bII-III: "[...] A quoy le Gentilhomme respondit fort modestement, qu'il ne se sentoit capable de ce faire, attendu qu'il s'estoit beaucoup plus adonné aux exercices de Mars, que de Minerve, et d'ailleurs qu'il n'avoit pas la langue Françoisie bien familière, pour le peu de demeure qu'il avoit faict en ce païs ... Ce qui meut le maistre de la maison où nous estions, de luy dire de son propre mouvement, que s'il me vouloit mettre entre les mains ses memoires concernans les troubles de Moldavie, je les redigerois en forme d'Histoire, s'assurant que je ne l'en voudrois pas refuser, s'il m'en requeroit. Le Gentilhomme en estant demeuré d'accord, à la charge que son nom y fust inséré en teste [...]"

⁷ L'identification exacte du lieu dans N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova*, Bucarest, 1974, p. 267, 269, 281. De même, *Ghidul drumurilor din România* (dir. I. Cămărășescu), Bucarest, 1928, carte n° 7.

⁸ Contrairement à A. Iacob qui dans sa thèse de doctorat intitulée *Țara Moldovei în vremea lui Ștefan Tomșa al II-lea*, Brăila, 2010, est fermement convaincu de la présence et de la capture de Korecki à la bataille de Cornul lui Sas en 1612, p. 101-102 et notamment 99: "*Informații provenind de la Poartă, datate 26 septembrie 1612, confirmă sosirea în capitala otomană a lui Ștefan Potocki, Samuel Korecki și a celorlalți prizonieri poloni [...]*". L'auteur cite un rapport espagnol publié par Al. Ciorănescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese din arhivele din Simancas*, Bucarest, 1940, n° DXXVIII, p. 250. Selon cette source dont nous reproduisons le passage en question: "[...] *A 16 dió audiencia el Turco a un capitán que era llegado de la guerra de Moldavia contra Polonia, y llevó 80 cabeças de Polacos, y a 24 llegó capitán con 400 esclavos assimismo Polacos, y decia que Osmán Baxá que ha governado aquella guerra, llevaría consigo a dos principales de Polonia llamados el Potoschi y el Orrechi, y que no quedavan aún quietas aquellas cosas, porque tenían todavía los Polacos el castillo de Cotin, que es de importancia [...]*". Ce personnage dénommé *Orrechi* n'a rien à voir avec Samuel Korecki, qui à cette époque, combattait avec ses compagnons cosaques sur le théâtre d'opérations moscovite! Nous constatons qu'il s'agit de la transcription espagnole du polonais *Ureki*, le vornic moldave Nistor Ureche (père du chroniqueur Grégoire Ureche) qui reçut l'indigénat en 1607 et qui joua un rôle essentiel dans les préparatifs de l'expédition de 1612 en Moldavie. A. Iacob finit par conclure: "[...] *Potocki și Korecki au reușit totuși să scape cu viață, fiind răscumpărați din temnițele Porții. Samuel Korecki*

d'autant qu'une terrible querelle avait éclaté après son capture entre Iskender Pacha, le serdâr de l'expédition, et le prince Radu Mihnea⁹.

D'après l'*Histoire sommaire*, le seigneur polonais fut enfermé à vie

"[...] aux prisons de la Mer Noire, qui sont à cinq lieues de Constantinople ... lieu destiné pour la garde des prisonniers de grande importance ... On le reserra avec un Capitaine François, nommé Rigaut dans une petite chambre qui estoit au plus haute estage de l'une de ces Tours, en laquelle chambre il y avoit une fenestre assez ample pour y passer un homme, et toutesfois n'estoit aucunement barree, d'autant que la hauteur du lieu le rendoit hors de tout soupçon [...]"¹⁰.

Dans un rapport adressé au roi Louis XIII, le 25 mars 1617, le résident français à la Porte, Achille de Harlay baron de Sancy et de La Mole (1581-1646)¹¹ l'affirmait à son tour: "[...] et le duc Korecki aussi que pour toute Principauté a hérité une des tours de la Mer noire, où il est detenu prisonnier les chaînes aux pieds"¹². Mieux informé encore, l'ambassadeur hollandais, Corneille de la Haye (Cornelius Haga), écrivit que Samuel Korecki avait même hérité de la cellule du comte Stéphane Potocki (1558-1631), celui qui avait été capturé à Cornul lui Sas, et qui rançonné par le futur prince de Moldavie, Gaspar Gratiani, pour la somme de 23.000 thalers impériaux fut libéré par les Ottomans et put rentrer au pays¹³. Il s'agissait d'une des trois tours de la forteresse de Rumeli Hisar (connue aussi sous le nom de *Kara Kule*, "Les Tours Noires" ou "Les Tours de la Mer Noire")¹⁴, plus

*și-a obținut libertatea datorită lui Gașpar Grațiani, viitorul domn al Moldovei, care prin eforturi financiare și diplomatice a reușit să-i convingă pe demnitarii otomani să accepte răscumpărarea nobilului polon. Ștefan Potocki, ginerele lui Ieremia Movilă. s-a răscumpărat achitând o sumă consistentă demnitarilor otomani și a revenit în Polonia după un lung periplu prin Franța și Austria, unde a fost primit cu înalte onoruri" (!). Cette fois-ci, l'auteur renvoie à notre étude, *Le gentilhomme lorrain Charles de Joppecourt*, p. 34-35, mais sa version des faits ne correspond pas du tout, aux propos que nous avons tenus sur la captivité et la délivrance des deux seigneurs polonais!*

⁹ *Histoire sommaire*, chap. XLVI, p. 200-203.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, chap. LXXI, p. 236 et 334. Il est tout à fait évident que Korecki n'avait pas été enfermé à Yedi Kule, comme l'avaient déjà affirmé M. Holban. *Călători străini cit.*, p. 379, Șt. Andreescu, *Restituito Dactae*, II, Bucarest, 1989, note 26, p. 25 et II. Czamanska, *Între familie și stat. Relațiile familiale ale dinastiei Movileștilor în Polonia*, in *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, II, p. 266-267. De toute manière, il fallait lire attentivement la relation de W. von Craillssheim, *Ein gantz new Reysebuch*, publiée à Nuremberg en 1622 et reprise par Iorga dans *Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă*, "Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice", II^e série. 32 (1910), p. 26-27: "[...] Tot acolo, pentru liberarea ginerilor Doamnei: (La Rumeli-Hisar). «Darinnen in unserer Ankunfft zu erstgedachtem Constantinopel, neben andern Gefangenen, auch zween inn eyserne Band geschmidte vorneme polnische Herren gewesen: der ein war ein Budoffscki, der ander ein Cureckscki [...]"

¹¹ A son sujet, *Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, XVII, Paris, 1989, p. 662-663 avec bibliographie.

¹² Bibliothèque Nationale, fond français, ms. 16148, n° 29, fol. 75.

¹³ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, doc. XXXIX (29 octobre 1616), p. 50-51.

¹⁴ Edifiée par le sultan Mehmed II Fâth en avril – août 1452 sur la rive européenne du Bosphore en

précisément de “la tour de Sarudja Pacha”, située sur le côté droit (Nord), en regardant du Bosphore, qui servit de prison aux XVI^e-XVII^e siècles¹⁵.

Dans un autre rapport antérieur, datant du 9 juillet 1616, Corneille de la Haye avait mentionné que Samuel Korecki, ancien étudiant à l’Université de Leyde (Leiden) aux Provinces Unies (“[...] *die eenige iaeren geleden te Leyden gestudeert heeft* [...]”), se trouvait complètement ruiné suite à cette expédition moldave¹⁶. Cette information concernant ses études est confirmée par une pièce de théâtre attribuée à Richard-Jean de Nérée (1579-1628), *Le Triomphe de la Ligue. Tragédie nouvelle en cinq actes (et en vers), dédiée à très illustre et très magnifique Seigneur Samuel Korecki, comte de Korec*, dont un exemplaire se trouve conservé dans la réserve de livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale (voir les annexes I et II à la fin de l’article)¹⁷.

En revenant à Jacques Baret, la meilleure piste de recherche consiste à consulter directement *La Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle* d’Alexandru Ciorănescu. Ayant fait ses débuts d’historien dans la Roumanie de l’entre-deux-guerres, avant de prendre le chemin de l’exil comme beaucoup d’autres intellectuels marquants de l’époque, Ciorănescu connaissait cette source française sur la chute de la dynastie d’Ieremia Movila. La preuve en est que dans la

face d’*Anadolu Hisar* afin de verrouiller le détroit, art. *Rumeli Hisarı* (K. Kreiser) dans *Encyclopédie de l’Islam* (dir. H. A. R. Gibb, E. Lévi Provençal, J. Schacht, B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat), VIII, Leiden-Paris, p. 631.

¹⁵ Les deux autres tours, portent le nom de *Halil (Khalil) Pacha* et de *Zaghanos Pacha*, Ek. H. Ayverdi, *Osmanli mi’marisinde Fatih devri: 855-886 (1451-1481)*, Istanbul, 1954, p. 415-422 avec les plans, p. 418. Ayant vécu presque deux ans (1587-1589) à Istanbul comme apothicaire dans la suite de l’orateur impérial Bartolomäus Pezzen, Reinhold Lubenau (?-† 17 mai 1631) nous livre dans son journal de voyage, une description assez précise de la Kara Kule, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau (1573-1589)* (éd. W. Sahn), “Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr.”, 6-8 (1930), II^e partie, 1930, p. 3-6: “[...] Dans ce château gisent tous les grands seigneurs chrétiens qui ont été faits prisonniers, tous les chevaliers de Malte, des commandants florentins, espagnols ou allemands, des capitaines, des commandants, (compagnons «tendrich») et toutes sortes d’hommes nobles, dont certains restent enfermés plus de 20 ans et plus, et ne peuvent retrouver la liberté que s’ils peuvent s’évader par des intrigues (Pratiken), comme cela s’est déjà produit, en descendant la nuit par les fenêtres... Les ambassadeurs anglais et français, de même que le baile de Venise, font beaucoup pour les prisonniers: ils leur distribuent chaque année de grosses sommes d’argent et parfois certains sont libérés, ceux dont le Turc honore le maître ... Dans ce château on amène aussi beaucoup de janissaires qui sont tués nuitamment en cachette et jetés à la mer afin qu’aucune révolte des janissaires ne se produise [...]”.

¹⁶ Reprit par N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, doc. XXXIX, p. 49. Voir aussi l’article biographique sur Samuel Korecki (J. Maciszewski), dans “Polski Słownik Biograficzny”, 14 (1968-1969), p. 59-60.

¹⁷ Publiée à Leyde, de l’imprimerie de Thomas Basson, 1607, pet. in-8 de VIII - 136 pp. Richard-Jean de Nérée a été l’auteur de vers français accompagnant le recueil d’emblèmes de Pieter Cornelisz Hoofts, *Emblemata amatoria*, Amsterdam, 1611, ainsi que du *Sonnet sur Ostende assiégée* contenu dans *La Nouvelle Troye ou Mémorable histoire du siège d’Ostende*, Leyde, 1615. Suivre aussi les propos de Fr. Drujon, *Les livres à clef. Étude de bibliographie critique et analytique pour servir à l’histoire littéraire*, II, Paris, 1888, p. 945-946: “Pour établir une clef bien complète de cette intéressante tragédie, toute royaliste et que l’on a cru avoir été composée d’après les ordres d’Henri IV, il faudrait en faire une étude spéciale, tâche qui n’offrirait pas moins d’attrait à l’homme de lettres qu’à l’historien”.

bibliographie des œuvres de Baret – “Baret (Jacques), seigneur de La Galanderie, Tours, 1579-1650? Avocat” – il inclut la version roumaine d’*Histoire sommaire* publiée par Papiu Ilarian dans *Tesauru de Monumente Istoric* en 1863¹⁸.

On voit aussi que Baret avait écrit un second ouvrage édité à Paris en mai 1621: *Le chant du coq françois. Au roy. Où sont rapportées les prophéties d’un ermite, allemand de nation, lequel vivoit il y a six-vingts ans...* Le problème est de savoir comment Ciorănescu s’était rendu compte qu’il s’agit du même auteur, car les autres dictionnaires littéraires, biographiques ou bibliographiques sont peu explicites à ce sujet et entachés de nombreuses confusions.

Le *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et biographique d’Indre et Loire*, de Jean Carré de Busserolle, nous livre quelques maigres informations:

“Baret (Jacques), seigneur de La Galanderie, né à Tours en 1570, mort vers 1610, était fils de Jacob Baret, procureur du roi en la prévôté de Tours. Il a publié un ouvrage devenu très-rare aujourd’hui et intitulé: *Le chant du coq françois*, au roy, Paris, 1621, in 12”¹⁹.

Nous en apprenons davantage dans l’*Histoire de Touraine* de l’érudit Jean-Louis Chalmel, mais celui-ci pensait qu’il s’agissait de deux personnes différentes, d’autant qu’il y a plusieurs écrivains qui portent le même nom²⁰:

“I. BARET (JEAN), conseiller au présidial de Tours, ensuite lieutenant-général à Loches, né à Tours en 1511, et mort en 1580 fut un jurisconsulte très-estimé dans son temps...”²¹.

Son petit-fils René Baret, chevalier de l’ordre de Saint-Michel et maître-d’hôtel du roi, également né à Tours, est connu par un ouvrage intitulé:

¹⁸ Al. Ciorănescu, I: *Généralités, A-C*, Paris, 1965, p. 291, bibliographie de J. Baret: “*Histoire sommaire des choses plus mémorables advenues aux derniers troubles de Moldavie, composée par M. J. B., A. en P., 1620, 8°, 392 p. (9975); Histoire sommaire dans A. Papiu Ilarianu, Tesauru de monumente istorice, II. Bucarest, 1863, p. 5-136. (9976); Le chant du coq françois. Au roy. Où sont rapportées les prophéties d’un ermite, allemand de nation, lequel vivoit il y a six-vingts ans. P., 1621, 8°, III-221 p.*” Notons que Jacques Baret ne figure pas dans le *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le XVII^e siècle* (sous la dir. du cardinal G. Grente), Paris, 1954.

¹⁹ J.-X. Carré de Busserolle, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et biographique d’Indre et Loire et de l’ancienne province de Touraine. Publié par la Société archéologique de Touraine*, Tours, 1878, réédité photo-offset par J. Floch, Imprimeur à Mayenne, 1977, I, p. 136.

²⁰ J.-L. Chalmel, *Histoire de Touraine depuis la conquête des Gaules par les Romains jusqu’en l’année 1790*, IV, Paris, 1828, p. 18-19.

²¹ Nous avons de lui, *Coustume du Duché, et Bailliage de Touraine, Antiens ressorts et englaves d’iceluy: mises et redigées par escrit, en presence des gens des trois Estats dudit pays, par Messieurs Maistres Christophe de Thou President, Barthelemy Faye et Jacques Viole, Conseillers du Roy, en sa Cour de Parlement, Commissaires à ce deputez. A ceste dernière edition, est adjousté, le Stile et Forme de proceder és Cours et Jurisdiction Royalles, subalternes et inferieures dudit Duché. Faict par feu Maistre Jean Baret, Lieutenant General à Loches*, Tours, 1609. Il s’agit de la seconde édition, la première datant du 1591. Nous avons consulté cet ouvrage fort rare à la Bibliothèque Nationale en pensant que ce Jean Baret était vraisemblablement le grand-père paternel de Jacques Baret ou un de ses oncles.

De la parfaite connaissance des chevaux et de toutes leurs maladies; Paris, 1661.

Nous avons un autre Jean Baret qui pourrait être de la même famille, mais on n'a aucune certitude à cet égard. Celui-ci est auteur d'un livre qui a pour titre: Histoire des derniers Troubles de Moldavie, par Jean Baret, sur les Mémoires de Charles de Joppecourt; Paris, 1620, in-8.

II. BARET (JACQUES), sieur de la Galanderie, avocat, ensuite référendaire en la chancellerie de France, naquit à Tours en 1579, de Jacob Baret, procureur du roi en la prévôté de cette ville. Il paraît que, malgré sa profession, l'amour des belles-lettres l'emporta chez lui sur l'étude de la jurisprudence; et ce penchant décidé lui fit prendre pour devise, « sic vos vita beabit », anagramme de ses deux noms latinisés, « Jacobus Baretus ». Des deux seuls ouvrages qu'il ait publiés, l'un est encore recherché et mis au rang des livres curieux; il est intitulé: « Le Chant du Coq françois, au roy, où sont rapportées les prophéties d'un hermite allemand »; Paris, 1621, in-12. L'ouvrage se compose de deux parties: dans la première, qui contient le Chant du Coq, l'auteur s'efforce de prouver à Louis XIII qu'il doit aller combattre les Turcs pour les amener à la religion catholique. La seconde est un recueil de différentes révélations qui toutes tendent à annoncer le triomphe de l'église sur l'hérésie. Probablement la singularité et la rareté de l'ouvrage sont les seuls motifs qui lui donnent encore quelque prix.

On ignore en quelle année il mourut. A la page 49 du « Chant du Coq » son nom est signé Barret: mais ce ne peut être qu'une faute d'impression, car c'est incontestablement Baret qu'il se nomme²².

La *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* de Firmin-Didot reprend les propos de Chalmel et fait aussi la distinction entre Jacques Baret, auteur du *Chant du Coq françois* ..., et un certain Jean Baret, “[...] historien français du dix-septième siècle. Il rédigea, sur les Mémoires de Charles de Joppecourt, l’Histoire des derniers troubles de Moldavie [...]”²³. Quant à M. Prevost dans l'article “Baret (Jacques)”, *Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, il pense avec une certaine réserve que le seigneur de La Galanderie est bien l'auteur des deux ouvrages: “[...] On lui attribue également «Histoire sommaire des choses plus mémorables advenues aux derniers troubles de Moldavie, composée par M. J. B. A. en P., sur les mémoires de Charles de Joppecourt gentilhomme lorrain », 1620, mais ce livre a été attribué également à un Jean Baret”²⁴.

La seule piste de recherche qui aurait pu être suivie par Alexandre Ciorănescu était d'aller consulter *Le chant du coq françois* pour y chercher une référence à l'*Histoire sommaire*. Ainsi, à la page vingt-six on découvre que l'auteur s'adresse en ces termes au roi Louis XIII:

²² J.-L. Chalmel, *loc. cit.*

²³ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à 1850-1860... publiée par MM. Firmin Didot frères sous la direction M. le Dr Hoefer*, III-IV, Copenhague, 1964, p. 496.

²⁴ *Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, V, 1951, p. 447.

“[...] Sire, vostre Majesté a desia peu recognoistre que le Turc la redoubte, en ce que Osseman qui est à present regnant, (lequel ne tient conte d’aucun des autres Roys de l’Europe) a envoyé depuis trois ans deux divers Chahouz pour prier vostre Majesté avec grande instance d’excuser la violence faicte par Mustaffa son predecesseur, en la personne du sieur de Sancy, lors Ambassadeur en Levant, et à ses domestiques, lesquels il fait emprisonner pour un fait dont ils n’estoient aucunement coupables, comme il se void sur la fin de l’histoire des derniers troubles de Moldavie: laquelle recognoissance et submission n’eust jamais esté faicte par cest arrogant Corsaire du monde, s’il n’aprehendoit que vous rompiez l’alliance contractée entre vos predecesseurs et les siens [...]”²⁵.

Le privilège du roi date du 7 mai 1621: “Par privilege du Roy donné à Paris le 7. jour de May 1621. Signé Conrart: est permis à Maistre Jacques Baret, Advocat en la Cour de Parlement, faire imprimer un livre intitulé *Le Chant du Coq François...*” (voir annexe IV)²⁶. Nous ne disposons pas d’une prosopographie des avocats au Parlement sous l’Ancien Régime pour obtenir d’autres d’informations biographiques sur Jacques Baret²⁷, mais le fait qu’il soit seigneur de La Galanderie nous livre quelques données supplémentaires.

Le *Dictionnaire géographique de la France et de ses colonies* de Paul Joanne avait répertorié *La Galanderie* en tant que commune (102 ha), attachée à la petite ville de St. Cyr-sur-Loire (dép. d’Indre et Loire), dans la banlieue nord-ouest de Tours²⁸. Il semble que dans le courant du XX^e siècle, *La Galanderie* a été incorporée à cette ville, car elle ne figure plus dans les dictionnaires géographiques contemporains. De toute manière, il n’y a pas de doute quant à la parenté de Jacques Baret avec Jean Baret, l’éminent jurisconsulte, conseiller au présidial de Tours. Le père de Jacques, Jacob Baret avait été procureur du roi en la prévôté de cette ville, donc il s’agissait d’une famille au sein de laquelle beaucoup de personnages avaient effectué des carrières dans la magistrature.

Dans *Le Chant du Coq François*, ouvrage à caractère prophétique qui nécessite une recherche particulière, Jacques Baret s’efforce de prouver au roi Louis

²⁵ Jacques Baret, *Le chant du coq François. Au Roy. Où sont rapportées les propheties d’un Hermite Allemand de nation, lequel vivoit il y a six vingt ans, dont aucunes ont desia esté accomplies au royaume de Boheme, et Palatinat; et les autres predisent que le Roy doit reünir toutes les fausses religions à la Catholique, et se rendre Empereur de l’univers. Ce qui est encores confirmé par plusieurs autres predictions anciennes de Saints personnages bien approuvez*, Paris, 1621, p. 26-27.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, “Extrait du privilège du Roy”.

²⁷ A ce sujet, notamment R. De Lachenal. *Histoire des avocats au parlement de Paris: 1300-1600*, Paris, 1885; L. Damiani, *L’avocat au milieu du XVII^e siècle devant le Parlement de Paris*, “Revue de la Société internationale d’histoire de la profession d’avocat”. n° 8, Paris, 1996, p. 109-140; art. “Avocat” (J. L. Gazzaniga) dans *Dictionnaire de l’Ancien Régime* (dir. L. Bély), Paris, 2005, p. 117-119.

²⁸ *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France et de ses colonies, publié sous la direction de Paul Joanne*, III: E-K, p. 1595. Pour St. Cyr-sur-Loire, ancien fief des archevêques de Tours et d’Amboise, puis du chapitre de Saint-Martin de Tours, voir *Ibidem*, IV: Q-Sd, Paris, 1902, p. 1445. Notons aussi que dans V. A. Malte-Brun, *La France illustrée*, V, Paris, 1884, p. 92, La Galanderie n’est plus répertoriée en tant que commune.

XIII que celui-ci doit rejoindre la croisade contre les Ottomans pour les vaincre et les convertir à la religion catholique. Il en est déjà question dans l'*Histoire sommaire*, lorsque l'auteur traite des ambassades envoyées en 1618 à la cour de France par le sultan Osmân II: "[...] redoutant que sa Majesté n'arme quelque jour contre luy, et qu'il n'accomplisse les anciennes Propheties, portant, que l'Empire du Turc sera en fin subjugué par un Roy de France, issu de la tige du grand saint Louys, qui estoit de son temps la terreur des infidelles"²⁹.

Dans le discours qu'il adresse au monarque, Baret s'exprime sur les raisons qui l'ont poussé à écrire ce livre:

"Or mon dessein est, Sire, (sous le bon plaisir et permission de vostre Majesté, que je luy demande en toute humilité) de luy faire clairement voir que ce Cocq³⁰, voire deux pour un, ont chanté clairement, et partant que le temps s'approche fort auquel cette race maudite de Mahometans, et autres infideles, doit estre en partie exterminée, et en partie ramenée au parc de la sainte Eglise Catholique, tant par vostre valeur, que vostre singuliere pieté, dont j'apporte des marques si assurées, que j'estime que tout homme de sain jugement les tiendra pour infailibles, aussi bien que moy, qui ay en ceci simplement imité le pauvre glaneur, lequel ramasse soigneusement des espis en divers champs, dont il forme et grossit peu à peu la gerbe exempte d'yuraye et de toute autre impure semence. Le champ principal auquel j'ay recueilly cette petite moisson...est un livre qui fut composé par un Hermite, lequel vivoit il y a cent ans dans les Allemagnes, et fut imprimé en l'an 1417 en la ville de Lyon, avec privilege; ce qui le rend hors de tout supçon de supposition³¹.

Dedans ce livre (Sire) qui est compillé de plusieurs propheties tirées des escrits de S. Cyrille, sainte Brigide, et autres y denommez, sont predictes fort clairement les choses plus memorables advenues en Allemagne et Boheme depuis trois ans en ça, et specialement, qu'un Comte Palatin, chef des heretiques, et ennemy juré de l'Eglise Romaine (lequel pour cette cause il appelle « basylic veneneux ») se diroit Roy du royaume de Boheme, et s'en emparerait, mais qu'il ne le garderoit pas longuement, qu'il sera en fin vilainement assujecty³², et qu'après luy viendra un autre qui reduira l'Eglise de Prague à l'Eglise

²⁹ J. Baret, *Histoire sommaire*, chap. LXXVI, p. 336-337.

³⁰ "[...] C'est que comme le Cocq a un ascendant sur le Lyon, qui est tel, qu'il n'aprehende rien tant que de le voir, ou d'entendre son chant, ainsi que disent les Naturalistes. Aussi le Turc, appellé en divers endroits de ces propheties le Lyon sauvage, ne redoute rien tant que le Roy des Gaulois comparez aussi au Cocq en divers endroits de ce mesme livre..." Idem, *Le Chant du Coq françois*, p. 25-26.

³¹ La seconde partie du *Chant du Coq françois* contient un recueil de diverses révélations tirées du livre de l'Hermite qui tendent à annoncer le triomphe de l'église sur l'hérésie et la chute de l'Empire ottoman, intitulé *Recueil de diverses revelations, fait et compillé par l'Hermite, mentionné au discours precedent, qui est nommé par un autre autheur son contemporain, Reynardus Lholhardus, lequel recueil a été transcript fidellement sur l'original imprimé à Lyon en l'an 1417, avec privilege, qui est à present entre les mains du Roy*, p. 53-221.

³² Suite à la révolte des Praguois (la *Défenestration de Prague*, 23 mai 1618), la diète du royaume de Bohême offrit la couronne au jeune électeur palatin Frédéric V de Pfalz (il régna de 1619 à 1620), champion de la cause calviniste.

Catholique, et y sera faite nouvelle reformation. De plus, que ses subjects seront opprimez par ses ennemis.

La plus grande partie desquelles choses estant advenuës depuis trois mois (comme il est notoire à chacun) cela m'a fait adjoûter plus de creance à ce livre que je n'avois auparavant³³, et m'a incité de le relire, et considerer plus attentivement que je n'avois fait autresfois, et sur tout aux endroits où il est porté qu'environ ce mesme temps un de nos Rois de France fera de tres-grands et signalez exploicts de guerre contre les infidelles, voire qu'il les domptera tous à la fin. Ce que je pretens monstrier avoir esté predict de vostre Majesté, tant par les marques qu'en donne cet Hermitte dans son livre, lesquelles vous sont singulieres, que par la conference de plusieurs autres propheties plus anciennes tirées de livres orthodoxes, à quoy s'accordent aussi quelques pronostications astrologiques faictes et mises en lumiere pour la pluspart avant vostre naissance. A quoy je joindray encores plusieurs beaux anagrammes françois et latins heureusement rencontrez, tant sur le nom seul de vostre Majesté, que conjointement avec celuy du feu Roy (d'heureuse memoire et de la Royne vostre mere.)³⁴

Selon Baret, une éventuelle alliance entre les rebelles "hérétiques" de Bohême et les Ottomans représente une grave menace pour la chrétienté. D'où la prophétie que le roi de France unira ses forces avec le Saint-Empire pour combattre leurs ennemis communs jusqu'à la délivrance de la ville de Constantinople:

"Qu'auparavant que ces choses soient accomplies le Turc s'avancera encore grandement dans les terres de l'Empire, et affligera en beaucoup d'autres endroits la Chrestienté. A quoi faire il sera convié et suscité par ce miserable Comte Palatin, lequel aymera mieux estre cause de cette desolation, que de quitter le tiltre de Roy de Boheme, qu'il avoit temerairement usurpé, dont il sera en fin grievement chastié, et ceux qui l'assisteront. Car il est aussi predict que vostre Majesté et d'autres Princes Chrestiens, estans esmeuz de compassion et de zele, joindrez vos forces ensemble avec ce qui restera de celles de l'Empire, et apres avoir obtenu de grandes victoires contre ces infideles, les contraindrez de s'enfuyr honteusement, en les poursuivant vivement les forcerez d'abandonner Constantinople pour se sauver dans les desers d'Arabie, d'où ils ont tiré leur extraction. Voicy les propres termes de ceste prophetie.

Il est dict du Seigneur du Lys, La grande Aigle sera accompagnée avec la fleur de Lys, et se mouvra d'Occident en Orient à l'encontre du Lyon. Le Lyon n'aura point d'ayde, mais sera delaissé du Lys, et aura bonne odeur en Allemagne, et son honneur tres-grand volera dessus l'Aigle."³⁵

³³ Ce choix indépendantiste de la noblesse tchèque conduisit à l'intervention des troupes impériales et à la bataille de la Montagne Blanche (8 novembre 1620), victoire qui permit à Ferdinand II de Habsbourg de rétablir son autorité sur la Bohême insurgée.

³⁴ J. Baret, p. 3-5.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 40-41.

Nous sommes loin de pouvoir mesurer l'impact d'un livre comme *Le Chant du Coq françois* sur l'esprit des gens cultivés de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle. Certes, au XIX^e on croyait de moins en moins aux prophéties et certains auteurs étaient moins indulgents à l'égard de ce genre de littérature. On sait ce que Jean-Louis Chalmel a écrit dans l'*Histoire de Touraine* au sujet du *Chant du Coq françois*: "[...] probablement la singularité et la rareté de l'ouvrage sont les seuls motifs qui lui donnent encore quelque prix"³⁶. Plus sévère encore, F. Pluquet s'est moqué dans une brochure publiée à Saint-Lô, en 1829, de quelques écrivains qui se sont remarquables au fil du temps notamment par les "bizarreries" entassées dans leurs œuvres³⁷.

Le premier de la série est Guillaume Postel, né à Barenton vers 1505, un des savants les plus distingués de son siècle envoyé par François I^{er} en Orient. "En passant par Venise, il fit connaissance avec une vieille fille, prétendue inspirée, dont il adopta les rêveries: il composa même à sa louange un livre intitulé: «Les très-merveilleuses victoires des femmes du nouveau monde». (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1553, in-12). Il prétend que cette Vénitienne, qu'il appelait la mère Jeanne, devait racheter de nouveau le genre humain, qui ne pouvait être entièrement sauvé que par une femme"³⁸. Il s'agissait de la fameuse Giovanna Veronese ou la *Madre Giovanna* dont les prédictions imprégnées de millénarisme annonçaient l'avènement d'un nouvel âge dominé par une monarchie universelle. Ses prophéties affirmaient aussi la conversion des Turcs à la religion chrétienne³⁹.

Quant à Jacques Baret,

"[...] né aux environs d'Avranches, vers 1545, il fut un des disciples les plus dévoués de Postel, et adopta toutes ses rêveries. On a de lui un livre fort singulier, intitulé: «Le chant du Coq françois, où sont rapportées les prophéties d'un hermite allemand, qui annoncent que le Roi de France doit réunir toutes les fausses religions et se rendre empereur de l'univers» (Paris, 1621, in-8.). Parmi les absurdités entassées dans ce livre, on remarque un passage où l'auteur prédit que Barenton, pour avoir donné le jour à Guillaume Postel, deviendra une de plus célèbres villes du monde"⁴⁰.

³⁶ J.-L. Chalmel, *loc. cit.*

³⁷ F. Pluquet, *Notices sur les inspirés, fanatiques, imposteurs, béates, etc., du département de la Manche, Saint-Lô, 1829*, p. 5: "Plus qu'aucun autre des départements formés de l'ancienne Normandie, celui de la Manche a fourni des inspirés, des fanatiques, des imposteurs et des béates. Quelques notices biographiques sur ces personnages, pourront piquer la curiosité publique, et augmenter le chapitre, déjà si étendu, des erreurs et des extravagances de l'esprit humain".

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 5-6.

³⁹ Ses révélations furent consignées par Guillaume Postel dans plusieurs livres à partir de 1546-1547, lorsqu'il devient son confesseur et son père spirituel, J. P. Brach, *Guillaume Postel et l'illumination vénitienne*, in *La face féminine de Dieu* (dir. M. Cazenave), Paris, 1998, p. 41-61 et G. Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Paris, 2004, p. 97 avec la bibliographie du sujet. Pour l'esprit de l'époque voir aussi le chap. *Illuminés et possédés* dans B. Gibert, *Le baroque littéraire français*, Paris, 1997, p. 60-62.

⁴⁰ F. Pluquet, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.

On voit que Pluquet s'était trompé sur l'année de naissance de Baret. Ayant vécu ultérieurement, à l'époque de Louis XIII, celui-ci ne pouvait pas être le contemporain de Postel. Ainsi, le terme "disciple" doit être interprété avec une certaine nuance: il est fort probable que Baret avait été influencé par les prophéties de Giovanna Veronese et qu'il avait puisé de nombreuses informations dans les ouvrages de Postel, matière qui lui était d'ailleurs nécessaire à l'écriture du *Chant du Coq français*.

Afin de mieux cerner la personnalité de Jacques Baret, il nous semble également nécessaire d'identifier les écrivains qui lui avaient rendu hommage dans l'avant-propos d'*Histoire sommaire*:

- *Nancelius*, auteur de l'éloge *De Moldavia variis tumultibus jactata, tyrannoque Ottomano tandem mancipata, a Domino Baretio summae curiae patrono excerpta historia fide, et exscripta*⁴¹. Il s'agit de Pierre de Nancel (1570-1641?), né à Tours, – probablement un ami d'enfance de Jacques Baret – qui fit carrière dans la magistrature comme substitut au Parlement de Paris. On lui doit notamment *Le théâtre sacré. Dina ou le ravissement. Josué ou le sac de Jéricho. Débora ou la délivrance*, Paris, 1607 et *De la souveraineté des roys, poème épique divisé en trois livres*, Paris, 1610⁴².

- *L. D'Orleans*, identifié avec Louis d'Orléans ou plutôt Louis Dorléans (1542-1627), tel qu'il se trouve répertorié dans le *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises*. Avocat au Parlement de Paris et porte-plume passionné de la Ligue il s'en est pris à la politique de pacification au sens large (il se montra insatisfait de la Saint-Barthélemy) et fut un fervent partisan de l'alliance avec l'Espagne contre Henri de Navarre. Après la conversion du roi, il demeura neuf ans en exil aux Pays-Bas. De retour en France, il célébra ses anciens ennemis: le droit divin, Henri IV et la famille royale⁴³.

- *De Nerveze*, il s'agit d'Antoine de Guillaume-Bernard de Nervèze (1570-ap. 1622), gentilhomme poitevin, secrétaire de la chambre du roi Henri IV, poète et romancier. Auteur d'*Hiérusalem assiégée*, Paris, 1599; *Les amours d'Olympe et de Birone*, Lyon, 1605; *Les Poèmes spirituels*, Paris, 1606; *Les aventures guerrières et amoureuses de Léandre*, Paris, 1608; *L'Hermitage de l'Isle Sainte*, Paris, 1612, etc.⁴⁴

⁴¹ J. Baret, *Histoire sommaire*, p. bIV v°. Notre traduction: "Sur la Moldavie frappée par des troubles variées, finalement occupée par le tyran ottoman, histoire véritable et écrite par le sieur Baret, président de la Haute Cour."

⁴² A. Cioranescu, *op. cit.*, III: N-Z et index, 1969 p. 1511. A ne pas le confondre avec son père, Nicolas de Nancel (1539-1610), humaniste et médecin picard, professeur à l'université de Douai (1562-1564), Idem, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle*, Genève, 1975, p. 524-525. Voir aussi *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises. Le XVI^e siècle* (sous la dir. de M. Simonin), Paris, 2001, p. 883.

⁴³ "Dans ses œuvres poétiques, on retiendra ses poésies chrétiennes, ses quatrains moraux, le plan de la Maison chrétienne ou la Maison des vertus (en 830 quatrains), les amours de Silvie en 36 sonnets, des stances et des élégies", *Ibidem*, p. 370-371 avec la bibliographie complète de ses œuvres; A. Cioranescu, *op. cit.*, p. 534-535.

⁴⁴ *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises. Le XVI^e siècle*, p. 884 avec la bibliographie de ses écrits; A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, III, p. 1516-1517; A. Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle*, I: L'époque d'Henri IV et de Louis XIII, Paris, 1956, p. 105: "Secrétaire de la chambre du roi Henri IV, il se vantait d'avoir l'expérience de

D'ailleurs, Antoine Adam s'était montré fort critique envers ces écrivains sans goût, sans finesse, sans génie, qui déformaient jusqu'à l'extravagance le maniérisme de l'*estilo culto* espagnol⁴⁵, promoteurs d'une littérature romanesque, dénuée de toute sensualité:

"Elle est écrite au surplus par des écrivains sans talent et, le plus souvent, sans formation littéraire. Bon nombre d'entre eux ne sont même auteurs que par occasion. Ce sont des magistrats, ou plus souvent des gentilshommes. Ils n'écrivent que pour occuper leurs loisirs, se consoler, disent-ils, de peines amoureuses, et peut-être obéir à la maîtresse de maison dont ils fréquentent le cercle. Quelques-uns seulement sont gens de lettres et vivent de leur plume. Mais ces professionnels ne valent guère mieux que les amateurs.

On citera parmi eux Vital d'Audiguier, rimeur et romancier, protégé de la reine Marguerite, Du Souhait, et surtout Nervèze et des Escuteaux. Ces deux hommes annoncent à l'aube du XVII^e siècle le type moderne du tâcheron de lettres, qui accumule les livres, aborde tous les genres, attentif aux fluctuations de la mode, et singulièrement habile à se régler sur elle."⁴⁶

L'Histoire sommaire des troubles de Moldavie s'inscrit dans le même cadre littéraire et abonde en fragments qui chantent les "chastes et les infortunées amours" de Samuel Korecki et de la princesse Catherine Movila, ainsi que la malheureuse destinée de ce couple. Esclave dans les villages tatars d'Aqkerman où elle avait donné naissance à un fils, symbole de virilité, destiné un jour à venger ses parents, Catherine témoigne à son époux – emprisonné à vie dans la forteresse de Kara Kule – un attachement et un amour sans faille dans les épreuves qu'elle doit affronter, loin de son pays et de son foyer. Parti à la recherche de Korecki, Jacques le Polonois arrive à lui rendre visite dans sa cellule et à lui remettre les lettres qui lui annoncent qu'il est père d'un garçon, fruit de cette union sans lendemain. Le prince promet à Catherine de la faire libérer et de lui léguer ce qui reste de sa fortune, conscient qu'il ne pourra plus jamais la revoir.

la Cour et du monde. Il a écrit une douzaine de romans, des poésies galantes, des «Epîtres morales» et des poèmes spirituels. Mainard parle du temps où Nervèze «fut le roy des orateurs» et une Mazarinade raconte qu'il fut, avec Des Escuteaux, «le mignon des dames». Les livres de ces deux auteurs faisaient autorité chez elles".

⁴⁵ Ou le "cultéranisme". D. Souiller, *La littérature baroque en Europe*, Paris, 1988, p. 56; B. Gibert, *op. cit.*, p. 36-37 qui énumère le "conceptisme" de Baltasar Gracian et le "cultisme" de Góngora (où s'ajoute l'idée d'élégance cultivée).

⁴⁶ A. Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105. De même B. Gibert, *op. cit.*, chap. "Méandres d'un discours amoureux", p. 234-235: "[...] La France connaît alors, autour de 1600, une floraison éphémère du roman sentimental et «platonique»: «Généreuses et Pudiques Amours, Adventureuses et Fortunées Amours, Vertueuses et Fidèles Amours, Constantes et Douces Affections», et surtout (la formule apparaît dans les titres par dizaines) «Chastes et Infortunées Amours»: l'inébranlable fidélité des héros est en butte aux obstacles les plus «feuilletonesques», dans les équipées les plus folles et les péripéties les plus répétitives, jusqu'à la fin la plus heureuse. Mais c'est moins par leur affabulation que par leur langage que les noms de deux auteurs principaux Des Escuteaux et Nervèze, sont restés connus".

Il est tout à fait évident que cette fresque romanesque, pourtant bâtie sur des faits réels, est le fruit de l'imagination de Baret qui aurait voulu rendre le récit palpitant auprès des lectrices parisiennes de l'époque, public qui raffolait des romans évoquant de tragiques histoires d'amour ayant comme cadre les contrées mystérieuses et exotiques de l'Orient où les "méchants Turcs" occupaient une place de prédilection⁴⁷. Sans jamais voyager dans ces régions du monde, loin de s'intéresser davantage à l'histoire et aux cultures de ces peuples⁴⁸, comme ce fut le cas de Guillaume Postel ou d'autres gens cultivés de l'époque, Baret contribua néanmoins, par sa fantaisie et par sa touche littéraire, à la création de ce panégyrique de l'aristocratie polonaise combattant les Ottomans aux confins de l'Europe chrétienne⁴⁹.

Son ouvrage se situe à la frontière du récit historique et du roman de chevalerie dans lequel le héros principal, Samuel Korecki, affronte plein de témérité les armes de l'"infidèle Croissant"⁵⁰. Mais ce tableau ne serait pas complet sans le drame sentimental tissé autour de la séparation de sa bien-aimée, Catherine Movila, amour voué aux caprices de la fortune⁵¹. Ayant réussi à payer la rançon de celle-ci, Korecki s'évade de la forteresse de Rumeli Hisar, aidé par Martin le Parisien, un de secrétaires de l'ambassade de France à Constantinople⁵². Finalement, les deux époux se retrouvent sains et saufs en Pologne, après tant de péripéties dignes de personnages célèbres de la littérature antique, comme *Théagène* et *Chariclée*, les héros d'*Aithiopika* (*Les Éthiopiennes*) d'Héliodore⁵³. Ce n'est pas un simple hasard si

⁴⁷ On pourra consulter avec profit, *Turcs et turqueries (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (sous la dir. de L. Bély, G. Veinstein), Paris, 2009.

⁴⁸ J. Baret, *Le Chant du Coq français*, p. 41, le passage où il affirme que les Turcs sont originaires du désert d'Arabie.

⁴⁹ E. C. Antoche, *Le gentilhomme lorrain* cit., p. 34.

⁵⁰ Pour le roman de chevalerie, A. Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 102, six romans entre 1593 et 1610. En ce qui concerne le thème de l'*Héroïsme*, voir B. Gibert, *op. cit.*, p. 68-69, 236-239 et D. Souiller, *op. cit.* p. 100-101.

⁵¹ En ce qui concerne les motifs du "labyrinthe du monde" et des "caprices de la Fortune". *Ibidem*, p. 120-126.

⁵² Samuel Korecki réussit à s'évader de la prison de Kara Kule dans la nuit du 28-29 novembre 1617, cinq jours après le décès du sultan Ahmed I^{er} et l'avènement au pouvoir de son frère, Mustapha (1617-1618; 1622-1623). A ce sujet, notamment, le rapport d'Almorô Namî envoyé le 8 décembre 1617 à Giovanni Bembo dans E. Hurmuzaki, I. Slavici, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor (1600-1650)*, IV, 2^e partie, Bucarest, 1884. n° CCCXLIX (Dispacci Constantinopoli 1617, folio n° 84), p. 369-372; le récit de Mézeray dans *Histoire des Turcs contenant ce qui s'est passé dans cet empire depuis l'an 1612 jusqu'à l'année présente 1649 par F. E. du Mezeray avec l'histoire du Serrail par le Sieur Baudier...*, Paris., 1650, liv. XX, chap. I. 1617, p. 43 et le comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'Ambassade de France en Turquie et sur le commerce des Français dans le Levant*, Paris, 1877, p. 206.

⁵³ Héliodore (Heliodoros), prosateur grec ayant vécu dans la seconde moitié du III^e siècle, contemporain de l'empereur Aurélien (270-275 n. é.): "Héliodore, phénicien, d'Émèse, de la race du soleil, fils de Théodose", comme il se nomme lui-même à la fin des *Éthiopiennes* (*Théagène et Chariclée*) (texte établi par R. M. Rattenbury, T. W. Lumb, trad. J. Maillon), seconde éd., I-II, Paris, 1960, III, 1991. Une analyse du roman dans A. Croiset, M. Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature grecque*, V, Paris, 1928, p. 796-798.

Baret en fait une courte référence dans les pages de l'*Histoire sommaire* en laissant au lecteur le choix d'établir lui-même un parallèle sur la destinée de ces deux couples d'amoureux⁵⁴. Nous savons aujourd'hui que *Les Éthiopiennes* avaient influencé bon nombre d'écrivains byzantins de langue grecque comme Théodore Prodromos ou Nicéthas Eugenianos⁵⁵ et continuaient d'être lues assidûment en France, en Angleterre et en Espagne, "[...] depuis sa traduction par Amyot en 1547; le Tasse, Cervantès, Shakespeare, Théophile de Viau et surtout Racine l'ont connu et imité"⁵⁶.

Durant sa captivité à Aqkerman, la princesse Catherine soigne toute seule son enfant tombé gravement malade avec une pierre médicinale d'une extrême rareté qui dispose de miraculeux pouvoirs de guérison. Cet épisode trahit un penchant de l'écrivain pour la minéralogie, ainsi que pour les diverses applications de cette science dans le domaine de la médecine. Il décrit un grand nombre de pierres précieuses, dont certaines ont des propriétés magiques, la source principale étant semble-t-il le recueil de poèmes de Rémy Belleau (1528-1577), *Les Amours et nouveaux échanges des pierres précieuses*, publié à Paris en 1576 et dédié aux dames de la Cour⁵⁷. Parmi les ouvrages souvent cités par Baret notons aussi l'*Histoire naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien, *La République* de Platon et *Les trois livres de la vie* de Marsile Ficin⁵⁸.

Certes, l'étude des pierres précieuses était à la mode car elle répondait aux goûts de l'époque. Il y avait aussi ces préoccupations scientifiques⁵⁹, cette attraction pour le rare et l'extravagant chez les érudits et les amateurs habitués à entasser toutes sortes d'objets divers dans leurs *Cabinets de curiosités* ou *Chambres de Merveilles* (*Wunderkammer*): produits des règnes animal, minéral, végétal (fossiles, coquilles, pierreries, coraux), objets d'art antique et moderne (monnaies, médailles, gravures et statues), automates et machines. Si la curiosité

"[...] est intimement attachée à la «science» baroque, c'est d'abord parce que celle-ci plonge encore dans le «bizarre» et «l'extravagant»... C'est aussi parce qu'elle est liée au goût du mystère, de l'occulte et du caché; le cabinet, miroir du

⁵⁴ J. Baret, *Histoire sommaire*, "Lettre de la Princesse Correcky, écrite depuis sa délivrance à son mary, encore captif", chap. LXIX, p. 325-329.

⁵⁵ N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi* (éd. D. Simonescu), Bucarest, 1980, chap. "Orientul bizantino-slav", p. 15 et notamment H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, Munich, 1978, p. 121-125.

⁵⁶ B. Gibert, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Une liste détaillée des écrivains qui s'inspirèrent d'Héliodore dans J. Maillon, "Préface du traducteur", *Éthiopiennes (Théagène et Chariclée)*, II, sous-chap. "Héliodore au XVII^e siècle. Le roman", "La tragi-comédie", "Héliodore et Racine", p. XCVI-XCIX.

⁵⁷ R. Belleau, *Les Amours et nouveaux échanges des pierres précieuses*, (éd. critique M. F. Verdier), Genève, 1973; *Œuvres poétiques*, V: 1573-1577: Odes d'Anacreon; Amours et nouveaux échanges des pierres précieuses; Poésies diverses; Tombcau de Belleau, (éd. G. Demerson), Paris, 1995. Belleau était un des poètes de la *Pléiade*, art. de L. Bély dans *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime*, p. 991-992.

⁵⁸ La bibliographie d'ouvrages minéralogiques utilisés par Belleau, analysée et répertoriée dans les introd. de M. F. Verdier, "Les sources des pierres précieuses", p. XXIV-XXX et de J. Braybrook, "Introduction aux Amours...", dans le t. V d'*Œuvres poétiques*, éd. 1995, p. 90-95.

⁵⁹ M. F. Verdier, *op. cit.*, p. XX-XXI.

monde, en reproduit le labyrinthe et l'hermétisme; et les savants de l'époque, pour s'assurer de la primeur de leurs trouvailles, parlent par énigme, donnent leurs réponses en anagrammes, cultivent le secret."⁶⁰

Ne nous attendons pas à trouver une littérature qui aborde de vrais problèmes scientifiques chez des écrivains comme Pierre de Nancel, Des Escuteaux, Nervèze ou Baret, certains parmi eux imprégnés d'un catholicisme ardent et missionnaire. Le vrai débat entre la science et la religion est posé encore à cette époque par les écrivains libertins, le libertinage étant perçu comme la réponse d'une élite intellectuelle à la redoutable alliance nouée entre l'Etat, l'Eglise et l'Université⁶¹.

En rendant publiables les mémoires du chevalier Charles de Joppécourt, Baret avait, bien sûr, ajouté du sien. Néanmoins, il eut l'intelligence de ne pas trop toucher aux événements et aux faits qui s'étaient réellement passés. Grâce à lui on édita, à Paris, chez Toussaint du Bray, en août 1620, ce récit sur les guerres civiles moldaves de 1612-1616. Ce fut pour la première fois qu'on lisait dans la capitale du royaume un récit sur la Moldavie, contrée encore mystérieuse, perdue aux frontières du monde chrétien et à laquelle, Pierre de Nancel dédia ce sonnet:

*Qui te peut dire heureuse, ô pauvre Moldavie!
Voyant ton chef pressé sous le joug d'un Tyran?
Ou qui ne portera à ton bon-heur envie
Lisant tes beaux exploits contre l'ost Ottoman?*

*La solide vertu esclatte davantage
Dans les diversitez, que parmi les plaisirs,
Aussi ses verts lauriers ont le sang en partage
Et l'honneur immortel, non les sales desirs.*

*Ne crains donc desormais que la palme bien devé
A ta rare vertu flestrisse dans ton camp,
Car ta gloire à jamais sera levé et relevé;
Comme aussi des Heros qui ont conduit ton camp.
Pourtant celui qui t'a d'espeinte toute nuë,
A cause des grands biens que l'ennemy t'a pris,
De joyaux et lauriers t'a subtil revestué,
Pour te faire gagner en la perte le prix⁶².*

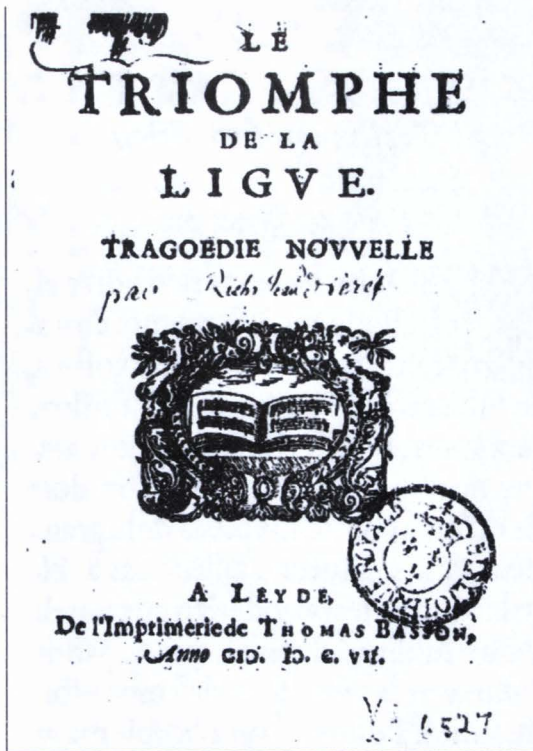
⁶⁰ B. Gibert, *op. cit.*, p. 106-107. De même l'ouvrage de Kr. Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris, Venise (XVF-XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1987, ainsi que l'article "Collections" (Marie-Félicie Perez) dans *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime*, p. 276-277.

⁶¹ A ce sujet l'excellente introduction sur la science et la philosophie à l'époque baroque de J. Prévot dans *Libertins du XVII^e siècle* (éd. J. Prévot, Th. Bedouelle, E. Wolff), Paris, 1998, p. XXII-XXX.

⁶² Sonnet en latin de Pierre de Nancel, *De Moldavia variis tumultibus jactata. tyrannoque Ottomano tandem mancipata, a Domino Baretio summae curiae patrono excerpta historia fide, et exscripta*, traduit en français par J. Baret, *Histoire sommaire*, p. cI v^o.

Annexes

I.



Le Triomphe de la Ligue de Richard-Jean de Nérée. Page du titre.

II.

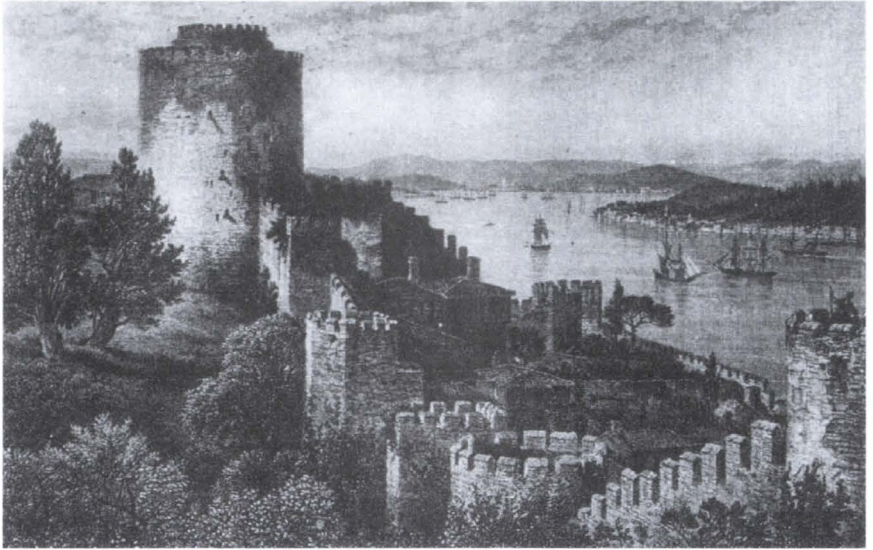


A TRES-ILLUSTRE
Et Tres-magnifique Seigneur
SAMVEL KORECKY,
Comte de Korec, &c

M On brave, ieune rayon du ciel,
l'honneur & l'ornemēt de vo-
stre âge, l'esperāce des vostres,
le subiect & l'obiet ou aboutissent
leurs plus augustes souhaits, mon bra-
ve, encor que l'hommage qu'on doit
& qu'on apporte aux pieds de la gran-
deur, & la grandeur n'aillent pas a l'es-
gal : Qu'on n'appende rien aux autels
d'une sublime divinité qui ne pende
l'aïlle vers la terre, & ne descouvre son
inegalité : Toutesfois vne simple main
levée, vne goutte d'eau, vne pomme
* 2 dans

Le Triomphe de la Ligue, page de la dédicace

III.



La tour de Sarudja Pacha avec la forteresse de Rumeli Hisar (lithographie du XIX^e siècle)

IV.

LE CHANT
DU COCQ
FRANCOIS.
AU ROY.

Où sont rapportées les propheties d'un
Hermitte Allemand de nation, lequel
vivoit il y a six vingts ans, dont aucu-
nes ont desia esté accomplies au
royaume de Boheme, & Palatinat;
& les autres predisent que le Roy doit
retinir toutes les fausses religions à la
Catholique, & se rendre Empereur
del'vniuers.

*Ce qui est encores confirmé par plusieurs autres
prediétions anciennes de Sainets
personnages bien approuuez.*



*du Couuent de
minimes de Paris*

Cm 96. 1328.

A PARIS,
Imprimé par DENYS LANGLOIS
Et se vend au Palais en la gallerie
des prisonniers.

M. DC. XXI.
Avec Privilège du Roy.



Le chant du coq françois au Roy, Paris, 1621

v.

EXTRAIT DV
privilege du Roy.

PAR privilege du Roy donné à Paris le 7. iour de May 1621. signé Conart; est permis à Maistre Iacques Baret, Advocat en la Cour de Parlement, faire imprimer vn liure intitulé *Le Chant du Coq François*, pour le temps & terme de six ans, avec deffences à tous Imprimeurs, Libraires, & autres de nostre Royaume, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer ledit liure, sinon du consentement & permission dudit Baret, à peine de six cens liures d'amende, & de confiscation des exemplaires qui s'en trouveront, comme plus à plain est contenu aux lettres dudit privilege.

Le chant du coq françois... Extrait du privilège du roi (7 mai 1621)

Une lettre des fils d'Étienne Cantacuzène à l'empereur Charles VI et la correspondance inédite d'Élisabeth de Bauffremont

Andrei Timotin

Keywords: *Cantacuzene; Elisabeth de Bauffremont; Poland; Potocki*

Les recherches entreprises sur une figure méconnue de l'histoire littéraire roumaine du XVIII^e siècle, Vlad Boțulescu de Mălăiești, le secrétaire de la famille du prince Étienne Cantacuzène (1714-1716)¹, m'ont amené à m'intéresser aux héritiers du malheureux prince assassiné par les Turcs en 1716, à sa veuve, Păuna (m. 1740), et à ses deux fils, Radu (Rodolphe) (1699-1761) et Constantin Cantacuzène (1703-1781?), qui ont voyagé en Europe à la recherche du trône perdu pendant plus de trois décennies. Leurs biographies ont suscité, dans la première moitié du siècle dernier, l'intérêt de N. Iorga et de Vasile Mihordea, et, plus récemment, d'Andrei Pippidi et d'Ovidiu Olar².

Ces pages se veulent une contribution à la biographie des fils d'Étienne Cantacuzène à travers l'analyse de quelques lettres inédites des archives de Vienne – où Rodolphe Cantacuzène a vécu, avec intermittences, pendant une vingtaine d'années –, de Wrocław et de Cracovie (ces dernières sous forme de microfilms aux Archives Nationales Roumaines de Bucarest). Une partie de ces lettres, même si inédites, ne sont pas totalement inconnues. Andrei Pippidi avait identifié dans les

* Ce travail, réalisé dans le cadre du projet de recherche TE 58/2010, financé par CNCIS-UEFISCSU, est issu d'une communication présentée aux Archives Nationales Roumaines, le 12 décembre 2012, dans le cadre de la série de conférences "Interférences" organisée par M. Șerban Marin.

¹ Emanuela Timotin et Andrei Timotin, *Les traductions de l'italien et de l'allemand de Vlad Boțulescu (1763-1764). Projet d'édition*, "Revue Roumaine de Linguistique" 56 (2011), p. 81-91; Andrei Timotin et Ovidiu Olar, *La paternité du texte sur la fortune de la Maison ottomane traduit par Vlad Boțulescu*, "Revue des études sud-est européennes" 49 (2011), p. 189-195; A. Timotin, *Une histoire universelle traduite en roumain au XVIII^e siècle*, dans les *Actes du Symposium international « Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe »*, IV^e édition (Sinaia, 20-23 septembre 2011), III, textes réunis et présentés par M. Hauser et alii, Bucarest, 2012, p. 382-388.

² N. Iorga, *Radu Cantacuzino*, "Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice", s. III, 13 (1932-1933), p. 149-158; V. Mihordea, *Știri nouă cu privire la Radu Cantacuzino*, "Revista Istorică" 22 (1936), 1-3, p. 52-72; Idem, *Les frères Cantacuzène et le projet de révolte des Chrétiens des Balkans*, "Balcania" 6 (1943), p. 129-144; Andrei Pippidi, *Fables, bagatelles et impertinences. Autour de certaines généalogies byzantines des XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*, in *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne*, Bucarest-Paris, 1980, p. 253-294; Idem, *L'Ordre Constantinien et les généalogies byzantines*, "Études byzantines et post-byzantines" 3 (1997), p. 199-226; Ovidiu Olar, *Aventuriers du XVIII^e siècle. Radu/Rodolphe Cantacuzène et l'Ordre Constantinien*, "Revista Istorică", n. s., 22 (2011), 3-4, p. 385-398.

archives de l'historien Andrei Veress de l'Académie hongroise de Sciences à Budapest une référence à deux lettres adressées à l'empereur Charles VI par Rodolphe et Constantin Cantacuzène³. Une recherche au Staatsarchiv de Vienne m'a permis d'identifier ces lettres, dont une est datée le 21 août 1727, par lesquelles les fils du prince rappellent les services rendus par les Cantacuzène à la Maison des Habsbourg et sollicitent l'appui de l'empereur soit pour la protection de leurs intérêts et de leur agent à Venise, soit pour obtenir la naturalisation en Pologne⁴. Quant à la lettre préservée dans les archives de l'Institut National Ossoliński de Wrocław⁵, adressée à Élisabeth de Bauffremont, la veuve de Rodolphe Cantacuzène⁶, par Ludwiga Potocka, le 6 février 1777, elle avait été signalée par Paul Cernovodeanu en 1970, dans le rapport d'un stage de recherche dans les archives polonaises⁷.

Les traits essentiels des biographies des deux fils d'Étienne Cantacuzène sont relativement bien connus. Ils ont accompagné leur père à Constantinople en juin 1716 et sont parvenus à s'en échapper, avec leur mère, après la tragédie, grâce à l'épouse de l'ambassadeur hollandais, la comtesse Colyer, en trouvant refuge d'abord en Italie et ensuite à Vienne, à la cour de Charles VI, où ils tentèrent vainement à regagner le trône de la Valachie et la fortune de la famille tombée dans les mains des Turcs. Ils voyagèrent en Russie, où Constantin entra dans l'armée du tsar et se maria avec la fille du maréchal Seremeteff, tandis que Rodolphe et sa mère rentrèrent à Vienne en 1724. Par un accord conclu en 1734, les Autrichiens et les Russes s'engageaient à entretenir les deux fils, Rodolphe à la cour de Vienne et Constantin à celle de Petersbourg. Rodolphe devint colonel dans l'armée impériale, commanda temporairement un régiment d'hussards et gagna une mauvaise réputation qui lui attira, après la mort de Charles VI, la disgrâce de Marie Thérèse et du duc François de Lorraine.

Pendant la guerre pour la succession au trône de l'Autriche, Rodolphe tenta à entrer au service de leurs ennemis, Frédéric II, le roi de Prusse, et Charles VII, forgeant des complots peu réalistes contre les Habsbourg et avec l'appui des Turcs, auxquels se sont mêlés également son frère et leur homme de confiance, Vlad de Mălăiești. Arrêtés par les Autrichiens, Constantin et Vlad furent condamnés en 1746 à prison à vie et enfermés respectivement à Graz et à Milan. En se mettant à l'abri, Rodolphe réussit à s'enfuir, en s'exilant en Saxe, en Thuringe, et finalement en

³ A. Pippidi, *L'Ordre Constantinien et les généalogies byzantines* cit., p. 219.

⁴ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienne, fond Moldau-Walachei I, Karton 26 (*Varia 1543-1793*), f. 44r-v et 50r. Les lettres sont en cours de publication dans A. Timotin, *Documente noi din arhivele vieneze privitoare la exilul văduvei și fiilor lui Ștefan Cantacuzino*, "Revista Istorică", n. s., 23 (2012).

⁵ Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego Im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, ms. II/11630, f. 501-502. Je remercie Madame Joanna Grześkowiak-Stepowicz qui a eu l'amabilité de m'envoyer une copie scannée de la lettre.

⁶ Cf. Mihai Cantacuzino, *Genealogia Cantacuzinilor* (publiée et annotée par N. Iorga), Bucarest, 1902, p. 326; Teodor T. Burada, *O călătorie la românii din gubernia Kamenitz-Podolsc (Rusia)*, "Arhiva. Organul Societății științifice și literare din Iași" 17 (1906), 12, p. 538-539; Ioan C. Filitti, *Arhiva Gheorghe Grigore Cantacuzino*, Bucarest, 1919, pl. II.

⁷ Paul Cernovodeanu, *Călătorie de studii în R.P. Polonă*, "Studii. Revistă de istorie" 23 (1970), 4, p. 821; voir également A. Pippidi, *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen* cit., p. 280 n. 111.

Pologne, où il passa, à côté de son épouse, Élisabeth de Bauffremont, les dernières années de sa vie et où il est décédé le 1 juin 1761, à Lastowice, en Podolie.

La lettre non datée des archives de Vienne, adressée par Rodolphe et Constantin Cantacuzène à l'empereur Charles VI, est particulièrement intéressante car elle permet de mettre en relation la retraite en Pologne du fils aîné d'Étienne Cantacuzène avec des projets plus anciens des deux frères après le retour de Russie de Rodolphe. Les deux frères évoquent les services rendus par leur famille à la Maison des Habsbourg et sollicitent à l'empereur deux lettres de recommandation, dont une adressée au Sénat polonais pour obtenir la naturalisation en Pologne, pays allié des Habsbourg, et une autre adressée au roi Auguste II pour obtenir, hormis la naturalisation, un certain subside, ainsi que la permission qu'un des deux frères aille en Pologne avec les deux lettres⁸.

La lettre a dû être envoyée en 1727 ou 1726, car une autre lettre, envoyée de Vienne le 8 avril 1728, par laquelle Rodolphe et Constantin Cantacuzène sollicitaient à l'empereur la permission d'aller à Venise pour mettre en ordre les affaires de la famille⁹, fait mention de la réception *l'anno passato* – en 1727, donc – de deux lettres de recommandation dont une adressée au roi de Pologne et l'autre à la République¹⁰, qui ne peuvent être que les deux lettres sollicitées par la lettre antérieure. Étant donné que par la lettre de 1728 on sollicitait le renouvellement des lettres de recommandation à l'occasion du passage par Vienne du comte Flemming,

⁸ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, fond Moldau-Walachei I, Kart. 26, f. 44r: *Approssimandosi pe<r> tanto il tempo di radunarsi il Consiglio del Senato di quella Repubblica [i.e. la Pologne], e desiderando n<oi> di ottenere per mezzo della Sovrana Protezione e benigna assistenza della M.V.C.C. indigenato con qualche remunerazione dalla medesima Repub<blic>a in riguardo de' meriti nostri maggiori, e tanto più che oltre l'essere stato concesso il detto indigenato ad al<cu>ni d'essi, vi sono anche fra la nobiltà Polacca alcune illustri famiglie, come quella de' Potozki, e altre congiunte cola nostra Casa. Prostrati perciò all'Augusto Trono ed ai piedi della S.C.C.R.M.V. supplichiamo umilissimamente di volere colla sua solita generosa clemenza di concedere in nome di noi due fratelli qui sottoscritti due commendatizie: l'una diretta alla Repubblica Polona per l'indigenato, e l'altra alla M. del Re Augusto per qualche gratificazione, e insieme di permettere benignam<en>te ad uno di noi, secondochè piacerà alla M.V. di portarsi in Polonia colle suddette raccomandazioni per il tempo dell'esecuzione.*

⁹ La lettre a été publiée par A. Pippidi, *L'Ordre Constantinien et les généalogies byzantines* cit., p. 218-219, d'après la copie réalisée par A. Veress. Nous en avons identifié l'original au Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv de Vienne, fond Moldau-Walachei I, Karton 26, f. 48r-v.

¹⁰ A. Pippidi. *op. cit.*, p. 218 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, fond Moldau-Walachei I, Karton 26, f. 48r-v): *"Nello stesso tempo. Augustissimo et Piissimo Cesare. sicome dalla Somma Clemenza della M.V. l'anno passato fummo aggraziati con benignissime commendatizie per la Polonia, imploriamo dalla Sua Paterna Pietà che coll'occasione che il Signor Conte di Flemming, Feldmaresciallo della Maestà di quel Rè. è qua, rilasci i suoi Augusti ordini all'Eccelenza del Signor Conte di Sinzendorf, Gran Cancelliere, di parlargli e farli comunicare la volontà della M.V.C.C. e far valere le dette Imperiali lettere; e che la Maestà vostra comandi che sieno rinovate le medesime con più efficacia, sì per il Re, che per la Repubblica, con aggiungervi anche, che siccome la M.V.C.C. ci ha onorato della Sua Augusta Imperiale protezione ed assistenza con effetti, così anch'essi a riguardo dell'efficacia delle raccomandazioni di V.M. e de' serviggi dalla nostra Casa prestati, alla M.V. ben noti, devono concerderci il ricercato Indigenato ed ulteriore assistenza, da noi ben meritata."*

on peut en conclure que la demande précédente adressée au roi Auguste II et au Sénat polonais n'avait pas reçu de réponse.

Les démarches de Rodolphe et de Constantin Cantacuzène pour obtenir la naturalisation en Pologne doivent être mises en relation aussi bien avec leur désir d'intégrer le service militaire polonais, exprimé par le grand hetman Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski dans une lettre adressée au chancelier de Pologne à leur retour de Russie en 1724¹¹, qu'avec le séjour prolongé de Păuna à Varsovie et à Dresde, à la cour d'Auguste II, après son départ de Moscou, avant le mois d'août 1727¹². Ce que l'on sait de la carrière ultérieure des deux frères autorise la conclusion que ni la seconde demande adressée au roi et au Sénat polonais n'a eu la suite attendue.

La lettre envoyée en 1727 ou en 1726 est cependant particulièrement significative en ce qu'elle présente les arguments mis en avant par les deux frères à l'appui de la demande de naturalisation. Le premier, évoqué également dans la lettre de Sieniawski de 1724, en est "l'entente étroite et l'amitié" que leurs prédécesseurs et parents, Șerban Cantacuzène, Constantin Brâncoveanu et Étienne Cantacuzène, ont eues avec le royaume polonais et, en particulier, avec le roi Auguste II qu'ils avaient déjà eu l'opportunité de servir, comme l'empereur le savait¹³. Sur les relations de Șerban et d'Étienne Cantacuzène avec la Pologne on n'a que très peu de renseignements, mais Constantin Brâncoveanu avait entretenu, effectivement, d'excellentes relations avec le parti philo-russe de Pologne représenté par Auguste II et son conseiller, l'hetman Sieniawski¹⁴. Sieniawski avait également entretenu une correspondance suivie en Moldavie, avec Mihai Racoviță et Antioch Cantemir, une des raisons de la déposition de ce dernier étant précisément ses liens secrets avec les partisans polonais de Pierre le Grand¹⁵.

Le deuxième argument mis en avant par les deux Cantacuzène est la parenté de leur famille avec "certaines familles illustres" de la noblesse polonaise, comme celle de Potocki. Quelle pouvait bien être la raison d'une telle prétention? Dans la généalogie de la famille que Michel Cantacuzène (1723-c. 1790) avait demandée à sa

¹¹ Gh. Duzinchevici, *Documente din arhivele polone relative la istoria românilor (secolele XVI-XIX)*, "Buletinul Comisiei istorice a României" 14 (1935), p. 14, doc. V. La même année, en automne, Radu et Constantin, de passage par Pologne en chemin vers Vienne, demandaient d'être excusés par la Couronne pour n'avoir pas pu se déplacer à Varsovie pour présenter personnellement leurs hommages au roi Auguste II (*Ibidem*, p. 14-15, doc. VI).

¹² N. Iorga, *Documente privitoare la familia Cantacuzino*, Bucarest, 1902, p. 193-194, doc. LXXXIV.

¹³ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, fond Moldau-Walachei I, Kart. 26, f. 44r: "[...] *la Repubblica Polona, con cui, oltre a più vecchi antecessori della nostra Casa dominanti si in Vallachia, che in Moldavia, già ultimi furono il Pr<inci>pe Silvano nostro avolo, il Pr<inci>pe Costantino, nostro zio, e' l Pr<inci>pe Stefano, nostro padre, i quali abbiano conservata strettissima intelligenza e amicizia, avendo anche procurato di prestare rilevanti servigi al presente Re Augusto, di ché non abbia<mo> alcun dubbio che la M.V. non sia pienamente informata.*"

¹⁴ Voir Veniamin Ciobanu, *Relațiile politice româno-polone între 1699 și 1848*, Bucarest, 1980, p. 37 et 47; Paul Cernovodeanu, *Din corespondența diplomatică a lui Constantin Brâncoveanu*, "Revista Arhivelor" 47 (1985), 1, p. 81-82; 48 (1986), 1, p. 62-64; 48 (1986), 3, p. 315-317.

¹⁵ Voir *Istoričeskie svjazi narodov S.S.S.R. i Rumynii v XV-načale XVIII v.v.*, III: 1673-1711, Moscou, 1970, p. 195-196; V. Ciobanu, *op. cit.*, p. 36-38.

cousine, Léopoldine, comtesse O'Donnell, la fille aînée de Rodolphe Cantacuzène, il y a une série de figures et des liens de parenté assurément fantaisistes que Michel Cantacuzène avait soigneusement écartés, en les confrontant également avec l'autre généalogie des Cantacuzène dont il disposait, compilée par l'érudite Georges Saul (1743-1785)¹⁶. Dans la généalogie provenant de Rodolphe Cantacuzène se trouve un certain *Dimitrie II Moghilă, duc de Valachie* marié avec une *Alexandra Potocka*. Le personnage est sans aucun doute une fiction: Dumitrașco (Dimitrie) Cantacuzène a régné uniquement en Moldavie, et le seul Moghilă qui a régné en Valachie fut Gabriel (1616, 1618-1620), marié en Transylvanie avec Elisabeth Zólyomi. Le mariage avec une Potocka que le généalogiste attribue à cette figure évoque néanmoins les relations bien authentiques entre les familles Moghilă et Potocki au XVII^e siècle¹⁷. Une des filles de Jérémie Moghilă, Marie, était mariée avec Étienne Potocki (m. 1631), et le neveu de ce dernier, le grand hetman Stanislas Potocki (1579-1667), avait pris en mariage toujours une fille de Jérémie Moghilă, Anne (m. 1667), et avait tenté à rétablir son beau-frère, Constantin Moghilă, sur le trône de Moldavie en 1612.

La généalogie héritée par Léopoldine de son père établit une relation étroite, quoique entièrement imaginaire, entre les Moghilă et les Cantacuzène, ce qui, étant donné les liens réels entre les familles Potocki et Moghilă, peut également mieux expliquer la prétention de la parenté avec les Potocki avancée dans la lettre des années 1726-1727. Cette relation transparait clairement du nom sous lequel apparaît dans cette généalogie le chambellan Constantin Cantacuzène (1598-1663), l'arrière-grand-père de Rodolphe: "*Costandin Moghilă Basarab Cantacuzino, le mari d'Hélène, la fille de Silvain Voevod Basarab, le prince de Valachie*"¹⁸. L'association des noms de Cantacuzène, Basarab et Moghilă se retrouve également dans un portrait, aujourd'hui disparu, du chambellan, qui porte l'inscription "*Constantinus Cantacutzenus Moghyla Bazarab dictus, anno Domini 1564 [1654]*"¹⁹. Le portrait, qui se trouvait à la fin du XVIII^e siècle dans la possession de la famille O'Donnell, ayant appartenu à Rodolphe, représente un témoignage supplémentaire du lien généalogique établi pendant cette période entre les Moghilă et les Cantacuzène.

La raison d'une telle association peut résider dans une série de confusions: un certain *Silvain III duc de Valachie et de Moldavie*, qui pourrait être le fils de Radu Șerban (prince de Valachie, 1602-1611), Constantin Șerban Basarab, prince de Valachie (1654-1658) et de Moldavie (1659, 1661), apparaît dans la généalogie de Rodolphe comme étant marié avec *Marguerite Moghilă*²⁰. La deuxième épouse de Constantin Șerban, Natalie (Nedelea), a pu être une Moghilă²¹, mais une Marguerite (Zolkiewska) avait pris en mariage Siméon Moghilă, qui a régné aussi bien en Valachie (1600-1602), qu'en Moldavie (1606-1607), et dont le fils, Michel, prince de

¹⁶ M. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 26-28.

¹⁷ Voir A. Pippidi, *Fables, bagatelles et impertinences* cit., p. 287.

¹⁸ M. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁹ Voir I. C. Filitti, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII; A. Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 286-287 et fig. 18.

²⁰ M. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²¹ Cf. Sever Zotta, *A doua soție a lui Constantin Șerban Basarab Voevod o Movilă?*, "Revista Istorică" 13 (1927), 1-3, p. 47-51.

Moldavie en 1607 (m. 1608), était marié avec une fille de Radu Șerban, Anne, ce qui a pu favorisé de surcroît la confusion entre Constantin Șerban et Siméon²². Étant donné que la branche valaque des Cantacuzène descendait de l'autre fille de Radu Șerban, Hélène (m. 1687), l'épouse du chambellan Constantin Cantacuzène, les Moghilă et les Cantacuzène auraient été apparentés par les deux filles de Radu Șerban, par lequel les Cantacuzène réclamaient, d'ailleurs, l'affiliation à la dynastie des Basarab. La parenté avec les Moghilă explique les liens de parenté avec la famille Potocki clamés dans la lettre des 1726-1727 et donne également un plus de poids à l'allusion de la même lettre aux "*antecessori della nostra Casa dominanti si in Vallachia, che in Moldavia*" (hormis Dumitrașco, aucun Cantacuzène n'avait régné en Moldavie).

Aussi fictives qu'elles puissent paraître, ces relations n'étaient pas jugées telles par ceux qui les réclamaient, et au moins dans le cas des relations des Cantacuzène avec les Potocki, elles n'étaient certainement pas limitées au seul domaine de l'imaginaire. L'épouse de Rodolphe Cantacuzène, Élisabeth, comtesse de Bauffremont²³, qui est décédé en Pologne – mais non en 1774, comme le croyait Michel Cantacuzène²⁴, mais assurément un peu plus tard – a entretenu, au moins jusqu'en 1778, une riche correspondance en polonais et en français, encore inédite, avec plusieurs nobles polonais, dont une partie se trouve microfilmée aux Archives Nationales Roumaines, à Bucarest: une lettre écrite en polonais à un haut fonctionnaire de la Couronne (un *referendarius*), du 3 avril 1778²⁵, trois lettres au prince (Stanislas) Radziwiłł, l'ancien gouverneur de Lvov, rédigées en polonais et envoyées de Soroca et de Lvov en 1767 et 1773-1774²⁶, une lettre en polonais sans date que la comtesse de Bauffremont a reçue du gouverneur de Skala (près de Cracovie), Tarto²⁷, et une lettre en français au prince Michel Hiéronyme Radziwiłł (1744-1831), gouverneur de Vilnius, du juillet 1777²⁸, que la veuve de Rodolphe

²² Cf. A. Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

²³ T. T. Burada, *op. cit.*, p. 538. Cf. M. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 326; Ioan C. Filitti, *Arhiva Gheorghe Grigore Cantacuzino*, Bucarest, 1919, pl. II.

²⁴ M. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

²⁵ Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Krakowa (APMK) [Archive d'État de la ville de Cracovie], fond Archiwum Radziwiłłow Documenty Historiczne, dz. V, copie microfilmée aux Archives Nationales Roumaines, mf. Pologne, r. 2, c. 812. Je dois à la bienveillance de M. le Professeur Mihai Mitu la traduction de ces lettres d'après les copies microfilmées.

²⁶ APMK, fond Archiwum Radziwiłłow Documenty Historiczne, dz. V; Archives Nationales Roumaines, mf. Pologne, r. 2, c. 809 et 807-808. Dans la lettre de 1767, la comtesse de Bauffremont fait savoir au prince qu'elle avait accompli sa demande et avait logé, sur son domaine de Soroca, le capitaine Zabiello et les huit hommes qui étaient sous sa commande, qu'ils avaient accompli leur mission et en étaient partis sans faire des dettes. La lettre de 1774 répond également à une demande antérieure du prince que la princesse Cantacuzène se montre prête à aider, tout en lui faisant savoir que sur la question respective doit se prononcer une commission selon le principe *audiatur et altera pars*.

²⁷ APMK, fond Archiwum Radziwiłłow Documenty Historiczne, dz. V; Archives Nationales Roumaines, mf. Pologne, r. 22, c. 24. La lettre témoigne de l'intention de la princesse Cantacuzène de récupérer une certaine somme d'argent de Burdiakowice.

²⁸ APMK, fond Archiwum Radziwiłłow Documenty Historiczne, dz. V; Archives Nationales Roumaines, mf. Pologne, r. 2, c. 810.

Cantacuzène ne connaît pas personnellement, mais auquel elle écrit pour intervenir en faveur de la belle-sœur du prince, qui ne peut être que Thérèse (Caroline) Rzewuska (1749-1787), l'épouse de Carol Stanislas Radziwiłł (1734-1790), alors en exil en tant qu'opposant du roi Stanislas II Augustus Poniatowski.

Parmi les correspondants de la veuve de Rodolphe Cantacuzène se range également, et ce n'est peut-être pas une coïncidence, Ludwiga Potocka (née Mniszek) (1712-c. 1780), la veuve du grand hetman Józef Potocki (1673-1751), gouverneur de Kiev, et de Cracovie à partir de 1748²⁹, et petite-fille par alliance d'Anne Moghilă (son mari étant le petit-fils de Stanislas Potocki), qui écrit de Lvov à la *princesse Cantacuzène*, le 6 février 1777, une lettre inédite en polonais qui se trouve à la bibliothèque de l'Institut National Ossolinski de Wrocław³⁰, et par laquelle lui promet qu'elle va intervenir en sa faveur dans une affaire personnelle dont le contenu nous échappe en raison du mauvais état de la lettre.

Par l'entremise d'un proche de la famille Potocki, le comte François Maximilien Ossolinski (1676-1756)³¹ – dont la petite-fille, Anne Thérèse (1746-1810), était mariée avec Józef Potocki (1735-1802), le petit-fils du grand hetman homonyme –, Rodolphe Cantacuzène et sa femme ont été logés dans l'été de 1749, durant leur court séjour à Paris, dans la maison du perruquier Royer, rue du Bouloy³². Rodolphe et sa femme ont retrouvé le comte Ossolinski – qui avait été le chancelier du roi Auguste II et que Păuna avait assurément rencontré à Varsovie dans les années 1725-1727 – à Lunéville, à la cour du roi Stanislas Leszczyński, où ils sont restés huit jours dans le même été et où la princesse Cantacuzène passait pour une *petite-nièce du grand Sobieski*³³. Rodolphe, qui avait quitté l'Empire depuis quelques ans, tentait ainsi à se rapprocher de l'ancien rival d'Auguste II, que le grand hetman Józef Potocki, l'ami de sa famille, avait servi avec dévouement dès sa montée au trône en 1705, et dont il avait soutenu, à côté du comte Ossolinski, le retour éphémère au pouvoir en 1733.

Le retour de Rodolphe et de sa femme en Pologne, dans l'été de 1749³⁴, où ils vont s'établir définitivement sur un domaine de Podolie qui leur fut donné par le

²⁹ Voir *Historia Dyplomacji Polskiej*, II: 1572-1795 (éd. Zbigniewa Wójcicka), Varsovie, 1982, p. 424; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXVIII, Cracovie, 1984-1985, p. 59-72 (Andrzej Link-Lenczowski).

³⁰ Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego Im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, ms. II 11630, f. 501-502 (voir *supra*, n. 5). Je remercie M. le Professeur Mihai Mitu qui a eu l'amabilité de m'en fournir, autant que la qualité de la copie la permettait, une traduction.

³¹ Voir Julian Bartoszewicz, *Znakomici mężowie Polscy w XVIII w.*, II, Sankt-Petersbourg, 1856, p. 117-198; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIV, Cracovie, 1974, p. 391-395 (Hanna Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska).

³² T. G. Bulat, *Poliția lui Ludovic al XV-lea și Radu Cantacuzino. pretendent domnesc*, "Revista istorică" 6 (1920), 10-12, p. 233 (rapport du 19 août 1749): "[...] qu'ils ont été adressés au s. Royer peruquier, rue du Bouloy, par le comte Osolenski, seigneur polonnoise [sic !] attaché au roy Stanislas." *Le comte Osolenski* ne peut être que François Maximilien Ossolinski, qui se trouvait en 1736 à la cour du duc Stanislas, à Lunéville.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 234-235.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 233: "[...] que leur départ précipité de Paris n'a eu d'autre motif, à ce qu'ils ont dit, que l'indispensabilité de se trouver à la diette de Warsovie" (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 234).

roi Auguste III, montre que le royaume polonais, où les deux fils d'Étienne Cantacuzène avaient cherché dès 1727 à se tailler une place, était resté pour Rodolphe, au bout d'un exil de plus de trente ans, le plus sûr refuge.

Mais la correspondance de la comtesse de Bauffremont avec le prince Stanislas Radziwiłł et avec la veuve du grand hetman Józef Potocki montre plus que cela. Elle indique que l'aîné d'Étienne Cantacuzène avait cherché, à partir au moins de la période de la guerre de succession au trône de l'Autriche, la compagnie de la faction anti-autrichienne et anti-russe de Pologne, des ennemis des Maisons de Saxe (Wettin) et de Romanov (Anne Ivanovna a soutenu le roi Auguste II et Catherine II le roi Auguste III). François Maximilien Ossolinski et Józef Potocki avaient soutenu le retour au pouvoir de Stanislas Leszczyński en 1733 avec l'appui de la France, et le bon accueil que Rodolphe a pu trouver à la cour de Lunéville doit être mis en relation à la fois avec ces accointances – converties en tradition de famille – et avec les relations polonaises de son épouse, qui était également une comtesse de Bauffremont, donc membre d'une des plus anciennes familles de la noblesse lorraine.

Réseaux catholiques et clandestinité dans les diocèses septentrionaux de la France au XVIII^e siècle

Vincent Cuvilliers et Philippe Moulis

Keywords: 18th Century Southern France; Catholics Networks

Certains textes de loi de la monarchie française et plusieurs documents pontificaux ont suscité et favorisé l'émergence de réseaux clandestins régionaux, nationaux et internationaux, rappelons la Révocation de l'édit de Nantes en octobre 1685 et les mesures de Louis XIV à l'encontre de Port-Royal des Champs. Pendant la Révolution française, plusieurs lois relatives au clergé ont également entraîné la mise en place d'une opposition qui se structure autour des prêtres réfractaires notamment. Parmi les nombreuses définitions du mot "réseau", le dictionnaire Larousse cite celle-ci: "organisation clandestine dont les membres travaillent en liaison les uns avec les autres: un réseau d'espionnage, un réseau de résistance".

Dans nos travaux respectifs, nous avons découvert à travers diverses sources le fonctionnement de réseaux clandestins. Il s'agit donc, dans cet article d'analyser le fonctionnement de trois réseaux catholiques clandestins qui se structurent durant le XVIII^e siècle dans les diocèses septentrionaux et plus particulièrement dans celui de Boulogne-sur-Mer à partir de quelques exemples révélateurs. Le choix de Boulogne-sur-Mer est dû à sa situation et à son rôle dans le commerce interlope avec une véritable spécialisation de nombreux Boulonnais dans le smoglage (pratique de la contrebande avec l'Angleterre)¹.

Les réseaux janséniste et antijanséniste se structurent dans le Nord de la France dès 1713. La bulle *Unigenitus*, fulminée en septembre 1713, qui condamne 101 propositions extraites du livre du chef de file de la dissidence janséniste, Pasquier Quesnel, est à la demande de Louis XIV acceptée de force par une Assemblée du clergé réduite et cela crée une scission de l'Eglise de France. Pierre de Langle, évêque de Boulogne-sur-Mer de 1698 à 1724 devient la principale figure du jansénisme dans le Nord de la France. En février 1714, il s'oppose avec le cardinal de Noailles et sept autres évêques, à la réception de la nouvelle Constitution². Ces prélats reçoivent des lettres de cachet leur enjoignant de regagner leurs diocèses. Pierre de Langle regagne dès lors Boulogne-sur-Mer et un réseau s'y développe. Dès lors, les opposants se structurent de façon clandestine avec le diocèse de Saint-Omer

¹ Yann Gobert-Sergent, *Pêche, course et contrebandiers. Le port de Boulogne de Louis XIV à Napoléon Ier (1680-1815)*, A.C.R.B. éditions, 2004, p. 67.

² Pierre Gombert, *Louis-Antoine de Noailles, cardinal-archevêque (1651-1729)*, these de l'Ecole des Chartes, 2004, 591 p; Marie-José Michel, *Clergé et pastorale janséniste à Paris (1669-1730)*, "Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine", avril-juin 1979, p. 177-197.

comme “base arrière”, surtout après l’acceptation de la constitution par l’évêque de Saint-Omer, François de Valbelle. Ces réseaux sont particulièrement actifs jusqu’en 1724, année où l’évêque Pierre de Langle décède et est remplacé par l’évêque Jean-Marie Henriaux³. La promulgation de la Constitution civile du clergé en août 1790 déchaîne les passions⁴. Dès le mois d’août, Mgr Jean-René Asseline, évêque de Boulogne, publie une réfutation de la Constitution civile à laquelle adhèrent quarante évêques. De nombreux prêtres du Nord de la France soutiennent le prélat boulonnais et refusent de prêter serment. Dès lors un vaste réseau clandestin de prêtres réfractaires se met en place dans les régions septentrionales de la France. La correspondance de Frère Salomon⁵, de l’Institut des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes, avec sa famille permet de comprendre le fonctionnement de ce réseau, qui réunit des catholiques proches des frères Lasalliens, des Lazaristes, des prêtres séculiers et de nombreux laïcs. La sœur de Fr Salomon, Rosalie Le Clercq, qui réside à Boulogne-sur-Mer, est membre de cette organisation.

L’analyse croisée de ces trois organisations permet de reconstituer leur structuration au travers de quatre angles d’étude, les acteurs, les lieux, les vecteurs et les flux et de s’interroger ainsi sur leur fonctionnement dans les diocèses septentrionaux au XVIIIe siècle.

Les acteurs

Dans les trois cas étudiés, l’autorité épiscopale est partie prenante dans le fonctionnement des réseaux, l’évêque de Boulogne-sur-Mer, Pierre de Langle pour le réseau janséniste, l’évêque de Soissons puis archevêque de Sens, Jean-Joseph Languet de Gergy pour le réseau antijanséniste et l’évêque de Boulogne Jean-René Asseline pour le réseau réfractaire. Pierre de Langle se trouve être l’un des membres les plus actifs d’un vaste réseau de correspondants (schéma 1) qui se situent notamment dans les diocèses voisins mais également à Paris et dans tout le royaume⁶. Le réseau antijanséniste, dans sa partie basée dans le diocèse audomarois, est coordonné par l’évêque de Soissons, par l’archevêque de Reims et le cardinal de Fleury (schéma 2). L’une des chevilles ouvrières de ce réseau dans le diocèse est Pierre Cousin, prêtre de la paroisse Saint-Denis de la ville de Saint-Omer qui collabore étroitement avec deux ecclésiastiques du diocèse boulonnais, Grésy, sacristain de la paroisse Notre-Dame de Calais, et Morette, chapelain de la cathédrale

³ Philippe Moulis, *Le jansénisme dans le nord de la France : François de Valbelle, évêque de Saint-Omer et la bulle Unigenitus*, “Bulletin de la Société Académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie”, XXVII, Saint-Omer, 2012, p. 135-140.

⁴ Jean-Clément Martin, *Nouvelle histoire de la Révolution française*, [Paris], 2012, p. 213-235.

⁵ A. D. Pas-de-Calais, Registre des B. M. S. de la paroisse Saint-Joseph de Boulogne: “Baptisé Guillaume Nicolas Louis Leclercq le 15 novembre 1745, paroisse Saint-Joseph (Haute-Ville) de Boulogne-sur-Mer, né la veille sur les dix heures du matin, fils de François, marchand, et de Marie-Barbe Dupont”. Plus d’une centaine de lettres sont conservées à la Maison généralice des Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Rome et aux Archives Lasalliennes à Lyon.

⁶ Ph. Moulis, *Réseau et clientèle d’un prélat janséniste: Pierre de Langle, évêque de Boulogne-sur-Mer (1698-1724)*, “Chroniques de Port-Royal”, n° 62, Paris, 2012, p. 57-75.

de Boulogne-sur-Mer⁷. Dans le cas de ce réseau, il ne faut pas omettre l'appui pontifical, avec l'envoi d'un légat dans le diocèse de Saint-Omer en 1723⁸. Ce lien avec Rome perdure durant la période étudiée avec l'envoi d'informations mais également d'ouvrages ou d'imprimés jansénistes⁹. Il est intéressant de noter que l'évêque de Saint-Omer est souvent critiqué en raison des sympathies jansénistes qu'on lui prête, ce qui explique que ce réseau agisse de manière clandestine dans le diocèse de Boulogne-sur-Mer, ce qui se comprend aisément, mais également dans le diocèse de Saint-Omer puisqu'il n'en fait pas partie et œuvre même à lutter contre ce dernier¹⁰. En 1790, un nouvel évêque, Jean-René Asseline, est nommé à la tête du diocèse de Boulogne-sur-Mer, après le décès de François de Partz-de-Pressy. Il refuse de prêter le serment à la Constitution civile du clergé en 1791 et émigre dès l'élection de l'évêque constitutionnel. De son exil qui passe par Ypres notamment, il participe à la structuration d'un vaste réseau clandestin dans lequel la ville de Boulogne-sur-Mer occupe une position importante (schéma 3).

Parmi les éléments les plus actifs de ces réseaux, nous trouvons les membres de l'Église, qu'ils soient prêtres, membre des ordres mendiants, prêtres réfractaires, jésuites, jansénistes, frères des Écoles chrétiennes, etc. L'évêque Pierre de Langle organise son réseau autour d'hommes de confiance qui sont notamment les vicaires généraux de Boulogne qu'il nomme lui-même. Il s'appuie également sur le supérieur du séminaire lazarisite et sur celui du collège de l'Oratoire de Boulogne-sur-Mer qui centralisent les informations récoltées afin de lui transmettre un résumé régulièrement¹¹. Un chanoine de Bruxelles, Ernest Ruth d'Ans, est lui chargé de transmettre à l'évêque les informations en provenance des Pays-Bas autrichiens, des Provinces-Unies et de la cour de Vienne¹². Le réseau antijanséniste fonctionne grâce aux informations, données par plusieurs clercs œuvrant dans les diocèses de Boulogne-sur-Mer, de Saint-Omer et d'Arras, sur les activités des jansénistes et sur les décisions des évêques. Des prélats, étrangers aux diocèses en question, prennent part à ces réseaux. En 1725, l'abbé Salla, fils du comte de Salla de Milan, assure la

⁷ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XIII, pièce 153m. Nelson-Martin Dawson, *Le paradoxal destin d'un catéchisme à double nationalité: l'histoire du manuel de Mgr Languet à Sens et à Québec*, Doctorat de l'Université de Laval (Québec), 1989; *La correspondance dans la collection Languet de Gergy: reflet d'un réseau antijanséniste au XVIIIe siècle*, dans *Correspondance Jadis et Naguère*, Paris, 1997, p. 349-360; *Chentéisme ecclésiastique et antijansénisme. Jean-Joseph Languet de Gergy et le bulle Unigenitus*, Sherbrooke, 1998. René Fourrey, *Le champion de la bulle Unigenitus, Jean-Joseph Languet de Gergy, Archevêque de Sens*, manuscrit inédit achevé vers 1953, Maison diocésaine d'Auxerre, 1992.

⁸ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XVIII, pièce 198m. Extrait des lettres de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Denis, à monseigneur l'archevêque et duc de Reims, du 19 et 27 novembre 1723.

⁹ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XVIII, pièce 112m. copie de la lettre de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Omer, au sieur Grézy, de Calais, datée du 20 juillet 1723.

¹⁰ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XIII, pièce 136, lettre datée du 29 mars 1721 d'un récollet de Pernes à l'évêque de Soissons.

¹¹ B. N. France. Ms 23207, fol. 161.

¹² Michel Van Meerbeeck, *Ernest Ruth d'Ans, « patriarche des jansénistes » (1653-1728)*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, fasc. 87, Bruxelles-Louvain, 2006.

défense de deux personnes accusées de receler des écrits jansénistes¹³. Les ordres religieux participent activement au bon fonctionnement des réseaux, s'appuyant sur leur propre réseau préexistant, c'est ainsi que le prélat boulonnais fait transiter de nombreuses lettres par le biais des séminaires lazaristes et des collèges de la congrégation de l'Oratoire. En 1791, l'un des membres les plus actifs du réseau réfractaire est l'abbé Jean-Baptiste de Meric de Montgazin, vicaire général de Boulogne depuis 1751 qui est en relation avec plusieurs personnes dont Frère Salomon, qui réside à Melun puis à Paris et dont l'une des sœurs soutient activement le clergé réfractaire de Boulogne. Ce réseau clandestin fonctionne notamment avec l'aide du supérieur du petit séminaire de Boulogne ou celle du curé de Wimille¹⁴.

Les femmes jouent un rôle important dans les différents réseaux. Si, comme le montre Nicolas Lyon-Caen¹⁵, les bourgeoises participent, comme les femmes du peuple révélées par Arlette Farge, à la diffusion des idées jansénistes à Paris au XVIII^e siècle, que cela soit dans les espaces privés ou l'espace public, elles participent également aux activités clandestines. En 1720, Pierre de Langle demande à Louail de saluer "toutes nos illustres amies tant du marais que du quartier de la porte de Richelieu et de la place des victoires"¹⁶. Parmi les correspondantes, on relève les noms de Louise Adélaïde d'Orléans, abbesse de Chelles, Madame de Senlis, Mlle de Théméricourt. Ces femmes jouent un rôle précis dans le fonctionnement du réseau en assurant la préservation des documents de Port-Royal. Elles jouent également un rôle d'intermédiaires¹⁷, notamment Mme Rouillé qui assure la transmission des courriers échangés entre Pierre de Langle et Gaston de Noailles, évêque de Châlons et frère du cardinal¹⁸. Elles participent à la diffusion des imprimés. Lorsque le Magistrat de Saint-Omer ordonne des perquisitions domiciliaires, on saisit au domicile d'une dénommée Florence, "fille de libre condition, marchande de toile", treize exemplaires d'un libelle janséniste¹⁹. Outre la conservation et la diffusion de renseignements, la collecte peut être effectuée par une femme, comme cette habitante audomaroise, Madame de Fenchin, qui est chargée de discuter avec Jean-Baptiste Mais, prêtre de la paroisse Saint-Denis de Saint-Omer, et

¹³ B. M. Saint-Omer, Ms 1358, Deneuille, curé de la paroisse de [blanc] de la ville de Saint-Omer, *Annales de la ville de Saint-Omer, sous les évêques de Saint-Omer, 1553 à 1725*, II (copie du XIX^e siècle), p. 438-441.

¹⁴ Philippe Moulis et fr Francis Ricousse, *Le bienheureux Salomon, des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes et le père Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière. Une collaboration en temps de Révolution (1791-1792)*, "Rivista Lasalliana", 79 (2012), 4, p. 525-538.

¹⁵ Nicolas Lyon-Caen, « Il faut qu'un party se sente bien faible quand il accepte et qu'il recherche de tels appuis », *Femmes, jansénisme et publicité à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, "L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques", 2009, 4.

¹⁶ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1792, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Louail, datée de Boulogne, le 9 juillet 1720, fol. 2.

¹⁷ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1553, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Mademoiselle Adrienne, datée de Paris, 19 août 1719, fol. 1v.

¹⁸ B. N. France, Ms 23207, fol. 145v.

¹⁹ B. M. Saint-Omer, Ms1358, Deneuille, curé de la paroisse de [blanc] de la ville de Saint-Omer, *Annales de la ville de Saint-Omer, sous les évêques de Saint-Omer, 1553 à 1725*, II (copie du XIX^e siècle), p. 438-441.

qui rapporte que ce dernier est favorable aux “professeurs quesnellistes du séminaire de Saint-Omer”²⁰. Rosalie Le Clercq prend rapidement et activement parti contre le clergé constitutionnel, en soutenant les prêtres réfractaires, qu’elle regarde comme “apostats de la vraie religion”²¹. Son attitude et ses agissements lui valent d’être la cible d’attaques à Boulogne. En juillet 1791, elle annonce qu’elle a une réputation d’“aristocrate”²² à Boulogne, en mars 1792, elle est même qualifiée de “chef des aristocrates”²³. Mais ce qui devient pour elle son moment de gloire²⁴ est le jour où elle doit subir des “mauvais traitements”²⁵, lorsqu’elle est insultée et frappée dans la rue le 7 mars 1792²⁶ par “une méchante femme, armée de pierres, qui ne voulait pas laisser entrer à la haute ville les aristocrates”²⁷. Cette affaire a un certain retentissement puisque frère Salomon affirme avoir vu et acheté à Paris une pétition imprimée par des citoyens de Boulogne “tendant à laisser la liberté à chacun de suivre et pratiquer le culte qu’il lui plairait”²⁸. D’ailleurs Rosalie informe son frère qu’elle a porté plainte auprès de la police et qu’elle a déposé devant les juges contre ses persécuteurs. Cet incident, qu’elle qualifie de “belle scène”²⁹, lui permet de s’enorgueillir du titre de “fière aristocrate”³⁰.

La recherche d’appuis politique et économique est une nécessité et une constante pour tout réseau clandestin. Dès lors, les laïcs exercent le rôle de protecteur mais aussi un rôle actif. Lorsqu’il est décrété en état d’arrestation par son évêque, Coignart, prêtre du diocèse d’Ypres, favorable aux jansénistes et en relation avec l’évêque Pierre de Langle, trouve refuge chez le marquis d’Alec, seigneur protestant résidant à Ypres³¹. Le réseau janséniste s’appuie sur les laïcs dans la ville de Saint-Omer afin de cacher des libelles et d’en assurer la diffusion. En 1725, une marchande de toile et un maître menuisier sont condamnés par le Magistrat à une amende de cent écus car on a découvert à leur domicile des libelles jansénistes³². Les commerçants permettent de combler les manquements du réseau. En 1711, Pierre de Langle écrit à l’évêque de Châlons qu’il ne possède pas de “traverse de Châlons à

²⁰ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XVIII, pièce 198m, Extrait des lettres de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Denis, à monseigneur l’archevêque et duc de Reims, du 19 et 27 novembre 1723.

²¹ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 96, 8 avril 1791.

²² A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 99, 16 juillet 1791.

²³ A. Maison généralice des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes de Rome, lettre 113, 18 mars 1792.

²⁴ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 103, 13 avril 1792.

²⁵ A. Maison généralice des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes de Rome, lettre 114, 22 mars 1792.

²⁶ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 103, 13 avril 1792.

²⁷ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 104, 29 mai 1792.

²⁸ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 103, 13 avril 1792.

²⁹ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 104, 29 mai 1792.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XVIII, pièce 198m, Extrait des lettres de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Denis, à monseigneur l’archevêque et duc de Reims, du 19 et 27 novembre 1723.

³² B. M. Saint-Omer, Ms1358, Deneuille, curé de la paroisse de [blanc] de la ville de Saint-Omer, *Annales de la ville de Saint-Omer, sous les évêques de Saint-Omer, 1553 à 1725*, II (copie du XIXe siècle), p. 438-441.

Boulogne à moins que ce ne fut par les Rouillers qui apportent du vin ici et reportent du hareng³³ mais il conclut en précisant que ce moyen manque de sûreté et de fréquence. Les réseaux clandestins sont par définition des réseaux interlopes et, à ce titre, ont de nombreux liens avec les autres réseaux clandestins, comme ceux des contrebandiers. Il est intéressant de noter que ces derniers sont mentionnés dans tous les réseaux étudiés comme étant des recours pour transporter des marchandises prohibées, comme des livres, mais certaines familles de contrebandiers sont des éléments actifs des réseaux, comme la famille Leclercq, dont l'un des membres a également été corsaire durant la guerre de Sept Ans.

Les lieux

Afin de diffuser leurs idées et prendre à parti l'opinion publique, les réseaux clandestins cherchent des endroits où ils peuvent s'exprimer publiquement, ce qui fait des églises des endroits privilégiés. Plusieurs prêtres proches du réseau janséniste profitent de leur sermon dominical³⁴. L'affrontement fait également partie des stratégies utilisées pour exister dans l'espace public. Cet affrontement peut être recherché, comme dans le cas de prêtres antijansénistes qui assistent aux prênes des prêtres jansénistes et s'y opposent verbalement³⁵. Réussir à diffuser ses idées au sein même d'un séminaire est un véritable moyen de pérenniser l'action entreprise. C'est pourquoi le réseau janséniste diffuse des imprimés dans les séminaires du diocèse de Boulogne-sur-Mer mais également dans ceux des diocèses voisins. En juillet 1723, Antoine Pagart, un des chefs du séminaire de Saint-Omer, est surpris en train de distribuer aux élèves "un pernicieux livre" janséniste³⁶. C'est l'une des raisons qui explique pourquoi Frère Salomon s'empresse de demander à sa sœur, dès juillet 1790, si le séminaire de Boulogne est conservé. En mars 1792, il regrette amèrement le remplacement des "prêtres catholiques par des prêtres constitutionnels" à la tête du petit séminaire, ce qui fera de cette maison une "école d'erreur"³⁷.

Disposer d'une imprimerie est indispensable au bon fonctionnement de tout réseau clandestin. Dès lors, son emplacement est un choix stratégique fondamental. Le réseau antijanséniste en installe une dans le couvent des Récollets de Pernes³⁸, paroisse située au milieu du diocèse de Boulogne. Si l'on ne peut en installer une dans le diocèse, à proximité, il convient de s'assurer de pouvoir utiliser une imprimerie proche. Le réseau antijanséniste a recours à des imprimeries parisiennes mais également à celles situées dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens, notamment à Ypres mais cela pose le problème du franchissement de la frontière avec des imprimés

³³ B. N. France, Ms 23207, fol. 145v.

³⁴ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XVIII, pièce 112m, copie de la lettre de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Omer, au sieur Grévy, de Calais, datée du 20 juillet 1723.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 104, 29 mai 1792

³⁸ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, tome XIII, pièce 136, lettre datée du 29 mars 1721 d'un récollet de Pernes à l'évêque de Soissons. "Nous avons été obligés d'avoir recours à une imprimerie secrète qui est depuis deux ou trois ans précisément employée pour la défense de la Constitution."

interdits. Il convient également d'avoir un endroit pour stocker les imprimés, les ouvrages en attendant leur distribution. Il s'agit dans la plupart des cas des maisons des laïcs, comme celle de Rosalie Le Clercq par exemple. Il convient ensuite de faire circuler ces imprimés, à l'intérieur du diocèse de Boulogne ou à l'extérieur. Les possibilités sont nombreuses, et nous les aborderons dans les lignes qui suivent, mais il faut mettre en avant l'importance des ports, lieu par excellence de la contrebande. L'analyse des trois réseaux permet de montrer l'importance des ports de Boulogne-sur-Mer, de Dunkerque et de Calais afin d'être connecté aux espaces de production d'imprimés que sont les Pays-Bas autrichien et les Provinces-Unies³⁹.

Dans les trois cas, les réseaux incluent des "lieux-refuges". L'évêque Pierre de Langle ouvre son diocèse aux ecclésiastiques jansénistes en nommant aux bénéfices curiaux des prêtres soutenant sa cause, comme par exemple un canonicat à Notre-Dame de Boulogne⁴⁰. C'est ainsi que Jean-Baptiste Gaultier, diacre persécuté par l'évêque d'Evreux pour ses convictions, devient chanoine puis vicaire général du diocèse de Boulogne⁴¹. Des biens personnels sont également utilisés pour le fonctionnement du réseau. De nombreux jansénistes sont accueillis dans les propriétés de l'évêque boulonnais qui se situent à Boulogne, à Evreux et à Paris⁴². A partir de 1791, frère Salomon envisage de se constituer un refuge à Boulogne. Le 15 février 1791, il se dit satisfait de l'acquisition que sa sœur vient de faire d'"une petite maison de la haute ville"⁴³ et précise qu'elle conviendra parfaitement pour lui et frère Lothaire. Le 15 septembre 1791, il propose à sa sœur de lui louer sa maison d'habitation actuelle en entier tandis qu'elle louera une petite maison dans la haute ville, qui pourra lui servir de refuge ultime⁴⁴ et qui aurait l'avantage de se situer dans une rue retirée et solitaire⁴⁵. Ne pouvant plus se rendre en toute tranquillité à la messe qui, de plus, est célébrée par un prêtre constitutionnel, Rosalie Le Clercq décide de prendre part à la constitution d'une église clandestine. Déjà, en avril 1791, frère Salomon lui assure que "les vrais catholiques s'organisent en faisant de leurs maisons de véritables petites églises"⁴⁶ et il se dit satisfait que celle de sa sœur soit fréquentée mais rappelle que tout se cela ne peut faire que sous l'égide de l'évêque. En mai 1791, frère Salomon félicite sa sœur qui héberge dans sa maison un prêtre réfractaire qui, ainsi, célèbre la messe pour toute la famille et d'autres personnes⁴⁷ qu'il convient d'admettre avec prudence.

³⁹ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1553, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Monsieur l'abbé Ernst [Ruth d'Ans], datée du 29 novembre 1723. fol. 2-2v.

⁴⁰ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1792, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Louail, datée de La Ronce, le 20 mai 1720, fol. 2 v.

⁴¹ A. Utrecht, P. R. 6011, lettre de Pierre de Langle à J.-B. Gaultier, datée de Paris, le 14 janvier 1717, fol. 1v.

⁴² A. Utrecht, P. R. 1792, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Louail, datée du 6 septembre 1720, fol. 1v.

⁴³ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 95, 15 février 1791.

⁴⁴ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 101, 15 septembre 1791.

⁴⁵ A. Maison généralice des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes de Rome, lettre 114, 22 mars 1792.

⁴⁶ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 96, 8 avril 1791.

⁴⁷ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 97, 27 mai 1791.

Nous avons choisi de présenter le fonctionnement de ces réseaux à partir d'une zone géographique déterminée. Il apparaît que les personnes permettant le fonctionnement des réseaux disposent tous de lieux, d'adresses situées hors de la zone étudiée, hors des diocèses septentrionaux. Ces endroits peuvent être des "lieux-refuges", comme la propriété privée de Pierre de Langle à Evreux ou la maison occupée par frère Salomon à Paris à partir de 1791, ou alors des séminaires, comme le séminaire oratorien de Saint Magloire à Paris, véritable point d'ancrage pour les jansénistes.

Les vecteurs

Le vecteur le plus usité est la lettre. Afin de les acheminer, il existe trois possibilités. Tout d'abord, le moyen le plus courant, le recours à la poste à lettres, l'insertion du courrier dans une lettre adressée à une tierce personne ou le portage pour une personne de confiance directement. Ces possibilités sont utilisées en fonction de l'importance de la correspondance et de la nécessité d'une sécurité renforcée. Différentes méthodes sont utilisées afin d'accroître la sécurité, certains correspondants ont plusieurs adresses, comme le conseille l'évêque de Châlons, Gaston de Noailles, en 1714 à l'évêque Pierre de Langle⁴⁸. Les correspondants du réseau janséniste ont pour habitude d'indiquer la date de la dernière lettre reçue ce qui permet de garder une mémoire de la correspondance et se rendre compte de la disparition d'une lettre ou d'un retard important⁴⁹.

Une lettre peut également être incluse dans une lettre adressée à un tiers qui en assurera la transmission. En 1720, l'évêque Pierre de Langle conseille à Louail "de changer [son] adresse et de [se] servir de celle-ci avec une enveloppe à M. le comte de Bruzeville en sa terre de Houtebic à Houtebic par Vernon et en Haut Vernon"⁵⁰. L'exemple le plus intéressant de cette pratique est celui de la correspondance de frère Salomon en 1791 et en 1792. Sa famille, les Le Clercq de Boulogne, sont parents de l'épouse de Brissot de Warville, le député girondin. Celle-ci fait parvenir à Rosalie Le Clercq les lettres et les paquets contenant des imprimés en faisant usage du cachet de l'assemblée nationale, ce qui garantit une réelle sécurité aux échanges⁵¹.

Enfin, dans le cas des correspondances les plus importantes, le courrier est transmis de main à main, sans passer par la poste, par une personne de confiance qui effectue spécialement le trajet ou qui profite d'un voyage réalisé pour une autre raison, dans ce cas on fait souvent appel à un commerçant. On peut demander à un

⁴⁸ "Je joins à cette lettre la première adresse que je vous avais donnée. Il n'est pas mauvais d'en avoir plus d'une afin de rompre les chiens". A. Utrecht, P. R. 1377, lettre de Gaston de Noailles, évêque de Châlons, à Pierre de Langle, datée du 19 mars 1714, fol. 2v.

⁴⁹ "Les deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, Monseigneur, le 22 et le 27 du mois passé, m'ont été fidèlement rendues sans qu'il m'ait paru par les dates qu'elles aient été retardées", A. Utrecht, P. R. 1377, lettre de Gaston de Noailles, évêque de Châlons, à Pierre de Langle, datée du 19 octobre 1714, fol 1.

⁵⁰ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1792, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Louail, datée de La Ronce, le 15 mai 1720, fol. 1v-2.

⁵¹ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 96, 8 avril 1791.

émissaire d'effectuer le trajet, comme en 1718, lorsque Pasquier Quesnel, membre du réseau janséniste d'Utrecht, dans les Provinces-Unies, demande à un nommé Backusius de se rendre à Boulogne afin de remettre des lettres à plusieurs destinataires⁵².

Lorsqu'un colis important doit être transmis, pour plus de sécurité, il peut être transporté en plusieurs fois. En 1715, un membre du réseau janséniste demande à un résident d'Anvers de lui envoyer à Paris les colis qu'il a en sa possession. Pour cela, il lui demande de "les faire venir à Bruxelles en petits paquets et de les faire mettre là à l'adresse de Monseigneur le chancelier de Pontchartrain et cela d'ordinaire en ordinaire"⁵³. C'est ce qu'effectue également frère Salomon lorsqu'il envoie de nombreux imprimés à sa sœur Rosalie.

La lettre peut être explicite, partiellement ou totalement codée. Le secret est nécessaire pour le bon fonctionnement et la pérennité du réseau. Les noms d'emprunt sont fréquents, l'évêque de Boulogne étant surnommé Boulouf⁵⁴ par exemple. Plusieurs passages des lettres sont codés et demeurent obscurs.

La structuration des réseaux est savamment calculée. Il est possible de distinguer des routes "communes", pour la correspondance, des routes de secours en cas de danger ainsi que des routes spécialisées. En 1723, dans une lettre, l'évêque Pierre de Langle nous offre une description de son réseau. Il informe son interlocuteur que lorsqu'il aura "quelque chose de curieux, difficile à faire passer par les voies ordinaires [il pourra se] servir de celle-ci, dont [il lui donnera] l'adresse. [Il n'aura] qu'à les envoyer à Charleroi où ils iront apparemment sans aucun danger et là [ses] correspondants les prendront pour les faire rendre à Boulogne sans aussi qu'il arrive aucun accident"⁵⁵. Les itinéraires sont terrestres ou maritimes. Le réseau janséniste utilise le port de Dunkerque afin de transmettre ou recevoir des ouvrages en provenance des Provinces-Unies⁵⁶. En novembre 1791, afin de correspondre avec son frère qui réside à Paris, Rosalie Le Clercq doit adresser la lettre à M. Brissot à l'adresse ordinaire de son frère à Melun, où il résidait précédemment, afin que les frères lasalliens qui réceptionneront la lettre puissent la lui transmettre à Paris.⁵⁷

Les flux

On transmet dans tous les cas des informations officielles, les textes de loi mais aussi les documents pontificaux. La collecte d'informations est la raison première des réseaux clandestins catholiques. En 1720, l'évêque Pierre de Langle écrit qu'il est "très aise d'apprendre de plusieurs endroits les mêmes nouvelles, outre qu'elles servent de confirmation les unes aux autres, chacune contient des

⁵² A. Utrecht, P. R. 1044, lettre de Jean-Baptiste Gaultier à Dupuis, datée du 19 avril 1718, fol. 1.

⁵³ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1302, lettre de Monnier à M. de La Place, datée de Paris, le 12 décembre 1715, fol. 1.

⁵⁴ *Lexicon pseudonymorum jansenisticorum. Répertoire de noms d'emprunt employés au cours de l'histoire janséniste et anti-janséniste*, Louvain, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de théologie, 1989.

⁵⁵ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1553, lettre de Pierre de Langle à l'abbé Ernst [Ruth d'Ans], datée du 29 novembre 1723, fol. 2-2.

⁵⁶ *Idem*, fol. 2-2v.

⁵⁷ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 102, 25 novembre 1791.

circonstances quelquefois que les autres ne disent pas⁵⁸. Chaque semaine, l'évêque reçoit de ses correspondants ce qu'il nomme la "feuille des nouvelles courantes"⁵⁹ et qui contient un récit circonstancié des nouvelles, des rumeurs et des publications qui circulent à Paris, en province et à Rome. Les jansénistes diffusent les informations au public par l'intermédiaire de leur périodique clandestin, les *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Constitution Unigenitus*⁶⁰. Afin d'être parfaitement informé des agissements des réseaux concurrents, certains membres sont chargés d'assister aux prêches et aux sermons, au risque de se faire verbalement agressé⁶¹. Dans une lettre datée du 20 juillet 1723, Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Omer, raconte dans le détail le sermon d'un prêtre projanséniste qu'il a entendu le 4 juillet de la même année⁶². Dès le début de la Révolution, les catholiques sont dans la nécessité de se tenir informer des récentes évolutions législatives et de l'opinion publique. Rosalie et frère Salomon échangent des informations précieuses dans leur correspondance. Ils se communiquent les mandements ou les imprimés importants à leurs yeux. Rosalie transmet les mandements de l'évêque de Boulogne⁶³ ou des ouvrages comme "les prédictions du serviteur de Dieu Benoît Joseph Labre"⁶⁴, tandis que lui envoie les imprimés qu'il peut trouver à Paris. Ces envois sont primordiaux selon frère Salomon car ils doivent permettre d'instruire les personnes "dans l'erreur faute de lecture de bons ouvrages"⁶⁵. Il est possible à la lecture de ces lettres d'établir une liste, certes incomplète, des imprimés qui circulent à Boulogne en provenance de Paris dans ce réseau. En novembre 1790, il est transmet "un petit écrit et des prières"⁶⁶, ce qui était courant dans les lettres échangées durant les années prérévolutionnaires. Le 8 avril 1791, il transmet un imprimé intitulé *Avis aux vrais Catholiques*. Il lui envoie aussi, en juillet 1791, cet avis accompagné des *Nouvelles instructions* et *l'Ame unie à Jésus-Christ*, ainsi que *l'Apologie du clergé*, dans sa seconde édition, et *Mon Apologie*. Il indique tout de même, le 16 juillet 1791, qu'il lui est plus difficile de se procurer de telles brochures depuis que les frères lasalliens

⁵⁸ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1792, lettre de Pierre de Langle à Louail, datée du 23 octobre 1718, fol 2.

⁵⁹ A. Utrecht, P. R. 2814, lettre de Pierre de Langle à l'abbé d'Etémare, datée du 22 mai 1718, fol 1.

⁶⁰ On consultera sur ce périodique la synthèse d'Olivier Andurand, *Le bon évêque janséniste existe-t-il ? La vision de l'évêque idéal dans les Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* (à paraître), ainsi que Michel Albaric, *Regard des jansénistes sur l'Église de France de 1780 à 1790 d'après les Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, "Chroniques de Port-Royal", n° 39, Paris, 1990, p. 65-79; Madeleine Foisil, Françoise de Noïfontaine, Isabelle Flandrois, *Un journal de polémique et de propagande. Les nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, "Histoire, Économie et Société", 1991, 3, p. 399-420; Bernard Plongeron, *Une image de l'Église d'après les « Nouvelles ecclésiastiques » (1728-1790)*, "Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France" 53 (1967), 151, p. 241-268 et Dufresne de Chauvinière, *Les nouvelles ecclésiastiques et la bulle Unigenitus*, Mémoire de Maîtrise de l'Université de Paris I, 1953.

⁶¹ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, tome XVIII, pièce 112m, copie de la lettre de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Omer, au sieur Grésky, de Calais, datée du 20 juillet 1723.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ A. Maison généralice des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes de Rome, lettre 97, 23 mai 1789.

⁶⁴ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 101, 15 septembre 1791.

⁶⁵ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 99, 16 juillet 1791.

⁶⁶ A. Maison généralice des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes de Rome, lettre 105, 4 novembre 1790.

ont été obligés de quitter la paroisse Saint Roch. En septembre 1791, Rosalie reçoit les *Beaux commandements ou maximes*⁶⁷. En mars 1792, il envoie à sa sœur un livre sur l'éducation des enfants, un ouvrage sur la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement et des exhortations sur le Carême, offertes par le curé de Saint-Sulpice⁶⁸. Le 29 mai 1792, Rosalie reçoit la brochure *Aux âmes chrétiennes*⁶⁹.

On diffuse également des imprimés, des libelles, des livres réalisés par ou pour des membres du réseau. Celui du prélat de Boulogne compte des libraires et des imprimeurs clandestins parmi ses membres⁷⁰. En 1723, Cousin, prêtre antijanséniste, se félicite d'avoir pu mettre un terme au projet de l'évêque de Boulogne, Pierre de Langle, et du sieur Coignart, prêtre du diocèse d'Ypres, qui consistait à "infester de pernicious livres le diocèse de Saint-Omer"⁷¹. Des informations, recueillies par le réseau antijanséniste sur les agissements de leurs adversaires, se retrouvent dans le "Supplément de la Gazette de Hollande"⁷², périodique contenant les nouvelles favorables à la Constitution. Dans le supplément d'octobre 1720, on désigne Gardel, curé de la paroisse Saint-Sépulcre de Saint-Omer, comme "colporteur du parti pour ce diocèse"⁷³.

Les livres circulent sous forme imprimée mais également sous la forme de copies manuscrites. Un prêtre de Boulogne antijanséniste informe l'évêque de Soissons qu'il a dépensé trois cents livres en ouvrages sur la défense de la Constitution et qu'il en a fait faire des copies afin de les diffuser au sein de son réseau⁷⁴. Le 16 juillet 1791, frère Salomon transmet à sa sœur six exemplaires de l'*Avis aux vrais Catholiques* et six exemplaires des *Nouvelles instructions et l'âme unie à Jésus-Christ*, mais ne pouvant plus en envoyer plusieurs exemplaires en raison du coût d'acquisition trop élevé depuis que les frères ont quitté la paroisse Saint-Roch, il lui conseille de copier les *Maximes* afin de les diffuser.

Diffuser un imprimé est l'une des manières les plus efficaces afin de répandre ses idées et informer l'opinion publique. Le 30 juin 1723, un imprimé intitulé *Lettre d'un abbé à un chanoine de Saint-Omer* est brûlé publiquement sur ordre de l'évêque de Saint-Omer. Cet imprimé n'est pas le seul à être diffusé dans Saint-Omer. Dans ses *Annales de Saint-Omer*, Deneuille, curé audomarois, note que des hommes ambitieux (les jansénistes) "employèrent des libelles diffamatoires de toutes espèces, des ouvrages de ténèbres qu'ils faisaient répandre pendant la nuit

⁶⁷ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 101, 15 septembre 1791.

⁶⁸ A. Maison généralice des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes de Rome, lettre 114, 22 mars 1792.

⁶⁹ A. Lasalliennes de Lyon, lettre 104, 29 mai 1792.

⁷⁰ A. Utrecht, P. R. 1553, lettre de Pierre de Langle à monsieur l'abbé Ernest [Ruth d'Ans], datée du 29 novembre 1723, fol. 2-2v.

⁷¹ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XVIII, pièce 198m, extrait des lettres de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Denis, à monseigneur l'archevêque et duc de Reims, datées du 19 et 27 novembre 1723.

⁷² <http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/1236-supplement-la-gazette-dhollande>.

⁷³ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, XII, pièce 56, *Supplément à la gazette de Hollande*, octobre 1720.

⁷⁴ B. M. Sens, collection Languet, XIII, p. 167.

dans les rues et places publiques de Saint-Omer”⁷⁵. Après la diffusion de deux lettres, brûlées en place publique par ordre du magistrat de Saint-Omer, on diffuse des dénonciations faites à l’évêque de Saint-Omer qui sont répandues pendant la nuit à la fin de mars 1724. L’auteur pro-janséniste réussit à diffuser une dénonciation de la doctrine enseignée au séminaire de Saint-Omer en plein jour en arguant de l’approbation officielle, en l’occurrence celle d’un archidiacre de Bruges⁷⁶.

Conclusion

Les réseaux étudiés ne sont pas les seuls à agir et parfois ils se superposent et interagissent. En juin 1723, un imprimé antijanséniste est distribué à Saint-Omer à la surprise de la cheville ouvrière du réseau antijanséniste dans ce diocèse, qui ne connaît ni l’auteur, ni le distributeur⁷⁷. Ils présentent aussi de fortes similitudes avec ceux des protestants étudiés par Alain Joblin⁷⁸.

Malgré des similitudes dans le fonctionnement, les réseaux diffèrent sensiblement dans leur organisation. Les trois schémas que nous proposons en annexe permettent de visualiser les différences. Le premier met en évidence la centralité de Boulogne dans le réseau janséniste. Cela est dû à la personnalité et à l’importance de Pierre de Langle dans le mouvement janséniste. Le diocèse sert de refuge et de lieu de passage pour les hommes et les imprimés. Les liaisons sont multiples avec d’autres villes où résident des jansénistes. Le réseau antijanséniste étudié est basé dans le diocèse de Saint-Omer afin de centraliser les informations en provenance de Paris, de Soissons et de Reims principalement mais également des éléments agissant dans le diocèse de Boulogne-sur-Mer. Le réseau réfractaire se met en place avec les lois révolutionnaires et se focalise autour de l’évêque Asseline.

Dans l’état actuel de nos recherches, il apparaît que de nombreuses pistes restent encore à explorer afin de percevoir l’ampleur de ces réseaux et leurs modalités d’adaptation aux circonstances et aux événements.

⁷⁵ B. M. Saint-Omer, Ms 1358, Deneuille, curé de la paroisse de [blanc] de la ville de Saint-Omer, *Annales de la ville de Saint-Omer, sous les évêques de Saint-Omer, 1553 à 1725*, tome II (copie du XIXe siècle), p. 438-441.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁷ B. M. Sens, collection Languet de Gergy, tome XVIII, pièce 112m, copie de la lettre de monsieur Cousin, prêtre de Saint-Omer, au sieur Grésy, de Calais, datée du 20 juillet 1723.

⁷⁸ Alain Joblin, *Les protestants de la côte au XVIIe siècle (Boulonnais, Calaisis)*, Paris, 2012; *Les protestants du Nord de la France et des anciens Pays-Bas (XVIe -XIXe siècle)*, “Revue du Nord (Lille III)”, tome 94, n° 395, avril-juin 2012.

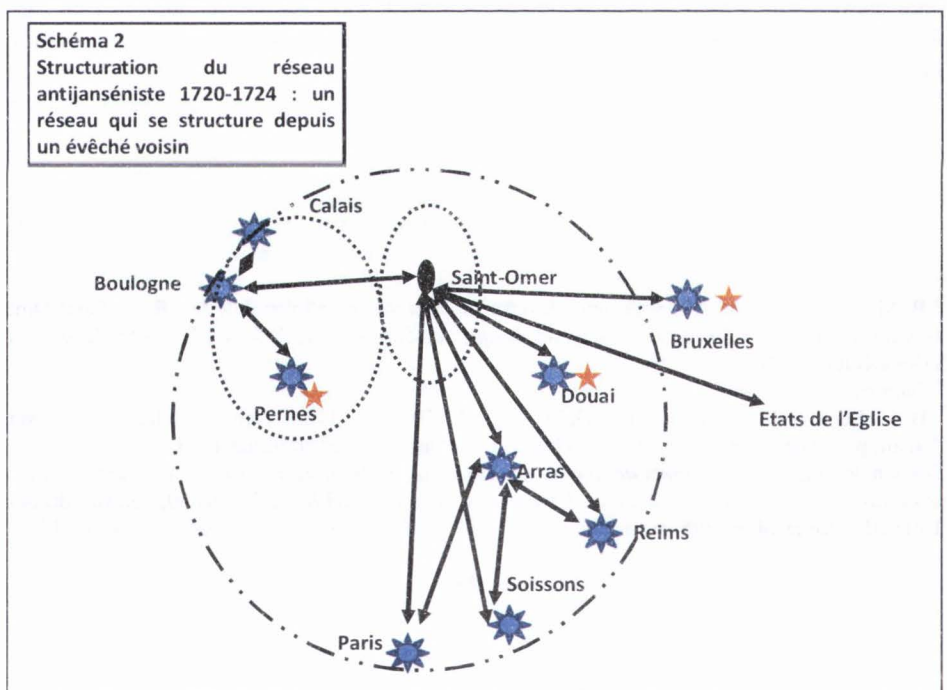
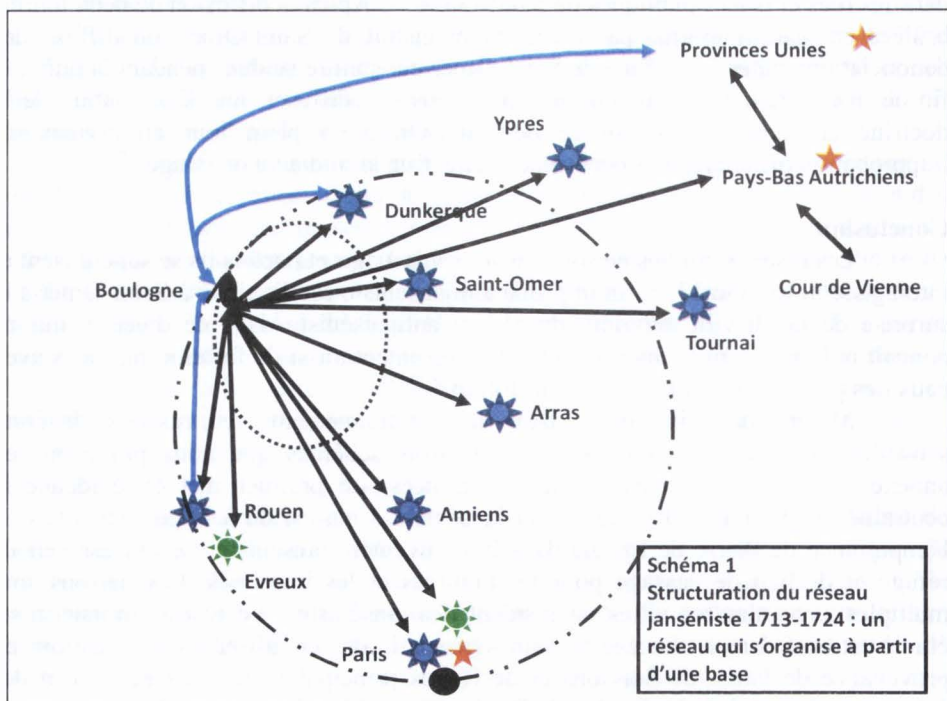
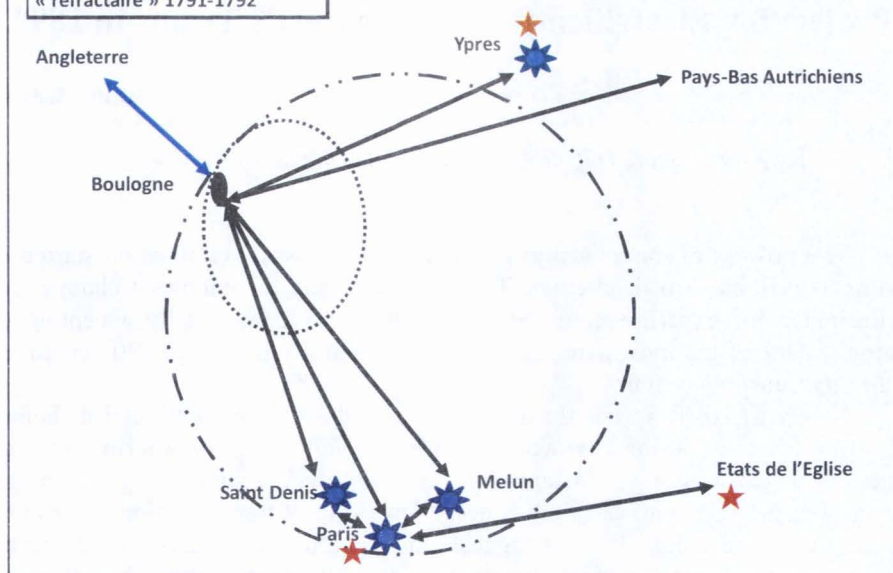







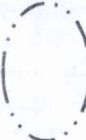


Schéma 3
Structuration du réseau
« réfractaire » 1791-1792



Légende

-  Ville centre du réseau étudié
-  Voie maritime
-  Route terrestre
-  Imprimerie
-  Biens personnels d'un des membres
-  Ville extérieure au diocèse où sont des correspondants
-  Diocèse de Boulogne
-  Royaume de France

The Debate of Modernization.

A Project for Electrification of Bucharest's Trams in 1899.

Simion Câlția

Keywords: modernization; urban history; means of transport

The process of modernization generated by industrial civilization started in Romania as well as abroad, in cities. They were not only the engine of change, but also the place for experimenting the new, testing it and eventually accepting or rejecting it. One of the most dynamic aspects of urban life in 19th and 20th centuries was the city transport system.

Urban transport is not the invention of industrial revolution. But, before 1800, just a few cities around the world were big enough to sustain a form – be it an incipient form – of passenger transport. In the 19th century, As a consequence of the urban growth, a larger number of cities need some form of transportation that can be used daily by its residents. For the biggest cities, public transport is a fundamental necessity, without which its growth and development are affected. The relentless growth of people travelling daily inside the cities keeps the transport systems under continuous pressure and forces them to expand, modernize and sometimes to reinvent themselves. Such a major reinvention takes place between 1880 and World War I, when the horse tram networks – the preferred way of transport in cities – are replaced by electric trams.

Between 1880 and 1890, especially in the United States, the technological challenges presented by electric trams are solved, after that the electric tram experiences a very rapid spreading. Most old tramways – be it horsecar, cable car or steam tram – are electrified and the new tramways, built after 1890, are almost exclusively electrical. European cities follow the same trend, but at a somewhat slower pace. The electrification of European trams was based on technological and expertise import from United States. Two American companies owned technological monopoly for the electric tram (General Electric and Westinghouse). They have contributed to the electrification of European trams, by directly exporting the necessary equipment or creating subsidiaries or partnerships with European companies, the Americans providing patents and technological expertise (such as partnerships with German companies AEG and Siemens). In the two decades preceding the First World War many projects of electric trams are discussed in European cities and a large number of them are implemented.

At the end of the 19th century, the electric tram was one of the most complex technological systems existing at that time. For that time, it represented not just a novelty, but a major challenge for municipalities that wanted to adopt it. Electricity – both on a scientific level, but as an economic application – was a very new field. Specialists – engineers, technicians and even ordinary workers – able to use it were

very few, and the first two categories were difficult to train. Using electrical power as driving force, especially adapting it to moving vehicles, represented a special area difficult even for those familiar with the use of electricity.

Horse trams could be built and operated using almost entirely local materials and labour, and getting rails was not an issue anymore, at the end of the 19th century. Instead, constructing an electric tram required people and resources that for most countries were to be imported from abroad.

In almost all European countries, trams themselves are imported (usually from German partners of U.S. firms). In the same situation are the electrical equipment necessary for tram operation (high voltage cables, transformers, etc.), all being for that period technologically sophisticated products. Also from abroad are the specialists who design lines and those who – at least initially – lead tram operation. At the end of the 19th century enough cities, including from Romania, are partially lit by electricity. But other technological solutions prevail. Air gas¹, rapeseed oil, kerosene or heavy mineral oils are the most common. Consequently, most power plants are small or very small, some being built to provide electricity to illuminate only one building (theatre, hospital, and so on). Such power plants cannot support a much higher consumption required by the electric tram, therefore municipalities (or tram operating companies) must build far bigger power plants.

A final point that makes electric tram an attempt much more difficult than the horse tram is the financial aspect. The costs of installing a single line are very high; when it comes to an entire network and a power plant, in addition, they add up to an amount much higher than that of the horse tram. There are large amounts that exceed the annual revenue of a municipality, and therefore municipalities have to find other forms of financing. Due to high initial capital, amortization is spread over long periods of time, always exceeding a decade, sometimes more. In this situation, municipalities have two solutions. If they want to operate their own tram, they must borrow long-term (2-3 decades or longer). This is not an easy solution in the 19th century, because the rapid modernization rate already puts a lot of pressure on municipalities' budgets, and loans are often used for utility equipment that cannot be made only at the expense of the municipality (e.g. paving streets).

A second solution – the most widely used at the time – is the concession of electric tram to a private company. The company gets hold of the money (usually by issuing shares), builds and operates tram line, and the profit gained by operating the tram will pay shares' dividends and, where applicable, company debts. These companies have a guaranteed service period, usually a number of decades, so they can recover the initial investment. The municipality is exempt from the need to raise the initial capital, the daily concerns of operating it, and as well of any risks if the business is not profitable². But to achieve the concession, negotiations are in most

¹ A fuel gas obtained from coal distillation.

² The risks are not theoretical. In 1930, in Western Europe and Anglo-Saxon America, cities of over 100,000 inhabitants without trams are a rarity, but in the 80s of the 20th century probably less than 1% of these cities have tram! All others had to let the trams go because it becomes unprofitable (in some cases even with substantial municipal funds).

cases very difficult because in such cases the interests of parties and politicians in charge of municipal councils and municipalities rarely harmonize.

Despite these substantial difficulties, the late 19th century and early 20th century witness a real “boom” of the electric tram. The reasons are many, but a few stand out. First, the electric tram is more profitable. Horse tram, cheap to install, has substantial operating costs. First it requires a large number of horses (a horse cannot pull the wagon from morning until evening, if there are slopes or if the traffic requires larger cars, there have to be two horses, and so on). Horses are very frail; the diseases are transmitted very quickly in urban areas, especially in companies tram stables which house hundreds of animals generally³. Accidents are frequent, and their increased number is proportional to traffic density, the horses in large cities are more likely to be incapacitated⁴. In conclusion, the life of a horse is counted in years⁵, requiring continuous costs on behalf of tram companies for buying new horses. By contrast, the life of an electric street car is measured in decades, some operating for more than half a century. The high speed of electric tram allows it to carry more passengers in the same time; an electric car can replace several horse carriages, which tilts the balance even further in favour of electric traction. Unlike horses, electric tram uses (and therefore costs) only when it is in operation.

Secondly, the electric tram is more attractive. Besides the inherent fascination of novelty, it is faster, allowing people to save time, is illuminated at night and warm in winter. Finally, it does not pollute; horse dung left in the cities is, in the 19th century, a burning issue of municipalities, especially in major cities where many animals are used. Public transport is one of the main users of pack animals, and therefore one of the major urban pollutants (American cities were using, in 1880 a hundred thousand horses and mules just to pull the wagons of horse trams, and in Paris the two companies of public transport have themselves almost 30,000 horses⁶).

All this contributes to the very rapid expansion of electric tram that in two decades (1890-1910) becomes the preferred method of transport within cities.

In 1897 Bucharest already has a well-developed tram network⁷: 46 km, divided into 11 horse tram lines and one electric line⁸ (inaugurated on December 9, 1894⁹). To this are added an omnibus company¹⁰ with 20 vehicles¹¹. It is in this

³ Ghislaine Bouchet, *La traction hippomobile dans les transport publics parisiens (1855-1914)*, “Revue Historique” 108 (1984), 449, p. 125-134 (130).

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 128-129.

⁵ Paul Bairoch, *De Jéricho à Mexico. Villes et économie dans l'histoire*, Paris, 1985, p. 364.

⁶ David E. Nye, *Electrifying America. Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940*, Cambridge, Massachusetts-London, 1997, p. 86; G. Bouchet, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁷ Tram lines were operated by two private companies under concession. In 1899, when discussing the tram electrification project, the two companies were in advanced merger process, so councillors in all their discussions talk about a single company.

⁸ On the routes of newly inaugurated east-west avenues (Pake, Carol, Elisabeta and then Splaiul Dâmboviței to Grozăvești).

⁹ Ștefan Bălan, Nicolae Șt. Mihăilescu, *Istoria științei și tehnicii în România. Date cronologice*, Bucharest, 1985, p. 217.

context that, in December 1899, the Bucharest Municipal Council discusses the draft of concession regarding the electrification of tramways in the capital.

The content of the project is accessible only indirectly and partially, through the discussions of Municipal Council. The mayor, Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea aims to develop a new concession contract with those who exploit Bucharest tram lines with new obligations on both sides. Before starting the analysis of the council's discussions, we will review the main points of the concession.

The municipality was extending the tram concession with 33 years over the 17 who were left in the current concession¹². The duration of the new concession was therefore 50 years, a period long enough to allow the amortization of the considerable investment necessary for the electrification of the tram.

The tramway Company undertakes that within seven years after the signing of the new concession to electrify all tram lines¹³. The Company paid the municipality once (probably at the signing of the concession) the amount of two millions lei. It was introduced a new way of calculating the tickets resulting, for most travellers, in a travel price reduced from 20-30 to 10 bani¹⁴. The tram Company was required to introduce new technological solutions to preserve the good appearance of the city (in the downtown streets the Diatto system¹⁵ – a system of supplying power through electrical contacts located in pavement¹⁶) and to reduce noise (an overhead wire system¹⁷ for the remaining streets). As before, the Company is bound to pave the streets: between the rail if it was single line, and the whole street if it was double track¹⁸, but double lines were for new concessions more numerous¹⁹.

¹⁰ Omnibuses are basically horse “buses” of the era, a kind of coach, usually capable of carrying 12 to 25 passengers. They are invented in France in the 20s of the 19th century. François Laisney, *Les omnibus à Paris: aux origines de la mobilité pour tous, 1828-1885*, in *Villes françaises dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle. Embellissement, équipement, transformations*, Paris, 2006, p. 139-154.

¹¹ Statistics from *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României*, I, part IV, [Bucharest], 1898, p. 756.

¹² National Archives, Bucharest Department, Bucharest Municipality Fond, Secretarial Service [hereafter, ANDMB, PMB Fond, Secretariat], file 1/1899, f 229v.

¹³ *Ibidem*, f 225r.

¹⁴ A significant reduction, if we think that many people would have their wages between 50 and 100 lei per month! *Ibidem*, f 214v.

¹⁵ After the name of the producing company, an Italian company founded in the first half of the 19th century by Guglielmo Diatto. It's specialized in manufacture of vehicles, carriages initially, then in the second half of the 19th century railway material and trams, and after 1900 cars as well. It achieves maximum development at the end of World War I, it is one of the leading industrial groups in Italy. <http://www.diatto.com/IT/pagine/azienda.html>, accessed on 16 December 2012.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f 215r.

¹⁷ During discussions this system is called “Trolet”, “Trolley” or, in a later discussion, “Trolley”! (latest version is correct). The system is currently used by trolleys, but with a single collector, circuit being closed by rails. *Ibidem*, f 215r, 225v; file 1/1900, f 198v.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, file 1/1899, f 200r, 215r.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f 223v, 229v.

The new draft deals with some problems in dispute between the municipality and tramways Company, especially the problem of two lei on car fee, for which the two ended in court²⁰.

The debate was very animated, often vehement, although only one month before the council unanimously authorized Delavrancea to enter into negotiations with the Tramways Society. It emerges quite clearly two sides: one opposing the project, a very loud minority, another led by Delavrancea himself that argues for tram electrification project. We will not follow the debates chronological, but we will try to systematize the views held by the two sides, opting for a presentation on topics of the ideas under discussion.

One of the most debated points is the electric traction. It may seem surprising that it be disputed at a time when it was rapidly adopted throughout Europe, and the electric trams were already used in other cities in Romania or were about to be introduced²¹. There are two explanations: on the one hand, it is the essential element of the new concession. If opponents manage to convince the majority of councillors of the inopportunity of tram electrification in Bucharest, the proposed concession fell. On the other hand, all technologies, especially those that spread very quickly, stir anxieties, fears and oppositions. Electric tram is no exception, both in the United States and in Europe there is a trend, a marginally one, trying to counter the new means of transport, presenting it as loud and annoying, but mostly unsafe, dangerous, even criminal.

The opponents try to argue that electric traction is not suitable to Bucharest or Romania. The majority of their arguments can be grouped into two categories: 1. for an agricultural country like Romania, electric traction is inappropriate, horse tram is more appropriate economically; 2. Bucharest's urban structure is improper for electric tram which could become very dangerous!

In the first group, speakers attempt to create an opposition between horse tram – useful to the country, - and electric tram – a benefit for foreigners only. Horse tram gives work to the indigenous people: horses, hay, oats, straw, horseshoes, and so on are produced domestically, as are the pharmaceutical and veterinary services for the many horses used in tram traction. It is relevant one of the city councillors' phrase "An amount of people from the country feed themselves from horse trams"²². We are facing a pre-industrial logic, distributive, where the efficiency and economic productivity is irrelevant, what matters is the ability of the authority to allow people to earn a living. Electric tram income will "go abroad"²³.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 215fr

²¹ Electrical trams were operating in Brăila (1898), Galați (1900), Jassy (1901), but we do not know if all of those tram lines from these cities were electrified or if horse trams still existed, Ștefan Bălan, Nicolae Șt. Mihăilescu, *Istoria științei și tehnicii în România. Date Cronologice*, Bucharest, 1985, p 217. Jassy's leasing was already discussed and known by some councillors from Bucharest, for they make references to it in their debates; ANDMB, PMB Fond, Secretariat, file 1/1899, f. 228v, 230v.

²² *Ibidem*, f 220v.

²³ *Ibidem*, f 221r.

It is an argument that does not stand counterarguments made by the supporters of the concession²⁴. First, it is refuted the cliché “Romania, agricultural country.” As stated by Delavrancea himself: “it is an absolute necessity for our country not to remain essentially agricultural, in the future [...] that is we industrialize or we perish”²⁵. In Romania “the large industry has started and this will do good for agriculture too”. On the other hand, the consumption of horse tram is insignificant for the country²⁶, and part of it is, according to advisers imported. “But horses used for tram traction are brought from abroad, even feed are sometimes brought from abroad”²⁷. This should not surprise us. The horses for trams are subject to requirements more stringent than those in agriculture (as all horses used for industrial purposes²⁸), therefore the horses from farms are not suitable²⁹. Not all the money from electric trams will go abroad, “oil is Romanian too”³⁰ said one of the councillors (oil or mazut was already used as fuel in place of coal in some steam engines, internal combustion engines are also increasingly being used for powering electric generators).

The second argument is more often present in the discussion. Bucharest and electric trams are presented as mutually incompatible: the capital has many streets “narrow and winding” and introducing electric tram will cause accidents. “Misfortunes will happen”³¹ prophesies one city councillor. Electric traffic cannot coexist without danger to the human and animal one (pedestrians, carriages, carts, etc.); horses will be frightened, pedestrians injured³². These arguments are easily countered, especially by Delavrancea, claiming the experience gained by operating electric trams both in Europe and in Bucharest. There are presented in detail, numerous cases of European cities where electric tram is traveling on winding, narrow streets, sometimes only 6-7 meters wide, “streets where you shake hands with someone across the road.”³³ Cities in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium are claimed as support for Bucharest, whose streets were “widen and aright”³⁴.

²⁴ One of the supporters of horse tram will change its mind as a result of counterarguments. See *Ibidem*, f 220v-2212r, 228r-v.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, f 222r, 226v.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, f 222r.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, f 229.

²⁸ For more details, see Clay McShane, Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007; Joel A. Tarr, *A Note on the Horse as year Urban Power Source*, “Journal of Urban History” 25 (March 1999), p. 434-448; Ann Norton Greene, *Horses at Work. Harnessing Power in Industrial America*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2008.

²⁹ The army faced a similar problem in the second half of the 19th century, domestic horses were not suitable for cavalry or artillery; in time, the Romanian government was forced to invest in horse breeders.

³⁰ ANDMB, PMB Fond, Secretariat, file 1/1899, f 229r.

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 221r, 231r, 232v.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 231r, 232v.

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 223r, 226r, 232v.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 223r.

Various other arguments are invoked, in a marginal manner, against electric tram. It is noisy and disturbs public tranquillity, causing jerks and "buildings, which in our city are not built as solid as abroad, will be threatened."³⁵ In a city cobbled, hit by tens of thousands of hooves daily and as many wheels saddled with iron hoops³⁶, noise is ubiquitous³⁷. The pro-electrification councillors rush to point out that the electric tram, certainly noisy, is not the main source of noise pollution in the capital, and on the other hand, the horse tram which is to be replaced has many drawbacks, more troublesome³⁸. The opponents are trying to combat the obvious advantages of electrification: "The only use of changing traction is that the tram will go faster, but this is not an advantage for the citizens" Obviously, the speaker does not explain how citizens will benefit to lose more time, every day, to travel the same distance³⁹!

A final argument against electric traction is obviously not standing, proving that those who were against electric traction sought to invent anything to make the concession fall. They argue that the municipality should not rush to adopt electric traction for new inventions may arise, which prove more useful: "We live in a time of scientific surprises. [...] Today electricity is fashionable, tomorrow something else will be more beneficial. [...] In the near future, the public can find more advantageous to use the automobiles or even balloons"⁴⁰. It is true that eventually tram transport has been eliminated by the automobiles from many cities, especially in the Western world. But even in the United States, the country where the phenomenon is manifested first and where the car reaches a dynamic unmatched anywhere else, only in the 1930s tramway starts having problems due to competition from cars and buses! In European countries the tram transport remained essential in cities until after World War II. Without being able to know what was coming, councillors supporting the project find, even in 1899, arguments to refute opponents. On behalf of a realistic and sensible policy, they say they have to build with what it exists today, not to sacrifice the present for a hypothetical future, waiting for future inventions, for "we would still use candles"⁴¹. With a startling premonition, a councillor noted that the generalization of automobiles will not harm the public or municipality, but Tramway

³⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 221r.

³⁶ Only growlers and "carriages of Herasca" (public transport carts for rent) are around 2,000, we need to add to this, a number impossible to estimate of private carriages and carts, belonging to townspeople and shops, craft workshops, factories, carriages and wagons of various communal, regional or national institutions (including military units in Bucharest), and not least the hundreds of horses of the trams, *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României*, I, Fasc. IV, [Bucharest], 1898, p. 756.

³⁷ We often tend to see the past in an idyllic light. Cities in other periods, even if they had different range of sounds, were not quieter than today's, mostly noise level was higher. For the period under discussion see for example Peter Payer, *The Age of Noise. Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870-1914*, "Journal of Urban History" 33 (July 2007), p. 773-793.

³⁸ ANDMB, PMB Fond, Secretariat, file 1/1899, f. 222v, 232v.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 231v.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 221r.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, f. 222v, 232v.

Company⁴², which will face a new competitor, so the municipality has no reason to wait⁴³.

The most debated part of the concession proved to be the financial one. The two sides fought so hard to convince each other; some of them that concession in question brings undeniable advantages to the municipality, others that it is a theft of the municipality, with the Company having disproportionate profit and that there are much better options (most involving, directly or indirectly giving up this concession).

The Company's obligation to pave the streets where trams ran has sparked different interpretations. The current lease (assuming the obligations of the old concession) stipulated that on the streets where trams run on a single line, the Company should just pave between the rails while where there are double lines it will pave the entire street⁴⁴. Electric streetcar opponents have tried to minimize this provision, arguing that it exists in the old concession and therefore this project brings no advantage to the city. Or, as they are replied in the hearing, the introduction of electric traction and obligations of the Company under the new concession will lead to the introduction of double lines on all "streets whose width allows it"⁴⁵. In 1899 very few of the existing tram lines were double⁴⁶; the result of applying the new concession will shift a large number of streets from the municipality into the custody of the Company. The municipality will be relieved of a large number of street paving in the centre and can use the means obtained from this measure to pave the outskirts of the city which were lacking⁴⁷. The same arguments duel takes place concerning the snow⁴⁸.

Repeated discussions are stirred by the 2 lei per car fee, for which there is a lawsuit pending between the Company and municipality⁴⁹. The new draft stipulates that the fee is payable on the train, not the wagon. For the horse trams, trains do not have more cars due to low traction power, they would be uneconomic. Electric tram has a much higher power, can carry far more passengers⁵⁰; before the invention of articulated trams, the only way to have a space large enough for transport was to add

⁴² *Ibidem*, f. 229r.

⁴³ Following this reasoning to the end, confronted with possible future inventions, the municipality should sign the concession contract as soon as possible, for the prospect of lower earnings will constrain any private company to offer a much less favourable contract to municipality.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 200r, 215r.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 215r.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 223v. Analysing the plan of Bucharest in 1911, it is clear that the horse tram lines were simple lines, there are only short portions doubled to allow trams to cross.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 215r, 223v, 229v.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 229v.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, f 215r. From the discussion it is not clear why the Company refuses to pay this fee. Probably only one of the old tram companies committed to paying 2 lei a car. The company resulting from the merger refuses to extend the fee to all lines, arguing that it is obliged to pay 2 lei only for the wagons belonging to the company that paid the fee before the merger, and not to other companies' wagons. That would explain why Delavrancea claims in a meeting that he obtained the extension of the fee "on all lines."

⁵⁰ Which first appeared in Boston, 1912-13.

a trailer to the engine wagon. The Company obviously thinks in terms of engine wagon, something that councillors do not understand, and accuse the Company that by this subterfuge would actually pay much less: "The Company will put together 3-4 cars, while today the municipality charges two lei each wagon"⁵¹. In time, these fears proved unfounded: at least until the late thirties, trams had at most a trailer, both from technical and economic reasons. Delavrancea defends this concession made to the Company, insisting that due to the imposition of all lines, this fee revenue will be higher⁵². Both sides miss the main aspect of the problem: due to the transition to electric traction which allows larger and faster trams, a smaller number of cars will be enough to carry the passengers of horse trams, so the total revenue from the wagons fee will decrease substantially⁵³! But the councillors have no technical knowledge to see this.

An issue was raised by a fee on garbage. According to the concession in force, the Company had to pay for each kilometre of line, a fee called "garbage" that grew over time (250 lei per km in the first 5 years, 500 lei for the next 10, then 750 lei per km⁵⁴). It was a compensation for sanitation services of the municipality which must clean the dirt produced by the horses of the tram, the price increase because it was assumed that with the time, the traffic will increase, requiring more frequent wagons, horses, therefore more dirt. The project provides a new fee of 300 lei per km, which does not increase over time. This is an opportunity for councillors who oppose concessions to attack the mayor, claiming that it waives benefits already earned by the municipality, for the Company⁵⁵. In fact, electric tram does not produce dung! Normally, with the electrification, this fee should disappear. Maintaining it is actually a hidden tax⁵⁶, which is charged from the tram Company⁵⁷ by the municipality, and a clear win for municipality, obtained by Delavrancea.

The main benefit, at least in the mayor's eyes, is the amount of two million which the Company is obliged to pay to the municipality for getting the concession. This achievement is highly satisfactory for Delavrancea⁵⁸. At the end of the 19th century, Bucharest sees a rapid demographic growth: if the 1859 census numbers 121,734 inhabitants, the 1899 one registers almost double (276,178⁵⁹), and in 1912 it reaches 341,321⁶⁰ inhabitants. Practically, every decade adds tens of thousands of

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, f. 221v.

⁵² *Ibidem*, f. 215r.

⁵³ Probably 3 to 5 times lower. They will compensate on the long run, with the increase in the number of passengers due to electrification.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 221v.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 221v, 228v.

⁵⁶ Fees are value for services, as long as there are no services, we cannot speak of a fee but a tax!

⁵⁷ Note that the councillors in favour of the concession ask for keeping this fee, although one of them says bluntly that this fee "makes no sense considering the electric tram does not produce the same garbage like horse tram", *Ibidem*, f. 225r, 229v.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 215v.

⁵⁹ Leonida Colescu, *Recensământul general al populației României, Rezultate definitive precedate de o introducere cu explicațiuni și date comparative*, Bucharest, 1905, p. XX.

⁶⁰ *Dicționarul statistic al României întocmit pe baza rezultatelor definitive ale recensământului general al populației din 19 decembrie 1912*, Bucharest, 1914, p. 497.

new residents in need of urban facilities: paved roads, running water, sewage, transportation, schools, hospitals, etc. All these put enormous pressure on the municipality's budget, which has to make many loans to cover at least the most urgent needs. In this context, two million lei is a significant amount, which the municipality may use to pay different urban projects so much needed.

The opponents of the concession cannot deny the utility of this money. Therefore they try to demonstrate on the one hand that through other concessions, the Company recovers the money, on the other that the amount is small compared to the profits that the Tramways Company will have⁶¹. Delavrancea criticize this ungrateful attitude that ignores the lengthy negotiations that increased the amount offered by the Company from 800 000 to 2 000 000 lei, if he "would not mention millions then the council would not have thought about it"⁶².

It is Delavrancea again who presents the two other economic issues that advocates this concession. 1899 is a year of economic crisis, therefore, a public work of the scale of electric tram is a boon for Romania: "Of course it's not a small thing to bestow upon our market an amount of 15-16 million lei, the cost of network extension and transformation of tram equipment by replacing animal traction with electric traction. This great work will exercise through the expense needed a beneficial effect upon"⁶³. A second aspect is even more surprising. Delavrancea states that the municipality's revenues will increase from "the land tax"⁶⁴. This phenomenon, known in the United States at the time, seems to have received little attention in Europe: is the increasing of land value in areas where tram lines were built, leading to increased related taxes obviously. With both arguments, Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea unexpectedly reveals a deep understanding of economic mechanisms in a time when politicians were required only knowledge of the laws and morals of society.

From our perspective, the most important concession that the mayor pulls from the Company is a cost reduction for a journey⁶⁵. Delavrancea imagine a new system, more convenient for the public. In the period, pricing was determined by distance. The line was divided into two or more segments and the traveller paid a different price, depending on how many segments traversed. The mayor divides Bucharest into two concentric zones, one comprising centre and other city outskirts, the fee for a journey that moves from one area to another was to be ten bani instead

⁶¹ ANDMB, PMB Fond, Secretariat, file 1/1899, f. 221v, 230v, 231v, 232r.

⁶² *Ibidem*, f. 227r.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, f. 214v.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 215v.

⁶⁵ The information the mayor and other councillors present are not always consistent. Thus, in the extraordinary meeting on 11 December 1899, Delavrancea argues that a journey from the periphery to the centre will cost 10 bani instead of 30, but in the extraordinary meeting on 16 December 1899, says that those who have to do four journeys centre-periphery in a day, "pay 80 bani today and will pay only 40", which would lead to a price of centre-periphery horse tram journey for 20 bani, not 30. We are inclined to believe that the second option is correct as the mayor stated on several occasions that the rate will be reduced by 50%, or if the first version was to be correct, it would be a significantly higher reduction. *Ibidem*, f 215v, 223r. Councillors who oppose the project do other calculations, some obviously wrong! *Ibidem*, f 221r-v.

of charging the old cost of thirty! Is a substantial reduction, which affects especially those who come daily to work by tram: "If I count for a traveller from the outskirts that comes only once in the centre, the difference with the current status is of 40 of bani per day, which is a highly sensible saving yearly"⁶⁶.

In 1899, the vast majority of over a quarter million inhabitants of Bucharest does not own a carriage and cannot afford to go every day with the growler. But the scale of the city makes walking more time consuming, and the alternative permitted by technological conditions of the time is by tram. Lowering the cost of the journey has two major effects. The first one (which Delavrancea is not mentioning) is making the tram accessible to new categories for which the old price was too important to allow the everyday use of tram. The second (detailed by the mayor) is a sensitive savings to those members of the middle class who were forced to use the tram every day. Delavrancea mentions certain categories of the population of Bucharest that "because of their occupations, are taking the tram four times a day, so are teachers, high school students, clerks, and so on"⁶⁷.

Obviously, this achievement on the part of the mayor is attacked by those who want the concession to fall, and perhaps more than anywhere else, things get ridiculous. They try to recalculate differences to show that the reduction is not as great as Delavrancea promises, managing to "prove" that it is only 25% (and reinventing basic arithmetic operations to reach this result!)⁶⁸. But even a reduction in travel costs by 25% suddenly is extremely high in all ages. So the opponents try other arguments. They say repeatedly that the reduction is not for the benefit of passengers, but the Company⁶⁹, but do not bother to show how the inhabitants of Bucharest are being disadvantaged because they pay less for the same routes. They also said that the Company will reduce tariff anyway because it is in its interests to attract more travellers⁷⁰, without taking into account that the significant price reduction journey requires a commensurate reduction in costs, which can only be achieved by introducing the electrical traction they so thoroughly combat. One of the counsellors even claims that this reduction should fall into the pocket of the municipality, not the public⁷¹, which is to propose the establishment of a hidden tax, charged through the Tramways Company. Delavrancea's reply is categorical: "cannot get such a deal on the backs of the poor". The advantages of the new tariff will be seen in the standard of living of most of the inhabitants of Bucharest, "the economy resulting from tariff reduction will be felt in their daily bread". This is not about an interest account, but a soul, physiological account"⁷². Contrary to the statements of some of the councillors, the Company was not willing to reduce the

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 214v.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 223r.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 221r-v.

⁶⁹ A councillor even has the courage to declare in public meeting (whose transcripts are published in the "Monitorul comunal") that "he never heard anyone complaining about the prices of trams' journeys", *Ibidem*, f. 230, 231r-v, 232v.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 230v.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, f. 221r.

⁷² *Ibidem*, f. 227r, 226v.

price of travel, offering the municipality 500 000 lei per year, provided that they retain the old price⁷³.

The length of the concession is also subject of disagreement. The councillors hostile to the project offer unrealistically low limits⁷⁴ or simply criticize the total period of 50 years as being too high⁷⁵. Most city councillors do not seem to understand that substantial investments required for tramways electrification claim long recovery times of the initial capital⁷⁶. Even councillors who are favourable to the concession demand the reduction of the period⁷⁷.

But the main accusation that opposing councillors have brought to the concession project was that it gives advantages too big for the Tramways Company and too small for the municipality. Most councillors attacking the draft appeal to this argument, and it sometimes echo even for the councillors who are for the concession. It should be said at the outset that it is impossible to determine the "right" balance between the Company and the municipality. Firstly it depends on Company profitability, which in turn depended on the conditions of the concession; as they have not been applied, there is no response. Failure to define the meaning of a "right" split of the profit between grantees and municipality⁷⁸ makes such a response an illusion, even if we could find out how profitable it was society.

Often the charges made are vague, indefinite, and therefore difficult to refute: "tramways companies earn more and will earn even more"⁷⁹, said with an accusatory tone a councillor (as if that is not the main function of any company regardless its profile: to produce value). "The Company should come up with more favourable proposals" asked another⁸⁰.

The opponents make their own calculations, and even accepting their often incorrect figures, they confuse the income of the Company (of which the dividends, debts etc. are paid) with its obligations to the municipality, implying that the latter would be entitled to all earnings of the Company⁸¹! They all fail to understand that the city needs an economic partner to make public transportation work: municipality has no millions to invest in tramways, nor the capacity to manage such economic activity⁸². Some councillors, more aware how economy works, note that the

⁷³ *Ibidem*, f. 227r.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 218r.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 228v, 231r.

⁷⁶ With few exceptions, *Ibidem*, f. 230r.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 225r.

⁷⁸ In the United States, too drastic conditions put for tram companies meant they did not have the resources to cope with technological and economic changes and many went bankrupt in the 1930s. Martha J. Bianco, *Technological Innovation and the Rise and Fall of Urban Mass Transit*, "Journal of Urban History" 25 (March 1999), p. 362-373.

⁷⁹ ANDMB, PMB Fond, Secretariat, file 1/1899, f. 218r.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 222r.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, f. 230, 231r.

⁸² Neither in the interwar period, when the municipality is richer and becomes a shareholder in STB (Bucharest Tramways Company), it does not intend to get involved in managing the tram, only to follow, as a member of the board of directors, its management activities.

Company is making efforts and taking risks which need to be rewarded: it is "natural for the Company to gain, for otherwise it would not venture its capital"⁸³.

The current value of the Company is valued at large amounts (over 10 million lei⁸⁴), at which the municipality would give up by extending the concession instead of waiting 17 years after which they will take possession of the assets of the Company. These councillors refuse to see that over 17 years the Company will not be worth as much, even if we accept as a starting point the high values posed by them. Delavrancea draws their attention that horse traction will not be acceptable over 17 years, and so installations designed for this technology will not be worth anything⁸⁵. What no councillor considers is that always a company for the last years of the concession will not invest, because they will not have enough time to recover their money. Thus at the expiry of the concession the municipality will receive a tram in an advanced state of frazzle and obsolescence and that it will not be worth much without even taking into account technological changes.

The opponents of the proposed concession offer a counter-solution: the municipality should wait another 17 years for the current license expiration and it will receive for free all the Company's assets, and then it will be able to operate itself, keeping all the profits. One of them even evaluates the Company profit at 3 million lei, stating that if the municipality will not agree operating itself, it can find a company that will "rent" the tram "every year for a million or even half million"⁸⁶! All sorts of other proposals are raised; all looking to impose more disadvantageous conditions for the Company (concession extended by only 10 years⁸⁷, the Company to pay "500,000 or even 200,000 lei per year"⁸⁸ and so on). Probably, the hope of these councillors is that the introduction of such conditions, (some really drastic, such as halving the concession period), will make the Company to consider this an unprofitable lease and to reject it.

The opponents of the project are trying to create a negative image of the Company, presenting it as a profiteer who enjoys undue advantages on the back of the municipality. In addition to the arguments already mentioned, they attack Delavrancea for being a member in the Company's board, along with another councillor. The situations are different: Delavrancea says bluntly that he has resigned from the board, while the other counsellor, in accordance with practices of the time⁸⁹, did not participate in meetings which discuss the tram concession⁹⁰. A solution

⁸³ *Ibidem*, f. 218r.

⁸⁴ [the tram] "which without horses, chariots and vouchers, making ten million and a half today and will make more in 17 years", *Ibidem*, f. 231r.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 217v, 223r.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 222r, see also 217v, 221v.

⁸⁷ That is 27 years instead of 50, virtually the length of concession is halved! *Ibidem*, f. 218r.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 228v.

⁸⁹ In the period, when debating a problem from which a councillor was part, the unwritten rules of political behaviour required that they do not participate, *Ibidem*, file 2/1904-1905, f. 100r-v; *Ibidem*, file 1/1906, f. 77v-78r, 126r-125v; *Ibidem*, file 1/1907, f. 125v, etc. I found a councillor who withdraws from a meeting because he was a lawyer for one of the parties! *Ibidem*, file 1/1907, f. 183.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, file 1/1899, f. 232r.

proposed by some of the councillors is to limit the benefits of the Company: the profits over 8%⁹¹ will be shared with the municipality⁹². One of the councillors tries to link the concession of electric tram with the one for railways in the 70s, which led to well-known Stroussberg scandal⁹³.

They are brought into the discussion aesthetic arguments, but they are mostly from the supporters of the project. It will disappear “the revolting show of the horses bowed under the burden of the wagons when they pull it up the hill”, also the wire mesh covering and spoiling east-west avenues is replaced with a power supply system through the pavement, without overhead visible wires⁹⁴. The capital's mayors are very attentive to this latter point, trying to limit the spread of electric wires above city streets⁹⁵. The opponents criticize the decision to install a power plant in the “centre”⁹⁶.

Councillors who oppose the project attempts to temporize, to postpone the adoption of the concession⁹⁷. One of them claims that “not even twenty meetings” would be sufficient to discuss this concession⁹⁸; considering that there were many other issues to be discussed (some, like budgets, required by law) and generally the municipal council would meet 40-50 times a year, is clearly trying to postpone discussing “to the Greek calends”⁹⁹. The proximity of winter holidays is also reason to request postponement of talks¹⁰⁰.

The supporters of the lease, in turn, try to prevent delays. A variety of reasons are invoked: the councillors' desire to do something important in their mandate, the inhabitants' need to see the problem of the public transport solved (“The capital, it's first in requiring a solution”), but also the promises of the councillors to cheapen the life of Bucharest's inhabitants¹⁰¹.

Some advisors ask for an “intimate meeting” (a secret meeting, whose debates are not registered, nor published, and no strangers could attend¹⁰²). In practice, these were used in two cases. The first (legitimate) when discussing trials or other conflict situations in which the municipality was part, and the publication of

⁹¹ For that period, a 4-5% was the interest to get loans from banks; a firm in need to attract investors or to borrow money had to be more profitable than that. So the 8% limit is by no means high. Higher profit rates are not unknown at the time, but especially for Romania, the lack of any research on the subject can hinder our intention to pinpoint the limit proposed by the councillors.

⁹² *Ibidem*, f. 225r, 230r.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, f. 230v.

⁹⁴ The net was used to the supply power for the single electric tram line. Ugly and noisy, it was replaced by a single overhead wire at a later time. The system adopted in the draft concession was Diatto, described above. *Ibidem*, f. 215r.

⁹⁵ “Shall be deemed perfected only [to] those systems where the wires will not be seen at all”, *Ibidem*, f. 215r.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 221v.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 222r.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 215v.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 217r.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 223v.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, f. 217r, 218r, 230r.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, f. 217r, 232v.

information discussed in the meeting could offer advantages to opponents of the municipality, and therefore prejudice the municipality. The second case was intended to conceal from public eye certain transactions (financial or otherwise) that from political reasons, the elected one preferred to keep away from the press and the electorate. All the meetings regarding the lease were public; in fact Delavrancea was an adversary of secret meetings.

The project, though approved in principle by the council¹⁰³ was not implemented for reasons we do not know. A few months after voting the project, in March 1900, the mayor, Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea said to the councillors that "he did not give up the tram issue, but only postponed it"¹⁰⁴. In February 1901 P. P. Carp's Conservative government falls and is replaced by a liberal one, led by D. A. Sturdza. According to the practice of the time, the conservative mayor and councillors leave the municipality, which ends Delavrancea's project¹⁰⁵. The fact is that electrification of trams in Bucharest was a process with many obstacles, often due to political reasons, and was not made until decades two and three of the 20th century.

Major public works often arouse controversy, discussion, scandals, destroy careers, sometimes crumbling governments. Throughout Europe in the period between mid-19th century and World War I the context seems highly favourable to these scandals. It is a time when there are more and more large-scale engineering projects, often funded or at least guaranteed with public money. But politicians do not yet have the expertise needed to manage these complex operations involving many partners with institutional structures, different behaviours and interests, sometimes diverging. In the 20th century, as experience accumulates, politicians learn how to evaluate information provided by professionals and how to judge infrastructure projects so that they do not lead to disagreements, quarrels and scandals (which are now characteristic to the third world countries).

The councillors of Bucharest are typical for this period. Issues involving technical knowledge are foreign to them, some even saying that it is not the job of the council to discuss these aspects. Some of them seem a little more familiar with economics, although not all understand the basic principles that operate a private firm or a limited company. The opponents discuss only from a simplistic point of view, how much does the municipality get and how much, the Company. They do not seem to understand (or do not care) that if the municipality demands are too high, the citizens (and not the Company) will eventually have to pay for them. Nor do they realize that the imposition of drastic conditions would make the Company unable to

¹⁰³ It was not put to a vote the entire project, but the main points (tram electrification, tariff reduction and the amount of 2 million promised by the Company). Out of the 22 present councillors, 16 voted for, 5 against and one abstained. *Ibidem*, f. 227v.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, file 1/1900, f. 104r.

¹⁰⁵ The tram Company has negotiated with the liberal mayor C. F. Robescu, who on 24th March 1904 tried to present a new concession contract to the city council, however this did not materialized, and it wasn't even discussed by the council. *Ibidem*, file 1/1904, f. 63v-65v.

work. Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea proved by far the deepest thought and a high familiarity with economic principles, out of all the councillors.

Surprisingly, the passengers – the main beneficiaries of tramways – are less present in the discussion. The lease opponents ignore them almost completely. But even the supporters (with the partial exception of Delavrancea) cannot see that the public's needs are the rationale of the tram and the best defence of the project. Discussions sometimes give the impression that the municipality is an independent entity, completely separate from its own citizens and voters, and that her needs are different from the latter!

On the other hand, it should be noted that at a time when the Paris public transport companies are still using over 20 000 horses, the mayor of Bucharest tries to find solutions for the complete mechanization of passenger transport in the capital. Setting aside the many fictitious arguments, brought in the discussion just to motivate an opposition covering other interests, we find the existence at the municipality of a group of councillors who look to the future, to modernity. Their membership of the Conservative Party should be a call to reevaluation of the relationship between conservatives, modernity and progress, too often considered to be a privilege reserved for liberals.

Early Strategies in Housing Workers: State Intervention and Social Housing in Bucharest (1908-1911)

Dana Dolghin and Răzvan Voinea

Keywords: *Social Housing; Urban Planning; Andrei G. Ioachimescu; Cincinat Sfințescu*

Reflecting on the activity of the Municipal Company for Low-Cost Housing, Romanian engineer and urban planner Cincinat Sfințescu was concluding in 1933 the Company managed to represent “an honorable exception” for Romanian society, given its success in implementing an efficient program of social housing, at least up to the beginning of the First World War. The program also coincided with the European and American initiatives for building affordable housing for the working class begun at the end of the nineteenth century. In the 1930s, Cincinat Sfințescu was a reputed specialist in Romanian urban planning, professor and urban planner with the Bucharest Municipality. Claiming that “Romania is the country where novelty and progress are easily adopted, but they either remain superficial or eventually cause disappointments”¹, Sfințescu examines the reasons for the success of the Company. His article², published in *Urbanismul* (“Urban Planning”) is amongst the most consistent analyses of the social housing issue in Romania prior to 1946. Consequently, the current article proposes an additional perspective to Sfințescu’s economic and political approach, focusing on the social context and relevance of such projects for locals of Bucharest. While Sfințescu investigates the activity of the Company from its beginning up to 1933, we will limit our research to the years 1908-1911, starting with the first steps taken by the Municipality to build these housing projects to the completion of the first four districts and the subsequent moving in of the first tenants on Lânărei Street (1909-1910), Clucerului and Lupească *Lottissements* (1911) and Candiano Popescu Street (1911). As background, we retrace the chronology of these four projects, left largely unexplored by previous research, given its scattered and often contradictory nature.

Sources are located at the National Archives, Bucharest Department, with the files corresponding to the first social housing projects. They consist of different sets of data: the Lânărei Street file gives a detailed overview of the process, registering all applications for dwellings, details about the contest organized by the Municipality to decide upon the types of houses to be built, the correspondence exchanged between architects and the Mayor and/or with the director of the Company. Lupească, Clucerului and Candiano Popescu files include details of plans

¹ Cincinat Sfințescu, *Societatea Comunală pentru locuințe ieftine și realizările ei*, “Urbanismul” 6 (1933), p. 269.

² *Ibidem*.

and blueprints of the types of houses, the names of the first tenants and maps. Moreover, according to these files, clerks, barbers and confectioners lived on Lânăriei Street, middle-class representatives on the Clucerului *Lottisment* and workers of the Romanian Railway Company on Lupească *Lottisment*. Since some of the streets designed for or accommodating the social housing projects were destroyed during the '80s, the analysis can be difficult to follow. Using reconstructed maps, we will be better able to approximate the number of the buildings, their position and how they looked before the communist urban systematization. The insight this brings to the working class environment still needs to be clarified and the status of the research impedes a social history of these projects. However, some details were clarified during interviews with the current lodgers of the houses, bringing new details concerning the social structure of the inhabitants, especially on Lupească and Clucerului.

Indeed, the activity of the Municipal Company for Low-Cost Housing is rarely analyzed, and several triggering reasons could be listed: a few exceptions aside, the social housing districts were not designed by famous architects of the age; therefore they do not represent a focus for art historians. Augustin Ioan points to the lack of involvement from architects: "the great names amongst our architects did not build many such collective dwellings, but rather individual residencies for the rich. Nonetheless, when such architects did take on such projects, they produced *one-of-a-kind* collective dwellings instead of mass-produced ones (D. Marcu, H. Creangă, A. Culina, P. Smărăndescu, Gh. Nădrag etc.)³. Despite this, architects such as Ernest Doneaud, Ion D. Traianescu (in the years prior to the First World War), Stătie Ciortan and Florea Stănculescu (in the interwar period) did design important collective dwellings such the project located on the Cuțitul de Argint Street, respectively the *lottisment* for the "Victoria" factory close to Principatele Unite Street. Consequently, studies dedicated to the involvement of reputed architects in such projects mostly come from architectural scholarship, which strays away from the economic and political context. A second reason for the apparent neglect of such projects stems from the fact that these houses are of no public interest, are built in a rather simplified style with almost no ornaments, they are modular by design and built accordingly. Without a marble plaque commemorating its past, it is unlikely such social housing projects remain in the "memory" of the city. The sole exception is the dwelling in the Clucerului *Lottisment*, which still bears the name of architect Ion D. Traianescu.

By considering the institutional and social contexts, we will argue the Municipality developed a coherent social housing program between 1908 and 1911, by readjusting its strategy with each new project, progressing from the experimental construction of dwellings under the direct supervision of the Communal Council to the foundation of an autonomous Municipal Company to manage the process. Thus, the article will expand upon these strategies: building collective dwellings under the direction of the Communal Council and the Mayor by an architect chosen by the

³ Augustin Ioan, *Power, play and National Identity: Politics of Modernization in Central and East-European Architecture: The Romanian File*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 101.

Municipality, legislation adopted for this process, organizing a competition for deciding upon the blueprints for the projects and diversifying the type of houses, made available at different price ranges. Despite the disputes between the “Society of Romanian Architects” and the Mayor at that time, the winning projects met the maximum price imposed by governmental law. As the social housing program was a political initiative, the article investigates the role of the Municipality and of the Government and analyzes the regulations of the program: conditions of eligibility, its limitations and the process of decision-making. As such, we will focus on the changes of strategy in the first four years, the organization of the Municipal Company for Low-Cost Housing and the background of the political alternation in Government between liberals and conservatives. Following a social line of analysis, the study inspects the demand for social housing by examining the context of industrialization and the professional background of the new tenants. Which was the impact of this directive among workers and how affordable were these houses in reality; how many dwellings were built by the Company in the first four years compared to the total number of lodgings in Bucharest?

In order to investigate these lines of inquiry, a series of questions and challenges needs to be examined, primarily relating to a definition of “social housing” and the manner it was introduced in Bucharest. The nexus of questions regarding social housing in Bucharest is far from being settled in this article; nevertheless it will be placed between two perspectives. On the one hand we could invoke good intentions of the governing elite, sensible to the needs of the working class and adjusting its strategy accordingly. Whether we refer to political authorities (especially the mayors of Bucharest) or to technocrats (like A.G.Ioachimescu or Cincinat Sfințescu), we notice the agency of a state deeply concerned with the condition of their citizens. The “myth” of a “benevolent state” is constantly criticized by Michael Harloe (following the critique raised by Peter Marcuse)⁴ who claims that we should rather turn our attention to investigate „how the new working class was to be controlled, disciplined and integrated into the social and economic order”⁵ by the social housing policy. Moreover, the elite’s response to the pressures “bears little resemblance to historical reality ... the language of humanitarianism was often deployed by the reformers but the purposes which lay behind these efforts related to the material and social interests which the reformers sought to sustain, and these were rarely those of the working class.”⁶

In Romanian scholarship concerning local social housing, Ana Maria Zahariade, architect and head of the History and Theory of Architecture and Conservation Department at the University of Architecture and Urbanism “Ion Mincu” (Bucharest) argues that social housing is not “an architectural typology, since

⁴ Peter Marcuse, *Housing Policy and the Myth of the Benevolent State*, “Social Policy”, Jan./Feb, 1978.

⁵ Michael Harloe, *The People’s Home? Social rented housing in Europe and America*, Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA, 1995, p. 62.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

it may include any type of dwelling⁷, but much rather “a phrase indicating a modality of subsidizing and promoting dwellings.”⁸ According to her definition, the stress lies on low costs and the initiative in itself depends on politic factors, while the projects can only be efficient with the contribution of the architects (“the efficient practical solutions were found only after the architect has understood the nature of the problem and had got creatively involved in its settlement”⁹). Moreover, she relates the Romanian context to the beginnings of social housing in London, where the *garden-city* promoted by an economist (a. n. *Ebenezer Howard*) proved successful “only after it had been built by an architect”¹⁰, probably referring to the projects designed by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker at the turn of the century. A more comprehensive definition refers to social housing as “dwellings constructed in collective or individual residential system, usually in subgroups, subject to normative prescriptions, intended to answer the habitation needs of people with a low or average income, their construction being financed by the state or by particular promoters under specific favorable financial and real estate circumstances, within a well-defined urban policy.”¹¹

Cincinat Sfîntescu investigates the evolution of social housing in Romania in an European context, presenting the legislation that encouraged the development of social housing projects in Great Britain (“Housing of the Working Class Act”), France (Siegfried Law), Italy or the Netherlands, all of them adopted before the First World War. The resolution proposed by European authorities was to replace private initiative with the public one: the state supported the construction directly or indirectly, by lending the companies under its control with „a part of the needed capital”¹² and leave it in the responsibility of the Municipality: “the private initiative proved to be too weak to produce the quantity and the quality of the necessary dwellings quickly, at a price below the required level. It was tried [emphasis mine, by the authorities] to replace private initiative with new institutions, namely with autonomous institutions of public utility, but with a rewarding scope or sometimes with cooperative companies.”¹³ One of his conclusions clearly points out: “this kind of program could not have been carried out without the contribution of the state, as it was done in all the Western states.”¹⁴

Both discussions allow us to interpret social housing according to the criteria taken into consideration: Romanian authorities named the Company “cheap” dwellings (“*ieftine*”), thus stressing the economic criteria. As for the “collective” factor, the first projects to be analyzed could hardly be considered collective. On Lânăriei Street, the architect grouped two or four dwellings under one roof, but

⁷ Ana Maria Zahariade, *Social Dwelling Today – Terminology and Historical Significance*, in *Symptoms of transition*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 95.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ Alexandru Sandu, in A. M. Zahariade, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹² C. Sfîntescu, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 280.

designed separate courtyards and entries for each family, while the houses have only one ground floor used by a single family. There are no common yards or interior spaces for the families moving in. As Sfințescu explains, the inhabitants of Bucharest “do not love the collective dwelling”¹⁵ arguing that the characteristics of the “race” do not accept “the common yards, the apartments in a block of flats and the common corridors”¹⁶. Therefore the Company opted in the first phase for familiar dwellings. Only after the First World War, the Company developed separate types of blocks of flats in whose cases the term “collective” becomes more applicable. Although the social dwelling might include any type of housing, as Zahariade argues, the criteria used by authorities when deciding on the architectural typology to be used for building is still to be discussed. Sfințescu also touches upon social aspects of living in Bucharest. He comments on the inhabitants’ of Bucharest preferences in housing, claiming they do not like a house with floors, therefore “the dwelling with dead wall (“*calcan*”) would have been difficult to accept.”¹⁷

Examining the causes that led to the enactment of such projects, Sfințescu insists on the need to clean the slums (“*mahala*”) due to deficient health and hygiene conditions: “some reforms to fight against the insalubrious and unhealthy dwellings, overcrowded and uncomfortable, which appeared due to the continuously increase of rents, faster than the increase of wages were urgent; to fight against the high percentage of infant mortality, which was at frightening proportions in these unhealthy dwellings; to fight against the overcrowding of dwellings, especially the ones that were rented to people that were only passing-by at nights.”¹⁸ Although he quotes these phenomena from a report compiled in Geneva (referring to a general state in Europe), Sfințescu agrees these were also the problems that Romania had to face. He gives special attention to local health and hygiene issues, but as Harloe mentions, the definition of public health was different at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, with manifold directions, not just medical, but also “moral and social.”¹⁹ Moreover, Harloe argues that „the social reformers who campaigned over issues of housing and public health were concerned with a much more fundamental issue, variously described as the “social question” or, in a telling phrase, “the dangerous classes”. The argument seems overstated: despite the often references to the insalubrity of the environment from the periphery from a hygienic perspective, Sfințescu refers to the prostitutes as part of an un-healthy environment which needs to be civilized. However, so far we did not meet any reference to the “dangerous classes” *per se*, but we do notice the presence of a physician in the administrative board of the Company, namely, Doctor Costinescu. Moral or social, the reforms were needed at that point: the tuberculosis killed almost

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 278-279.

¹⁶ *Idem*, *Studiu asupra planului general de sistematizare al Capitalei* (1919?), in Andrei Pippidi, *București – Istorie și Urbanism*, Bucharest, p. 116.

¹⁷ *Idem*, *Societatea Comunală* cit., p. 279.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 270.

¹⁹ M. Harloe, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

1000 victims annually, 41% of the deaths in Bucharest²⁰. In addition, the Communal Council points a special Commission to document the public health issue. Citing one of the official reports in Bucharest there were "more than 400 unhealthy houses and a critical shortage of dwellings"²¹. The Communal Council abandons the policy of ejecting the people from these dwellings and demolishing them, at least until the construction of new houses for these tenants.

Sfîntescu's article also reviews the data of the 1912's census in Bucharest regarding housing issues as well as a short presentation of the disposals of the two laws adopted by the Parliament in 1910. The first law for the foundation of companies for building Low-Cost Dwellings was passed by the Parliament in February 1910, and a special directive for Bucharest in May of same year. The Company would be founded in December 1910 under the direction of engineer A. G. Ioachimescu, one of the previous directors of the State Monopolies Company. Among the benefits the state was willing to give to its customers we emphasize a progressive payment of taxes: the constructions are exempted from any financial contribution to State and Municipality for ten years. Between 10-15 years taxes are paid progressively and after 20 years they are evened out. Should the head of the family pass away, the latter was no longer taxed for the monthly rate. Even more, the Municipality covered half of the cost of public works on the streets belonging to these newly built districts. The definite advantage was the price which had been set by law to a maximum of 8,000 lei. In comparison, a clerk was compensated with approximately 150 lei/month. Ten percent of the house value had to be paid upon signing the contract. The maximum salary of an applicant should not have exceeded 250lei/month, while the applicants should have been below fifty years of age. The company built on lands in its property, or on the ones sold by the Municipality to the company, on the properties of different institutions and on the private lands. Should we compare the wages of those workers who received these houses with the rate they were supposed to pay on a monthly basis, it is arguable the legislation encouraged only those employees with a safe income in the public sector or private companies, and discouraged other social categories, without a safe income, to have access to this program.

What was the context that determined the authorities to start this program especially in Bucharest and why in 1908? Bucharest became the capital of the Romanian state in the middle of the 1860s and quickly centralized bureaucracy and the industry. Industrialization and urbanization at the beginning of the 20th century determined a massive growth of population in Bucharest. According to Sfîntescu, the population was in a continuous increase: 120,000 in 1860, 177, 645 in 1872, 289,184 in 1903, 325,000 in 1910 (when the laws that encourage Social Housing were enacted) and 342,000 in 1912, while the number of dwellings was approximately 49,000²². As the population almost tripled in less than half of century we can speak

²⁰ Aurel Duțu, *Realizări ale administrației bucureștene la începutul secolului al XX-lea*, "Materiale de istorie și muzeografie" 7 (1969), p. 101.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

²² C. Sfîntescu, *Studiu asupra planului general* cit., p. 108.

of a high rate of urbanization.

The other cause of the development of the industry can be traced back to the agrarian reform from 1864, which abolished serfdom and allowed the industry to collect the peasant workforce. Consequently, another step in this direction was represented by the protection law of national industry from 1887 during the office of the liberal prim-minister Ion Brătianu, which supported the foundation of new factories. According to Ionescu, “in 1893 there were 115 industrial plants in our city capital, out of which 102 benefited from the advantages of the law, while in 1902 the number increased to 178,”²³ almost half of the factories in Romania. Most of the plants are located at the periphery of the city, near the main railway stations, especially in the North (the industry that served the North Railway Station) and in the South (around the Filaret Railway Station where the Gas Plant, the Communal Factories and the main factory for ice were located). In addition, factories were located along Dâmbovița River to have access to the water supply: it is the case of the Municipal Slaughterhouse, textile plants and many others. It was a small-scale industry focused on clothing, carpentry or textile, mainly individual occupations.

Bucharest was not an industrialized city, but was quickly becoming one and housing the new population proved to be the focus for the Municipality. Explaining the concentration of the working class in the peripheries, Sfîntescu claims that “Having low income, the population cannot pay the high rents which could encourage an increase in the development in the city (center), where because of the high price of the land and of administrative control, rents are automatically higher; then again, the sedentary way of living of the population of the Romanian lands where the industry and the commerce are only at their beginning, clearly impose as adequate the familiar dwellings with a sufficient yard where all the household should be found.”²⁴ The individual occupations meant a sedentary lifestyle where the inhabitants settled in their household with no need to travel towards work. However, the industrialization changed these habits and the rhythm of the city started to be dictated by the first electric tramways (1894).²⁵

Did the industrialization alone play the most important role in determining the authorities to start this program of social housing? Why was the program started in 1908 and not earlier or later? The scarcity of sources at this point prevents us from understating the precise people and roles in the program, but a few hypotheses can be taken into consideration. The most relevant one: the attempts of the liberal government to ease the situation of the poor, in a pursuit of social justice after the peasant riots from February – March 1907. Started in the north-eastern part of Romania (Moldavia), the riots determined the dismissal of the Conservative Party and the nomination of a Liberal Government with Dimitrie A. Sturdza prime-minister in March 1907. First, the revolts spread around the country, at the beginning of

²³ Ștefan Ionescu, *Dezvoltarea edilitar-urbanistică a orașului București la sfârșitul sec. al XIX-lea*, “Materiale de istorie și de muzeografie” 7 (1969), p. 82.

²⁴ C. Sfîntescu, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

²⁵ Șt. Ionescu, *Considerații privind dezvoltarea industrială a orașului București în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, “Materiale de istorie și muzeografie” 5 (1967), p. 108.

March erupted in the counties close to Bucharest. What had started as an isolated peasant revolt spread to other social classes, as the army sent to pacify the country supported the peasants and the workers from the Romanian Railway Company, by planning a strike which would prevent the Army to send new troops. The initiative of the strike belonged to the groups of socialists, but it was downplayed by authorities. After the Army had its first confrontation with the peasants, the tension in Bucharest grows gradually, but as the Army resettles order in the villages, the atmosphere calmed down at the end of March. Although he was not Mayor at that time, Vintilă Brătianu wrote that if the army had not been sent in the villages from Moldova, it might have happened that the capital transformed in a battlefield due to the support of the inhabitants of Bucharest for the peasants²⁶, increased by the affinity between the peasants and the workers due to the rural origin of the working class. In addition, documents mention that “at the *Regie* (the name under which the Department of the State Monopoles was known, which include the most important tobacco factory from Bucharest, located very close to the railway district) more than 1500 workers gathered; it was one of the dangerous spots in case of a march towards Bucharest or in case of any local riot.”²⁷ In June, Vintilă Brătianu is appointed Mayor of Bucharest.

There are two points worth to be taken into consideration. Firstly, A.G Ioachimescu was the director of the Department of the State Monopoles and reported to Vintilă Brătianu. When Brătianu became mayor, probably he influenced the appointment of Ioachimescu as director of the Company for Low-Cost Housing and the Company will agree with the Department of State Monopoles to construct social dwellings for the workers of the Tobacco factory. Secondly, we notice a pressure of various socialists groups (either as organizations or in press) pushing for new social reforms. Their direct contribution to the social housing projects still needs to be clarified, but it is safe to assume social tensions reaffirmed older claims of the lower classes in Bucharest.

The foundation of the Communal Company of Low-Cost Housing. The initial social housing projects

The initial developments concerning social housing in Bucharest can be traced back to the office of the liberal mayor Vintilă Brătianu (June 1907-February 1910). Following the meetings on November 16th 1908 and May 26th 1909 the Communal Council decides to build the first social quarters on Lânăriei Street, near Carol Park, in one of the few industrialized districts in Bucharest at the time. The street connected the Filaret Railway station with the factories along Dâmbovița River, via the Gas Plant (opened in 1871): the Leather Factory, the Lemaitre Cast House, also covering a frequently used transit to the Slaughter House, which was built starting with June 1908 and the first electric plant (1888). In fact, the entire area developed simultaneously with the transport system of the capital city.

²⁶ For more details, see Matei Ionescu, *Bucureștii în timpul răscoalelor țărănești din 1907*, “Materiale de istorie și muzeografie” 5 (1967), p. 139.

²⁷ Ioachimescu, in *Ibidem*, p. 139.

Concerning the industrial areas of Bucharest, in 1919 Sfințescu mentioned the area around the Filaret Railway Station and the one south of the Slaughter House and the Eastern Railway as the most important industrial districts: “in the plan (from 1919) one planned as industrial districts, the districts which are or could be even better supplied by the usage of railroads... The line between Obor and the Slaughterhouse determined the establishment of an eastern industrial district and another one, south, near Filaret (our note, Railway Station).”²⁸ These industrial districts were among the first to channel workers. At the same time the projects benefitted from the periphery due to the ramification of tramway, introduced in Bucharest after 1894. Moreover, the Municipality replaced the old tramways carried by horses with an industrial railroad from Filaret Railway Station – The Filaret Hill – Freedom Square Piața Libertății (the entrance in Carol Parc) – Candiano Popescu str. (on front of the depot of the Tram Company) – Lânăriei Str. – Splaiul Independenței (Unirii). The line is dismantled in the 50s²⁹ and the tram replaces the train.

Thus, in June 1909, French architect Ernest Doneaud, at that time the Chief of the Department of Constructions and Buildings of the Municipality, supervises the construction of these residencies on Lânăriei Street, helped by Dr. I. Costinescu. In total, 28 individual dwellings were designed. The construction of the dwellings was carried out by the company of the entrepreneur Emil Peternelli, who worked together with other small companies hired for varnishing (Gheorghe B. Niculescu) or woodwork (Petre Popescu), asphalt (“Asfalt Traian”) of Zweifel Manufactory which allocates 40.000kg of hydraulic lime in June- July 1909. The project was completed five months later and, on October 1st 1909, the entrepreneur E. Peternelli and architect Doneaud sign the contract for the delivery of the houses. In a second phase, in 1910, the buildings are revisited for maintenance: reconditioning of windows, doors, coating the dados (“soclu”) and cleaning the herringbones (“mozaic”). The workers assemble windows, then paint the wood with “oil color”³⁰ three times, install chamfers and spouts, as well as wooden case. Reflecting on the style of the houses, Carmen Popescu mentions that this is a “simplified version of the national style.”³¹ Besides the construction of the houses, the Municipality takes care of services as well: connecting it with the water supply and plant the planes still visible today. The construction does not go without incidents: the private companies deplore late payments, but misunderstandings are solved by the end of 1910. On November 1st, the first tenants start taking their proprieties into possession and pay rents for the following months.

In order to benefit from the social housing program, the applicants had to be Romanian citizens, with a stable job, while legislation encouraged clerks and workers from factories due to their stable income and their obligation to pass a medical exam (a prove of the increased attention of the authorities for the physical

²⁸ C. Sfințescu, *Studiu asupra planului general* cit., p. 123.

²⁹ Al. C., interviewed in July 2012, Bucharest.

³⁰ All the materials used in the manufacture are written on a separate file in DMBAN, PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, 405/1909.

³¹ Carmen Popescu, *Le style national Roumain – construire une nation a travers L'architecture*, Rennes, 2004, p. 186.

condition of the incoming inhabitants of the houses). In the applications sent by tenants to the Municipality starting with July 1909, they mention the type of house they want to receive, with either one, two or three rooms. However, not all assignments were done according to the requests. The applications include their marital status, the number of children or other persons are under their nursing, as well as their monthly salary. We are unsure if there were more applications sent and if there are any criteria on which the 28 applications in the archive were selected. Documents include applications that were denied or landowners who gave up on their acquisition like Vintilă Antonescu, (27 years old, married, one child; clerk at the Astronomic Observatory with the salary of 150 lei/month) and Constanța Popescu (the owner of a fashion shop on Victoriei Boulevard).

In short, twenty eight families initially moved on Lânăriei Street: one family went back on its decision after two months and another tenant could not pay her monthly rate, therefore in 1910 the Municipality considered evacuating her from the house. Out of a total of almost one hundred tenants, over half are children. The lowest income of applicants was 90 lei (Gheorghe Avramescu, tram driver at the Tramway Company) while the highest wage belongs to Vintilă Ionescu (200 lei), employed at the Minister of Internal Affairs. Most salaries are around 150 lei, while the installments to be paid reach 40 lei/months, representing a quarter of the salary. Considering they also had to pay in advance at least 10 percent out of the value of the house (approximately 500 lei), the dwelling could have been paid in ten years. From the applications available it is impossible to deduce whether the husband or the wife of the applicant also had a stable income.

Most of the tenants are clerks (Minister of Internal Affairs, Romanian Railway Company of the Astronomic Observatory) or work on small business (shoemakers, furriers, confectioners and barbers), suggesting the increasing number of state bureaucrats, but surprisingly not workers in the state industry) and none of the initial tenants does work at the factories nearby. In order to become owners they signed a convention with the Municipality relevant for the rights and obligations they had, the area of the property and the neighbors. For example, Ion Copăceanu, the tenant of the house at number 87 owned a land of 90 square meters, framed by the 15m long fence with his neighbor C. Potop on one side and 10 m with Natalia Nicolescu on the other, while the fence towards the street reached 10 meters in length. The house covered an area of 60 square meters, shared a common wall with the house from number 89, and had two rooms, kitchen, toilet, hall, small open gallery, a dump and cellar. It was forbidden to sell the house or rent it and the tenants did not have the right to make any changes nor to have commercial activities in the house. When signing the contracts, the Municipality was represented by the Mayor Deputy C. Hagi Theodorachy (who started his office on December 2nd 1908) and Al. Davidescu, the director of Public Constructions Department. None of the ones that mentioned their place of birth in the applications is a native of Bucharest.

Two observations are to be made: the Municipality started building the projects before any legal directive had been established. The agreed price did not exceed 5,000 lei, and this was the argument to set the prices by law at a maximum 8,000 lei in December 1910. Secondly, collective housing is not as popular in the

Romanian social context: the houses have separate gardens and door entries. Third, the prices were affordable. It seems that the houses were indeed thought to be paid by the head of the family, regardless of a possible extra income of the partner. From 28 applications, twenty-five were sent by men and only three by women.

After the first homeowners moved in the new dwellings from Lânăriei Street, the Municipality goes through a series internal organization, in the spring and the summer of 1910. In February, mayor Vintilă Brătianu was replaced by Ion Procopie Dumitrescu. It was probably a time when authorities work on the law to control the construction of social dwellings. In this sense, the first law was voted by the legislative in February, while the one concerning Bucharest only in May 1910. This last law authorized the Municipality to set up a Company for the construction of Low-Cost Dwellings, company that would start its activity in December 1910. The managing board was formed by engineer A. G. Ioachimescu (Director), the Mayor Ion Procopie Dumitrescu (President), Ermil Pangratti (vice-president), Al. G. Donescu (who will become mayor in the thirties as censor), while the headquarter was established on Doamnei Street. The dwellings already built on Lânăriei Street were given by Municipality to the Company in administration.

While the project from Lânăriei was completed by architect Ernest Doneaud, in his office as chief of the Department of Construction and Buildings, his name vanishes from the archives in autumn 1910, a sign of the first change in strategy. It was probably considered that in order to reproduce them on a large scale simplifying the construction meant standardizing these dwellings. We lack data regarding the reasons for this action, but it is clear that by December 1910, the company organizes a contest to decide upon the types of houses that were to be build. The strategy consisted in designing plans for different types of dwellings, the plans that we be bought by the Company and used as many times as needed. Technically, once decided on the type of house, the architects would have worked with the plans chosen after the contest, without modifications, while the responsibility for construction belonged to the engineers.

The contest took place on the 15th of December, the last month in office for mayor Ion Procopie Dumitrescu (who was appointed Mayor after V. Brătianu's resignation in February 1910). The official purpose was to "design four projects for construction of cheap and hygienic dwellings for the workers and clerks,"³² as it presented from the first paragraph. The contest was intended for Romanian architects and engineers that graduated from a Romanian university, which should be interpreted as an attempt to support the Romanian School of Architecture. At the same time, the Municipality imposed four types of houses that it wanted to build. Type A was formed by one room plus fixtures (kitchen, cellar and toilet) with an area of 50 square meters, the architects having the change to group two or four under the same roof. Type B meant two rooms and fixtures with 65 square meters, grouped in a block "with the common roof and common chimney stack"³³, with private entrance and garden. The third type, C had three rooms with a total area of 85 square meters;

³² DMBAN, Fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, 490/1910.

³³ *Ibidem*.

while D type had an area of 105 square meters divided four rooms plus fixtures. The last two types could have had an upper floor, and the height of the rooms was 2.90 m³⁴.

Nevertheless, the most important regulation concerned the price, each type of house having a respective price (A - 3,000 lei, B - 4,500 lei, C - 5,500 lei, D - 6,500 lei), and the Company would ask for full transparency of prices spent on materials and labor costs including the ovens, the water pipes and the drainage. According to the regulations, the Commission which would decide the winners was formed by the mayor, the director and a professor from the Architecture School, the director of the Technical Construction of the Municipality, a private architect and a private engineer appointed by the Municipality. The commission nominated the winners by December 25th, offering a First Prize (5,000 lei), two second prizes (each 1,500 lei), four Third Prizes (each 500 lei). The last paragraph mentioned that the "winning projects remain in the full propriety of the Municipality and can be ceded to the Communal Company or to any other Company with the same scope", namely of dividing the land and building social housing.

In spite of efforts to attract architects, the initiative was not popular in these professional circles and sparked an argument between Ion N. Socolescu, president of the Society of the Romanian Architects and the municipality. Even before the contest took place, on November 4th 1910, he sent his first letter to the Mayor contesting some details regarding the organization of the contest, the most important one being linked with the presence in the evaluating Committee of an engineer, who were supposed to evaluate the projects. "The capacity of the architect", Socolescu argued "was as appreciated in beautiful facades as it was in inventive plans and rational utilization of spaces and materials. This is what the architect learns in school, a thing that the engineer does not learn and has no capacity of appreciating, since he is called in to resolve technical issues"³⁵. The dispositions of the Regulation of the contest seemed to favor the engineer over the architect, according to Socolescu. He also contested setting an additional cost for connecting the houses to the water supply and drainage in the final price of the house (established at 8000lei), given that these services were under the monopole of the Municipality. Thirdly, Socolescu accuses the ambiguity in awarding the prizes. We quote extensively from Socolescu's letter: "the distribution of the prizes must be done no matter what the value of the project might be, because it is humiliating for the architects to face the public insult that among 120 Romanian architects all graduating from specialized schools and good patriots, one cannot find a few architects capable of making a type of house with a room and a hall or with four rooms as it is asked."³⁶ A few days later, in a letter sent to the Mayor, the secretary of the Society of the Romanian Architects, Stătie Ciortan reaffirmed Socolescu's claims, endorsing the refusal of architects to participate in the contest.

³⁴ C. Sfințescu, *Societatea Comunală* cit., p. 281.

³⁵ DMBAN, Fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, 490/1910.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

The mayor's answer was sharp: Dumitrescu accused architects of ignorance and lack of empathy with the poor, insisting the Society should advise its members to take part in the contest, ignoring the objections raised by Socolescu. We know that in January 1911, one of the architects that participated in the contest was invited by the Society for discussing the project. Finally, the participants in the contest turn in their closed envelopes with projects containing plans, blue scripts. Carmen Popescu mentions the winners of the first prize to be the team of Ion D. Traianescu³⁷, Alexandru Referandaru, Nicolae Demetrescu, Constrantin Cretzoiu. The second prize was won by arch. Radu Culcer and engineer E. Dobrovici. The winning projects were "*Casa mea*" (My house), "*Eftin*" (Cheap) (the second prize), "*Rabat*" (third prize), and "*Mens divinilor*" – 500 lei (fourth prize).

However, in one of the letters sent by the director of the Company, A. G. Ioachimescu informs the new Mayor, Dem Dobrescu³⁸, that "the projects served us only a little, since we need to completely re-do all." Fortunately, the project with the motto "*Catã Cota*" is still available in archives and on its basis we can analyze the way in which some architects understood to adapt the requirements of the contest. Since the projects were anonymous its importance lies in details regarding the building process and material. Among the materials mentioned we find aggregate, sand, hydraulic lime and lime from Cãmpulung, cement and "hand-made brick, well burned."³⁹ The beams ("*grinzi*") and the rafters ("*cãpriori*") are made of fir, as well as the carpentry and the decking ("*dușumea*"), while the oak is used for window frame and the reed ("*trestie*") for the ceiling. Iron is used in building the cross-bars ("*traverse*") and casting ("*fontã*") for the bonnets used at the drainage. There are no less than 41 steps to follow: from the initial digging to whitewashing the interior. It seems style was a secondary concern: disregarded by both the organizers of the contest and the architects.

Once the types of the houses were chosen by contest, the Company receives a land from the Municipality on Clucerului Street and proposes to mayor Dobrescu to accept the divide of three projects: first one on Clucerului (30 dwellings with ground

³⁷ A few details about the architect I. D. Traianescu: he was part of the second generation of architects who adopted the national style. Among his well-known buildings in Bucharest: the Palace of the Cultural League (the current Bulandra Theatre), the Belvedere Church. In 1911 he was 36. Unfortunately, his article from 1924 from "*Arhitectura*" magazine does not analyze his own choices nor details regarding the building, and deals exclusively with general details about the dwellings.

³⁸ According to Ion Vitan's study, Dem Dobrescu was named in charge of the administration by the conservatory Party during Peter Carp's presidency, who was at that time the prime minister. Member of the "*Junimea*" group and one of Carp's intimate friends, he started his office in January 1911 and run it until October 1912. Besides building these affordable dwellings, Dem Dobrescu also designed or extended new streets (by numerous expropriations) as well as extending the drainage system. Furthermore, the Communal Council approved the construction of four primary schools, the rearrangement of the St. Anton Square (in the City Center), the first steps for arranging the National Park (today Herãstrãu Park). It also approved the allotment of estates belonging to Alexandru Filipescu and Boerescu, both close to Victory Square. During his office his deputies were dr. I. Mendonide and Mircea Poenarul Bondrea.

³⁹ DMBAN, Fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, 490/1910.

floor and upper floor, costing 8000lei, meaning almost 70 individual dwellings), the second on the Lupească Avenue (First District, Department⁴⁰ IV near the Basalt Factory with dwellings for the workers with ground floor, almost 100 dwellings) and the third one on Candiano Popescu street, close to Lânăriei where only eight houses were built. The favorable notification of the mayor meant the beginning of the construction.

Although there is no chronology to attest to the order of the projects, we tend to believe the initial one was the Clucerului *Lottisment* due to a rather symbolic reason. On the façade of the first house from the district we notice four sculptures with the name and the faces of Ermil Pangratti (the vicepresident of the Company, famous architect and the director of the School of Architecture) and Ion Mincu, who, although did not have an institutional relationship with the Company nor with the Municipality, was probably consulted for the project. The dwellings from Clucerului have a different status than the ones from Lupească, first of all because as type B, the tenants had to pay more (8000lei) for a dwelling and as one of the owners recalls “that they were allocated to the intellectuals.”⁴¹ It is probable that the tenants originated from a different social class than the ones from Lupească or Lânăriei.

As the team lead by architect Traianescu won the competition, the dwellings were made according to its plans and his name is carved on a marble plaque on the facade of the first house. After his plans are built eleven double houses on Clucerului, ten double houses on Petofi Sandor Street and the symbol-house, while on Ady Endre the space allows the building of nine double dwellings. Coincidence or not, the Wekerle housing estate (one of the first project of this kind in Budapest) opens with Ady Endre street. Hence, 31 dwellings type C with two rooms at the upper floor and two at the ground floor. As Sfîntescu mentions, the area of the district measured 11,400 square meters, of which 4,800 (41%) represented the streets. The parcel was split in 62 lots, each of them measuring 180 square meters.

The second social housing project was erected on Lupească Street, today the Sebastian Street between Progresul Avenue and Drumul Sării. It seems this construction was completed quite fast as, in September 1911, the workers from the Municipality indexed the buildings in order to connect them with water and drainage system and counted a total of 100 dwellings on the both sides of the street. However, in April 1912, the municipality accuses the tenants for refusing to pay for street number plaques, the latter claiming they had not been hanged. Unfortunately, applications to detail the age or the occupation of the new tenants are not available. From Sfîntescu’s study, we know the dwellings are type A houses (ground floor with two rooms and type B houses (ground floor with three rooms), grouped in either two or four houses under the same roofs. The walls of the dwellings are made of brick, the roof made of fibre cement or sheet-metal and the carpentry consists of fir wood. Prices were set at 3,000lei for type A and 4,350 for type B.

Some ambiguities persist regarding the number of the dwellings built: on the map that A. G. Ioachimescu sent for approval to the Mayor we only identify twenty

⁴⁰ The term in Romanian is *ocol*.

⁴¹ Interview with one of the inhabitants of the dwellings from Clucerului, Bucharest, August 2012.

dwellings with two houses under each roof, with the façade on the newly opened street, whose name does not appear. We identify this street as Sg. Nuțu Ion Street. We know the names of almost 100 people that were scheduled to move from the intersection with the 13th of September Boulevard to the intersection with the railway to Giurgiu, passing through Drumul Sării. Today, we see no dwelling resembling this type-house. Analyzing the numbering, we notice the dwellings are indexed on both sides of the Lupeasca Street until the Căplescu alley on the left-hand side (coming from 13 September towards Drumul Sării). From that point on the constructions appear only on the left side; on the other side the land is still not used until the intersection with Drumul Sării after the intersection the counting with even numbers, which expresses the transfer on the right side until the intersection with the Railway to Giurgiu. We mentioned the fixing of the plaques on the houses. On the list of the Municipality, we see the names of tenants who have their dwelling at the corner with September 13th, Costache Popescu și Ioan Velciu Dancu. Ivan Dudănescu lived in the house from the corner with Căplescu alley, Neagu Tincu at the corner with the Dobrescu alley. In order, on the list with the index it follows alley Bidulescu, alley Ion Ghețaru and Smarandache. All these alleys do not exist anymore. While at first we perceived as an error proved to actually a major change the dwellings from Lupească were demolished in the eighties as we learned from the interviews conducted with the inhabitants of the dwellings.⁴² In conclusion, the Lupească *lottisment* the politics of building near the industrialized districts, this time near the line that connected the Filaret Railway with the Cotroceni and Northern Railway. However, Ioachimescu mentions that in 1911 only thirty dwellings were erected.⁴³

Finally, the Candiano Popescu Street, which intersects with the Lânăriei Street, connecting it with the Filaret Railway Station to the west and with the Șerban Vodă Avenue at the south, going round the eastern side of the Carol Park is the last such project. On this street, the Company projected five collective dwellings, each of them with two individual dwellings. We recognize type A (ground floor with two rooms) and type B₁ (ground floor and a level with two rooms). However, we the files from the archives do not contain the names of the tenants, nor any details about their social identity.

Conclusions

By way of conclusion, we trace a continuous change of strategy in the social housing program adopted by the governmental and municipal authorities in order to provide cheap accommodation for the working class in Bucharest.

The project on Lânăriei Street developed by the Communal Council in 1909-1910 proved to be successful, as the dwellings were constructed at a minimum price, later on imposed by law. The initial strategy to appoint an architect to design them and hire a private company to build them changed once the authorities decided to adopt specific laws in spring 1910 and to found the Communal Company for Low-

⁴² Interview with one of the inhabitants of the dwellings from Lupească. September 2012, Bucharest.

⁴³ A. G. Ioachimescu, *Locuințe ieftine*, *Buletinul Societății Politehnice*, 1912, p.53

Cost Housing in December 1910. Consequently, the procedure changed again: a contest for architects to design modular dwellings was organized and the winning plan was adopted for constructing the first projects were built simultaneously on Clucerului, Lupească and Candiano Popescu *Lottissements*. The industrialization at the beginning of the twentieth century determined the building of new districts in the proximity of the railway stations: the new dwellings from the south constructed by the Municipality (Lânăriei Street, Candiano Popescu street etc.) and from the north east (Grant for the State Monopole Company and Griviței for the Railway Company) responded to the new industries developing after 1888.

The program was initiated by the state, since private investors were not interested in building the affordable houses for the working class. As Sfințescu concludes, "the absence of capital, especially of the capitalist willing to invest in building industry their surplus made that we will not have in the center of the city that intensity of cheap buildings which would counterbalance building at the periphery."⁴⁴ One of the few examples of private initiative belonged to Nicole Bazilescu who invests in the land from the north: "by 1913 almost 1500 parcels were bought, each with an area of 150 ha,"⁴⁵ but his example was not followed by many others. The paternity and responsibility was enforced by the laws from 1910 that regulated the program of social housing, which imposed strict regulation for health and hygiene. The housing issue was brought into attention by the state because it was able to satisfy certain demands for improving the social conditions of the working classes: the bureaucracy increased, the important railway company and the State Monopole Company, but surprisingly enough craftsmen with no connection to heavy industry. The pressure increased after the peasant riots, encouraged by the socialist propaganda. However the state acted quickly and was able to adapt its strategy to response to the needs of the working class soon enough, in order to avoid any civil riots in Bucharest. The context that determined the authorities to start the social housing program can be interpreted as responses to the social riots in 1907. Far from settling this issue, we would conclude that the authorities answered to the pressures of the social classes that affiliated with the peasant riots from 1907, especially the workers from the state industries: the Railway Company and the State Monopolies. Starting 1912, the Company will build for these state companies new cheap dwellings.

The law allowed the Company to build types of dwellings at different prices, therefore the customers could choose the type of house they afforded: while on Lupească and Lânăriei the predominate category are the craftsmen or the workers in the State industry, on the Clucerului *Lottissement* the price, the architecture and the oral testimonies indicate the presence of a social class different from the ones above-mentioned.

In total, the number of dwellings built in the years 1909-1911 does not exceed 1% of the number of houses at that time. Fourteen double-dwellings on Lânăriei Street, ten on Candiano Popescu Street, sixty on Clucerului *Lottissement* and

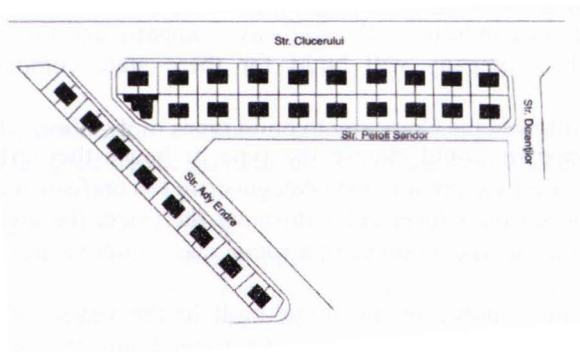
⁴⁴ C. Sfințescu, *Studiu asupra planului general* cit., p. 116.

⁴⁵ A. Dutu, *Realizări ale administrației bucureștene* cit., p. 103.

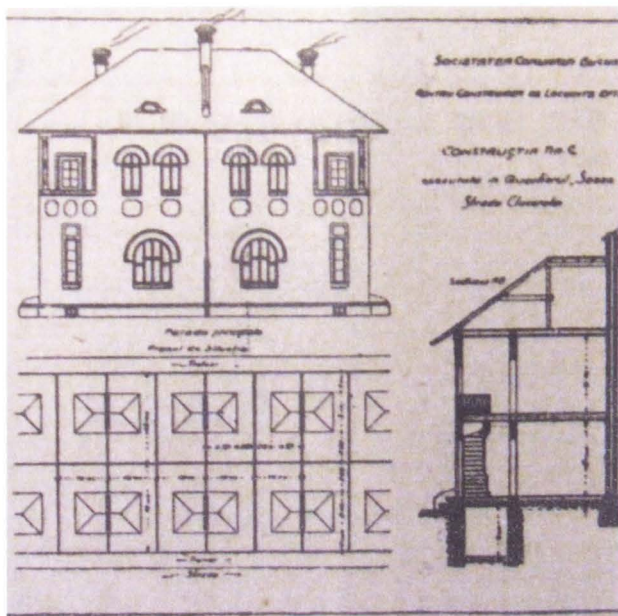
thirty on Lupească *Lottisment* means 114 dwellings in Bucharest, compared with the total number of 49,000 houses in 1912. The number of inhabitants of these houses probably did not exceed 1000 individuals. With 342,000 inhabitants of Bucharest in 1912, the impact was minimum.



The first house subject to allotment, at the crossing between Clucerului and Ady Endre



Map representing the three streets subject to the allotment at Clucerului

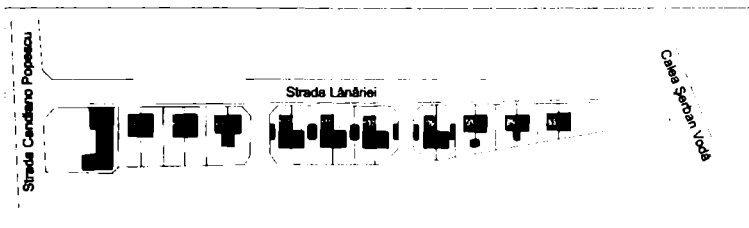


C type of buildings used in the allotment at Clucerului



Fig. 23. Vederca locuințelor din str. Lupeasca.

Picture published by C. Sfințescu in *Urbanismul* (1933)



Lănăriei Street

Agitation as Education: Instances of the Romanian People's Democracy State in "May 1st" Oil Equipment Enterprise (1948-1953)

Marius-Bogdan Tudor

Keywords: *labor; state socialism; central planning; propaganda; enterprise; working class; Romanian Workers' Party*

"What did the working-class do when it worked?" This paraphrase of Gorän Therborn's title-question in his 1976 article on the reproduction of power¹ represents one of the main starting points of my inquiries into the presence of the Socialist state in the enterprise during 1948-1953; it is at the same time a question that has been paid disturbingly little attention by social scientists in Romania after the collapse of state socialism in 1989. Indeed, in the case of Romania, one of the two academics that have thus far touched upon issues concerning workers during Socialist rule wrote in 2009 that "[n]ew scholarship on the Romanian working class is almost non-existent [...]."² Similarly, Raluca Mărgărit argued that workers constituted a socio-professional category neglected by the literature on Romanian Communism.³ The reasons for this omission could perhaps constitute an article on power relations on their own and one cannot speculate on them here. What can be said is that the discursively-privileged "working people" appear to catch the eye of post-Socialist research trends only when they mounted some form of public, collective opposition to the regime, especially towards its final stages. These research trends have been following in-depth the evolution of the *nomenklatura*, the political and legal aspects of the constitution of the Socialist state and the physical violence unleashed by the said state on its citizens throughout its existence (with a particular focus on its incipient stages, since a significant part of the deportations, political imprisonments

¹ Gorän Therborn, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules? Some Reflections on Different Approaches to the Study of Power in Society*, "Insurgent Sociologist" 6 (1976), 3.

² Peter Heumos, *Workers under Communist Rule: Research in the Former Socialist Countries of Eastern-Central and South-Eastern Europe and in the Federal Republic of Germany*, "International Review of Social History" 55 (2010), p. 102. The statement quoted belongs to Dragoș Petrescu. The only other scholar is Raluca Mărgărit, who has very recently published two articles based on research similar to that which I will conduct: *Ipostaze ale întreprinderii socialiste în anii '80. Studiu de caz: Combinatul Siderurgic Călărași*, "Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review" 2 (2011), p. 286-308, and *Întreprinderea socialistă - loc de producere a regimului comunist. Combinatul Siderurgic Hunedoara în primele două decenii comuniste*, "Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review" 1 (2012), p. 63-90.

³ R. Mărgărit, *Ipostaze cit.*, p. 290.

and state-orchestrated tortures occurred during the Dej period⁴), situating themselves within the so-called “totalitarian model”. However, the precious information uncovered by such studies has not been further used to map and historicize the social effects of institutional practices on different social groups during state socialism in Romania, social effects which in turn influenced the institutional practices in the long run. The question which arises, therefore, does not concern the ultimate dismissal of the political (the totalitarian model) and the crowning of the social history approach (the so-called “revisionist model”) as the best way of tackling the issue, but rather sets up the possibility that the latter use the former in order to avoid both the exclusion of the political from social processes and the top-down determinism of the all-encompassing totalitarian approach. I argue that the tracing of the totalitarian precepts in their embodied form, i.e. as institutional practices at the level of the enterprise – the main unit of economic production, but also of jobs, creativity, culture, solidarities and ways of life⁵ – can help identify less physical types of state violence than the ones put forward by the totalitarian models, map the infrastructural aspect of Socialist state power, not just the despotic one,⁶ and reveal the extent to which the workers also influenced those practices, thus limiting the control of the state.

The type of social history I wish to make a case for in my paper does not exclude the political – as has often been the case with revisionist social history – but gives the Socialist state a central role in the evolution of society precisely due to the penetration of the latter by the former. While Sheila Fitzpatrick rightly lamented that “we have been strongly conditioned to see everything in terms of ‘The State’”⁷, to do the opposite and completely leave the socialist state (especially in its Stalinist period) out of the effects of the social processes it itself had accelerated (urbanization, forced industrialization and collectivization etc.) would mean to paint only half a picture. As Jean-Paul Depretto has argued in his review, it would be difficult to completely abandon the notion of totalitarianism, since it has placed the emphasis on a common feature of Nazism and Stalinism: state violence⁸. He goes on to add that

“[h]istorians cannot comprehend the history of the USSR by limiting themselves to a view ‘from below’. The social processes require an analysis that is at the same time ‘from above’ and ‘from below’: in fact, this is what the best of scholars have actually done, for instance Moshe Lewin or Sheila Fitzpatrick. This is why it is necessary to overcome the opposition between ‘the totalitarian school’ and social history. Far from ‘leaving politics outside’, the latter must do

⁴ See, among others, Dennis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State*, London, 1999.

⁵ R. Mărgărit, *op. cit.*, p. 289, apud Renaud Sainsaulieu, *Sociologie de l'entreprise. Organisation, culture et développement*, Paris, 1997, p. 189-191.

⁶ Michael Mann, *The Autonomous Power of the State. Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results*, “Archives européennes de sociologie” 25 (1984), p. 113.

⁷ Jean-Paul Depretto, “Pour une histoire sociale de la dictature soviétique”, *Le mouvement social*, 2001, no. 196, p. 9.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

the opposite and offer central importance to relations of power [...]. The study of a dictatorship presupposes a double undertaking: analyzing the social bases of political processes and pointing out the social consequences of the decisions taken by the authorities."⁹

Furthermore, it is important to give credit to Communist officials – both in the Soviet Union and in the post-war Socialist countries in Eastern Europe – who constantly emphasized “the party’s long-established belief that it must aim to carry its message to the *entire* population.”¹⁰ The intrusiveness of Soviet methods (“[t]he principle of embracing the entire population in a single ideological influence continues to be of pressing importance during the period of mature socialism [...],” as one Soviet official declared in 1984¹¹) raises the question of tracing the actual effects of this totalizing approach. In what concerns the state enterprise (“May 1st” Oil Equipment Enterprise in the city of Ploiesti, in my case – one of the few industrialized areas in Romania prior to World War 2, located 60 km north of Bucharest, in the Prahova Valley), I follow this precept of political domination as social practice first of all because it is necessary to “take into account the internal contradictions of the state apparatus”¹², and second of all due to the fact that “[...] domination [...] must be analyzed as an exchange, albeit an uneven one, between those who exercise power [...] and are in possession of the means of repression and propaganda, and those who are subjected to them, but who are not devoid of resources.”¹³ This is why I am guided by Alf Lüdtke’s conceptualization of the G.D.R. as a “*durchherrschte Gesellschaft*” (society traversed by domination).¹⁴ “In the G.D.R.,” Lüdtke elaborates,

“[d]aily life was *comparatively* more under the dependence of power than in industrialized societies where the media constituted a public space of expression – despite the restrictions imposed – and where judicial and parliamentary checks and balances were imposed on governments and bureaucracies. [...] In the case of the G.D.R., the striking fact is not the success of the strategies of power, but the importance of the relations entertained with the latter.”¹⁵

One can extrapolate this assessment to interwar Soviet Union – especially after 1929, with Stalin’s change of course and the adoption of the first Five-Year Plan – and to early Socialist Romania. But what kind of state would this be and what

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 12-13.

¹⁰ David Wedgwood Benn, *Persuasion and Soviet Politics*, Oxford, 1989, p. 34.

¹¹ See *Ibidem*.

¹² Sandrine Kott, *Le communisme au quotidien. L'entreprise d'État dans la société est-allemande*, Paris, 2001, p. 16.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ See J.-P. Depretto, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Depretto’s translation into French is: “*société traversée par la domination*”.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

types of power did it deploy throughout society in general (“*durchherrschte Gesellschaft*”) and throughout the enterprise in particular?

Charles Tilly has come up with an influential definition of states as “coercion wielding organizations that are distinct from households and kinship groups and exercise clear priority in some respects over all other organizations within substantial territories.”¹⁶ But in the case of a state whose ideological pillars would require these organizations to reach “the entire population” and be “everywhere”, this definition simply will not suffice, regardless of how broad a definition of “coercion” one employs. The institutions developed by the Romanian Workers' Party in the late 1940s and early 1950s during its penetration of the workplace¹⁷ – Party base organizations, Party schools, Socialist contests, literacy schools, artistic groups, workers' clubs, wall newspapers or mobilizations for local or national events – are part of a process of state-formation that involves the dissemination of ideas. Steinmetz is careful to point out that “states are never ‘formed’ once and for all. It is more fruitful to view state formation as an ongoing process of structural change and not as a one-time event.”¹⁸ In the case I chose, this process is part and parcel of the above-mentioned concept of domination as social practice and is also dependent on the practices enacted by the workers as knowledgeable social actors who engage with those institutions.

In what regards the context of the Romanian workers at the time, the Romanian working-class was not a strong one. One of the main reasons for this was the low industrialization level of the country. Although the total number of employees in the big industry rose from 152,198 in 1932 to 289,117 in 1938, the industry itself was concentrated and isolated in a few areas (Bucharest, the Prahova Valley – petroleum, my area of research, the Jiu Valley – coal mining, Hunedoara and Reșița – metallurgy)¹⁹. Petrescu quotes Henry Roberts in his assessment of Romania's industrialization:

“In Bucarest [sic!] one is startled by the abrupt transitions from modernity to backwardness. The oil wells and refineries at Ploesti [sic] spring out of a peasant landscape. Discussions on Romanian industry revolve not around branches of industry, but around specific large enterprises, Reșița, Malaxa, I.A.R. – isolated spots in the economy. In both Rumanian agriculture and industry there is lacking a ‘middle ground.’ a diversified, intensive peasant farming and the complex of intermediate industrial activities.”²⁰

¹⁶ See George Steinmetz, *Introduction: Culture and the State*, in *State/Culture. State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (ed. by George Steinmetz), Ithaca, 1999, p. 8.

¹⁷ See Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: The Nation State and Violence*, London, 1987, p. 181-192. I will later explain my use of Giddens in this context.

¹⁸ G. Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁹ See Dragos Petrescu, *A Threat from Below? Workers' Protests in Communist Romania*, CEU History Department Masters Thesis, 1998/10, p. 42.

²⁰ In *Ibidem*, p. 43.

“May 1st” enterprise was located in the southern part of the industrial city of Ploiești, 60 km north of the capital city of Bucharest, in what is now Prahova County (in 1952 it became part of the wider Ploiești Region). It was the second largest of its kind in Europe and was classified as an enterprise “of Republican importance.”²¹ Due to its oil resources, the so-called Prahova Valley was one of the few heavily industrialized areas in Romania prior to World War 2.²² During the industrialization drive of early state socialism, the percentage of the urban population in the county grew from 26.9% in January 1948 (150.218 people out of 557.776) to 46% in February 1956.²³ In the enterprise itself, the number of employees rose from 3.200 in 1949 to 5.671 in March 1951 (but with the instability of the workforce making the number constantly fluctuating), out of which 1.276 were party members, organized in 22 party base organizations, each one corresponding to a shop-floor²⁴. According to a local official at a meeting of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation in March 1950, there were 1871 youths working at “May 1st” Enterprise, “most of them undisciplined rural elements.”²⁵ This was the environment in which agitation was deployed by the Socialist state in order to “discipline” the workforce.

Agitation as Education

The amount of resources invested by the Soviet Union and by post-World War 2 Soviet-inspired “people’s democracies” into the work of propaganda and agitation requires continuous nuances guided by an understanding of local contexts and by the process of translation of ideology enacted both by the recipients of that ideology and by its rank-and-file disseminators. Ideas, after all, can only function in certain situations which arise from specific social structures and are applied and received by actual people, who may use them in ways different from the ones envisaged by their creators. The attitudes of Communist officials towards the dissemination of ideology, its materializations in society and its social consequences can perhaps be better grasped if one turns to some of the basic tenets of achieving and maintaining power (inextricably linked to propaganda and agitation) set forth by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. In Lenin’s adaptation of Marxism, a revolutionary minority could seize power and then persuade the majority to support it by “enlightening” the latter:

“Suppose that a small number of people are waging a struggle against a hideous evil of which the mass of slumbering people are unaware, or towards which they are indifferent. What is the main task of those waging the struggle? [It is] (1) to

²¹ Adrian Atineu et alii, *Prahova. Monografie*. Bucharest, 1981, p. 164.

²² “The analysis of the censuses of 1901 and 1930 indicated the concentration of industrial activity to Ilfov and Prahova counties”, according to D. Petrescu. *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²³ A. Atineu, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁴ Arhivele Naționale ale României [hereafter, ANR], fond CC of the P.C.R., Department of Economics, file 18/1949, 96, and Idem, Direcția Județeană Prahova [DJAN Prahova], fond 58 (City Committee of P.M.R. Ploiesti 1950-1951), file 3/1950, 35. In the Bucharest office of the archives, the enterprise was occasionally found listed with its pre-1949 name, Concordia.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 1.

awaken as many of the slumberers as possible; (2) to enlighten them about the task and conditions of the struggle; (3) to organize them into a force capable of achieving victory; (4) to teach them how to make *correct* use²⁶ of the fruits of victory. Naturally, (1) must precede (2)-(4), which without (1) are impossible."²⁷

The question which subsequently arises is how this "correct" use of this achievement of power turned out to be implemented in Romania. This is a legitimate line of inquiry since the emphasis Lenin places on propaganda is a necessary precondition for the accomplishment of other things. As Benn puts it, "[i]mplicit in this passage is the notion that the Bolshevik message was merely drawing attention to an objective reality; and also that the target audience would be sympathetic, once the message had been properly explained and understood."²⁸ In enterprises in Romania during the so-called Stalinist period, national and local level officials would have to constantly renew the message in order for the state to be able to shape the workplace.

A corollary to this assertion would be the emphasis placed by Soviet officials on the proper organization of propaganda and agitation²⁹ work as being in and of itself sufficient to ensure the success of implanting the political ideas of the Party. In its widest sense, according to a Soviet textbook, propaganda denoted "a special kind of social activity whose basic function is to disseminate knowledge, ideas, artistic values or other information for the purposes of moulding definitive views, notions or emotions and thereby exerting influence on people's behavior."³⁰ Indeed, the directives sent by the central office of the Propaganda and Agitation department within the Central Committee of the P.M.R. (Partidul Muncitoresc Român – Romanian Workers' Party, which in 1965 became the Romanian Communist Party – P.C.R.) to the county, local and base organizations in the enterprises and collective farms, and the reports it in turn received, are loaded with issues of organizing ideological work for better results. In a meeting of the central office of the Propaganda and Agitation department which took place in September 1948, a certain "comrade" Cotiga pointed out that "from an organizational point of view [...] in Constanța, which is one of the counties where guidance work is relatively well performed, the secretary of one of the Party base organizations in the naval shipyards is also in charge of guidance work, thus he reports to himself and nobody has any responsibility. This must be improved."³¹ This Romanian example

²⁶ Emphasis mine.

²⁷ In D. W. Benn, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 58-59.

²⁹ The initial distinction between "propaganda" and "agitation" posited by Gheorghii Plekhanov and used also by V. I. Lenin gradually became obsolete in Soviet state systems, which is why I use the terms interchangeably (the distinction was between propaganda as the presentation of complex ideas to a small group of politically-aware people, while agitation meant the presentation of a few simple ideas to large groups of people). See Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization. 1917-1929*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 7-8.

³⁰ D. W. Benn, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³¹ ANR, fond C.C. of the P.C.R., Department of Propaganda and Agitation, file 9/1948, 231.

would correspond to well-known Soviet precepts on the matter dating back to the time of the first industrialization drive in the early 1930s which continued to be invoked well into the 1970s; the Editor of *Pravda* wrote in 1977 that “the effectiveness of information work, of ideological activity as a whole, depends on who plans, organizes and controls it; and this is the prerogative of the party,”³² while Mikhail Nenashnev, future head of the *Goskomizdat*, was more forthright and stated that “[...] after a correct political line has been drawn up, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself.”³³

These organizational strategies do not, however, fully explain the intrusiveness of propaganda and the authorities' desire to penetrate every area of society – to reach literally everyone, as I mentioned in the theoretical aspects above. Neither does the obvious desire of the Communist Party to maintain and legitimate its rule offer sufficient grounds for the enormous amount of resources invested in mass propaganda. While there was an exaggerated preoccupation with the planning and organization of propaganda and agitation, I claim that the stake was for propaganda mechanisms to shape and organize the “mobilization” of “the working people” towards the building of socialism. Indeed, the Soviet system

“[...] has never been based on the notion of control by a ruling elite over a purely passive citizenry. The Soviet system derives its entire *raison d'être* from a programme of far-reaching social and economic transformation; and the system cannot achieve these goals merely by neutralizing opposition or protecting itself from overthrow. The attainment of these stated goals ultimately depends on the fulfillment of a further vital precondition – namely affirmative public action in pursuit of these goals. This, in turn, ultimately depends on the existence of conscious, motivated commitment to the goals at the grassroots level.”³⁴

This is why I posited that in the enterprise it is infrastructural power – “the capacity of the state actually to penetrate civil society and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm”³⁵ – that takes precedence over despotic power – “the range of actions which the elite is empowered to undertake without routine, institutionalized negotiation with civil society groups.”³⁶ Similarly, this complements the approach to the Socialist state's penetration of the enterprise during the late 1940s and early 1950s as part of a process of state-formation³⁷ which entailed the development of institutional forms such as Socialist shop-floor contests, wall newspapers, workers' clubs and the dissemination of legislation within the ideological effort in the enterprise. In what follows I will present these institutional

³² See D. W. Benn, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 66.

³⁵ M. Mann, *The Autonomous Power* *cit.*, p. 113.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ See G. Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, p. 8-9.

forms in “May 1st Oil Equipment Enterprise” in Ploiești during the so-called Stalinist period and the way they were shaped by agitators and workers alike.

The institutional forms for the ideological dissemination within the enterprise were foreshadowed already in the speech that Miron Constantinescu – then-editor of party newspaper *Scînteia* (“The Spark”) and future director of the Committee for State Planning – gave to the new members of the party in June 1945. Constantinescu assessed that due to its previous illegal status, the party was threatened by sectarianism³⁸. It nonetheless had to overcome that burden and create “the link with the masses” that was “the essential task of each Party member.”³⁹ Setting the political line for the years when the Communist Party would become the only political force of the country (from 1948 until 1989), he added that “to be linked with the masses means to live permanently in their midst” and “to have an exemplary behavior in all circumstances, both when performing Party labor and in the private realm.”⁴⁰ He further put forward a precept that rank-and-file members and agitators would have difficulties with, namely that

“a leading organ of the Party, such as a Party committee in a big enterprise [...] must at all times be aware of the Party work throughout the sector and of the way in which the cadres and the mass of the Party apply the Party line in the given conditions [...] In Party information reports, an organization must not simply present the situation of the Party, but reveal the concrete measures that were taken in order to do away with the weaknesses [...] Minutes of meetings, reports and notes are important, but the best means of information is direct contact with the people from both larger and smaller Party organizations.”⁴¹

In his general assessment of the propaganda work of Party base organizations in enterprises three years later, the same comrade Cotiga pointed out serious shortcomings in this area. He complained that “as far as work method is concerned, what goes out from the center trickles down to the field as if it were a stencil. That’s how they work in enterprises.”⁴² He specifies that he “talked to an agitator⁴³ who was looking after 3 machines which were used by 7-8 men who were sometimes missing, came late or came drunk. He said he mobilized them only by telling them it was in the interest of the People’s Republic, he didn’t know anything else. He didn’t even read *Scînteia*, to be aware of the issues at hand.”⁴⁴ The recommendations comrade Cotiga gives are relevant for the party’s approach to ideological work in the enterprise, in the sense of a formally declared preoccupation with concrete local issues. He mentions that “[...] in order to know people, you need to talk to everyone of them, and it is above all politically aware workers that must

³⁸ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Department of Propaganda and Agitation, file 35/1945, 2.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 3.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 5.

⁴² *Ibidem*, file 9/1948, 231.

⁴³ At the time they were also called “guidance workers” (*indrumători*).

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 231-232.

accomplish this task. [...]. It is not enough for 3-4 workers to do good work and not be preoccupied with the other workers."⁴⁵ Following Cotiga's intervention, Leonte Răutu, head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation, emphasized and exemplified the issue of "little hiccups that often become serious problems"⁴⁶ by revealing how everyday social organization would prevent the enforcement of party decisions in the enterprise. Rautu pointed out that "the agitator must spot the little hiccups, because [...] our Party may be good, just and come with important improvements, but in the meantime someone might step on the worker's toes and the smallest of hiccups ends up causing the greatest of discontents."⁴⁷ He specified that "at an enterprise, it was noticed that the workers go to get drunk after they get their paychecks on Saturday. When they thought of giving out the paychecks on Mondays to prevent this, it caused an uproar and the Party base organization had to step in; the workers' wives were complaining that in these conditions, they could not go to the market on Sundays."⁴⁸

This meant some form of institutionalization of ideological efforts in the workplace was required. The plenary of the CC of the P.M.R. from January 23-24 1950 provided a legal framework for the party shop-floor organizations in the large enterprises through the establishment of party base organizations. These organizations were officially empowered to oversee the activities of the management of the enterprise⁴⁹. But this did not mean that the institutions whose existence was channeled and shaped through these organizations – Socialist shop-floor contests, wall newspapers, workers' clubs, Red Corners and the dissemination of legislation being the ones which I discuss in this paper – were shaped exclusively by top-down directives that reached an amorphous mass. As Newman and Clarke put it, "[e]ven where changes are experienced as imposed 'from above', actors have to find ways of translating them that are more or less congruent with 'local' contexts."⁵⁰ While in this Romanian case, the instances of collective public contestation of central directives are rare⁵¹, the practices of the ideology in "May 1st" Oil Equipment Enterprise reveal stoppages, negotiations and reshuffling⁵².

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 232.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 260.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Raia Vidrașcu, *Problemele producției în centrul preocupărilor organizațiilor de partid din industrie*, "Lupta de clasă", series V, no. 5 (May 1952), p. 39-40.

⁵⁰ Janet Newman, John Clarke, *Publics, Politics, Power: Remaking the Public in Public Services*, London, 2009, p. 20.

⁵¹ The factory-scale strike of July 1951 and the larger-scale strikes of February 1952 (after the monetary reform) in the refineries and rigs around the enterprise. I did not find enough information on either of these events.

⁵² See Douglas Haynes, Gyal Prakash, *Introduction: The Entanglement of Power and Resistance*, in *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South-East Asia* (ed. by Douglas Haynes, Gyal Prakash), Berkeley, 1992 [1991]), p. 1-23 (especially 2-4 and 15-16).

The Socialist Shop-Floor Contests

Among the effects of I.V. Stalin's change of course in the Soviet Union and the commencement of the first Five-Year Plan was the reappearance in the factories of "traditional characteristics of production and social organization" that would "shape industrial reconstruction in ways the state could neither overcome nor entirely control."⁵³ Shearer sees the shop-floor contests as "pre-revolutionary practices of shop contracting."⁵⁴ Put briefly, Socialist contests consisted of agreements – often arrived at after 'challenges' from the workers of one factory or shop to the workers of another – between enterprises, shops, brigades or individual workers to improve on various production indicators such as gross output, production price reductions or quality of parts⁵⁵. But the mobilization for the fulfillment of these plan indicators during these contests went beyond economic aspects and played a key role in the propaganda effort. Individual workers, as well as shop-floors, were encouraged to "make commitments" to fulfill and pass the planned norm, which resulted in the rewarding of the most skilled of them (the so-called Stakhanovites). However, the rewards (financial and social bonuses) were not always distributed, in spite of the normative provisions set up by the party. As we will see, either the various decision-levels within the enterprise would decide on the form of those bonuses or on the possibility of actually offering them, or the center would interfere in the final standings of the contests in order to favor certain industries.

In 1930, during the building of the dam that would facilitate the supply of the Magnitogorsk steelworks, Socialist contests were meant to mobilize workers allegedly to improve poor performances by "racing" with the construction of the dam towards the middle of the river; whoever reached the middle first would be declared the "winner"⁵⁶. The idea of working faster and risking a faulty construction dissatisfied both the American consultants in charge of overseeing the building of the dam and the workers themselves. The former "protested vehemently (to no avail) that there would be serious consequences if the two sides [of the dam] did not meet properly." The latter (both "new brigades" and older "peasants") expressed their discontent by mocking the competition with one of their own: who could eat the most bread⁵⁷. Kotkin writes that one Soviet official reported talking about the competition with the leader of an *artel*⁵⁸ – "a strong tough old guy." He "listened to us with a reserved expression on his face. It seemed that he understood everything, and was

⁵³ David Shearer, *Factories within Factories: Changes in the Structure of Work and Management in Soviet Machine Building Factories, 1926-34*, in *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization* (ed. by William G. Rosenberg and Lewis H. Siegelbaum), Indianapolis, 1993, p. 194.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization*, London, 1986, p. 70.

⁵⁶ More on the difficult working conditions in Magnitostroi and the political involvement in the project in Stephen Kotkin, *Peopling Magnitostroi: The Politics of Demography*, in *Social Dimensions* cit., p. 63-105.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

⁵⁸ In Russia and the Ukraine, *artels* were traditionally semi-formal associations of workers that often worked far from their homes and lived as a commune. Kotkin mentions that "their leaders were generally older peasants, men who commanded absolute loyalty from other members and brooked no incursions into their authority", see *Ibidem*, p. 77.

agreed... and then the old carpenter exclaimed: 'It's not your business to teach me how to work faster. With my axe I've brought forth dozens of churches and no one hurried me, nor told me that I worked slowly.'⁵⁹

In the contest occasioned by the celebration of May 1st 1949, the "May 1st" enterprise passed the factory planned target by 13%⁶⁰. The shortage of materials is already felt, being cited as one of the main issues in impeding the unfolding of the contests: "The raw and auxiliary materials needed did not reach the workplaces on time, we needed more special steel, welding electrodes, axels, tin iron [...]"⁶¹ Many enterprises did not even take part in the contests because of the lack of raw materials⁶². Another hindrance was the number of holidays in April. It is mentioned that "the third day after Easter, roughly 60% of the employees did not turn up for work, even though it was a working day [...] and in areas where there are other ethnicities, Easter was held twice."⁶³ The evaluation of the information in the report on the contests reveals that there were tensions even after the awards were given, when the central authority (The General Confederation of Labor – C.G.M.) tried to intervene in favor of the heavy industry. "Comrade" Stoica of the central office of Propaganda and Agitation said that

"[i]n what regards the handing of the Red Flags to the performing enterprises, I think there have been some mishaps [...] that must be corrected in the future. When we calculated who would get the Red Flags, we noticed the heavy industry was not represented. [...] I don't believe we'll be able to make any concrete changes in favor of the heavy industry now, since the C.G.M. has already tried to take two flags away from the textile industry and failed, because [they] somehow found out about it and sent a delegation to C.G.M. to protest."⁶⁴

"Comrade" Vass disagreed and claimed that there was "a big difference between cotton, wool or silk filing and oil extraction equipment, for example, and the textiles should give up two flags to the heavy industry in order to correct the mistake."⁶⁵ Compromise is eventually reached with everyone in the meeting agreeing to the manufacturing of more Red Flags and to the fact that, despite all the issues, these Socialist contests constitute a solid base on which agitators can build on in their mobilizations for future contests⁶⁶. A difficult task for the 30 agitators assigned to Prahova County for 1950 to coordinate the work of the base organizations, out of

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

⁶⁰ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 21/1949, 4. The numbers in these reports are based on information from the local organizations. While the numbers sometimes contain exaggerations, details about work methods and about how those numbers were reached were more likely to be given as a result of on-site inspections.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² *Ibidem*, 11.

⁶³ *Ibidem*. The reference is to the customary one-week gap between Catholic and Orthodox Easter.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, 17-18.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 19.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 22.

which only 21 were active and out of these 21, 7 were just attending their first Marxism-Leninism night classes.

Subsequent Socialist contests in “May 1st” enterprise are reported to have gone well – in the generalist fashion that Miron Constantinescu had warned against – and to have engaged “a considerable number of workers.”⁶⁷ It becomes specific when it mentions the number of unjustified absences that prevented a better performance in the contests. For January 1951 they amounted to 5,676 and for February they totaled an impressive 10,616⁶⁸.

Individual commitments and achievements were highly valued during this period⁶⁹ and these performers were considered the most valuable agitators of the workforce. For instance, comrade D.C. took the commitment to “make the bronze parts required for the globular cast-iron prototype pumps that are in the commitment of the enterprise outside his planned work program and also do maintenance work on his machine, while comrade I.N. has committed to passing his norm by 50% and so far he has managed to do it by 70% and there are many comrades like them.”⁷⁰ Notwithstanding the likely exaggerations, for the skilled workers who also engaged in agitation work the party had more than just eternal gratitude and individual Red Flags; it had economic and social incentives. A “leader in production” (*fruntaș în producție*) who maintained his/her achievements for six months would officially receive a deduction of 25-75% for a vacation in a villa of the C.G.M., a reduction of school taxes for his/her children enrolled in any form of middle or higher education and 50% deduction on tickets for nine theater performances, films or sporting events for the following semester⁷¹.

The Wall Newspaper

The wall newspaper (*gazeta de perete*) was meant to be the grass-roots press organ for each shop-floor in every enterprise. Workers were constantly mobilized to write about factory innovators, “leaders in production” or point out improper conduct noticed in other colleagues’ work behavior. The institution of the wall newspaper is perhaps a good example of Kharkhordin’s second aspect of individualization, namely “individualization proper.” There are instances of the worker engaging in self-perfection and self-training – “working on oneself” (*rabota nad soboi* being the original term in Russian)⁷². The concept of labor is thus not limited to the areas of production, but incorporates that of the personal as well.

In 1948, Leonte Răutu elaborated on the propagandistic purpose of the newspaper and its potential misuse:

⁶⁷ ANR, DJAN Prahova, fond 58, file 14/1951, 80.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ A trait also present in the German Democratic Republic. See S. Kott, *op. cit.*, p. 119-126.

⁷⁰ ANR, DJAN Prahova, fond 58, file 14/1951, 73.

⁷¹ *Idem*, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 43/1951, 1.

⁷² See Oleg Kharkhordin. *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices*, Berkeley, 1999, p. 231.

"We must use the wall newspaper. but it will not play that [agitation] role if it handles issues that are completely cut off from current problems. Most wall newspapers are in the habit of dealing with 'planetary' issues, general articles concerning a national or international matter, but of little or no concern for the respective enterprise. It should also have short poems, workers like that and it may attract them. But it has to be placed in an appropriate place, since more often than not people don't even know it's there. The task of the agitator is to use the wall newspaper like in the Soviet Union, where they even have special issues. Someone been singled out for his good work? Put out a special issue and it's of great influence."⁷³

A 1949 analysis of several such newspapers underlined the improvements they had made, in line with the approach outlined above. "The fictitious editorial boards of the wall newspapers have been replaced with actual ones, and they are beginning to come to life."⁷⁴ Although praised for its focus on the local aspects of the Socialist contests⁷⁵, the case of "May 1st" enterprise, with 24 wall newspapers and one factory-scale central newspaper would only accomplish that two years later, when the situation was assessed to be "relatively poor."⁷⁶ The 1951 report of the Central Gazette (the factory-scale newspaper) for the first trimester of 1951 mentioned nine major themes that needed to be tackled by June 15 and they all cover the agitation themes that were meant to get people to be more actively involved in the building of socialism in the enterprise: popularizing party schools, literacy schools and education in general; mobilizing workers for the fulfillment of the production plan; innovations, inventions and rationing; popularizing the activity of the Committee for the Struggle for Peace; handling the wall newspapers in each department during the Socialist contests between departments; drawing critical cartoons; popularizing June 1st, International Children's Day⁷⁷.

Articles and cartoons ranged from singling out leaders in production to "critical and self-critical" pieces on inebriated workers. A piece by 'comrade' N.S. praised "comrade" R.S.'s smelting brigade from the Cast Iron department, who had made the commitment to produce

"three extra tons in addition to the planned seven in honor of the Youth Days. Similarly, the brigade of comrade E.N. from printing and comrade. M.P. from cores made the commitment to pass the norm assigned to them for work in the villages. The brigade of comrade D.I. in Mechanics 3 made the commitment to apply the Nina Nezarova Soviet method in building the roller drills. All this is the living expression of our working people fighting for a better life [...] and for the building of socialism in our country."⁷⁸

⁷³ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 9/1948, 261.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, file 28/1949, 1.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 3.

⁷⁶ ANR, DJAN Prahova, fond 58, file 14/1951, 61.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 61-62.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 63.

The cartoons were an integral part of the effort to “work on the self”. “Comrade” N.C. was shown manufacturing reject spare parts and then tossing them away in a hole “so that no one might know about it.”⁷⁹ Two days later, the “comrade” wrote a “self-critical piece” and placed it next to the cartoon, “showing where his mistake might lead to now that we are at the beginning of the five-year plan.”⁸⁰ The commitment he subsequently made was followed-up by his fellow colleagues, who testified that “he has made good on his commitment and is now indeed an example, since his is the cleanest machine in the department and he is also tutoring 2 comrades for qualification. After the scheduled eight hours, he is cleaning his machine and oiling it.”⁸¹

However, mobilization was hardly an easy task. On the one hand, the rationing system in place at the time made paper a rare commodity outside the official network of newspapers, and on the other, many “comrades” were reluctant to offer their support to the wall newspapers. The report mentions that some workers asked to write about issues in their department would constantly postpone their piece and would then become annoyed when pressed with a deadline. This happened in the case of comrade I.G., who “even though [he] promised to write about the results of the Socialist contests, to this day he hasn’t sent anything. I even put an empty page in the wall newspaper saying it was the place of comrade I.’s article and called on Comrade Secretary S. from the party organization to plead with him, but he just said: ‘Leave me the hell alone, I got loads of work to do.’”⁸²

Workers’ Clubs and Red Corners

The workers’ clubs and the red corners – the latter functioned in enterprises where there were no clubs and would be subsequently integrated into a club after it was established – were spaces that hosted work-related activities as well as leisurely ones. Agitation work was carried out by leaders in production disseminating Soviet methods related to production improvement and “building socialism,” doing book reviews in order to popularize Soviet and socialist realist literature and holding brigade or shop meetings.

At the meeting of the central office of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation held in June 1948, Leonte Răutu revealed the propagandistic and educational relevance of such institutions:

“There is a relatively high number of clubs, but in certain enterprises there are none. [...] What do we do where there’s no club? A Red Corner must be created. There the worker should find a newspaper, a record player and stuff. A guidance worker must be there to make a good atmosphere. They should read *Scinteia* there. [...] Reading the paper is so important, that Kalinin showed how during

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 9.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

⁸² *Ibidem*, 67.

[the Bolsheviks'] underground days, intense guidance work was done by collectively reading newspapers."⁸³

Similarly, a report from 1952 outlining measures for the improvement of agitation work in the enterprises stressed the importance of these institutions in the translation of decisions into practice at a local level:

"In the area of mass cultural work, we must control cultural work in clubs and Red Corners in large enterprises to ensure the application of the Party's and Government's decision regarding the popularization of Stakhanovites and leaders in production. We will analyze the deficiencies in the clubs' work in large metallurgical and oil enterprises and help organize them, the Red Corners and union libraries. We will consider issuing of a magazine that would guide the activities of clubs and Red Corners, something like the Soviet magazine *Klub*. We will organize a contest between all union artistic bands."⁸⁴

This outreach, however, did not always find itself translated into practice at a local level. A report of the Ploiești office of Propaganda and Agitation from 1950 mentioned that "workers' clubs in enterprises throughout the city are visited by 15% of the workers."⁸⁵ In the leading refineries around the city, the situation was hardly any better. An inspection from the center criticized the state of affairs at Băicoi-Țintea oil rig complex, reporting that at Băicoi, "even though they had the material means to do it for a long time," the "comrades" there had only just thought it necessary to start a workers' club⁸⁶, while at Țintea, "even though they have a club, it barely has any activity. This is proven by the fact that on average, only 50 workers per month - out of the 3000 - read books from the club library."⁸⁷ Emphasizing the importance of education, the reporting agitator also decried the lack of reading groups or conferences, claiming that all cultural activity there was "limited to the choir and the dancing team."⁸⁸ There was no knowledge of the national contests between clubs and Red Corners, "and in this matter, Băicoi only has one Red Corner. It is well furnished, but there's no book on the shelves. Țintea has no such Red Corner."⁸⁹

The fact that these institutions had not yet managed to penetrate the workplace reveals the problems of policy translation. The agitator coupled this issue

⁸³ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 9/1948, 261.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, file 1/1952, 40.

⁸⁵ ANR DJAN Prahova, fond 58, file 3/1950, 14.

⁸⁶ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 44/1950, 105.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*. The artistic sections of the workers' clubs part of the Sovrompetrol would engage in performances that contained a mixture of traditional and ideologically-charged works. In July 1950, the artistic club of the union of the first regional office performed in Stăncești village songs such as "Holy Flag", "Song of Stalin", "Transylvanian Girl", "Labor", "Around the New Village", "Boloboc the Prophet", "Nothing is Better than Peace" or "The Sorrow of the Kulak". ANR, DJAN Prahova, fond Sovrompetrol Regional Office I Ploiești, file 12/1949, 85.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

with that of worker discontent due to economic hardships. He reported that "the two base organizations were not actively supported in their party work by the county and regional committees"⁹⁰ and because Băicoi held the Red Flag of national leader in production, the "political atmosphere" was very tense. "In all meetings, workers ask if theirs is the home of oil and they're the ones extracting it, why is there nothing for them and they still have to raise their children to torch or candlelight."⁹¹

Larger than the rig sites – both spatially and workforce-wise - and located within the city limits, by 1950 the "May 1st" enterprise benefited from a workers' club consisting of: a reading room, comprising books and magazines, a conference hall for meetings and discussions held by foremen and leaders in production where they present their work methods, the library, the model planes room, the children's room and the table-tennis room⁹². The multi-functionality of the space allowed agitation to penetrate an increasing number of realms of socialization and institutionalizing them, enabling further direct exposure to state ideology.

The work done in this regard at the clubs and Red Corners is visible in several base organizations' reports. The goal was to "raise the cultural level of the workers" and to that effect, a 1951 report points out that "the Party Committee, the Union and the management organized conferences in our enterprise club and they bought books every month and distributed them to every Red Corner."⁹³ But even if by October 1951 the number of books in enterprise libraries reached 19,461, the number of books actually read circled around 1200-1300, with the number of readers roughly the same⁹⁴. The agitator in charge of cultural issues made sure to write reviews of the books to be discussed in the meetings with the leaders in production.

Most of the knowledge produced in such meetings was disseminated from technical literature with ideological layers and the number of employees in attendance was usually not spectacular. At the Central Tool Workshop, after discussions on books such as "Quick Metal-Cutting", "The Foreman's Word" and "The Workshop of Fire", led by leaders in production, innovators and agitators over a period of 3 months in the presence of roughly two hundred workers, "a few of the comrades took these books from our club library for further study."⁹⁵ Further books planned for review and discussion were 'The Socialist Contest,' 'Machine-building' and 'The Soviet Experience Lights the Road to Socialism for Us'. At the beginning of July 1950, "comrade D.D., head-foreman in the Mechanics 1 Department, discussed at the workers' club with the leaders in production and mechanics the book 'Quick Metal-Cutting.' Ninety comrades were present."⁹⁶ After several other similar meetings, the agitator reported that "for the first time in our enterprise, the Soviet quick metal-cutting technique was applied, leading to an average 90% increase in

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 106.

⁹² ANR, DJAN Prahova, fond 58, file 14/1950, 11.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, file 14/1951, 161.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, file 34/1951, 3.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, file 14/1951, 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

norms above the planned target.”⁹⁷ The production issues in this department for 1951, detailed at a Red Corner meeting that I discuss below, make the number seem exaggerated.

The Red Corners were occasionally the sites for official shop-floor meetings where factory issues were discussed. During one of these meetings in January 1952, the achievements and failures of the Mechanics 1 department were mulled over and labor discipline (or lack thereof) was the main issue. The secretary of the party base organization explained that “the department managed to reach and even pass the plan target for November, even though there were delays in the supplies from the Drills department. [...] We worked well, but we noticed shortcomings in the behavior of people from management and even in workers, many of whom refuse to process the urgently-needed parts and work as they are paid or as they see fit.”⁹⁸ In all likelihood, many workers simply chose to dedicate more time to work that they were most skilled at while having to adapt to shortages and “shock work” during Socialist contests. This approach would lead them to a quicker fulfillment of their individual norm.

In the report of an engineer, shortages and absenteeism combined to make adequate work almost impossible:

“Comrade Engineer A. also showed that he is missing caliber-parts in the department and work is sloppy. People are often absent from work and they often work without any stencils.”⁹⁹

The norm forms – the official sheets on which individual norms were mentioned and where workers would write down the amount of work performed – were also of high significance to the party agitators, since on the one hand they would reflect which individual worker, brigade or department were eligible for praise or reprimand, and on the other, control output norms. “Comrade Foreman C. says he doesn’t get along with his men from the drilling machines, but he fails to mention that he doesn’t assign them any norm forms. He also complains about the lack of bonuses, even though the department passed the plan every month.”¹⁰⁰ This subterfuge of avoiding the norm form in order to bypass controls was one of many informal understandings between foremen and shop-floor workers

The Dissemination of Legislation:

The Monetary Reform and the Constitution in the Enterprise

The infrastructural power of the early Romanian Socialist state relied on “the act of will” that had to be constantly renewed, as I previously pointed out. Subscribing to Bourdieu’s line of thought, the social relations in the enterprise were at a point where they had to be kept up by a process of continuous creation wherein

⁹⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, file 5/1951, 246.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem.*

dominant agents had to “work directly, daily, personally, to produce and reproduce conditions of domination.”¹⁰¹ The political and the economic being intertwined in their action on the social space of the enterprise, tracing the dissemination of legislation to the level of the individual worker— the Constitution of 1952 and the monetary reform of January that same year – would be revealing for mapping the issues of translation of ideas to the local level and their transformation in the process.

In November 1952, an article in the party monthly *Lupta de clasă* outlined the approach to the translation into practice of party decisions by the local and regional committees. After the plenary of January 23-24 1950 had allegedly “cleared the air in what concerns the attributions of the party apparatus”¹⁰², Gheorghe Roșu stated that “the task of the party activist is to apply the line of the party when solving all practical problems arising in everyday work.”¹⁰³ Considering that party decisions were supposed to be “very specific” and their carrying out “based on the concrete situation on the ground”, decisions that were “general”, “lacked precision” and “mostly remained only on paper” were seen as serious flaws¹⁰⁴. Roșu gave the example of the regional committee of Bârlad, where the meeting discussing the organization of the Constitution debate by local party organizations concluded with the remark that “members of the regional committee should receive concrete tasks that will help them in their support for local party organizations in the debate of the constitutional project.’ Instead of taking concrete steps to ensure a proper organization of the debate, the committee made a vague decision, whose translation into life could not be traced in practice.”¹⁰⁵

It was such a “translation into life”¹⁰⁶ that was the main objective of the party when it came to the dissemination of far-reaching legislation. In the matter of “consolidating the success of the monetary reform,” the instructions for the Agitprop organs are laid out in a memo from January 1952. “In the large enterprises”, stated the guidelines, “agitators are instructed to focus on the broadening of the Socialist contests, the application of the advanced Soviet work methods, as well as those of our Stakhanovites, increasing the savings and reducing production costs.”¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, in the fifteen largest industrial centers (which included the “May 1st” enterprise), agitators were supposed to take part in three sessions of instructions during which they would receive lessons on, among other things, “the beneficial effects of the monetary reform for the working masses, the need for a strict savings

¹⁰¹ Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov, *The Social Life of the State in Subarctic Siberia*, Stanford, 2003, p. 10.

¹⁰² Gheorghe Roșu, *Organizarea și controlul executării hotărârilor de partid*, “Lupta de clasă”, series V, no. 11 (Nov. 1952), p. 53-54. See also the information from Raia Vidrașcu’s article mentioned earlier with regards to the “clearing of the air” around party attributions (footnote 27).

¹⁰³ Gh. Roșu, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁶ Literal translation of the wooden-tongue concept of *traducerea în viață*. I chose not to adapt it in my translation because I see it as suggestive for the authorities’ desired approach to state policies.

¹⁰⁷ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 5/1952, 36.

regime to reduce production costs" or "organizing conversations with workers on issues of work productivity and doing away with *temps morts*."¹⁰⁸

Judging from the reactions documented in the union newspaper, the agitation work might appear to have gone smoothly. The pages of the daily *Viața sindicală* (Union Life) abounded in accounts of workers praising the monetary reform. "Workers all over the country praised the decision to enact the monetary reform and lower prices," titled the newspaper on its front page the day after the adoption of the law¹⁰⁹. At Timpuri Noi plant, workers were caught in a moment of "proletarian rage" against the kulaks and the speculators, "the shrews that had collected heaps of money at our expense. No more!"¹¹⁰ Stakhanovite agitator N.V. reassured them that "the government's and the party's decision gives a lethal blow to the class enemy. Certain temporary sacrifices will be rewarded with lower prices."¹¹¹

In the "May 1st" enterprise, the monetary reform is reported to have been "inspirational" for the way "comrade" D.I. built socialism. Together with "comrade" V.M., he developed a device for the drilling pumps that would "considerably reduce work-time" and passed their plan by over 100%¹¹².

Constant mobilization for the "consolidation of the reform" required the continuous Durkheimian renewal of the message. The "Grivița" can factory in Bucharest was criticized for not having done so and for passively expecting instructions "from above"¹¹³.

"The president of the enterprise committee answered very calmly: 'Well, we did do something about it, still. When the decision was published, we disseminated it among our workers the very next day, we pointed out its relevance and then people went about their business...' 'But it's been more than two weeks ever since,' we replied. 'In other enterprises, workers have made concrete commitments in support of the reform and we've already had worthy accomplishments.' 'That may well be,' the comrade retorted, 'but you see, we didn't receive any instructions, so...' '...you did nothing!' we completed the sentence."¹¹⁴

Bringing the decision and its provisions to the attention of the workers was not enough; the process was meant to mobilize all the institutions in the enterprise: "Nothing has changed in the schedule of the Red Corner. The comrades in the cultural sector did not feel the need to act and neither did the wall newspaper have any articles to point out concrete commitments."¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, 36-37.

¹⁰⁹ "Viața sindicală", series II, no. 1339, January 29, 1952, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, no. 1343, February 2 1952, p. 1.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, no. 1353, February 14 1952, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

Party reports painted a different picture of agitation work in enterprises, revealing the “temporary sacrifices” that “comrade” N.V. had mentioned. In Prahova, certain enterprises were late with the paychecks due to the fact that the bills had to be exchanged and there was discontent amongst workers. In the “May 1st” enterprise, wages were paid only on January 26¹¹⁶ when the customary date was the 15th of each month. On January 28, most of the agitators are reported to be at the exchange centers maintaining order instead of performing guidance work¹¹⁷. Workers were said to have had a low attendance rate at the brief guidance meetings held in enterprises due to the fact that they left immediately after working hours to exchange the money¹¹⁸.

An inspection report for the month of February mentions that at all enterprises in the city, workers are reported to have begun labor according to the new norms¹¹⁹. However, at the “May 1st” enterprise, Atelierele Centrale and Refinery no. 1, “part of the workers” requested the revision of the norms before proceeding any further with work and 150 workers from the Tools workshop at the “May 1st” enterprise requested to proceed with the new norms only from March 20 onwards¹²⁰. At the same time, several lathe operators were reported to have passed the new norms by 150%¹²¹. The same report assessed that the Agitprop departments in enterprises did not consider as a central preoccupation “measures for the consolidation of the monetary reform.”¹²²

In Grivița Roșie neighborhood in Bucharest, a Communist stronghold, tensions were reportedly high. At an exchange center, agitator D.S. caused an uproar after telling people that “if they didn’t quiet down, he would use other methods.”¹²³ At the neighborhood grocery store, there were “hoards of people and there was a high demand for cooking oil and when the supplies ran out, the crowd shouted that because of this reform, soon there will be nothing left to buy.”¹²⁴ Visual agitation had also been poorly organized in the area, since there were very few posters with the reform in the neighborhood¹²⁵.

The dissemination of the constitutional project entailed a slightly different approach to agitation than that of the monetary reform, due to the fact that it was a project and the state authorities mandated the organization of debates on its provisions in enterprises¹²⁶. In spite of this difference, the reports reveal that the goal

¹¹⁶ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 1/1952, 20.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, file 35/1952, 49.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*. Besides the stoppages, in this period several nonn-related, small-scale strikes about which I have little detailed information took place in the oil refineries around Ploiești and in “May 1st” enterprise. See also D. Petrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 99-100.

¹²¹ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 35/1952, 49.

¹²² *Ibidem*, 49-50.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, file 1/1952, 20.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁶ None of the proposals put forward by local agitators or workers during these debates is likely to have influenced the Constitution in any way, even though what was considered one of its most

of the action was similar: the dissemination of legislation that theoretically benefited the “working people” in order for the state to “penetrate” the workplace ideologically and economically.

In the Ploiești region, the instructions sessions preparing the agitators for the dissemination of the constitutional project were reported to have begun on July 27 1952 and were claimed to be of low quality¹²⁷. “Comrade” Beu of the Regional Committee went on to say that the visual agitation in several enterprises (including “May 1st”) was well organized: “[t]exts of the Constitution are posted in visible places and there are also mobilizing banners that popularize the Constitution.”¹²⁸ The general atmosphere surrounding the dissemination of the project was characterized as “unsatisfactory”; the majority of the people “has not read the project and they do not know what it contains, while political work in this regard is not well organized.”¹²⁹

For the month of August, however, the same “comrade” Beu had a more soothing report¹³⁰. Twelve activists from the City Committee and from the base organizations had organized agitation spots in the city where the people could come ask questions and discuss the Constitution project. The consultants “are well prepared and give good answers.”¹³¹ Agitators were said to have begun political work with the citizens on the streets and in the enterprises. In “May 1st” the project was read in all the union groups, after which “workers asked questions and made commitments.”¹³² Throughout the city, most of the issues people raised were either of an economic nature or related to the poor activity of the deputies they elected: “[d]eputies do not talk to them about the hardships they face everyday and they propose that the Constitution is drafted in such a way to make sure the deputies do their job.”¹³³

The agitators had queries of their own. 350 of them (from “May 1st”, Refinery no. 1 and Atelierele CFR Ploiești) took part in one of the above-mentioned instructions sessions which took place at Refinery no. 1 and put forward questions about, and proposals for, the constitutional project. Many of the questions inquired about the newly-established Hungarian Autonomous Region¹³⁴. The agitators asked,

important provisions stated that the People's Republic of Romania was “the state of the working people from the cities and villages.” Indeed, even before the “debating” process got under way and the “working people” were informed of the existence of a constitutional project, an editorial from *Lupta de clasă* affirmed that “the project of the new Constitution [...] has been received with joy, enthusiasm and deep patriotic pride by the masses of working people.” See Editorial, *Constituția construirii socialismului*, “Lupta de clasă”, series V, no. 7 (July 1952), p. 54-55.

¹²⁷ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 5/1952, 64.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁰ I exclude guidance work performed in the countryside.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, 90.

¹³² *Ibidem*, 123. This is one example of the generalities in party reports that Gheorghe Roșu was lamenting.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, 124.

¹³⁴ The Hungarian Autonomous Region roughly corresponded to what is now known as *Szekélyföld/Tinutul Secuiesc* (“Land of the Szeklers”) – the counties of Harghita and Covasna and parts of Mureș county.

among other things, whether the region abided by its own laws or by those of the People's Republic of Romania, whether Romanian judicial authorities had jurisdiction in the region in case a crime was committed within its boundaries or whether there were any special formalities a Romanian citizen might need in order to enter this territory¹³⁵. However, most of the questions and proposals revolved around social and political issues: for instance,

- If the wife of an employee works only around the household, will she have to earn a living by entering production?

- If an employee who retired cannot live on his pension, is he allowed to have an extra income?

- If an employee falls ill, does he receive free medication?

- If the masses disagree with a law that is adopted by the Grand National Assembly, can it be changed?¹³⁶

"Comrade" G. S. from Atelierele CFR suggested that article 79 should include the right to social services for those crippled at birth, while "comrade" M.I. from "May 1st" proposed that article 78 mention the number of years an industrial worker is required to be active in production¹³⁷.

Confusions and mistakes were also part of the process of translation. To give just two examples, at "Macazul" enterprise in Ploiești, the secretary of the base organization in charge with handling the dissemination of the constitutional project was reported to have very little knowledge about the provisions. During one of the instructions sessions, he was asked by a worker-agitator what the Hungarian Autonomous Region entailed and he answered: "[t]his means that the Hungarian population in the region will build socialism according to the customs of their own language."¹³⁸ The official writing the report went on to criticize the same "comrade" for having implied that the provisions regarding the freedom of religion were a pure formality, "and in time, churches will be abolished."¹³⁹

Conclusions

The totalitarian aspiration to be "everywhere" and mobilize the workers for the building of socialism translated, at the level of the enterprise, into the development of institutions which did not result in the transformation of the workers according to some fixed ideological precepts, regardless of initial directives from the center. Every worker was supposed to be mobilized to work for the building of socialism, but every worker "built" it in a different way. The infrastructural power of the Romanian state did facilitate the development of the "civilization of the enterprise" that Barbu theorized as having instituted "the field of labor" as the sole area for the social validation of the individual during Romanian state socialism¹⁴⁰. But the "field of labor" for Barbu might be too narrowly understood as merely that of

¹³⁵ ANR, fond CC of the P.C.R., Propaganda and Agitation, file 35/1952, 174-175.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, 175.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, 175-176.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, 176-177.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 177.

¹⁴⁰ See Daniel Barbu. *Republica absentă*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 88.

work. Industrial labor did, indeed, impose a discipline of the body until then unknown to “modern Romanian civilization”¹⁴¹; but the “inflexibility of individual time” that Barbu added in the mix is a questionable notion. As I believe I have shown in this paper, the field of labor encompasses more than time spent in production (and even this was often irregular and inconsistent, as one might grasp from the sub-chapter on Socialist contests). A leader in production did not simply pass the norm during Socialist contests, but also presented books at the workers’ clubs or wrote book reviews for technical journals. Other workers would write for the wall newspaper or join the artistic groups from the workers’ clubs. Many of them would be exposed and react to, the legislation disseminated by local agitators (the Constitution and the monetary reform are just two of the major examples) who, in their turn, would be more or less in possession of the ideas that trickled down from the higher echelons of the state. Therefore, the infrastructural power of the Romanian “people’s democracy” state in the “May 1st” enterprise in the late 1940s and early 1950s widened “the field of labor” to incorporate time outside production, but that was still connected to the enterprise and in this way to the state. Far from creating a collectivist utopia, the ideology of the state and its translation of ideas, embodied in the above-discussed institutions, enabled both an individual participation to power and a rejection of it.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 88-89.

Moldavia and Wallachia in Marino Sanudo's Diaries (I: 1496-1500)*

Șerban V. Marin

Keywords: *Marino Sanudo; Venetian History; Stephen the Great; Diaries*

First and foremost, one should underline the fact that the style of the Venetian historical writing was insipid. Irrespective of the century when a particular work was written, the raw information was the one that had precedence, while the explanations were rather marginalised. As a pragmatic community, for which mercantilism represented the reason for being, the *Serenissima* Republic could not afford to emphasize the tinting and the puns. This tendency was not restricted to the Venetian chronicles, but it penetrated in the diaristic works: Domenico Malipiero, Girolamo di Priuli or Marino Sanudo – to mention here the guide marks of this genre – noted assiduously each detail that they became aware of, marginalising deliberately each additional comment. Certainly, the detail that, for instance, “*La matina il doxe andò in bucintoro a sposar il mar*” (Sanudo, vol. VI, p. 341) would provoke nowadays an image perhaps idyllic. However, when noting this detail, Marino Sanudo had no romantic thrill at all, but referred strictly to one of the long time naturalised customs inside of the Venetian community. The metaphor remains without sense, while the detail is used exclusively in order to establish the moment when the events take place. For the diarist, it is only **information** that is taken into consideration.

The diary of Marino Sanudo ‘the Young’ – called in this manner in order to be not confounded with his-two century earlier namesake – is a listing of data, events, information, noted by the diarist scrupulously, relying upon the reports delivered directly by various acquaintances settled in various corners of Europe. It includes the period between 1496 and 1533¹. During no less than 58 volumes, each numbering hundreds of pages, the author simply takes over *ad litteram* a part of the information, while those data regarded as less important are crowded behind the term of “*etc.*”.

In this vast framework that includes information from the greatest number of the European courts and especially from those in the Italian area, the place of the Romanian Principalities is somehow to the periphery. They have a second hand

* The introduction below represents fragments in English version of the article published as *Însemnări din jurnalul venețianului Marino Sanudo referitoare la ultimii ani de domnie ai lui Ștefan cel Mare. Ambasadele Moldovei la Veneția*. “*Archiva Moldaviae*” 1 (2009), p. 79-91 (79-84).

¹ *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano Ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII* (ed. by Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Niccolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, Marco Allegri), 58 volumes, Venice, 1879-1902. The autograph manuscripts have inventories It. VII. 228-286 [= 9215-9273] at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice.

position in comparison to the historical events of the period. There were no Venetian official representatives in the Romanian space. As for the situation in the Eastern Europe, Sanudo seems rather interested in the reports of the official messengers in Buda or Constantinople, along with the several informers in areas that the Venetian state was directly interested in, that is the Dalmatian and Greek regions. The interest towards Hungary, for instance, is emphasized exclusively by the possibility to maintain a balance factor in central and Eastern Europe in front of the Ottoman 'road roller'. Henceforth, the references to the Romanian Principalities are vague and disparate, having a scarcity percentage in the whole Sanudian diaries.

Nevertheless, since it is about a quantitatively tremendous work, these references are enough to take out many pages that deal with events referring to the Romanian area and political realities.

Unfortunately, the lack of interest for the Romanian geographical area has also as result the copious confusions between the two Romanian Principalities. The diaristic feature makes that such confusions be amplified by various contradictory news: from one informer to another, the events have sinuous evolutions, while the rumours also increase these contradictions. There are many rulers and high officials that are in a certain moment regarded as being deceased, although after several pages they are represented as active participants to various events. Sometimes, some details practically impossible are mentioned, for instance when the Tartar khan is regarded as receiving to leadership of a Christian anti-Ottoman league. However, the importance of Sanudo's diary consists, beside the events themselves, also in the manner in which each event is presented in various perspectives, in the context of the diversions caused by many rumours.

These structural contradictions are amplified by the author's haste, originating in his wish to note as much as possible, and it increases the confusion even more. There are many misspellings and confusions. The particular case of the Romanian Principalities fully proves this tendency, since one could many times be confronted with the frequent alternations between "Transilvania" and "Transalpina" or with the evolution of the term of "Carabogdan", from a simple nickname of Stephen the Great to the denomination of an entire country or community: the Moldavian one. The examples could be continued.

Translating the text is also difficult. It is because of the same haste of the diarist to note as much as possible, a reason that leads him to the inconsistency in writing in the Venetian dialect, sometimes even during one and the same letter.

Some notes about the author are necessary. Marino Sanudo belonged to one of the Venetian patrician families, whose members had held important position in the Venetian state's hierarchy over the centuries. The Sanudo house lacked one element that would crowned gloriously its evolution, that is the dogal position for one of its members. Nevertheless, this element had been found, by inventing the descendance from the ancient family of the Candianos, which in the centuries when the community had still looked for its identity, had promoted five doges in the 9th and 10th centuries. Furthermore, even the origins of the city regarded a legendary Thomà Candiano as one of the three Paduan consuls that had founded the community in the lagoons in the legendary act on March 25, 421.

Marino Sanudo 'the Young' (b. 1466-d. 1533) imposed himself because of his many historical writings, which recommended him as one of the most reliable candidates to the position of Republic's official historiographer, destined to continue Marcantonio Sabellico's *Rerum Venetarum*². Among his works there were "Commentarii della guerra di Ferrara", "Vite dei dogi", "De situ urbis", "De magistratibus Venetiarum", "La spedizione di Carlo VIII"³. Nevertheless, he never

² See *M. Antonii Sabellici, rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatum, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl'Istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venezia, 1718 [first edition, Venice, 1487].

³ Marino Sanuto, *Commentarii della Guerra di Ferrara tra li Viniziani ed il Duca Ercole d'Este nel MCCCCXXXII* (ed. by Pietro Bettio), Venice, 1829; Idem, *De bello Gallico sive de rebus in Italia gestis a Carolo VIII et Ludovico XII Galliae regibus ab anno MCCCCXCIV usque ad annum MD* (ed. by Lodovico Antonio Muratori), in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 24, Milan, 1738, colls. 5-166 (actually, this work represents the first volume of Girolamo Priuli's diary, and by error ascribed to Sanudo, cf. Christiane Neerfeld, «*Historia per forma di Diaria*». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice, 2006, p. 250); Marin Sanudo, *La spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia* (ed. by Rinaldo Fulin), Venice, 1873; *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La città di Venetia (1493-1530)* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), Milan, 1980. For *Le Vite de' Dogi*, one could see my PhD thesis: *Cronistica venețiană și mitologia politică a Cetății din lagune în evul mediu. Mitul originilor* [*The Venetian Chronicles and the Political Mythology of the City in the Laggons in the Middle Ages. The Myth of the Origins*], University of Bucharest, Faculty of History, January 2009, p. 504-513. In comparison with Sanudo's various works, his diary has been the one to be paid more attention by the modern historians, maybe as a proof for the tendency to reconstitution of the events in prejudice of other manners to approach the historical science. Thus, beside the plentiful use of these *Diarii* in many general studies referring to the last years of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th, many other articles have exclusively relied upon them, see Georg Martin Thomas, *Martin Luther und die Reformations Bewegung in Deutschland vom Jahre 1520-1532 in Auszuegen aus Marino Sanuto's Diarien*, Ansbach, 1883; Antonio Favaro, *Lo Studio di Padova nei Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 36 (1918), p. 65-128; Franz Babinger, *Marin Sanuto's Tagebuecher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Safawija*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (ed. by Edward G. Browne), Cambridge, 1922, p. 28-50; Mario Brunetti, *Banche e Banchieri veneziani nei "Diarii" di Marin Sanudo (Garzoni e Lippomano)*, in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, II, Milan, 1950, p. 26-47; Giangiorgio Zorzi, *Notizie di arte e di artisti nei Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 119 (1960-61), p. 471-604; Maria Nallino, *L'Egitto dalla morte di Qā'it Bay all'averno avvento di Qānsuh al-Guri (1496-1501) nei Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, "Atti. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei" 20 (1965), p. 414-453; Carla Boccato, *Dai Diari di Marin Sanudo: deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio che introduce l'uso della lingua volgare nei testamenti*, "Giornale economico. Periodico mensile della Camera di commercio industria e agricoltura di Venezia" 4 (1972), p. 586-588; Robert Finlay, *Politics and History in the Diary of Marino Sanuto*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 33 (1980), 4, p. 585-598; Paolo Morawski, *Notizie dalle (future) "Indie d'Europa": Polonia, Lituania e Moscovia nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo Anni 1496-1519*, "Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi" 21 (1987), p. 43-88; Walter Zele, *Aspetti delle legazioni ottomane nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo*, "Studi Veneziani", new series, 18 (1989), p. 241-284; Angela Caracciolo Aricò, *Il Nuovo Mondo nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo il giovane e nelle Lettere di Angelo Trevisan*, in *Antonio Pigafetta e la letteratura di viaggio nel Cinquecento* (ed. by Adriana Chemello), Verona, 1996, p. 47-67; David Sanderson Chambers, *The Diaries of Marin Sanudo: Personal and Public Crises*, in Idem, *Individuals and Institutions in Renaissance Italy*, Aldershot, 1998, no. IX, p. 1-33; Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti White (with transl. by Linda Carroll), *How to (and How Not to) Get Married in Sixteenth-Century Venice (Selections from*

enjoyed the privilege to be the public historiographer, position that he wanted so much. Instead of Sanudo, Andrea Navagero and later Pietro Bembo were preferred by the authorities. Furthermore, the Council of Ten would impose him to deliver his own diary in order to be consulted by his rivals. Disappointments and frustrations would induce several times Sanudo to be reluctant in continuing to write on his diary (especially in 1523 and 1524). Fortunately, he changed his mind, so that the present day historian could use Sanudo's later notes⁴.

the Diaries of Marin Sanudo, "Renaissance Quarterly" 52 (1999), 1, p. 43-72; Eugen Denize, *Ștefan cel Mare in I Diarii lui Marino Sanudo*, "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie", 22 (2004), p. 137-151 (see also our viewpoint in Ș. Marin, *Addenda et Corrigenda*, "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie" 23 (2005), p. 320-326). For *Diarii*, see also Georg Martin Thomas, *Zu den Diarien Marino Sanudo's*, "Historische Zeitschrift" 39 (1878), p. 382 ff; Cesare Cantù, *Diarij di Marin Sanudo*, "Archivio Veneto" 35 (1888), p. 409-428; Andrea Fedi, *Stile e struttura nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo (Style and structure in Marin Sanudo's Diarii)*, *Dissertation Thesis, University of Toronto, 1994*, Ann Arbor, 1996; Anna Laura Lepschy, *La lingua dei Diarii di Sanudo*, in Idem, *Varietà linguistiche e pluralità di codici nel Rinascimento*, Florența, 1996, p. 33-51; Paolo Margaroli, *Introduzione*, in *Marin Sanudo, I Diarii (1496-1533). Pagine scelte* (ed. by P. Margaroli), Vicenza, 1997, p. 1-27.

⁴ For Sanudo's life and work, see, among others, Doge Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa*, Venezia, 1854 [new edition, introd. by Ugo Stefanutti, [Bologna], 1976; first edition: Venice, 1752], *passim*; *Intorno ai Diarii veneti scritti da Marino Sanudo il giovane in volumi LVIII, documenti per la prima volta pubblicati* (ed. by Pietro Bettio), Venice, 1828; Rawdon Brown, *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marino Sanudo detto il iunior*, 3 volumes, Venice, 1837-1838; Giuseppe de Leva, *Della vita e delle opere del Card. Gasparo Contarini*, Padua, 1863, *passim*; G[uglielmo] Berchet, *Prefazione*, in *Marino Sanudo, I Diarii*, I, Venice, 1879 [= <http://www.liberliber.it/biblioteca/licenze>]; Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des question historiques" 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (209-224); *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs a l'histoire de France* (introd. by Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, text established and transl. by Léon Dorez), IV: *Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son oeuvre. Annexes et tables*, Paris, 1902, *passim*; Maria Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana di Giorgio Dolfin*, "Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 101 (1941-1942), second part, p. 515-546 (*passim*); Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado - La Congiura*, Florence, 1963, p. 102-106; Gaetano Cozzi, *Cultura politica e religione nella «pubblica storiografia» veneziana del '500*, "Bollettino dell'Istituto di storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano" 5-6 (1963-1964), p. 215-294 (223-236); Hans Baron, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London, 1968, p. 172-195 (175-194); G. Cozzi, *Marin Sanudo il giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence, 1970, p. 333-358; Klaus Wagner, *Sulla sorte di alcuni codici manoscritti appartenuti a Marin Sanudo*, "La Bibliofilia" 73 (1971), p. 247-262; Franco Gaeta, *Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, in *Storia della cultura Veneta dal primo quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, 3, part I, Vicenza, 1980, p. 1-91 (76-86); Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 150 (1998), p. 5-57 (51-54); Gino Benzoni, *Scritti storico-politici, in Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima, IV: Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura* (ed. by Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci), Rome, 1996, p. 757-788 (*passim*); Angela Caracciolo Aricò, *Introduzione*, in *Marin Sanudo il Giovane, Le Vite dei Dogi 1423-1474, I: 1423-1457* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo Aricò), Venice, 1999, p. VII-XXXI; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 27-33; A. Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell'umanesimo e del rinascimento. Parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano*, no year [= http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm#sanudo].

Unfortunately, the Romanian historiography has proved rather reticent with regard to the name of the Venetian diarist. Although Sanudo was largely when referring to the last years of Stephen the Great's rule, his name is generally absent. At most, it is placed only in the footnotes. It is the case of A. D. Xenopol, Nicolae Iorga or, closed to nowadays, Eugen Denize, and also of those that edited small fragments from the *Diarii* (E. de Hurmuzaki, Constantin Esarcu). Sometimes, Sanudo is not present even in the footnotes, although the events taken into consideration are clearly taken from his diary (it is the case, for instance, of Constantin C. Giurescu). On the contrary, various characters mentioned by the same Sanudo and that around the Moldavian ruler in his last years of life are taken into account. It is about the Venetian physicians settled at Stephen's court – Matteo din Murano, Gieronimo din Cesena, Leonardo di Masseri –, the same case being available for the study that investigated the courtly physicians in the Romanian Principalities⁵. Under these circumstances, the diarist's character has seemed to be not interesting.

Personally, I began the translation into Romanian of some excerpts from Sanudo's diary referring to the Romanian Principalities, emphasizing those written in the Venetian dialect and dealing with the period previous to year 1525⁶.

On the present occasion, I am to present the original text, relying upon the version edited by Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Niccolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, Marco Allegri, which I consulted a decade ago at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

⁵ We refer here to Nicolae Vătămanu, *Voievozi și medici de curte*, Bucharest, 1972.

⁶ Ș. Marin, *Țările Române monitorizate de Marino Sanudo*, "Litere-Arte-Ideii", cultural supplement of "Cotidianul", new series, VIII, no 9 (March 3, 2003), p. 3-6 (for years 1496-1513); no 10 (March 10, 2003), p. 8 (for years 1514-1519); no 12 (March 24, 2003), p. 8 (for years 1519-1520); no 13 (March 31, 2003), p. 8 (for year 1521); no 16 (April, 21 2003), p. 7 (for years 1522-1524); no 18 (May 5, 2003), p. 8 (for year 1525). The partial edition of the Sanudian diary does not represent a start, this method having also been adopted in P. Margaroli, *op. cit.* or in *Venice, Città Excelentissima* cit.

1. Summary of the letter of the Venetian secretary in Gaeta written on August 28, 1496 and received on September 4, 1496, including the reference to the letters of the Venetian consul in Chios, Giovanni di Tabbia, written on July 18, 1496

[293] [...].

Sumario di lettera di 28 avosto apresso Cajeta, dil secretario, ricevuta a di 4 setembre

[...].

[295]

[...].

Ancora vene lettere di Syo de Zuam de Tabia consolo, de 18 lujo, come havia lettere di Pera di 2 dito per lo ritorno di l'ambasador di maonesi da poi consignato il tributo al Turco; come in quelli zorni era zonto corieri de li confini di Hungaria; come hungari con insidie haveano rotto turchi 3000 i qualli stavano deputati a guardia de quelli confini, et che il re di Hungaria e Boemia feva exercito per mandar a Licostomo. Per la qual novità, el signor Bayseto havia mandato a quelli confini 1000 janizari, e fato proclamar in besastan a Costantinopoli che tutti li diputati andar in campo, debiano star preparati per andarvi.

[...].

[Sanudo, I, colls. 293-295]

2. Summary of the letter of the Venetian secretary in Corfù, Alvise Sagudino, written in August 1497

[740] [...].

*Per lettere di Corfù di Alvixe Sagudino secretario nostro, el qual andava al Signor turcho per le cosse di Zupa, con la galia soracomito Lorenzo Loredam. Come, in quella note, che era a di 3 avosto, si doveva levar et navegar al suo viazo. Et che de li si verificava quello che, zà alcuno zorni, per lettere dil capitano zeneral nostro da mar se intese, che Stephano de Mondavia Charabodam et ducha Ulacho, con ajuto dil re di Rossia, havia tolto per tratado Moncastro loco fortissimo situado su la bocha dil Danubio sul Mar Mazor, el qual el Turcho possedeva, et era stato suo. Per la qual cosa, el Signor havia fato comandamento a molta zente che dovesse cavalchar a la Porta. Et per lettere di Nepanto di Andrea Foscarini rector e proveditor, se intese come quel sanzacho di la Morea era cavalchato a la Porta con assa' numero de turchi, et se divulgava per recuperar Moncastro. Et per lettere di Domenego Malipiero proveditor di l'armada, date a di 21 a Curzola, come havia da bazarioti venuti 7 zornate fra terra la verification di questa nuova di Moncastro et un altro luogo sul Mar Mazor, et che il sanzacho di Scutari et altri Turchi circumvicini di l'Albania cavalchavano con gran furia verso la Porta. Per lettere di Francesco Zigogna rector e proveditor di Cataro, *etiam* questo se intese, et che li turchi erano a Zupa andavano via a Costantinopoli, per esserli venuto mandato dovesseno cavalchar a questo effecto per recuperar Moncastro. *Tamen*, la verità di la cossa per il zonzer dil Sagudino de li, se intenderà il tutto. Et per altre vie se intese come questo ducha Ulacho Carabodam, il re di Rossia, il re di Polonia, et il re di Boemia et Hungaria havevano insieme fato liga contra turchi, et haveano zente in hordine per danizar a quelli*

confini. La qual nova saria perfectissima per la Signoria nostra e tutta Italia, acciò el Turco atendesse a caxa soa, et non li venisse pensier di altrove. Quello seguirà, più avanti sarà scripto di tal materia.

[...].

[I, 740]

3. Reference to the information delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* in Kotor, Malipiero, received in September 1497

[743] *Dil mexe di setembrio 1497.*

[...].

[744] Et per lettere dil preditto proveditor Malipiero date in Bocha di Catare, se intese *etiam* come il sanzacho di Scutari havia cavalchato a la Porta con molti turchi, e che turchi andavano mal volentiera, *maxime* tamarati. Questo instesso se intese di Alesio, che quel sanzacho di l'Albania *etiam* cavalchava a la Porta con zente. Et tuti diceva per recuperar Moncastro che li era sta robato dal Carabodam con l'ajuto dil re di Rossia. *Etiam* seguiva di la liga fata, come ho scritto di sopra, dil re di Rossia, Polana, Boemia et Hungaria, et Charabodam, zoè ducha Ulacho contra turchi. [...].

[...].

[I, 743-744]

4. Fragment of the letter delivered by the Venetian consul in Chios, Pietro Delfino, written on June 25, 1497

[756] [...].

Capitolo di una lettera di Syo, scritta per il consolo nostro a domino Petro Delphino di San Canzian, et zonta in questa terra al principio di avosto.

Per lettere di Syo di 25 Zugno, se intese, l'armada de vele 10 turchescha apresso l'ysola de Schyro à piado uno galion da Rodi con homeni 90 da fa[n]ti, i qual danizava turchi. In Constantinopoli, la peste fa gran processo. El Signor turcho à fato avarar le 2 nave grosse. Se divulga al tempo nuovo faza grande armada contra Rodo. È sta scritto como il re di Polana, Boemia e Hungaria, *tres concordēs fecerunt exercitum*, et hanno preso luogi in Tartaria, i qual confina *cum* Pollana. *Etiam* Moncastro e [757] Licostomo, et à preso el castello dicto Lorexo a la marina, et dice andarano scorando fino a Caffa. [...].

[I, 756-757]

5. Summary of the debates in *Consilio de' Pregadi* on October 6, 1497

[799] [...].

Nuove di octubrio 1497.

[...].

[800] [...].

A di 6 ditto, fo preso parte in pregadi di eleger nel mazor consejo: primo, per scurtinio, justa il solito, uno provedador di l'armada, et armar 6 galie sotil, *videlicet* 2 in questa terra et 4 in Candia, li sopracomiti zà erano stati creati, et questo fù perchè se intendeva el Turcho feva gran preparationi di armata, nè si sapeva dove volesse andar, *licet* haveasse contra il vlacho, e'l re di Hungaria, et Polana, li qualli haveano, come ho scritto, liga insieme a' dani dil Turcho, et erano in campo con 100 milia persone. [...].

È da saper, come di queste novità di hungaro, boemi et polani et li altri contra il Turcho, variamente se intendeva. *Unum est*, che per più vie se intese el Signor haver mandato comandamento da la Porta che tutti dovessero star preparati, et poi vene uno altro che volesseno cavalchar a la Porta, perchè voleva fare grande hoste contra li diti. Et per do fiorentini venuti di Polana in questa terra, notificano esser stato nel dicto campo dove era un gran numero di zente apresso 80 milia persone, et che il Turcho havia mandato a l'Hongaro uno ambador el qual lo haveva visto in Buda, per caxom di far trieva insieme. Et cussi quelle cosse erano in moto.

[1, 799-800]

6. Reference to the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* and captain of Corfù, Francesco Nani on October 1497

[800] Et a di 9, vene letere di Francesco Nani baylo et capitano di Corfù. Notifichava aver avisi di la Porta che turchi haveano auto una gran rota da li prediti polani et vlachi etc., presi et morti 5 flambulari. Et per altre vie, se intese esser stati roti et morti turchi 20 milia. Per la qual novità, el Signor era in gran spavento, et renovava il [lacuna in text] a le sue zente, perchè il voleva andar in persona in campo. [...].

[1, 799-800]

7. Fragment of the letter delivered from London by Lorenzo Pasqualigo on August 23, 1497, to his brothers, and received on September 23, 1497

[806] [...].

Copia de uno capitolo scrive in una lettera sier Lorenzo Pasqualigo di sier Filippo da Londra, a di 23 avosto, a sier Alvise e Francesco Pasqualigo suo fradelli in Veniexia, ricevuta a di 23 setembrio 1497.

[...].

[809] [...].

Item [a di 14, da Costantinopoli], che uno zorno zonse, l'altro di si apresentò a li bassà, el terzo ebbe audientia dil Signor et fo expedito. Et il Turco crede la Signoria sotto

man dagi danari a quelli li tano guerra, *quod est falso*, et che l'aparechiava grossa armata verso Mar Mazor, perchè gli era sta tolto Moncastro et Chiaveli et 4 altre terre sul Danubio, come ho scritto di sopra.

Item, esser stato ivi un gran terramoto che ha ruinato parte di la caxa dil Granturcho et tuta la seraja sua che tenia li puti, et morti quasi tutti li puti era dentro. El qual fo a di [lacuna in text]. *Praeterea*, come el Signor andava in persona in campo contra vlachi, cerchassi et altri, et che'l fa l'armada per mandarla in Mar Mazor, et che il Turco tre volte sta da li diti roti. Le qual nuove tute fono optime a la cristianità. Le qual lettere zonse a Veniexia a di 19 octubrio.

[...].

[I, 806-809]

8. Reference to news received from Savoy in November 1497

[814] [...].

Nuove dil mexe di novembre 1497.

[...].

[819] [...].

Ancora, per questa via medema [= via di Savoia], se intese di la morte dil re Ladyslao di Hungaria et Boemia, la qual morte de li si sapeva per certi sguizari venuto dal campo dil dicto Hungaro era a l'incontro dei turchi. Et non lassoe heriedi, perchè non havea moglie. Quello sarà el scriverò. Ma pocho da poi, se intese esser sano, nè haver hauto mal niuno, sichè di la sua morte *non est loquendum*. Pur pareva si trattasse trieve con dicto re et collegadi et el Turcho, al qual erano soi ambadori.

[...].

[I, 814-819]

9. Unofficial news from a Turkish slave in July 1497

[843] [...].

Di la morte dil ducha di Gandia.

[...].

[844] Noto. [a di 17 Lujo]. Vene a Venetia uno schiavo dil Signor [845] turco con lettere di la vitoria dil fiol contro quelli in Persia di Ussum Cassan, e aqistato l'imperio, e di la vittoria dil bassà, e prender lochi in la Valachia.

[...].

[I, 843-845]

10. Unofficial news from certain Florentines received in October 1497, referring to event in August and September 1497

[845] [...].

A di 5 [ottobre; lettere di Soria 28 lujo], se intese per fiorentini che, a di 5 avosto, partino da lo exercito dil re di Polonia. Dicono havia cavali 100 milia e pedoni infiniti, zoè boemi e rossi, e dicono havia dimandato il passo al valacho, el qual ge lo havia oferto per andar contro tur= [846] =chi. E a di 10 septembrio essi partino da Buda, e in via scontrono solenne ambassador dil Turcho andava al re di Hongaria per tratar pace, e che suo fratello preditto re di Polana, inteso di ditti oratori, mandò a dir al re di Hongaria che *nullo modo* facesse pace, perchè se la farà se drezerà a suo danno.

[...].

[I, 845-846]

11. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian consul in Chios, Giovanni di Tabbia on October 24, 1497, received on December 13, 1497

[846] [...].

A di 13 decembrio, per letere de Syo di 24 octubrio di Joanne di Tabia consolo nostro. Se intese come el Signor turco havia mandato li uno schiavo a dir chalafadi andaseno a Galipoli per conzar galie. *Tamen*, non si sentiva che'l volesse far armada. Le 2 nave grosse avarade erano zonte in Constantinopoli, di le qual la grande à molato aqua assa', perchè recevette sinistro nel varar. E per la novità intese il Signor dai suo' flambuli di sopra che havea fatto polani e boemi, havia mandato verso Moncastro e Licostomo prima janizari per cadaun castello, poi à mandato in Mar Mazor vele 17 tra palandarie e fuste, e quelle parti con artillarie e altri janizari. Poi à mandato lo begliarbei di la Grecia con suo exercito verso quelle parti, poi altro non zè. *Tamen*, per tuto sia evanito.

[...].

[I, 846]

**12. Summary of the letters received from Alexandria, written on February 8, 1498
Vol. 1, coll. 910, 1498**

[910] [...].

Item [lettera de Alexandria, da 8 fevrer], che il re di Polana era venuto con grande posanza ai confini dil Turco, in tanto che in Constantinopoli se divulgava el Turco volea andar in persona a la volta di Andernopoli, e la sorta promesse ditto re si amallò et tornoe in driedo in Polana, *unde* il Turcho ha licenziato tutti i soi exerciti.

[...].

[I, 910]

13. Unofficial news received on April 28, 1498

[950] [...].

[A di 28 ditto = april]. Fo divulgato una nova come, per avisi abuti di Polana, che il re di Polana, il re di Hungaria et Boemia, Stefano Carabodam, il re di Rossia etc. havevano facto una liga insieme contra turchi. Havevano facto l'horo capitano el gran Cam. Quello seguirà scriverò.

[...].

[I, 950]

14. Summary of the letters sent from Constantinople by Alvise Gritti to Zaccaria di Freschi on September 25, 1498

[136] [...].

Da Constantinopoli di sier A. Gritti, date a di 25 septembrio, drizate a Zacharia di Freschi secretario nostro. Avisa molte cose. [...] [137] [...]. Item, esser sta fato uno coraria per turchi verso Polana, e sono turchi 70 milia. Item, come a di 20 zonse uno orator dil re di Hungaria per notificar non esser in acordo col re di Polana suo fradello. [...].

[II, 136-137]

15. Summary of the letter sent from Constantinople (Pera) by Bernardo Giustiniani on November 8, 1498, to the Venetian *bailo* of Corfù

[291] [...].

Di Pera, di sier Bernardo Zustignam de sier Francesco, di 8 novembrio al preditto baylo [de Corphù]. [...] E di l'exercito andò in Polana non si havea [292] altro, era andato ben in hordine, si dicea haver fato assa' prede de anime.

[...].

[II, 291-292]

16. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Girolamo Donado, and of Francesco Morosini in 1498, including reference to the letters received from the cardinal of Poland

[364] [...].

Da Roma di sier Hironimo Donado doctor orator et sier Francesco Morexini doctor supra nominato, di 19, hore 3 di note. [...] Et era lettere dil cardinal di Polonia che turchi havia fato gran danni e prede e menà via animali; [...].

[II, 364]

17. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* in Krk, Pietro Malipiero on January 25, 1499 and received on February 1, 1499

[394] [...].

Copia di una lettera di sier Piero Malipiero, provedador a Veja, data a di 25 zener et ricevuta a di primo fevrer, mandata a la Signoria nostra, di molte nove.

Al presente è di novo di sier Bortolo q. sier Polo de Grabia cittadino di qui, persona pratica e discreta. Primo dice haver inteso di misier fra Nicolò prior di San Salvador di Segna, el qual è venuto di Bregna, et haver inteso da uno servitor dil conte Anzolo de Franchapani, venuto di Ungaria da Buda, el qual dice esser venuti in Polonia turchi 140 milia, et vanno scorendo il paese non fazando danno nè deperadation alcuna, ma *solum* atendeno ad aquistar castelli et citade; et che Alibech voyvoda è restato sui passi de Valachia con turchi 20 milia per dubito dil signor Stephano de Valachia; et che re Alberto de Polonia ha mandato a dimandar soccorso a la ma= [395] =jestà del re di Ongaria suo fradelo et a li baroni, et li è stato risposto per li baroni che lhoro non hanno danari da spender per altri et che lhoro hanno da far assai a guardar il suo paexe, et dice dicti turchi fanno gran processo nel ditto paese de Polonia. [...].

[II, 394-395]

18. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian count at Krk, Pietro Malipiero on January 31, 1499

[420] [...].

Di Vegia di sier Piero Malipiero conte, di 31 zener. Come ha nova turchi haver roto polani: questo perchè Stephano de Valachia havia tradito il re di Polana, et uno vayvoda di turchi si accordò con lui, et miser polani di mezi, et fono roti. Ha mandato Bernardim Montorio a Segna a saper la verità. Referisse il messo tornato; che il zenero dil conte Bernardim di Frangipani, fo fiol di re Mathias, nominato Xerzech, dovea con homeni da cavallo et da piedi assai numero et uno capitano di Segna con 600 cavalli et 400 a piedi andar, chi dice in Bossina, chi a Brogna, loco dil conte Anzolo di Franzipani, etc. Le qual nove è da saper erano tutte false.

[...].

[II, 420]

19. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian count in Rab, Pietro Boldù on February 1, 1499

[422] [...].

Di Arbe di sier Piero Boldù conte, di 1^o fevrer. Come havia nova turchi in Polana, con cavalli et persone 120 milia esser andati, et quel re dubita molto; et havia mandato in Boemia le robe, et ha 30 milia cavali. Et come el conte Anzolo di Franzipani

havia mandato uno secretario li, et vol dar Segna a la Signoria, et vol ajuto contra turchi; [...].

[II, 422]

20. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian count in Pola, Bartolomeo Calbo on March 6, 1499

[507] [...].

Da Puola di sier Bortolo Calbo conte, di 6 [Marzo]. [...]. Item, come el re Ladislao di Polana, fradello del re di Hungaria, sora el Danubio era in campo contra turchi con persone 40 milia, et turchi 50 milia persone era; et che ditti polani è sta vincitori et à li dato gran rota etc. [...].

[II, 507]

21. Summary of the letters sent from Constantinople (Pera) by Andrea Gritti between January 18 and 27, 1499 to Zaccaria di Freschi

[544] *Da Costantinopoli di sier Andrea Gritti date in Pera a dì 18 fin 27 zener, drizate a Zacaria di Freschi secretario, in zifra. [...]. El capitano de Galipoli è li tutta via a sollicitar ditta armata. Et che quel capitano andò a correr su quel di Polana. Et il tartaro di Cafa per sia tornato e abuto rota, maxime da Stefano Carabodam, qual non havendo voluto lassarli passar par che li habi dato rota di 6000 persone, tamen quelli turchi non la dicono. [...].*

[...].

[II, 544]

22. Reference to the letters delivered from Constantinople by Andrea Gritti in February 1499

[554] *Da Costantinopoli. Fono lete le lettere di sier Andrea Gritti, et con gran strature ordinato credenze. [...]. Et disse di la rota abuta turchi di 30 milia persone, andate verso Polana, et questo per i gran fredì, et andono numero 60 milia.*

[II, 554]

23. Summary of the letters delivered from Dubrovnik by Nicolò Gondola on February 6 and 14, 1499

Da Ragusi, di Nicolò Gondola di 6 et 14 a la Signoria nostra. Avisa di la potente armata fa il Turcho, chi dice per Rodi, chi per Puja et chi per Soria, over per Cypro, sichè è buono proveder. *Item*, di la rota have in Polana, morite 30 milia cavalli, sichè il resto erano tornati mal conditionati, roti li nasi, la testa, le man cadute per li grandissimi freddi, *ita volente Divino auxilio.*

[...].

[II, 554]

24. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Rome on February 24, 1499

[562] [...].

Da Roma di l'orator, di 24. [...]; et che soa beatitudine à per via di procuratori di Polana: come turchi havia abuto gran frachasso in li passi tra Valachia, et benchè vlachi era et è sottoposti parte a' turchi, pur si haveano acordato con il re di Polana a disperder tur= [563] =chi. [...].

[II, 562-563]

25. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian count and captain in Ulcinj, Pietro Natale on February 3, 6, 16, 23 and 26, 1499

[567] [...].

Da Dulzigno, di sier Piero Nadal conte e capitano, molte lettere di 3, 6, 16, 23, et 26 fevrer. [...]. *Item*, per una lettera scrive di la vittoria dil re di Polana contra turchi, et che di turchi 100 milia che andoe non erano tornati 30 milia, [...].

[II, 567]

26. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian provveditore in Zakynthos, Nicolò Ferro on February 12, 1499

[572] *Dil Zante di sier Nicolò Ferro proveditor, di 12 fevrer.* [...]. *Item*, di la rota abuti turchi in Polana, et esser sta roti 8 over 10 milia per freddo, [...].

[II, 572]

27. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* in Kotor, Francesco Querini in March 1499

[579] [...].

Da Cataro di sier Francesco Querini rector e proveditor, di [lacuna in text] marzo. [...]. Et manda uno capitolo abuto da Ragusi, di 9: come re Alberto di Polana et re Ladyslao di Hungaria voleno far guerra a' turchi. [...].

[II, 579]

28. Summary of the lettere delivered by the Venetian count in Pola, Bartolomeo Calbo in 1499

[690] [...].

Da Puola, di sier Bortolo Calbo, conte. [...].

[691] [...].

Et non resterò di scriver che per via di fontego fo divulgato che'l re di Hungaria et Polana haveano facto paxe col Turcho. [...].

[II, 690-691]

29. Summary of the report of the Venetian ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, Andrea Zancani in 1499

[699] *Relation di sier Andrea Zanchani, venuto orator nostro dal signor Turcho.*

[...].

[701] [...]. *Item, disse di la rota havia abuto turchi in Polana, fo da 15 in 16 milia persone morti, è grandissimi fredì, e non per altro è di ritorno quel Stephano Carabodam che amazò 3000 turchi. [...].*

[II, 699-701]

30. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* in Kotor, Francesco Querini, and by Alvise Sagudino on June 22, 1499

[870] [...].

*Da Cataro, di sier Francesco Querini rector et provedador, et di Alvise Sagudino secretario, di 22 zugno. Come era tornato Elia, qual mandono in Sofia da Feris bei, referisse come par in la sua deposition. In conclusion che a di 28 mazo el Signor dovea par= [871] =tir per Andrinopoli, non si lasserà intender dove vadi fino non zonerà li el bilarbei di la Grecia. *Item*, esser zonto le munition, mandate li, et li megii; et esser venuto il fratello dil Conte Zorzi Zernovich li intorno, soto specie di far conzar uno suo*

bagno; et intendeno turchi voler tuor uno locho di Ungari chiamato Janiza, che saria gran danno a Hungari, et che l'armada andava verso el Carabodam. [...].

[II, 870-871]

31. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *podestà* of Bar, Pietro Tiepolo, to the Venetian *provveditore* in Kotor on June 20, 1499

[871] [...].

De Antivari, di sier Pietro Tiepolo podestà, di 20, drizata al provedador di Cataro. Molte zanze, nulla di conto, et la mità non vere: zoè che l'armada turchescha potrà andar forsi chi dice a Rhodi, chi a Corphù et chi in Puglia; et havia fato far le spianate in 4 lochi, una via verso Hungaria, l'altra verso Valachia, l'altra verso Rhodi, l'altra verso Albania; sichè potrà andar dove li piacerà.

[...].

[II, 871]

32. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *podestà* of Bar, Pietro Tiepolo on June 20, 1499

[929] [...].

Di Antivari di sier Piero Tiepolo, podestà, a di 20 zugno. Avisa il bisogno di quella terra; et che turchi veniva a' nostri danni, et hanno fato 4 spianade, una per Albania, una per Valachia, una per Ungaria et una per la Valona.

[...].

[II, 929]

33. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian count in Split, Marino Moro in October 1499

[41] [...].

Da Spalato, di sier Marin Moro, conte. Haver aviso di certa liga fata per il re di Hungaria, Polana, boemi e rossi contra turchi, la qual era bona nova. Quello sarà, scriverò di soto.

[...].

[III, 41]

34. Summary of the news received in April 1500

[178] [...].

Nuove dil mexe di april, 1500.

[...].

[180] [...].

Item, quel signor à mandà uno orator a l'hongaro con 100 cavali, a dimandarli ducati 40 milia, promessi per nome di suo fradello, re di Polana; e il turcho fè guerra al carabodam etc. Stima molto il tartaro di Uxon Cassam, lo ha disfato a toltoli bona parte dil stato. [...].

[III, 178-180]

35. Summary of the reports of the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary, Vittorio Soranzo and Sebastiano Giustiniani on May 18, 21, 24 and 25, 1500

[287] [...].

Di Hongaria, di oratori nostri, sier Vetor Soranzo et sier Sabastian Zustignan, di 18, 21, 24 et 25, date a Buda. [maggio]. [...].

[288] [...].

Di XXI [maggio]. Item, di coloquij abuti con quelli secretarij regij; tamen niuna resolution si fa, fino non sia spazà la dieta, o ver non torna il messo suo andato al turcho. E dicono non concluderà li, ma, volendo il signor turcho far le trieve, le farano qui in Hongaria con l'orator di esso turcho. Item, essi oratori scriveno, prometerano li ducati 60 milia al re sollo, se altro per la Signoria non li sarà ordinato. Item, chome l'orator di Polonia li hanno ditto di uno capetanio dil turcho, homo famoso, nominato Mauchoz, qual mo do anni fu verso Polona con zente, et vene per monti asprissisimi. Hora il signor turcho volea taiarli la testa, et lui si à fato forte in certo locho, e non vol andar a la Porta. Item, che tartari è acordà con turchi, et che il signor Stefano, valacho, vayvoda de Moldavia, era venuto con exercito in campagna. [...].

[III, 287-288]

36. Summary of the reports of the Venetian ambassadors in Hungary, Vittorio Soranzo and Sebastiano Giustiniani on July 13 and 19, 1500

[566] [...].

Di Hongaria, di oratori, date a Buda, a di 13 [luglio]. [...]. [567] [...].

Di dito. di 19. [...]. E il re à ditto, saria bon il papa mandasse l'orator suo a li valachi, per averli in luogo dil re di Polonia, zoè al valacho transalpino et moldavio, e disse saria bon il papa li scrivesse brevi, che, in caso il re rompi al turco, debbi esser con nui; [...].

[III, 566-567]

37. Summary of the reports of the Venetian ambassador at the Holy See on August 11 and 12, 1500

[634] [...].

Da Roma, di l'orator, di XI [agosto]. [...].

Dil dito, di 12. [...] [635] [...]. *Item,* [...]. Soa santità laudò la Signoria a intertenirli, dicendo: Quella Signoria non si puol più fidar de niuno, se non di noi; perhò ne dia piacer. Et è contento far li brevi ai vayvoda di Transilvania e Valdavia [sic!]. [...].

[III, 634-635]

38. Summary of the reports of the Venetian ambassador at the Holy See on August 23 and 24, 1500

[684] [...].

Da Roma, di l'orator, di 23 et 24 [agosto]. Come fo dal papa, per haver li brevi di valachi; et il papa li [685] vede, non li piaque, ordinò la riformation. [...].

[III, 684-685]

39. Summary of the letter of the Venetian *podestà* and captain in Koper, Pietro Querini on August 31, 1500

[713] [...].

Di Cao d'Istria, di sier Piero Querini, podestà et capetanio, di 31 avosto. [...]. *Item,* che'l vayvoda moldavio à corso su quel di turchi; *etiam* hongari su preparano. [...].

[III, 713]

40. Summary of the reports of the Venetian ambassador at the Holy See on October 28 and 30, 1500

[878] [...].

Di Roma. di l'orator, di 28 [ottobre]. [...].

[879] [...].

Del ditto orator, di 30 [ottobre, 1500]. Come eri fo dal papa; [...]. *Item,* mandarà li brevi e il jubileo ai vlachi, [...].

[III, 878-879]

41. Summary of the information delivered by the Papal ambassador in Poland to the Venetian representatives on September 9, 1500

[883] [...].

Di l'orator dil papa, legato, episcopo di Cay, a li oratori nostri, data in Cracovia, a di 9 septembrio. [...]. Item, lui à publichà il jubileo; manda uno comissario in Moldavia, e lui va in Prussia, dove è una religion di cosechieri non ben in acordo chon il re di Polana, e andar e tornar è mia 800; poi anderà a la dieta, e ritornerà in Hongaria. [...].

[III, 883]

42. Summary of the information delivered by Giovanni Dorso, citizen in Koper, to the Venetian *podestà* and captain on October 14, 1500

Vol. 3, coll. 917, 1500

[917] [...].

Somario di la relation di Zuan Dorso, citadin di Cao d'Istria, al podestà et capetanio di li

Come eri, a di 13 octubrio, tornò da la fiera de Cherlina, dita la Biancha, dove fu assa' merchadanti de Croatia e de Hongaria e altri paesi; da li qual à inteso, in Bosina esser pocha quantità de turchi, et non era da dubitar, perchè quelli paesi erano asegurati per il movimento dil re di Ongaria, qual era ito verso Smedro con persone 60 milia. E il re Alberto ancora lui si movea, e si doveano adunar insieme con el ducha Stephano de Valachia, con el suo exercito, a una terra sopra el Danubio, ditta Baz [v. Bács.]. De li poi si ponerano a l'assedio di Smedro, et questo signori è disposti a la destrution di turchi. [...].

[III, 917]

43. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* and captain in Corfù, Pietro Lione on September 28, 1500

[927] [...].

Da Corfù, di sier Ptero Lion, baylo et capitano, di 28 septembrio. [...]. solum per una fusta, vien di Candia, [...], à dito el carabodan e rossi aver roto al turcho, e averli tolto tre terre, et esser venuto al signor 7 corieri.

[...].

[III, 927]

44. Summary of the information delivered from Dubrovnik by Girolamo Zorzi on October 17, 1500 to his brothers

[1055] [...].

Da Ragusi. Fo leto alcuni avisi, di 17 octubrio, di sier Hieronim Zorzi, *quondam* sier Andrea, scriti a' soi fradelli. [...].

[...]. *Item*, soa majestà, e quelli regnicoli, sono desiderosi di far la guera col turcho, ni altro desiderano ni bramano, ma bisogna esser ajutati da' christiani, e *praecipue* da la Signoria nostra, di chi fanno gran stima; *et quorum interesse agitur*. Et la caxon di la dieta a Bazia è, perche credeva la conclusion di 100 milia ducati per la liga particular, e si stete do mexi a risponder, ma poi fu scritto si atendesse a la liga general. *Item*, di cavali arà da 18 in 20 milie, *videlicet* il clerop è ubligati cavali 5000, li principi 5000, et li comitadi, ch'è 72, 5000; sì che questo XV milia non manca; poi la corte dil re sarà da cavali 3000, et non mete li transilvani e li sciutuli [= *secuii*], che sono popoli scituli venuti di Scitia, quasi tartari, qualli fanno uno numero grande, 20 milia, di cavali; che tutti, movendosi il re, sono ubligati cavalchar; e questi 18 milia primi cavalli, li traze *solum* di la Boemia, di la Moravia et Slesia. *Item*, li vlachi non è computadi, et tutti desiderano guerra con turchi. Sono populi molto ferozi, et *maxime* quel Stefano vayvoda, uno di vlachi *etc.* Conclude, quel regno metterà contra turchi da cavalli 40 milia; et questo è certissimo. [...]. [1056] [...]. *Item*, di Pollonia non è da sperar niun [sic!] ajuto, per esser quel regno molestato da' tartari; e disse altre cose, qual non mi ricordo.

[...].

[III, 1055-1056]

45. Summary of the information delivered from Dubrovnik by Girolamo Zorzi on October 17, 1500 to his brothers

[1059] [...].

Da Ragusi, di 17 octubrio [1500], di sier Hironimo Zorzi, *quondam sier Andrea, a so' fradeli.* [...] [1060] [...]. *Item*, come quelli di Hongaria, Pollana, Boemia, Rossia, insieme con el carabodam, zoè el vlacho, per tuto resona, sono in hordine, e à fato qualche coraria a quelli confini; e, se li altri christiani vorano dar qualche ajuto, potria esser le cosse anderiano altra mente *etc.* [...].

[III, 1059-1060]

46. Summary of the information delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Sebastiano Giustiniani on November 28, 1500

[1177] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Sabastian Zustignan, orator, di 28 novembrio, date a Buda. [...].

Dil ditto orator, di 30. [...] [1178] [...]. Disse, di Polonia aspetava la tornata di lo episcopo di Chai, per il qual si saperà la verità; et sperava si acorderia quelle diferentie tra suo fratello, ducha di Lituania, e il ducha di Moscovia, per aversi interposto di acordar el ducha Stefano de Valachia *etc.* [...].

[III, 1177-1178]

47. Summary of the information delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* of Kotor on November 16, 1500

[1239] [...].

Di Cataro, dil proveditor, di 16 novembrio. [...] [1240] [...]; e si dice, lo exercito dil re esser a una terra, chiamata Smedro, dil turcho, ch'è fortissima. *Item*, el carabodam, signor di Moldavia, vlacho, haver roto uno fiol dil turcho, era a quella impresa con do sanzachi, e à morti li dicti do sanzachi e il forzo di le gente, e a pena il fiol dil signor scampò. [...].

[III, 1239-1240]

“La guerre des miroirs”: Colbert et Murano, au regard de deux fonds des Archives d’Etat de Venise (1665-1667)

Didier Bondue

Keywords: *Venetian Archives; Jean-Baptiste Colbert; Murano Glass*

Les deux premières années de l’activité de la Manufacture Royale des Glaces fondée par Colbert en octobre 1665 ont été marquées par un épisode vénitien aux allures de roman policier. Le Surintendant des bâtiments, arts et manufactures voulait briser le monopole technique et commercial de Venise dans la fabrication des glaces.

Outre le soutien financier, législatif et diplomatique du gouvernement, sa stratégie reposait en particulier sur l’appel à des techniciens étrangers¹. Cette pratique était courante à l’époque mais dangereuse car cette main d’œuvre était souvent tenue par le respect du secret de son savoir-faire. Cet épisode doit être replacé dans le contexte plus large de la politique économique de Colbert dont l’ambition est de “travailler au renom de son souverain et à la prospérité de l’Etat. Même des actes d’apparence économique tendent à ce but : ravir à Venise le secret de ses dentelles ou de ses glaces, ou faire venir le Bernin de Rome, c’est abaisser la Sérénissime République ou le Pape et rehausser les mérites du Roi”².

L’imbroglio de la captation des ouvriers muranais par Colbert n’échappe pas à ce contexte.

L’opportunité d’une exposition retraçant l’histoire de la Manufacture Royale des Glaces au Musée d’Orsay en 2006³ a permis d’en préciser la trame grâce à l’existence de deux fonds d’archives aux Archives d’Etat de Venise contenant la correspondance entre les Inquisiteurs d’Etat et les deux ambassadeurs de la Sérénissime qui se sont succédés à Paris pendant la période.

Dans la série *Inquisitori di Stato*, le premier rassemble les dépêches des ambassadeurs de Venise en France *Dispacci dagli ambasciatori in Francia (1607-1750)* dans lequel on trouve 19 lettres dont celles des deux diplomates qui se sont

¹ Claude Pris, *La Manufacture Royale des Glaces de Saint-Gobain, 1665-1830. Une grande entreprise dans l’Ancien Régime*, Thèse Université de Lille III, 1975, p. 16-22.

² Maurice Hamon, *Colbert et le Colbertisme*, in *Colbert 1619-1683. Catalogue de l’exposition*, Hôtel de la Monnaie à Paris, 4 octobre-30 novembre 1983, p. 88. Sur ce sujet, voir également: P. Deyon, Ph. Guignet, *Royal Manufactures And Economic And Technological Progress in France before the Industrial Revolution*, “The Journal of European Economic History (Banca di Roma)” 9 (1980), p. 611-622.

³ Saint-Gobain, une entreprise devant l’histoire (1665-1937), Paris, Musée d’Orsay, 6 mars-4 juin 2006.

succédés à Paris, Alvisé Sagredo et Marc-Antoine Giustiniani, mais aussi de Pierre Jousset, importateur de glaces vénitiennes à Paris. Le second concentre les lettres des Inquisiteurs à leurs représentants, *Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia* où onze missives mettent au courant ou donnent des instructions à ces deux personnages qui ont joué un rôle quelque peu occulte, à leur manière, dans les premiers pas de la Manufacture royale des glaces de 1665 à 1667⁴.

Ces fonds avaient été exploités par Elphège Frémy dans son histoire de la Manufacture Royale des Glaces⁵ et utilisés comme référence en la matière dans de nombreux ouvrages. Leur publication permet de compléter son travail et d'apporter des éléments nouveaux sur les premiers pas de la Manufacture Royale⁶.

Aux origines de la captation: savoir-faire et secret

Colbert avait chargé à la fin de l'année 1664, le Cardinal de Bonzi, son ambassadeur à Venise d'enquêter sur les possibilités de faire venir à Paris une main d'œuvre spécialisée. Dans sa réponse, le prélat l'avait tout de suite averti de l'existence du secret qui pesait sur elle.

"A Moran, qui est une petite ville dans ces lagunes, où l'on travaille les cristaux, il n'y a que deux boutiques où l'on fasse des grandes glaces, les ouvriers qui sont capables étant en petit nombre, on y reçoit aucun étranger pour travailler. Ils sont exempts de tout impôt et ont les mêmes privilèges que les citoyens vénitiens. Ils sont tous de Moran, et s'ils allaient travailler ailleurs, tous leurs biens sont confisqués, et non seulement ils sont bannis de l'Etat de la République, même toute leur famille encourt la même peine, de sorte que leur proposerait d'aller en France connaît le risque d'être jeté dans la mer."⁷

⁴ Archivio Di Stato Di Venezia [Ci-dessous: ASV], Inquisitori Di Stato;

- Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia (1607-1750), busta 153

- Dispacci dagli ambasciatori in Francia (1586-1667), busta 136.

J'adresse mes remerciements à Alessandra Schiavon, conservateur aux Archives d'Etat de Venise, qui a participé conjointement à cette recherche ainsi qu'à Patrizia Bortolozzo qui en a assuré la transcription.

⁵ E. Frémy, *Histoire de la Manufacture Royale des Glaces de France*, Paris, 1909, p. 19-51.

⁶ La bibliographie sur ce sujet se complète par: Augustin Cochin. *La manufacture des glaces de Saint-Gobain de 1665 à 1865*, Paris, 1866, p. 6-19, 28, 29; Cf. Pris, *La Manufacture Royale des glaces* cit., 1, p. 20-23; Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *Histoire du Miroir*, Paris, 1994, p. 47-56; Maurice Hamon, *Du Soleil à la Terre, une histoire de Saint-Gobain*, Paris, 1998 (2^{ème} édition), p. 18-19; Luigi Zecchin, *Colbert e gli specchi veneziani. Un muranese detto Mazzolao*, "Giornale economico" 46 (1962); Idem, *Colbert e gli specchi veneziani. Monsù a Motta*, "Giornale economico" 47 (1963); Idem, *Colbert e gli specchi veneziani Antonio Cimegotto e compagni*, "Giornale economico" 48 (1963); Idem, *Colbert e gli specchi veneziani, Marcantonio Giustiniani*, "Giornale economico" 49 (1964); Idem, *Colbert e gli specchi veneziani, Pierre Jousset*, "Giornale economico" 48 (1963); Francesca Trivellato, *Fondamenta dei vetrai. Lavoro, Tecnologia e mercato a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento*, Rome, 2000.

⁷ Aug. Cochin, *op.cit.*, pièce justificative n° 1.

Nommé en septembre 1662⁸, Pierre de Bonzi n'avait pas de mission particulière dans le domaine économique sauf à "s'instruire autant qu'il pourra de tout ce qui peut regarder l'avantage du commerce de ses sujets devant le Levant...". C'est donc à la demande expresse de Colbert, qu'il se lance dans l'espionnage économique en lui révélant un contexte que ce dernier ne connaissait, semble-t-il pas. Pourtant cette pratique du secret était ancienne et présente dans quelques métiers dont certains Etats et en particulier l'Italie avaient encadré le savoir-faire⁹. Concernant les activités liées à l'industrie du verre en Italie les attitudes étaient différentes. Si à Venise, l'Etat n'admettait aucune faille, il en était autrement à Altare où les migrations ouvrières étaient organisées et gérées par les corporations elles-mêmes sous condition du maintien du secret de fabrication. La famille de Mantoue considérait qu'il s'agissait d'une niche de revenus. Cette attitude était une sorte d'anticipation du concept contemporain de la "royauté", c'est-à-dire que l'on cède la maîtrise technique contre sa rémunération dans un laps de temps limité. Cette position est beaucoup plus habile et sans doute plus rentable que d'interdire à une main d'œuvre de migrer, car dans le fond on ne peut empêcher ce genre de tentation. Les chefs du Conseil souverain des Dix étaient contraints de rappeler cette règle, preuve que le phénomène de fuite des hommes de l'art était permanent. "Qu'il n'ait personne de quelques rang ou condition qui veuille s'enhardir à partir de ce lieu de Murano pour aller travailler dans le métier de verrier, dans aucun lieu, particulièrement dans les terres étrangères, cela contribuerait à de très grandes et sévères peines"¹⁰.

Commentaire et résumé de la correspondance

"L'une des pierres les plus précieuses qui concernent le diadème de la République est l'art des verriers, particulier et si propre à cette ville et dont les fourneaux de Murano sont reconnus comme l'un des plus grands fondements".

Cette phrase, qui met en lumière toute la notoriété de Venise en Europe, introduit un rapport du 3 juillet 1665 de deux maîtres verriers spécialistes de miroirs informant le gouvernement de la République de la présence à Paris de muranais et en particulier d'un certain La Motta. Ils avaient été avertis par Antonio Vitalba "marchand de bric et de broc", qui avait reçu une lettre de Pierre Jousset, son importateur à Paris de glaces vénitienes, lui faisant également part du projet de

⁸ Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France, XXVI Venise, éditions du CNRS, Paris, 1958 IV, Pierre de Bonzi, p. 39-55.

⁹ Corinne Maitte, *Manufactures royales et débauchage des compétences: les ouvriers qualifiés d'origine italienne (XVII-XVIII^{ème} siècles)*, in Gérard Gayot et Philippe Minard, *Les ouvriers qualifiés de l'industrie. Formation, emploi, migrations (XVI-XX^{ème} siècles)*, "Revue du Nord" 15, Hors-série 2001, p. 43-65.

¹⁰ L. Zecchin, *Colbert...un muranese* cit., p. 1279.

Colbert d'inciter quelques financiers à s'associer pour établir une manufacture des glaces¹¹.

Après quelques expériences sans suite avec un certain Colonel Bon, qui avait construit deux fourneaux et celle d'un lorrain du Faubourg Saint-Michel¹², Colbert s'est tourné au début de 1665 vers un certain Mazzolao qui avait quitté Venise 15 ans auparavant et enrichi son expérience par des séjours à Londres, en Flandres, à Maastricht et Rouen. Toutefois ce personnage aux allures d'aventurier, (il avait transformé son nom en De La Motte, reprenant le nom de famille de sa mère pour se donner une allure de gentilhomme) n'était que maître en gobelets¹³.

Quelques mois plus tard Colbert s'est alors rendu compte qu'il fallait adjoindre à cet homme une équipe de spécialistes et s'est donc résolu à monter une opération à Murano qui prit parfois un aspect rocambolesque. Par l'intermédiaire de Castellan, verrier d'Altare installé à Nevers, qui envoie son gendre Bormiolo à Venise, un groupe de huit verriers parvient à Paris à la tête duquel était un certain Antoine Cimegotto dit Della Rivetta¹⁴. Ce dernier était un homme peu scrupuleux qui avait changé plusieurs fois de patron et l'un de ses compagnons était même sous le coup d'une condamnation par contumace¹⁵. L'ambassadeur de Venise à Paris Alvise Sagredo, en poste depuis 1663, attire alors l'attention des inquisiteurs d'Etat sur la politique de Colbert: "[...] le sieur Colbert, désireux d'introduire tous les arts étrangers à Paris...". Dans leur réponse, ces derniers sont plus inquiets du rôle joué par Mazzolao et demandent à leur ambassadeur de tout mettre au service pour le faire rentrer à Venise¹⁶. Alors que le flux des départs s'accélère et que certains sont arrivés à Lyon, Alvise Sagredo estime que les débuts de la Manufacture sont compliqués: "[...] la fabrique de glaces n'est pas sur le point de devenir, ni en grandeur, ni en qualité, ni en proportion de coût, égale à celle de Murano..."¹⁷. Les Inquisiteurs d'Etat semblent alors considérer que l'affaire n'ira pas plus loin¹⁸.

Nommé en novembre 1665, le nouvel ambassadeur Marco-Antonio Giustiniani ne commence à dresser un état de la situation que le 30 avril 1666¹⁹ et son constat est à l'opposé de son collègue précédent car la manufacture commençait à

¹¹ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, b. 153, 1665 Luglio 3, lettre jointe à la lettre pour l'ambassadeur du 4 juillet.

¹² ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750) n° 39, 1665 Luglio 4, Venezia, ASV, Inquisitori Di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667), 1665 Luglio 21, Parigi; ASV, Inquisitori Di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667), 1665 Luglio 31, Parigi.

¹³ L. Zecchin, *Colbert... Monsu La Motte* cit., p. 405-410.

¹⁴ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1665 Agosto 7, Parigi.

¹⁵ L. Zecchin, *Colbert... Antonio Cimegotto et compagnie* cit., p. 46-53.

¹⁶ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia b.153 (1607-1750), 1665 Settembre 5, Venezia.

¹⁷ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b.436, 1665 Ottobre 27, Parigi.

¹⁸ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b.153 (1607-1750), 1665 Novembre 8, Venezia.

¹⁹ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1665 Aprile 30, Parigi.

produire: "Les glaces qu'ils fabriquent ont une très grande taille, jusqu'à 42 pouces, ce qui veut dire qu'elles sont très belles..."

Engagés pour quatre années, les muranais sont traités dans les meilleures conditions: tout est fait pour les inciter au travail. Dès leur arrivée ils ont été bien accueillis et pourvus de tout ce dont ils avaient besoin: "il (Colbert) leur trouva un logement, il leur donne autant d'argent qu'ils veulent, ils ont des tas de domestiques et tout ce qu'ils désirent".

Colbert voulait même marier ceux qui ne l'étaient pas... et faire venir femmes et enfants, poussant même la flatterie jusqu'à faire venir le Roi: "Sa Majesté eut beaucoup de plaisir à voir cette manufacture: il leur posa beaucoup de questions différentes et bien que la chaleur de la fournaise emplît totalement la pièce, il voulut rester un bon moment à observer le tout.". "Le Roi est fou de ce travail et Colbert est alléché par le gain" rapporte encore Giustiniani.

En quelques mois, les choses avaient bien avancé et les craintes de Pierre Jousset manifestées dès l'été 1665²⁰, s'expriment dans une autre lettre à Vitalba, le 1^{er} mai 1666:

"Si vous ne prenez pas les choses à cœur, ce négoce sera ruiné, ainsi que tout cet art de Murano et les verriers de Venise parce qu'ici nous sommes près de l'Angleterre, de la Flandre, de l'Espagne et tous achèteront ce produit dans notre Royaume ». Quelques mois plus tard, en juillet il réitère aux Inquisiteurs ses craintes: « ...que ces messieurs Gastaldi du métier de verrier et aussi ceux de Murano s'unissent entre eux dans le but d'empêcher cette entreprise, qui ruinerait véritablement notre affaire²¹ ».

Pierre Jousset ne pourra pas refuser dans ces conditions, l'offre de Colbert de rejoindre les associés de la Manufacture²² au cours de cette même année. Deux lettres des inquisiteurs d'Etat montrent qu'ils ont vraiment pris alors la mesure du problème et incitent l'ambassadeur à agir avec prudence mais fermeté.

Au début de l'été, Giustiniani confirme que l'activité de la Manufacture semble aller au mieux malgré toutes les sollicitations, pressions, propositions qu'il pouvait faire à ses compatriotes en leur promettant même l'impunité en cas de retour à Murano:

²⁰ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1665 Luglio 18, Agosto 14, 22, Parigi.

²¹ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1666 Maggio 1, Parigi.

²² L. Zecchin, *Colbert... Pierre Jousset* cit.

"Leur travail est une très belle réussite. Le Roi est sous le charme. Ils fabriquent des glaces en grande quantité, rien n'est épargné; avec plusieurs maisons, on a fait un grand édifice où 250 personnes nettoient les glaces ..."²³.

Les muranais jouent sur les deux tableaux²⁴.

Dans ce contexte, les Inquisiteurs d'Etat commencent à s'impatienter en raison du climat économique et social à Murano: "Ici..., on entend continuellement parler du départ de l'un ou l'autre des maîtres et finalement on découvre que c'est très difficile, voire impossible, tout en y mettant les soins les plus délicats, de détourner le cours déjà pris", mais aussi des mesures prises par Colbert pour interdire les importations vénitiennes.

Ils souhaitent alors mettre en œuvre des solutions plus radicales en allant "à la racine et faire mourir Cimegotto"²⁵, pièce maîtresse de l'organisation mise en place par les dirigeants de la manufacture. Pourtant des problèmes techniques se produisent, les négoce représentant Venise à Paris en profitent en pratiquant la guerre des prix.

La pression sur les muranais se poursuit mais rien ne semble les divertir de leur ligne de conduite, basée sur le chantage. Ils font même intervenir leurs femmes restées sur place dans le jeu²⁶. Ce qui a le don d'exaspérer l'Ambassadeur Giustiniani²⁷, qui essaie pourtant de gagner du temps face à l'impatience des Inquisiteurs²⁸.

Il sera servi par les jalousies des muranais entre eux, en particulier par l'échec de l'expédition punitive montée par La Motta contre son rival Cimegotto²⁹.

Cet épisode va renforcer encore plus la conscience qu'avaient les muranais de leur importance. Cette main d'œuvre était devenue au fil des mois très câpricieuse et, vers la fin de 1666, finit par entraîner de graves problèmes dans la conduite quotidienne de la manufacture. La lettre qu'écrivit Du Noyer à Colbert exprime parfaitement l'ambiance qui s'est installée:

²³ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), 1666 Maggio 22 e 29, Venezia.

²⁴ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1666 Giugno 15, Parigi.

²⁵ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), 1666 Agosto 7 e 14, Venezia.

²⁶ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1666 Luglio 27, Parigi.

²⁷ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1666 Agosto 17, Parigi.

²⁸ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1666 Agosto 31, Parigi.

²⁹ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1666 Settembre 28, Parigi; ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b.153 (1607-1750), 1666 Novembre 27, Venezia.

"Cependant quelques avantages que l'on leur ait proposé, ils ne veulent pas enseigner aux français ni même souffrir qu'aucun de nos bons ouvriers des fournaises fassent rien de leur profession, en sorte que... toute la dépense de cet établissement... dépend non seulement du caprice des ces messieurs-là"³⁰.

Face à la pression des Inquisiteurs d'Etat, l'Ambassadeur Giustiniani va être servi par un événement dont il va tirer le plus grand parti. En janvier 1667, un des muranais meurt subitement.

"Un des quatre verriers qui sont partis de chez vous pour la fabrique des glaces dans cette ville, après une indisposition de plusieurs jours, qui ne l'empêche pourtant pas de travailler, est passé de vie à trépas il y a quelques jours.... Il s'appelait Furlan : il était nécessaire à l'ensemble du travail, à ce point que les autres ne pourront que peu ou pas du tout pratiquer leur art. C'est lui qui faisait les pâtes et tenait comme on dit le pàton avec adresse..."³¹.

S'agit-il pour autant d'un empoisonnement comme beaucoup d'interprétations l'envisagent? Certes il y avait la menace des Inquisiteurs et en particulier celle exprimée clairement de faire mourir Cimegotto³². Il est plus plausible que l'habile Giustiniani n'est tiré parti de cette mort soudaine pour servir ses intérêts dont celui qui n'est pas le moindre de se résoudre à être l'exécutant d'une condamnation à mort³³. Cette nouvelle ne pouvait que réjouir aussi Venise dans une situation où le contexte économique devenait plus difficile avec l'interdiction faite par Colbert d'importer des glaces et les fuites de plus en plus fréquentes d'ouvriers muranais³⁴. L'espoir d'un retour des ouvriers assorti de conditions favorables et les conséquences de l'inquiétude de Colbert face à ce décès qui avait entraîné une autopsie soutenaient la conduite des Inquisiteurs³⁵.

Ce contexte incita les dirigeants de la manufacture à donner finalement congé en mars au trio.

En effet, pendant quelques semaines, l'Ambassadeur Giustiniani va poursuivre ses tentatives de persuader les muranais de retourner à Murano³⁶ bien que Colbert ait tout fait pour leur donner les meilleurs traitements possibles. Toutefois "ils ont toujours refusé de communiquer aux autres leur faculté". Cette période de

³⁰ *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV* (recueillie et mise en ordre par G. B. Depping), III, p. 790-793.

³¹ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1667 Gennaio 25, Parigi.

³² Voir note 25.

³³ L. Zecchi, *Colbert... Marcantonio Giustiniani* cit., p. 368.

³⁴ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), 1667 Febbraio 12, Venezia.

³⁵ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), 1667 Febbraio 26, Venezia.

³⁶ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1667 Marzo 8, Parigi.

négociations va durer près de deux mois auprès des principaux protagonistes afin à la fois d'obtenir les conditions d'un retour sans inquiétudes à Venise mais également d'obtenir l'autorisation de Colbert³⁷. Ce dernier va se résoudre l'accorder par la conjoncture d'une part de la lassitude du chantage permanent des muranais et d'autre part aussi d'une période financière plus difficile de la Manufacture. Du coup, les offres des Inquisiteurs d'une amnistie générale seront acceptées par, Cimegotto, Civran et Barbin³⁸. Le 25 juillet 1667, l'Ambassadeur qui a passé beaucoup de temps à justifier son action constatera que seul Motta "continue son ouvrage mais avec peu d'avantages et de profits"³⁹.

Au début de mai, les Inquisiteurs attendent les verriers en félicitant l'Ambassadeur "d'avoir décimé là-bas et restitué ici un art d'une si grande estime"⁴⁰. Pour eux l'essentiel était le retour de ceux qu'ils estimaient être le rouage essentiel de la pérennité de la Manufacture Royale. Le problème du secret les aveuglait.

En effet, quelques mois plus tard, Colbert fait appel à la famille De Nehou, propriétaire d'une glacerie à Tournaville près de Cherbourg. C'est elle qui va apporter le savoir-faire vainement recherché à Venise.

Une question demeure sans réponse celle de connaître la motivation réelle du Contrôleur général des finances. Dès mars 1665 questionnait Richard de Nehou à propos du "secret de ... dresser et polir" les glaces de miroirs⁴¹. Il a peut-être été aussi lui aussi aveuglé par le secret... ce fut une rude et couteuse expérience, celle d'un échec stratégique qui aurait pu mettre en péril le devenir de la Manufacture Royale des glaces.

L'épisode aura marqué Colbert car lorsque trois années plus tard ce même trio manifestera auprès du nouvel ambassadeur de France à Venise son désir de revenir, il répondra:

"Ils m'ont donné tant de peine... et fait apparaître tant de malignité dans leurs esprits que je crois pas qu'il fut avantageux de les y appeler une seconde fois"⁴².

³⁷ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1667 Marzo 15, Parigi; ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), 1667 Aprile 3, Venezia.

³⁸ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1667 Aprile 5, Parigi.

³⁹ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 136 (1586-1667), 1667 Aprile 26, Parigi.

⁴⁰ ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), 1667 Maggio 7, Venezia.

⁴¹ Archives Saint-Gobain, CSG Hist C7/2.

⁴² *Correspondance administrative...* cit., III, p. 831.

La correspondance des Inquisiteurs d'Etat et des deux ambassadeurs vénitiens à Paris, Alvise Sagredo et Marc-Antoine Giustiniani (1665-1667)

1. 1665 3 luglio

Illustrissimi eccellentissimi signori

Una delle più pretiose gеме che coronano il diadema della Republica è l'arte di spechieri, pecuarie et propria di questa città et dalla qualle le fornaci di Murano riconoscono uno de' maggiori fondamenti del suo essere. La malicia humana, applicata alla ruina di questa arte et a privare di questo utilissimo decoro questa serenissima patria, ha studiato in varii tempi et hora più che mai s'applica di trasportarla in stati esteri con due peniciosissime forme, l'una con l'estrazione del specchio sive quaro grezo, materia prhoibissima ad estraersi per infenitti decreti, l'altra con il favorire qualche muranese bandito da questa patria et darli il modo di costruir fornaci in stati alieni, il che accade principalmente ne' tempi pressenti, nei qualli quotidianamente partono muranesi et imparticolare un tal Motta muranese. Bandito da questa città si trova in Parigi, fattosi chiamare monsù La Motta, molto favorito et accarezzato da quella maestà et ivi ha instituito tre fornaci che lavorano giorno et notte nella fabrica de quari da specchio, assistito da tre altri suoi compagni muranesi et in questo modo resta introdotta la fabrica de spechi nella città di Parigi, tantto comoda alla negotiatiione per altri statti.

Quanto sia importante questo negotio basta a motivarlo al maturo senno dell'eccellenze vostre, che ben comprendono quanti suditi anderiano a male in questa città che a migliaia sono applicati a questa profesione, quante gravezze et particolarmente quella de' galeotti sarebbero diminuite al prencipe, qual pregiuditio riceverebbe il publico nella materia de' datii quando mancasse questo negotio, dalla quale dipende il traffico continuo nelle mercantie d'intrata e d'uscita.

Hora il male è ridotto al estremo et è necessario il ricorso a più potenti rimedi et alla suprema autorità dell'eccellenze vostre, alle qualli noii gastaldo e banca di spechieri umilmente rappresentiamo che domino Alberto Vitalba mercante di marzaria tiene appresso di sé lettere di Parigi importantissime in questa materia et il gastaldo de' muranesi saprà chi sia questo tal Motta muranese et compagni, che in Murano hanno anco parenti che potranno dar i lumi necessari, ma la prudenza et zelo dell'eccellenze vostre sapranno trovar i mezi più oportuni per divertire questi gravissimi pregiudicii che tendono al distruggimento dell'arte nostra et a levare uno de' maggiori privilegi che nostro signor Dio habbia concesso a questa santa città. Supplichiamo pertanto di opportuno e presto rimedio acciò resti impedita con le più vigorose forme l'estrazione de' quari grezi et l'acasoamento de' fabricatori in alieni statti, da qualli due importantissimi mali sta imminente la desolattione di questo gelossissimo lavoro.

[Lettre jointe à la lettre pour l'ambassadeur du 4 juillet. Celle-ci est de la Direction de l'art des verriers.]

2. 1665 luglio 4, Venecia

All'ambasciatore in Franza

Ci è capitato all'orecchi che si trovi in Parigi un tal Motta muranese bandido da questa città, che si facci chiamare monsù La Motta, che venga molto favorito ed accarezzato dalla maestà sua et che quivi habbi erretto tre fornaci che lavorino giorno e notte nella fabrica de quari de specchi, assistito da tre altri suoi compagni muranesi, con che resti in Parigi introdotta la fabrica de' specchi che così privilegiatamente e gelosamente s'è qui sempre guardata e conservata.

Preme a misura il pregiuditio di gran rimarco, né havemo veduto che altri puosi fermarlo e distruggerlo, che la prudenza dell'eccellenza vostra alla quale portandone l'avviso noi portamo insieme il nostro desiderio efficace ch'ella procuri prima informarsene e poi, informata, tenti le vie possibili di persuadere colui e compagni ad abbandonar i lavori e a ritormarsene con la concessione di un salvacondotto che ella potrà dargli e che qui gionto li sarà anco da noi, et a compagni che ne havessero bisogno, ratificato. Ciò che le sortirà d'operare starimo attendendo con la confidenza solita che sarà il tutto perfettamente adempito date sue gran virtù.

Sebastiano Michiel inquisitor

Angelo Emo capo del Consiglio di dieci

Nicolò Moresini capo del Consiglio di dieci

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 39]

3. 1665 luglio 21, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Non potendo io sin qui venir in lume che a Parigi si trovi quel tal muranese detto il Motta per introdur la fabrica de' specchi, come nelle benignissime lettere dell'eccellenze vostre mi viene comandato d'investigare e d'ovviare insieme, dirò in simil genere quanto fin' hora con un'esata informatione è pervenuto a mia notitia.

Già un anno nel borgo di Sant'Antonio un tal liegese che si faceva chiamare il colonello Bono, col credito, bisogna dire, d'haver servito nell'armata cesarea, haveva erette due fornaci et pretendeva con sua particolar inventione superar due sperimentati lavori cambiando e alterando le materie col suo secreto. L'uno consisteva di specchi più belli che di Venetia, l'altro di pietre false che superassero quelle che con tanta riputatione si vendono qui au temple. Per la prima inventione non giunse mai il colonello a far un specchio grande un palmo et è a sapersi che si valeva nella fabrica di certa pasta più grossa ma più leggiera del christallo ordinario et non tanto fragile, ma invece di foglia poneva all'opposta parte un velo nero, onde il lume si rendeva oscuro et poco grato alla vista. Per il secondo secreto che prometteva durezza e splendore uguale nell'imitar massime li diamanti et nel colorir perfettamente l'altre pietre secondo la diversità de' rubini, smeraldi et tante gemme che habbiamo non fu la riuscita diversa, onde in due mesi si principiò e svanì questa fabrica et il colonello, che sperava migliorar la sua condition lasciando la guerra, fu in pericolo di morir alla Bastiglia se non fuggè.

Hoggidi nel soborgo Saint Michiel, contro la porta del giardino di Luxembourg, v'è uno

che si fa nominar monsieur Aresel, gentilhuomo lorenese, il quale ha fondata una fornace et fabrica specchi di grandezza sino di 4 quarte et di qualità niente inferiore di Venetia per non dir più perfetti, come dalla purità del christallo vostre eccellenze resteranno servite di far vedere, mandandone io perciò un groppetto per mostra, pretende egli dilatar la stima del suo negotio col giunger a far specchi d'oltre 6 quarte. Ha un fratello o parenti impiegati a Viena in simil facenda con ottima riuscita per quanto si dichiara.

La spesa eccessiva che si prova qui nel comprar le legne, nel condur le materie, nel tratener gli operarii, parerebbe che fosse il solo contrario che obsta alla continuatione dell'opera, non dico alla riuscita, onde se trasportassero il loro negotio in Normandia dove sono tanti boschi, il mare aborda et il vitto humano non può rilevar il quarto di quello si paga in Parigi, dubiterei che fosse molto considerabile questa nuova introduzione di lavoro in questo Regno.

Sin hora il detto lorenese non trova esito della sua mercantia perché vuol vender li specchi il doppio giustamente di quello vaglion a Venetia, ch'è la metà di più del prezzo che costano giunti a Parigi et la fornace lavora intermessamente perché non ha chi l'appoggi.

Il signor di Colbert che applica ad introdur tutte le manifatture nel Regno lo trattiene con molte speranze, vorrebbe il lorenese 50 mila scudi di prestanza per scontrarli nel far le finestre tutte del Lovre di fino christallo et altri ornamenti per il palazzo regio, mentre promette di riuscir a far vasi et ogni gentilezza et s'è appoggiato a monsieur de Chaland, zio di mademoiselle La Valiere.

Per altro intende ritrovarsi qui uno muranese detto Mazzolao, ma per diligenza usata sin' hora non posso haverlo. Vostre eccellenze s'assicurono degli effetti del mio pronto humilissimo ossequio, con che le bacio riverentemente le mani.

Parigi, li 21 luglio 1665

Sebastiano Michiel inquisitor

Angelo Emo capo del Consiglio di dieci

Nicolò Moresini capo del Consiglio di dieci

Di vostre eccellenze humilissimo devotissimo servitore Alvise Sagredo

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

4. 1665 luglio 31, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Doppo molta diligenza per l'esata inquisitione fattasi qui, io ritrovo un tal muranese di età d'anni 35 in circa, di pelo nero, statura commune che si nomina il Mazzolao et fatto venir a me, disse come saran 15 anni che sta lontano da casa sua, partito solo per veder il mondo sopra un vassello capitò a Londra, dove non havendo come sostenersi s'impiegò a lavorar in una fornace piantata da certi genovesi, con riuscita assai buona quanto al travaglio de' christali per l'uso commune. Poi venne in Fiandra dove maritatosi fermò 7 anni a Maastricht et ivi introdusse per sostener la sua famiglia due fornaci che operavano assai bene, perché travagliò un servitio intiero de christali per una credenza al duca di Neourbourg, da cui hebbe in ricompensa una colonna e medaglia d'oro che porta seco. Ma non havendo il lavoro colà esito proportionale alla spesa si ritirò a Rouan in Francia dove, appoggiato da un cavaliere alla prima et poi abbandonato, fu dal signor di Colbert

invitato a rendersi in Parigi, secondo il suo fine d'instituir tutte le manifatture e negotii per arricchir il Regno.

Saran circa cinque mesi che si trova dunque esso Mazzolao qui et s'è posto nell'istesso luogo ove lavorava il colonello Bon, che nominai all'eccellenze vostre con le precedenti mie, ma non peranco ha cominciato a far specchi seben ha opinione d'introdurli. Egli negotia col commesso del signor di Colbert et vorrebbe haver privilegio et assistenza, mentre essendo tutto costoso qui non brama esporsi senza fondamento.

Sopra tutti questi racconti che mi ha fatto io gli parlai in quella maniera che si deve, persuadendogli il ritorno in patria. Lui si sforzò di farmi credere che se avesse il modo partirebbe subito, che il suo fine è di eivanzar quanto gli basta per non penar con le sue creature riducendosi in Venetia et ha soggiunto che se io ho disposizione di potergli prometter qualche buon impiego costà con cui possa mantenersi se ne verrà subito. Io gli replicai che non s'accorda il portar una colonna addosso con le scuse accennate et gli eshibei che se per caso fosse bandito m'impegno d'assicurarlo che non incorrerà in alcun dubbio della giustitia con una carta che gli darò da me sottoscritta et sigillata et che il restituirsi in gratia del suo prencipe, il ridonarsi al suo vero sangue e patria, è quello che l'huomo da bene deve sempre fare et massime chi ha praticato il mondo. Insiste egli nella sua povertà temuta maggiormente nel cambiar paese, ma puoti anche argomentare che sin hora non ha quest'huomo in Parigi stabilità alcuna né fondamento per prometterse la dalla cautella o retirezza con che procede il signor di Colbert nel maneggiar le finanze regie. Che è quanto all'eccellenze vostre io posso significare in ubbidienza de' loro riveriti commandi, baciandole humilmente le mani.

Parigi, li 31 luglio 1665

Di vostre eccellenze humilissimo devotissimo servitore Alvisè Sagredo

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

5. 1665 agosto 7, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

In questo punto vengo avisato che sian giunti in Parigi tre muranesi che si chiamano Antonio Cimegotto detto Dalla Rivetta, Gieronimo Barbin e Zanne di Polo, avendo lasciato a Neuers quattro compagni loro, uno de' quali è Marco, fratello del sudetto Gieronimo Barbin. Parmi che siano partiti da Venetia adrittura et che alcuno d'essi sia contumace della giustitia per haver maltrattato certo prete od abbate la sera di san Giovanni in Murano et mi vien sussurrato nell'orecchie che il signor di Colbert, bramoso d'introdur tutte le arti forastiere in Parigi, li habbia chiamati o fatti sviare di costà con molte esibitioni. So che han dimandato di conoscer il palazzo ove habita l'ambasciator di Venetia in Parigi solo per sapere come alluntanarsene. Starò avvertito se mi sarà concesso di far loro sciamente penetrare quello ch'è d'intentione dell'eccellenze vostre et non mancherò delle dovute diligenze per indagare il di più che succede. In mentre vengo assicurato che il lorenese, benché publici di haver stabilito un lavoro per quattro anni in servitio del Lovre, non migliori l'opera né avvanzi il negotiato più di quello significai all'eccellenze vostre la passata settimana et il Mazzolao del cui christallo sarà aggiunta una picciola mostra viene scavalcato dall'opinione o gelosia della riuscita di questi nuovi fornasiere. Che è quanto in adempimento del mio humilissimo ossequio

verso l'eccellenze vostre et le baccio riverentemente le mani.

Parigi, li 7 agosto 1665

Di vostre eccellenze humilissimo devotissimo servitore Alvisè Sagredo

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

6. 1665 settembre 5, Venecia

1665 5 settembre

All'ambasciatore in Franza

Con l'informazioni molto distinte che vostra eccellenza ci ha suggerito in tre mani di lettere si vede inoltrarsi assai la fabrica de' specchi e christalli in cotesta città con l'invention se ben costosa del lorenese, ma più molto è ad alletarsi col muranese detto Mazzolao e cogli altri sopragionti ultimamente pratici dell'arte e del mestiere. Non conviene lasciar che prenda radice un pregiuditio così grande, che è stato sempre in apprensione de' maggiori nostri, con accurata attenzione a impedire che altrove si trasporti la cognitione e la manifattura. Per hora non sapremo in qual maniera meglio fermarne il corso se non con il mezo della sua desterità. Questa viene eccitata da noi a procurar che tutti l'ultimi venuti e il Mazzolao istesso capitino nella sua casa e con l'allettamento della permissione de un salvacondotto per mesi sei, che potrà anco darli, loro acconsentendovi, farli venir di qua. Al Mazzolao, che oltre il salvacondotto par che mostri necessità de impiego, prometterà insieme che gionto a Venetia comparisa al nostro tribunal perché le sarà certamente somministrato, come anco obligarà anco gli altri che compariscano avanti noi per poter meglio stabilirli. Ella si reggerà nel procurar di persuader cotesta gente con la sua solita virtù, né ommetterà ragione et efficacia che vogli, molto premendo di snidar l'animo che si va ingrossando e che piantato con altre radici, come tenta di far il ministro, sarebbe poi molto difficile a svilersi. Staremo attendendo avvisi dell'essito per aggiongerle anco secondo il bisogno gli ordini magiori.

Sebastiano Michiel inquisitor

Angelo Emo inquisitor

Nicolò Moresini inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 40]

7. 1665 ottobre 27, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Li galloni nostri corrispondenti a Lione mi scrivono che giunti colà 3 italiani, erano stati fatti prigionii d'ordine di monsignor arcivescovo governatore, et perché dubito che questi siano li 3 fratelli muranesi da me animati et accompagnati a rimettersi in gratia publica, attendo nuovi avvisi per poterne passar subito qui l'ufficio che accaderà in loro sollievo, avendo di già fatto istanza al vescovo di Lione per esser adnesso. Non mancherò d'invogilare per gli altri suo compagni, ma sin qui niente m'è riuscito d'avantaggio con dubbio che habbiano di già principiato il lavoro. Et benché assolutamente vengo

informato che la fabrica de' specchi non sia giammai per riuscire né in grandezza né in qualità né in proportion di spesa uguale a cotesta di Murano, avendosene fatte tante prove, starò in ogni modo oculato al tutto per effetto del mio humilissimo debito. Con che a vostre eccellenze baccio le mani.

Parigi, li 27 ottobre 1665

Di vostre eccellenze humilissimo devotissimo servitore Alvisè Sagredo

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

8. 1665 novembre 7, Venecia

1665 7 novembre

All'ambasciatore Sagredo in Franza

Hanno corrisposto l'opere di vostra eccellenza alla nostra aspettatione et alla importanza rilevata dal servitio prestato nel sviare da cotesta città e restituire a Murano l'artisti fuggiti. Osservamo l'ordine tenuto nella sicurezza approntata del loro carico, il salvacondoto, il passaporto, il ricapito necessario e tutto si unisse a far conoscere la perfettione dell'operato nei tre.

Confidamo lo stesso anco degli altri rimasti et con il Mazzolao, a cui è pure applicata, nel tempo che potrà fermarsi ancora a cotesta corte e, partendo, con l'instruttioni che si compiacerà di lasciare al successore procurerà il servitio adempito. I lumi e i nomi de' sviatori espediti di qua a tale oggetto ci sono cari e potremo con essi procurarne i riscontri et operare secondo il bisogno, il tutto a merito ben grande delle sue diligenze.

Giacomo Donado inquisitor

Gerolemo Soranzo inquisitor

Piero Morosini inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 41]

9. 1666 aprile 30, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

S'attrovano in questa città quatro principali maestri di verieri da spechi partiti già un anno da Muran con alcuni altri suoi compagni, periti parimente nell'arte. Furono proclamati, per quanto intendo, dall'eccelso Consiglio per certo accidente occorso in Murano, atteriti dalla giustitia si sono portati qui in Parigi et fattisi conoscere da monsieur Colbert sono stati subito ben accolti et provveduti d'ogni bisogno. Gli ha levato casa, li somministra denaro quanto vogliono, hanno carrozzi, servitù et quanto sano desiderare. Già qualche messe fabricarono le fornaci per lavorare spechi, trovarono qualche difficoltà circa li materiali li quali rendevano un poco crude le lastre che schiopavano, ma come sono praticissimi hanno trovato il modo di temperarle in forma che riescono perfetti et durevoli. Li spechi che fabricano sono della maggior grandezza fino a 42 polsi che vuol dire delli bellissimi. Il re è molto invaghito di questo lavoriero et Colbert è alletato dal guadagno, sì che costoro non hanno che desiderare; s'è fatto un conto che 300 mila fiorini

ogni anno s'impieghano già in Parigi solamente, li altri che si adoperano per le città del Regno et che escono per Spagna, Inghilterra et Olanda sono in maggior quantità. Così quando questo negotio camini inanzi l'arte di spechi in Venetia anderà affatto in perditione. Voleva li giorni passati monsieur Colbert mettere un grosso datio sopra li spechi forestieri, che vol dire in buona lingua prohibire et bandire quelli che da costi venghono, ma questi verieri, mossi da pietà verso li suoi parenti che costi s'attrovano, l'hanno disconsigliato et persuaso ad obligare li mercanti di Parigi che trafficano in simili capitali a pigliare quanto essi fabricano, il che s'è fatto. Voleva il signor di Colbert dar moglie a doi di loro che sono senza, con dote di 25 mille lire per uno, a ciò essi non hano acconsentito, alli doi altri una pensione annua di 1000 lire per uno, né anco a questo aderirono per non l'impegnare maggiormente ma restar liberi. Si sono però obligati col re in scrittura a servirlo et lavorare per anni 4 per conto della corona. Vivono costoro con animo molto inclinato a ritornare in patria et alcune volte che sono stati in questa casa a vedermi, non ho mancato a persuaderli con le più vive ragioni a ritornare alla patria, tenere oculata l'arte, né insegnarla ad alcuno né inferire un così alto pregiudicio alli suoi parenti, al suo sangue et al publico. Gli ho di più destramente insinuati li modi di rendere raffreddato Colbert da quel calore che egli mostra per mettere in piedi qui in Parigi quest'arte, in che essi meco si sono impegnati. Gli ho di più fatto conoscere quanto pericoloso sii il trattarsi qui, che l'arte gli sii rubata da francesi che molto la desideran, che ottenuto questo sarebbero disprezzati, che però li persuadevo portarsi a cotesta volta promettendoli che non corerebbero alcun pregiudicio né pericolo di vita da cotesto eccelso tribunale. Vivono con questa buona speranza et sarebbero pronti a partire se non havessero scrittura obligatoria col re. Mi hano però dato parola che terminati li anni 4 che sarà fra 30 messi non vogliono altra condota ma se ne venivano costi, quando vostre eccellenze lo accontenteranno di più hanno licenziati et inviati già per cotesta parte alcuni altri de' suoi compagni che non sono compresi nella scrittura, assicurati da salvicondoti datigli dall'eccellentissimo ambasciator Sagredo mio processore, in virtù di lettere di vostre eccellenze 1665 li 4 luglio, a quali somministrò anco il comodo in parte di fare il viaggio. Costoro non hanno che desiderare dal re et li compiace di quanto lo ricercano con tutta prontezza, hanno spuntato con facilità la demolitione di alcune fornaci ne' quali si lavorava benché imperfettamente, sgridorono gl'interessati ma il re disse che voleva che li venetiani fossero compiaciuti et così convenero aquietarsi. Heri la maestà sua capitò qui in Parigi, il signor di Colbert lo conduce nel borgo di Sant'Antonio nella bottega di costoro nominata Muran, col'insegna del re et titolo di fabrica royale di spechi. Vi furono molti principi et il fratello anco di sua maestà, s'attrovò ivi a caso uno de mia corte che è muranese, quale mi riferì che la maestà sua molto si diletto nel vedere tale manifatura, gli fece diverse curiose dimande et sibene il caldo della fornace infiamava la stanza volse trattenersi un buon pezzo ad osservare il tutto. Gli fabricorono con gran maestria un gran bacile che gli lo presentorono inanzi et egli applaudì alla bellezza dell'opera. Fece di più un gran specchio con tanta presteza et desterità che ogni uno stupì. Volse il re vedere a polirlo et a darli la foglia et al tutto applaudì. Ordenò poi che a lavoranti fossero subito contate dal signor di Colbert 150 doppie di mancia ma soggiunse che a maestri niente si esborsasse poichè egli voleva riconoscerli. Si praticamo tutte le vie per allettarli a ben qui stabilirsi, poichè sperano di fare un grande et avvantaggioso negotio. Colbert ha incarico di ridurli a fare venire qui le loro moglie et figlioli ma essi sono meco impegnati a volere piuttosto essi portarsi costi. Mi hanno però supplicato che attrovandosi appreso di loro un giovane pure muranese, intendente dell'arte

ma di spirito facile ad essere guadagnato et che potrebbe facilmente lasciarsi levar dalle mani l'arte et condescendere ad ogni volere di questi signori, si chiama costui Pietro Darduin detto Rigo, me hanno, dico, supplicato che lo accompagni per costi con passaporto per sua sicurezza, essendo anch'egli stato nominato fra complici nel fatto di Murano. Ho stimato bene compiacerli et credo d'incontrare la publica volontà mentre trovo nei registri lasciati dal signor mio processore lettera di cotesto tribunale con simili incarico perché arte così importante non sii trapiantata da cotesta città in questo Regno con discapito publico come è ben noto. Devo però supplicare vostre eccellenze delle sue prudenti prescrizioni in simile materia quando mi venisse fatta da costoro che tuttavia qui s'attrovano simili istanze, con che rassegnandomi.

Parigi, li 30 aprile 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitore Marc'Antonio Giustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

10. 1665 luglio 18, agosto 14, agosto 22, Parigi

- Adi 18 luglio 1665 in Parigi

Questi signori che pretendono pigliare l'appalto del re già per anticipatione loro hanno speditto costi alcuni monferrai et altri lorenese con 4 mila doppie di contanti, acio di poter far venir qui con loro de più gente che potranno per lavorare detti spechi et per questo bisogna aprir l'occhio et che li signori gastaldi dell'arte de spechieri et anco quelli da Muran s'uniscano tra di loro, acio di impedir quel impresa che veramente ruinarebbe el nostro negotio.

Speditta da Parigi dal signor Pietro Iosett al signor Antonio Vittalba di Venetia.

- Adi 14 agosto 1665 in Parigi

Insomma sono giunti qui otto muranesi et X lavoranti da spechi, qualli credono superare li nostri negotii, per me non le temo niente però non dovette tralasciare l'applicatione di quello che vi si ha ordinato.

- Adi 22 agosto 1665 in Parigi

Vostri muranesi qualli sono qui et incomenciano a suffiare luce et riescano molto bene, ma la machina per spianarle non fa talle effetto che si credeva, però questi signori hanno deputato un di loro in Italia per haver gente pratica per spianare, queste gente porteranno un gran danno a sua patria e ruineranno nostro negotio si costoro signori di Venetia non si rendono politichi cioè calare el pretio della robba contentarsi a guadagnar pocho come facciamo tutti noi et tornarebbe conto alla serenissima Republica a discavidare per un anno ducati 10 mila per fare inforte che l'arte de' spechieri sotto el suo dominio si conservasse et non vi è miglior mezo che fare in tal modo, che la robba di Venetia si daghi qui a miglior pretio che quella che si fa qui. Non so io se me so fare intendere, fateci gratia et proponete tutto questo al signori gastaldi dell'arte de' spechieri et ancor a questi signori da Muranno perché se talle fabrica vieni ad introdursi qui se ne manderà in Fiandra in Ingheltra in Spagna per la comodità del transito et vicinanza di questo admerabele regnio alli sudetti paesi, de gratia voi che siatte huomo di cervello temperato, fatto refflesso hora el mio pensiero et non mancare di ragionar con quei che hanno scapolar

interessi a questo negotio.

Speditta da Parigi dal signor Pietro Ioset al signor Antonio Vittalba de Venetia.

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

11. 1666 maggio 1, Parigi

Coppia tratta da una simile scritta dal signor Pietro Iosett di Parigi alla ditta cantante del signor Antonio Vitalba, a primo maggio 1666 in Parigi.

Ma adesso mi sia sopragionto un accidente il quale non ò podesto superarlo, io son molto intrigatto, se voi non mi agiutate, stiamo molto male. Questi signori muranesi non dovrebbero atediarsi questo negotio unico al mondo nella vostra patria, si è aporatto qui per una maledetta politica a lloro signori venetiani, quali non hanno volesto consigliarsi meco al tempo che vi ho notificatto di quello che passavano in qua. Però bisogna per bona politicha far il più del possibile per romper quel maledetto disegno che hanno qui preso questi signori ministri per rovinar la sua fabbricha di luce; m'à parso bene darvene parte di tutto quello si passa qui in materia di nova fabbricha di spechii, quali riuiscano molto bene come un cristallo bianco di rocha senza pulicha niente, la più bella robba del mondo et per quello che habbiamo pensatto che non vi sarebbe giente per spianare si siamo ingannati che venesono stradavano et un lavorante fa più robba in un giorno che li vostri in una settimana et per non atedarve in longhi discorsi io ve dirò in breve il pensier mio. Bisogna parlar costì con le moglie et i parenti di questo signor Antonio che è il prencipal che sappia far li quari da specchio e di farlo ritornar costì prometendogli a gli intessi suoi parenti che ritornando costì se li darebbe trenta doppie al mese. Che tutte le arte si dovrebbero unir tanto di muranesi quanto di spechieri et unirse insieme per contribuire e far questo et io ancora pagherei la mia portione per operarne questo. Saria molto bene di darne un aricordo al supremo Consiglio della serenissima Republica per tal interesse di Statto, acciò che il signor Antonio possa venire et operare fortamente questo negotio, perché se voi non pigliarete la causa caldamente, questo negotio sono rovinatto et tutta l'arte di Murano et li spechieri di Venetia, perché qui siamo vicini al Inghiltera, alla Fiandra et alla Spagna et tutti si provederano di quella robba in questo Regno et in caso che questo signor Antonio non volesse ubbidire l'..... (sic) perché questo huomo vol levare la vitta a più de duemilla huomini della sua patria, insomma signor amico mio carissimo vi prego caldamente a non perder il tempo in nisuna maniera perché il negotio si è importantissimo e di gran conseguenza. Io vi raccomando la spedicion della robba comessa perché io temo che in breve tal robba sarà di contrabando et per questo bisogna far forza et non indormensarzi per li sudetti Antonio e suoi coleghi e farli tornar tutti costi.

Notta delli muranesi che sono andatti a lavorar in Parigi.

Antonio Cimegotto detto Dalla Rivetta, Gieronimo Barbin, Zuane Bombarda detto Polo, Pietro Bertolussi, questi sono maestri che lavora i quari da specchio; un muranese che si fa chiamar monsù La Motta e questo sono fratelli de Zuane Mazolao abitante in Murano; Pietro Rigo, Zuane Dandolo, questi tre sono maestri da gotti di cristallo; segue le moglie e fratelli e figlioli che si ritrova in Murano delli sopradetti che sono in Franza; Angola moglie de Antonio detto Dalla Rivetta et uno suo cugnatto che à nome Zuane Bigonzetto.

Questo Bigonzetto à un figliolo prette, il qual prette riceve tutte le settimane che vien di Franza e le dà alla sudetta Angola, il qual la settimana santa ne à riceute con doppie quaranta mandatte dal sudetto Antonio alla sudetta sua moglie Anzola.

Il sudetto Gieronimo Barbin è vedovo e à mandato a suo padre doppie vinti anco questo la settimana santa.

Marina moglie del sudetto Zuane Bonbarda, il qual Bonbarda à mandato a sua moglie Marina doppie vinti anco questo la settimana santa.

Segue li fratelli delli sopradetti che sono in Franza li qualli habitano in Murano; Antonio Cimegotto detto Dalla Rivetta à due fratelli in Murano, uno à nome Francesco e l'altro Pietro, tutti due à figlioli; Giacomo Barbin, padre à nome Zorzi, madre China, frate Marcho e Domenico, e questo Marcho e Domenico sono quelli che viense di Franza con l'illustrissimo ambasciattor Sagredo; Zuane Bonbarda, suo padre abitta in Murano, à nome Polo; Pietro Bertolussi, à de' fratelli in Murano Paulo e Gieronimo tutti due maritadi; Pietro Righo, à un fratello che à nome Andrea; Zuane Dandolo, suo padre abbita in Murano à nome Pietro.

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Franca, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

12. 1666 maggio 22, Venezia

1666 22 maggio

All'ambasciator in Franza

Gravissima displicenza ci portano le sue lettere di 30 del passato cogli avvisi importantissimi dell'arte, introdotta e stabilita, de' specchi in cotesta città da quattro mastri principali, banditi ed accolti da Colbert e trattati da sua maestà con tanti termini di honore e di guadagno. È accorso naturalmente la sua prudenza a deviare il pregiudizio e gli eccitamenti e le persuasioni insinuate a coloro per il suo ritorno sono state applicate con le necessità del bisogno. Il salvocondotto concesso a Pietro Darduin, incontrando il desiderio non meno de' medesimi maestri, che il publico del tribunale, ha percorso nella sodisfattione nostra anco le nostre commissioni. Queste hora si estendono a darle un'ampia autorità di esibire e di concedere ad ogni uno d'essi il salvocondotto non solo ma promissione insieme di pagarle il viaggio, di ogni dolce trattamento per allettarli a condescendere. Grande è la difficoltà che s'incontra dalla parola data a sua maestà per il tempo de anni quattro, ma nel superarla farà conoscere altrettanto la sua gran virtù e sarà ascritto il tutto tanto più a prerogativa singolare di suo gran merito, mentre mancando 30 mesi ancora al tempo prescritto venirebbero con questi aggiunti a piantarsi così ferme le radici di questa arte in Parigi, che sarebbe poi non solo difficile ma quasi impossibile a svillersi, accarezzati, blanditi con done e con assistenza di denaro abbondante, non solamente essi costati, ma qui ancora le loro famiglie, come in questo tempo apunto ci è riuscito d'intendere, le rimesse fattegli ultimamente di molte doblie. Contraporge però vostra eccellenza altrettanta industria e desterità perché, per qualche via e sin per quella che potrà migliore conoscere sopra il fatto, ritornino costoro alle loro case et alla patria. Già si veggono naturalmente bramosi e disposti, molto bene li ha considerata la distruttione che ciò produrrebbe per sempre dell'arte sua in Murano e alle loro posterità. Qui ancor noi havemo dato già principio a chiamar ed allettar le moglie, li figlioli e li più stretti congiunti loro, onde battendosi da tutte le parti si procuri che sortisca l'intento che

tanto preme e che ella prudentissimamente conosce e pondera da se stessa. Attenderemo le notizie di quanto l'anderà succedendo mentre (...).

Giacomo Donado inquisitor

Gerolemo Soranzo inquisitor

Piero Morosini inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 43]

13. 1666 maggio 29, Venezia

1666 29 maggio

All'ambasciator in Franza

Oltre a quello che le scrivessimo hoggi otto, riceverà con le presenti alcune lettere scritte da congionti a cotesti dell'arte di Murano con le quali vengono chiamati vivamente alla patria, come comprenderà dalle lettere istesse aperte che doppo lette potrà sigillare e consignare a coloro, accompagnate da più efficaci ufficii per persuaderli in ogni modo al ritorno. Tutto è per creer che si risolvino alla partenza quanto prima, mentre il loro soggiorno magiore in Parigi magiormente sarebbe per accrescere le difficoltà. Ella anemata e prudente non tralascerà tentativo e diligenza e mentre staremo attendendo gli avvisi [...].

Giacomo Donado inquisitor

Piero Morosini inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 44]

14. 1666 giugno 15, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Humilio me stesso alle gratie di vostre eccellenze che nell'honore delle benignissime sue di 29 scaduto m'han fatto tenere. Giudicai più opportuno et conferente all'oggetto il far tenere le lettere dirizzate alli spechieri per mano di mio familiare a loro confidente et compatrioto piutosto che consegnargliele io, il che non sarebbe stato senza qualche loro riflesso che haverebbe forse sminuito il credito alla sincerità delle lettere supposte delli loro consorti. Ho però fatto intendere alli stessi che mi haverebbero fatto piacere lasciarli alcuna volta veder in questa casa, al che essi prontamente risposero che non haverebbero mancato a loro doveri et io di giorno in giorno li sto attendendo per insinuarli quei motivi che siino di maggiore publico servitio. Le presenti feste havevano impegno di passarselle fra li trattenimenti di Fontaneblo, onde entro la settimana corente li attendo; fui più volte invitato da loro a vedere le opere et lavorieri ma me ne sono sempre astenuto, poiché assistiti per continuo da un soprintendente reggio io mi haverei reso sempre sospetto et troppo palesemente scoperto a parte delle risoluzioni che fossero per intraprender, opure haverebbero potuto valersi della mia persona per avvantaggiarci artificiosamente li loro interessi. Mi ha riferito quel mio servitore, che seco a pranzo

trattenero, che le lettere furono lette da loro con qualche senso di tenerezza, che le giudicorono però formate da persona di sapere et non ordinaria intelligenza, ma che tali appunto sapevano essere li desiderii delli loro consorti, poi giunsero, per quanto questo tale mi ha riferito, che s'io assolutamente gli comandasi la partenza per costi, che mi haverebbero ubidito ma che erano quasi certi che sua maestà li ricercherebbe con premura alla Republica per il loro ritorno, che s'erano impegnati con il re in scrittura et che certo la maestà sua haverebbe voluto esser sodisfatto. Il lavoriero di costoro riesse bellissimo, il re n'è invaghito, fabricano spechi in gran quantità, non si guarda alcun risparmio, di molte case ha fatto un solo casamento in cui 250 persone puliscono li spechi. L'affare veramente è molto avanzato, una parte et l'altra inoltrata a grand'impegni, un assoluto comando di vostre eccellenze per mezzo di chi le serve, voglio creder, sarebbe da costoro obedito ma parimente dal re contestato, io vado studiando le vie più dolci et che lasciandoli più in libertà li rendi essi arbitri delli loro risoluzioni et soli sottoposti al biasimo. La permanenza delle mogli costi è un gran pegno et una atrativa molto gagliarda, sua maestà per astringerli a farli venire in questa città ordinò al soprintendente il vietari l'accesso in quelli alloggi a qualsisii donna libera, aducendo esser questo divertimento da non gli si permettere. L'abbate Valenti, per quanto m'è stato riferito, conoscendo la volontà di Colbert, che li vorebbe vedere stabiliti qui con le mogli, per guadagnarsi la di lui gratia ha formate lettere finte per esser a nome di loro mariti perché venissero a Parigi ben disponendo ogni altro mezzo, s'ha scoperto costi l'ingano et questi operari se ne sono doluti di ciò, delle mogli avisati. Mi riservo apportare a vostre eccellenze li particolari che sopra ciò potessero occorere quando habbi a costoro fatte le più proprie considerationi per incontrare la volontà di vostre eccellenze et il publico servitio che per mio humilissimo sentimento non è di ordinaria rilevanza, con che rassegnandomi al solito resto.

Parigi, li 15 giugno 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

1666 giugno 22, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Non sono per anco comparsi in questa casa li verieri come havevano data parola a un mio familiare, onde non ho fino al presente potuto fargli senza osservatione le rimostanze convenienti incaricatemmi da vostre eccellenze; mi hanno però fatto tenere le annesse lettere in risposta delli consegnategli, io le invio a vostre eccellenze ad ogni buon fine non havendole tocate nel sigillo. Non mi resta che aggiungeri d'avantaggio solo ressegnarmi.

Parigi, li 22 giugno 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

15. 1666 agosto 7, Venecia

1666 7 agosto

All'ambasciator in Franza

Con i lumi che vostra eccellenza ci portò già che potesse da coteste parti capitar qui

alcuno per sviar le mogli di cotesti vetriari, usassimo le maggiori diligenze facendo spiar gli andamenti, indagar de' pensieri, osservar forestieri che vi capitassero e, fatto capitar finalmente nelle proprie case di dette donne il nostro fante, assicurati che una fosse nel letto gravemente indisposta di lunga infermità e fatta venir l'altra al nostro tribunale, strette di intentione, protestata con rigore e dettogli quel più che si poteva pur per vedere di penetrar nell'intimo della propria volontà, sempre dimostratasi costante e tenace a non abbandonar il suo natural nido e la sua patria, fattoci anco capitar le lettere che le inviassimo per li mariti, ad ogni modo pochi giorni dopo s'è intesa partita insieme con l'altra indisposta, una putina, un giovine prete, condotte da due francesi, uno Herve Guymondi, l'altro Mahhias Bose. Subito havutosi l'avviso della partenza si sono espediti ordini per il loro arresto a tutte le parti. A Bassano gionse la stafetta poche hore dopo che erano di già partiti da quel luogo ed avanzatisi per quella parte. Scrivemo a Zurich perché dovendo passare per Schiafuse e Basilea procuri il ressidente l'ordine di fermarli, s'è possibile, ed a lei ne portamo il raguaglio nello stesso tempo per informatione e per tutto quello che le accadesse di poter operare in negotio che ogni giorno più si fa difficile e di pregiuditio estremo ed a cui terremo ancora noi quei riflessi, che fosse per meritar maggiori, per avvisarla opportunamente.

Giacomo Donado inquisitor

Piero Morosini inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 49]

16. 1666 agosto 14, Venezia

1666 14 agosto

All'ambasciator in Franza

Con le nostre lettere ultime haverà vostra eccellenza inteso quanto ci è occorso rappresentarle delle donne partite di qua a cotesta volta e ciò che de vantaggio in esse comprenderà. Con le sue della presente settimana ricevemo la partenza di Parigi di quel tale Mattio Butio per sviar qui diversi operari nella foglia de specchi e li raccordi prudenti per impedire l'oggetti della corte a stabilire in cotesta città questa arte, tanto a cuore e gelosa a nostri maggiori che non si trasporti. Qui pure nello istesso tempo si ode continuamente la partenza di qualcheduno de' maestri e finalmente si scuopre che molto difficile anzi impossibile possa riuscire le diligenze più che isquisite per divertir il corso già preso. Standoci però sul cuore questo negotio quanto più si possa e volendo in ogni modo tentar tutte le vie per radrizzarlo al bene non vedemo che ciò possa meglio riuscire che andar alla radice e toglier di vita Antonio Dalla Riveta, che intendemo il principale costi e che caduto lui tutto precipita. Quando però vedesse vostra eccellenza disperato il caso di potere superare in altra forma il ritorno di lui, le avvisamo la predetta nostra resolutione perché si compiaccia farla ponere ad effetto in quel modo più cauto, sicuro e niente esternabile che sia permesso alla sua gran virtù, da cui si promettemo, ma tutto bene incaminato ed essequito in conformità di nostra mente a della materia tanto gelosa quanto ella ben comprende dalla importanza e dalle conseguenze.

Nel resto non si mancherà di qua di tutto quel più che potrà operarsi, avendo già fatto chiamar li gastaldi dell'arti ed illuminati e protestati a tutto. Attenderemo le notitie de'

successi per andar prendendo sempre misura delle sue dicretioni molto meritevoli e che nel presente negotio stimamo di quel grado che corrisponde apunto alle riserve e alle circunspezzioni che principalmente si convengono in materia tale per essere prontamente rimborsati di tutto quello che sarà necessario impegnarsi in ponere ad effetto la nostra risoluzione.

Giacomo Donado inquisitor

Piero Morosini inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 50]

17. 1666 luglio 27, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Trovano difficoltà questi verieri d'operarii che sappino stender la foglia alli spechi et renderli opachi. Le fatture che di tale maestria costi si fanno per il prezzo d'un ducato, qui costano quatro doppie, di ciò io ne sono restato avisato et di più che v'è tale Mattio Butio, nato suddito di vostre eccellenze da Camelogo Santo Stefano in Cadore, che partì già da cotesta città col signor ambasciator di Spagna marchese della Fuentes et che li giorni passati s'attrovava pur al suo servitio, havuto esso qualche contrasto con quelli della corte di sua eccellenza, s'habbi levato dal servitio et portatosi a servire per cassiero o computista questi vetriari. Costui doppo qualche giorno s'ha mostrato desideroso di portarsi costi et s'ha offerto di condurre a questi vetrieri diversi di cotesti operarii periti nel metter la foglia a spechi, è partito verso cotesta parte hoggi fano 15 o 16 giorni et mi persuado che poco prima o doppo dell'arrivo delli presenti possi esso haver terminato il suo viaggio, è huomo di anni 30 incirca, capelli lunghi et neri, grosso di vita, ben conosciuto dal segretario Marini che servi qui in Parigi l'eccellentissimo Sagredo mio precessore. Il migliore et più sicuro modo per tagliare li progressi a questa arte sarebbe il fargliela riuscire costosa et di niun proffito, caduti dalle loro figurate speranze et presuposti guadagni, di sicuro la dismetterebbero affatto. Se cotesti gastaldi dell'arte invigilerano a non lasciare partire per questa parte li loro operari, non sarà impossibile che si dismetta. Alcuni mercanti parigini che hanno negotio di spechi in cotesta città per non vedersi levato il loro sostenimento hanno presa resolution di farsi venire da cotesta parte 100 et più cassette de spechi per essitarli a prezzo di molto inferiore a quelli della manifatura reale et ciò con pieno oggetto di abbater la loro fabrica. Ho sempre giudicato esser questo il più sicuro mezzo di divertire questo lavoriero, né ho tralasciato d'animare a ciò li sopradetti mercanti che vivono per tal cagione in gran pena. Mi humilio alle benignissime di vostre eccellenze di 10 corrente raconfermandomi al solito.

Parigi, li 27 luglio 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

18. 1666 agosto 17, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Ho fatto tenere alli vetrieri le lettere delle loro consorti dirizzateli et che trovai alligate a quelli di vostre eccellenze 17 scorso. Con tale occasione ricavai che quel tale cadorino che partì le settimane passate per cotesta parte, come avisai, potesse tenere qualche incombenza di condurre qui le sopradette, ma di ciò non tengo tutta la certezza, per anco per haverne però qualche lume o incontro li feci avvertire che uno di questi giorni era di partenza per cotesta parte un mio gentilhuomo, al quale se havessero voluto consegnare qualche denaro per essere contato, alli stessi gli offerivo questa occasione buona et sicura che gli haverebbe risparmiato il danno del cambio. Risposero ringratiandomi che a questo già havean pochi giorni prima provveduto, ciò sottometto alli prudenti riflessi di vostre eccellenze. Il signor Colbert li giorni passati ha fatto entrare nel negotio tre de' più ricchi et principali mercanti di questa città. Forse perché vedendolo dispendioso su questi principii, vogli che da persone denarose sii sostenuto o pure perché questi lo accreschino senza impegnarvi il denaro del re. Starò a tutto avvertito et in particolare sopra questi punti, poiché se non vi trovassero proffito si potrebbe sperare venisse a poco a poco da per sé a cadere, al che molto cohopererà l'impedire da costì la sopravvenienza et il concorso di altri operari, che è quanto posso portare in questo importante affare a cotesto eccellentissimo magistrato, rassegnandomi in mentre al solito.

Parigi, li 17 agosto 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

19. 1666 agosto 31, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Non v'è dubio che va prendendo radice et dilatandosi in questa città la proffessione di vetrieri da costì trasportata. L'intentione de' maestri sono poco buone et per quanto intendo per questo ottobre si pensa tirare in Francia un buon numero di cotesti operari. Non posso ancora sicuramente sapere se torni il conto tal lavoriero, non havendosi fatto fino a quest'ora il bilancio, qui certo il vivere è carissimo et li materiali costosi, le legne in particolare a prezzo altissimo. Il re le settimane passate per tre anni ha sciolti da gli oblighi di qualunque gravezza quegli huomeni che sono et saranno impiegati in tali fatture. In mentre applicherò non meno agli andamenti di queste genti che a discreditare le loro opere, facendo corer voce che sono gli vetri di quella manifatura di poca durata, come facili a scopiare et frangersi per li rigori del fredo et gli ardori del caldo, ad eseguire parimente la volontà di vostre eccellenze nel punto accenatomi in sue di 14 presente, invigilerò con ogni attenzione et potere acciò ne segue l'effetto nella più cauta et circospetta forma, di tutto porterò distinta notitia a vostre eccellenze consegnandomi col più riverente ossequi in conformità de' miei doveri.

Parigi, li 31 agosto 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

20. 1666 settembre 28, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

La sorte che haveva aperta una bella congiuntura per il giusto castigo di quelli scelerati vetrieri che hano abandonato il suo natio nido et la patria, trasferendo qui arte tanto speciali di cotesto lido, è stata divertita da una mera disgratia. Un tal Mota fabricatore pure di veri ma di altra specie, cioè non spechi ma gotti, s'haveva fatto loro confidente, ma poi vedendo che avidi li specchieri di tirare l'arte tutta in se stessi et pensavano a farli distruger per ordine reggio il lavoriero portato, dalla disperatione risolse di levare di vita Antonio Della Rivetta, ma condoto più da furore che da consiglio andò con alcuni de' suoi alla casa di detto armato di archebugio in hore troppo frequenti, fu assaltato Antonio dal Motta prima ingiuriandolo con parole poi col sbaro di doi archebugiate che non colpirono. Chiamò il Rivetta li suoi che tutti armati v'accorsero et d'ambe le parti scaricate pistole et archebuggi restò offeso malamente il Motta in una spala, a segno che difficilmente potrà risane o per lo meno si crede possi restar inhabile al lavoriero, doi altri suoi compagni pure restorono colpiti nelli ditta et viverano con perdita di quelli. La sopravvenienza del popolo et il passaggio d'una compagnia di soldati della guardia che ritornava in quel punto da Vicenza inpedì il maggior mali et la resolutione delli compagni del Motta di levare di vita Antonio; il Motta non potrà anco che vivi continuare il suo negotio in Parigi ma converrà rettirarsi. Ad alcuni miei domestici Antonio Rivetta s'è mostrato puri risoluto di rittornarsene costi con li suoi compagni terminata la loro condotta, le sue moglie sono già qualche giorno arrivate poco contente di questo soggiorno senza la lingua, senza li suoi parenti et amiche, desiderose di rittornarsene. Vengho avisato che per costi sii partito soggetto per sviare molti fregadori di spechi et confido che la prudenza di vostre eccellenze diventerà l'effetto, la permanenza di costoro in questa città provenirà dalle diligenze o conivenze che costi si prateranno, per difficoltà dategli, il concorso delli operari da cotesta parte, quelli che qui s'attrovano non possono suplire alle fatture et dimandano eccessi per il lavoro. S'è accresciuto il datio alli spechi forestieri dalli 6 lire di questa monetta alli 10 da pagarsi in doana per ogni 100 lire di prezzo et si dubita che per pasqua si vogliano affatto prohibire. Li punti di Venetia sono banditi et si usa diligenza per castighare li mercanti che ne havesero, persone costi s'attrovano per sviare molte di coteste donne che lavorano tali opere, il signor di Colbert è informato sopra di tutto ciò, si travaglia così con qualche rarità et ha persone che di tutto lo avisano con oggietto di privare cotesta città dalle più proficue et singolari protettioni. Quel tale Mutio che servi il signor ambasciator di Spagna et che capitò costi per levarli le donne de' verieri ha saputo ch'io di lui ho scritto a vostre eccellenze, né so d'haverne ad alcuno parlato né fidatomi nello scrivere che di me steso, con che suplicando vostre eccellenze di iscusatione mi rassegnò.

Parigi, li 28 settembre 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

21. 1666 novembre 27

1666 27 novembre

All'ambasciator in Franza

Le vacanze del tribunale ed altri accidenti interposti hanno differito qualche giorno ad accusare la ricevuta a vostra eccellenza delle sue lettere 28 settembre, con l'avviso delle ferite rilevate da cotesti vetriari l'uno dall'altro e ciò che s'intermete a impedimento di mali maggiori tra se stessi. Questa ed ogni altra notizia in questa materia ci è riuscita molto cara illuminandoci di tutto. Le nostre diligenze non s'abbandonano qui per fermar che alcuno non parti e già tenemo nelle forze ritento quel Giacomo Trivisano che già ci scrisse d'havere condotto costì uno della professione e ritornato a Venetia prenderne degli altri. Costi sta ella applicatione a tutto, tiene le commissioni de' nostri precessori onde non havendo che aggiongerle che le commissione maggiori di ciò che sempre opera e sempre avvertisse.

Giovanni Antonio Zen inquisitor

Angelo Emo capo del Consiglio di dieci

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 51]

22. 1667 (1666 *more veneto*) gennaio 25. Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Uno delli quatro verieri che partirono da costì per la fabrica di specchi in questa città, doppo una indispositione di molti et molti giorni, tali però che non gli impediva affatto il suo lavoriero, è passato già doi giorni all'altra vita. Costui si nominava Furlani, era necessario molto al lavoriero, a segno che gli altri o poco o niente potranno valersi della loro arte. Faceva egli le paste et teniva, come dicono, con certo artificio il pastone mentre si tirava alla forma et figura di lastra. Supongho che questi loro compagni metterano ogni studio per ricondurne da costì qualche altro. Onde io porto a vostre eccellenze l'avisò perché la loro incomparabile prudenza ne trovi il meno strepitoso modo del divertimento. Le congiunture presenti sono molto delicate: Colbert incapriciato in questa arte ha fatto venire a sé tutti li mercanti interessati con cotesti spechieri et gli ha risolutamente proibito il fare capitare per l'avenire specchi da cotesta parte, protestando di farglieli spezzare tutti et di più minaciandole severi castighi, ciò fu qualche giorno prima che morisse quel misero. A miei domestici non ho proibito il portarsi alla veraria né a vetrieri il venirmi alcuna volta a vedere et ciò per più rispetti, ma in particolare per non mi render odioso a Colbert, dal quale essi sono molto acarezzati. Non posso però evitare che non mi si adoti che il loro tardo lavoro provenghi da concorso ch'io habbi seco per fare risentire piuttosto discapito che utile agli interessati. Mera calunnia, se penetrerano che costì s'impedisca la venuta di altro operario. Mia si dirà la colpa ma poco vi vorrei pesare pure che segua. Non ho che aggiungere, solo profondamente humiliare a vostre eccellenze et rassegnarmi a tutte l'occasioni.

Parigi, li 25 genaro 1666

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacchi degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

23. 1667 (1666 *more veneto*) febbraio 12, Venezia

1666 12 febbraio

All'ambasciatore in Franza

La morte ultimamente seguita de uno di cotesti vetriari dovrebbe in qualche parte almeno impedire la fabrica de' specchi, introdotti con pregiudicio così importante del publico, de' particolari e dell'arte. Si vede ad ogni modo unire il tutto al precipitio, mentre penetra nell'essenza maggiore la prohibitione fatta da Colbert a cotesti mercanti interessati con questi specchieri di non farne più capitar di là con rigorosi pretesti. Ci era pervenuto l'istesso avviso anco de altra parte, con nostra somma afflitione e con disperatione universale de' padroni e de' lavoranti de' specchi e fornaci in Murano, perdendosi un traffico e un spazzo così grande, continuato per tante età e conservato con tanta gelosia da maggiori nostri. La premura e l'importanza però del negotio ci dà occasione di eccitar vostra eccellenza a procurare con destra ed apposita maniera la rimotione o sospensione d'una tanta novità, perché quando anche dovesse continuare la fabrica costi de' specchi, non sarebbe mai così grande che potesse supplire alle copiose quantità che è solita espedirsi di qua e che è solita a spazzarsi costi.

Parci che fossero già banditi anco i panni e zambelotti detti Olanda ma che l'ambasciatore olandese costi residente havendo fatta istanza al consigliere reggio habbi superato di restabilire la primiera libertà del commercio. Così confidamo che sarà altrettanto facile alla sua gran virtù, a che l'incalorimo quanto più si possa per acquistarsi un merito di rilevanza in materia che tanto preme e ch'è di tanta conseguenza.

Nel resto quanto che convenga di qua impedire che altri operari non vengano, veda che il tribunale non cessa delle maggiori diligenze e perquisitioni e di questa ragione si trovano al presente nei cameroti ritenti quattro tristi che andavano sviando apunto persone dell'arte e risentiranno anco il castigo dovuto. Non aggiongeremo di vantaggio a lei che tutto opera e tutto vede, ben sicuri che oltre la rimotione del divieto non mancherà insieme di andar snidando coloro come già e da noi e da precessori nostri li è stata data pienissima facoltà di superar o che vengano alla loro patria o che in qualche modo siano con desterità e con propria maniera distrutti.

Giovanni Antonio Zen inquisitor

Angelo Emo inquisitor

Gironimo Corner inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 52]

24. 1667 (1666 *more veneto*) febbraio 26, Venezia

1666 26 febraro

All'ambasciator in Franza

Quel tale Paolo Mazzolaro, che costi si attrova dell'arte di Murano, ha scritto qui ad un suo fratello che s'è risoluto di ritornare alla sua patria e l'istesso avviso pur ci capita per

altra parte. Conferirebbe assai che ne seguisse l'effetto e perciò lo portamo alla notizia di vostra eccellenza perché possa prestarvi la mano, chiamandolo a lei, assicurandosi del pensiero, sollicitandolo, promettendogli di qua il perdono e provvedendolo anco se vi fosse il bisogno di qualche aiuto per il viaggio.

Sarebbe poi l'opera molto più perfetta quando si potesse superare che, col mezo e con l'occasione della partenza di costui, partissero anco gli altri, a quali pure potrebbe promettere l'istesso perdono ed ogni altra assistenza per vedere di persuaderli in ogni modo. Alle sue virtù zelantissime raccomandamo l'affare ch'è di quella rilevanza che ben comprende e che tante volte, ed in particolare nelle ultime nostre, si gli è scritto, onde inherendo a quelle e all'altre precedenti con la confirmatione di qualunque autorità non staremo ad attendersi di vantaggio. Ci è pervenuta qualche notizia che di colui, ultimamente difronte de' medesmi dell'arte, sia stato fatto aprir da Colbert il cadavero per assicurarsi s'era mancato per morte naturale. La sicurezza di ciò ci sarà pur caro sapere per nostra informatione. E qui ingionta riceverà la lettera del fratello del detto La Motta con la quale lo eccita a partire et ella potrà consignargliela in man propria, accompagnandola con le più efficaci offerte per persuadere lui et anco gli altri, se si potesse, alla partenza, di che ne attenderemo con desiderio gli avvisi.

Giovanni Antonio Zen inquisitor

Angelo Emo inquisitor

Gironimo Corner inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 53]

25. 1667 marzo 8, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Ho differito humiliarmi alli benignitissime grazie di vostre eccellenze fatemi tenere in sue benignitissime di 12 febraro scorso, perché ho atteso ad indure gli vitriari a qualche buona resolutione. È un anno ch'io travaglio a quest'opera, né ho lasciato cosa intentata che possi valere a sradicare da questa città un'arte tanto peculiare di cotesto dominio et così stimata ne' paessi esteri che puosi dire andare del pari la stima della stessa con le più celebri prerogative della patria; qui certo, dove s'ama più che in ogni altro luoco le ziogherie et gli ornamenti, è nel più elevato credito. Suplico però vostre eccellenze dispensarmi delli distinti raconti delli tentativi che ho praticati, poichè non si puosi in un foglio restringer l'operationi di un anno. Bastami il dire che il signor Iddio che non voli l'estermio di cotesti poveri artefici va conducendo in modo le cose che si puosi sperare un vicino bene. La morte di quel tal Furlano, operario vecientino compagno fido delli stessi, ha sconcertato il lavoro et fatti ravedere gli altri del mancamento comesso d'havere lasciata la patria et trasferita altrove l'arte, altre cagioni di disgusti, o procuratigli da terza mano o casuali, forma un concorso di motivi che più non gli rende grato questo soggiorno, benchè quivi vivino con un trattamento di sgravio et ogni comodo di fortune. Ad essi di certo più di 20 mila scudi ha offerto Colbert perché insegnino l'arte ad alcuni francesi, ad essi venghono esibiti poderi et deliziosi pallazi in queste vicinanze, ha sempre ricusato volere comunicare ad altri la loro virtù. Hoggi benchè giorno di dispatteo mi son trattenuto più di 3 hore con essi et, rapresentateli quanto ho saputo che possi

persuaderli a lasciare questo soggiorno, gli ho cavato una promessa certa di ritornarsene costì, mentre in primo capo venghino assicurati nella vita sua e delle mogli; per secondo che gli sii pagato il viaggio ad esse moglie et dui o tre loro compagni; per terzo che l'arte di spechieri li provedi di denaro per potere mettere in piedi una fornace, l'esprimono che questa potrebbe essere la suma di 4 in 5 mille ducati quali vorebbero dall'arte fossero esborsati in mano di qualche sicuro mercante. Con questi punti acordatigli si risolverano alla partenza anco inanzi il tempo poichè troverano modi, o con il straparne il lavoriero o con renderglielo in tutto inutile, di partire per costì et di esere licentiatì. La prudenza di vostre eccellenze ha al presente nelle mani il modo di rimettere nel pieno fiore cotesta arte poichè questi certo sono di primi. Temono molto della vita et sebene non sono rei dell'eccelso Consiglio niente di meno per certa inobidienza vivono in pena, onde di ciò oltre le parole in voce vorebbero anco un decreto di indennità da cotesto eccelso tribunale. Di tutto gli ho datta buona intentione et promesso di adoperarmi appresso la bontà di vostre eccellenze. Vengho avisato che un tale Zuane Mazoleni et suo fratello Tullio pure Mazoleni muranesi fratelli di un tale muranese che qui atte<n>de a far bichieri applicano a sviari de quelli operarii per incammarli a questa parte. L'haverli l'ochio sopra non potrebbe esser che bene, si nomina il muranese ch'è qui monsieu La Mota fu in questa cosa, mostrò desiderio di ritornarsene costì, non so se sii stata acutezza per scoprire et ricavare da me si m'eran note li procedure sue et delli fratelli opure sentimento sincero. Non ho che in vantaggio aggiungere et resto.

Parigi, li 8 marzo 1667

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc' Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

26. 1667 marzo 15, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Alla benignitissima di vostre eccellenze di 26 scaduto trovo unita lettera per Paolo della Motta con loro ordine di consegnargliela in mano propria. Fu già alcuni giorni costui da me esprimendosi del desiderio che haveva di ripatriare mentre havebbe conseguito da vostre eccellenze il perdono et il modo di trattenersi con qualche ufficio, quasi volesse abandonare l'arte vitraria. Mi disse di più che del tutto haveva scritto ad un suo fratello perchè s'adoperasse a fargli ottenere da vostre eccellenze le sopradette gratie, poi mi diede parte che cotesto eccellentissimo tribunale s'haveva assicurato di quatro scellerati che volevano abandonare la patria conducendosi in questa città, di quali doi s'eran fatti morire et altri doi relegati in Candia. Gli adimandai perchè non havese egli fatto capo meco di queste sue intentioni, ben sospetando io che costui si fosse portato da me per scoprire se io con qualche lume a vostre eccellenze fossi stato cagione della praticata buona giustitia. Costui non mi rispose in modo che potessi restar sodisfatto ma mi replicò che atindeva la risposta et che poi si haverebbe regolato, che in mentre si voleva portare per qualche giorno fuori di Parigi per suoi affari. Hora tanto è lontano che costui vogli portarsi costì che s'è introdoto nella veraria di spechi con promessa alli partitanti di avvantaggiare il loro interesse lavorando con più assiduità et minori provisioni delli tre principali venuti da costì. Non ha egli molta peritia nell'arte, fa però tutto il potere perchè quelli gliell'integrino, il che da essi apertamente et francamente si ricusa, non senza

sdegno di partetanti che offessi da parole ingiuriose da doi delli detti verieri ma più dal discapito che gli fano provare nel straparne del lavoriero, covenero (?) apertamente, hanno hauta licenza di ripatriare. Vogliono però li detti partitanti ritenere appresso di sé Antonio Dalla Rivetta che è il principale et il più adestro nell'arte con oggetto di obbligarlo ad integrar l'arte, esso non voli abandonar li compagni et per un canto vorrebbe vederli partire, si va meditando il modo o di conseguire una intiera licenza mediante un totale disipamento dell'arte che ciò sarebbe il più sicuro o lasciando partire li compagni seguirli in appreso con la fuga, ma questo è il più pericoloso. Studio di condurre l'affare senza impegno di mia persona che corebbe rischio tirarsi adoso l'ira del re, non mancandomi qualche malvagio che divulgua essere io cagione di questi sconcerti, si riterà ogni destreza per conseguire con il minore male l'intento. Hora con permissione di vostre eccellenze stimo bene sospendere la consegna della lettera a Paolo, sapendo che d'altra parte haverà li stessi sentimenti di vostre eccellenze et in mentre starò osservando l'effetto che in lui produrano, tengo aviso che uno delli retenti che s'attrova in cotesta forza a causa di tal materia habbi scritto qui perché la maestà sua ricerchi con efficacia la liberatione di sua persona alli inquisitori aducendo che per reggio servitio egli soggiace a tal pena, vostre eccellenze vegnon la delicatezza dell'affare o habbi scritto egli o li suoi partiali a suo nome, ciò è quanto mi è evenuto intendere. Circa quel tale Furlano vetriero defonto, sentii ancor io discorere che fosse stato aperto il cadavero, ma di ciò non volsi mostrar curioso et trascurai ogni notitia, questa mattina da persona che pratica la veraria ho inteso che non, ma mi riservo a portarne a vostre eccellenze più certo aviso. Si diughò la sua morte per naturale, cagionata da disoluteze et poca custodia di convalescenza, come parmi d'aver scritto, li suoi compagni la tenghono per tale, come di tale accidente con loro dolendomi mi segnaficano. Non ho che di più aggiungere a vostre eccellenze e resto al solito.

Parigi, li 15 marzo 1667

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

27. 1667 aprile 3, Venecia

1667 3 aprile

All'ambasciator in Franza

Cade molto opportuna l'occasione de' strapazzi e male sodisfattione del reggio ministro contro cotesti vetriari. Qui ancora ci è capitato d'altra parte conforme l'avviso e con l'istessa speranza che possano risolvere la partenza. Il punto maggiore consiste che Antonio Della Riveta, il principale e il più perfetto nell'arte, non resti costi, come ce ne scrive vostra eccellenza, perché poco o nulla sarebbe il camino avanzato, mentre rimanendo solo e in consequenza astretto ad insegnar l'arte anco a francesi precipiterebbe in questa maniera per sempre il negotio per noi e si radicarebbe costi. È necessario però l'impiego tutto della sua virtù a fine di persuaderlo a partire ancor lui. Quanto al perdono, questo può con franca autorità promettergli ed insieme agli altri. Per li denari del viaggio damo facultà a lei di provederli secondo il bisogno per rimborsarli immediatamente. Gionti che siano a Murano saranno gli altri proveduti subito de impiego come erano prima del partire e Riveta pur subito impiegato nella fornace del Mazzolao detto il

Padoan, con l'istessa provisione e nell'istessa forma che pur era quando parti. Se volesse poi metter fornace, il tribunale glielo permetterà e l'arte de' specchieri riceverà i suoi quari. Circa Paolo Dalla Motta sentimo la varietà de' suoi pensieri e come mancando, si può dire, alla fede data ha intrapreso il lavoriero, promettendo a partitanti vantaggi maggiori. Quando partisse anco il Riveta verrebbe a cader anco per lui tutto il fondamento e a persuadersi necessariamente al ritorno. Vostra eccellenza vi è applicata con tutto il vigore, ne vede la premura, onde non le aggiongeremo in vantaggio se non che all'istesso Paolo potrà in ogni caso promettere come agli altri il perdono, l'impiego di qui e assisterlo parimenti di denaro per il viaggio, havendo nel resto ottimamente risolto a sospender di dargli la lettera di suo fratello per attendere opportunità migliore.

Giovanni Antonio Zen inquisitor

Angelo Emo inquisitor

Gironimo Corner inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 54]

28. 1667 aprile 4, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

Spero che l'affare di fabricatori de' spechi mentre non s'è attraversato da alcuna disavventura possi godere l'effetto desiderato. Antonio Cimagotto detto Della Rivetta, Giovanni Civran et Gerolamo Barbin che sono quei principali, che partirono da cotesta città per impiantare qui l'arte de' fabricar spechi, sono partiti o piuttosto fuggiti sopra li posti per cotesta volta. Hanno preso il camino della Borgogna, contea ch'è il più breve per uscire da questo Regno, havendogli io proibito l'andare a Bruselles, come divisavano, per dubio che ivi non si mettessero a lavorare. Prima di partire, come già scrissi, doi di loro per li mali portamenti et sprezzati essercitati verso li partitanti si provocarono il sdegno di quelli et un ordine di partirsi che non essendo in scritto fu solo per rimostrare non essere li partitanti così incatenati al capriccio di vetrieri, quali però si dichiararono conossere la necessità sì che erano li partitanti del loro servitio et che però volevano lavorare a loro modo et trattare come meglio gli riuscisse di piacere, che il capitolato stabilito col re non si poteva rompere che con una licenza in scritto, che quando l'ottenessero partirebbero per Lieggie, ma che sapevano quanto essi partitanti fossero di loro necessita. Con questo si missero al punto gli interessati non vedendo il modo né alcuna assistenza che li agevolasse il partire, onde si lasciarono condurre a darli permissione in scritto per mano di notaro che potessero ogni uno de' loro tre partire. Ciò conseguì quasi cosa accaduta oltre ogni espettatione alli verieri, questi finsero dispiacere et si mostrorono rimessi delle loro arditezze et petulanze. Qui presero occasione li partitanti di ridurli alla ragione et avvantaggiarsi così nelli assegnamenti come nel lavoriero, con più proggetti trattenero verieri gli interessati a segno che, questi fidati, ebbero quelli il comodo del fuggire che fu alla metà della note passata. Ho voluto che si metti ogni industria per conseguire et tirare gli partitanti ad una licenza in scritto, perché non possi mai dolersi la maestà sua che siino ricoverati costì arteificio che seco tenevan viva una scrittura obligante il loro operare in questa città. Non ho concesso concedere a sopradetti né lettera né mio passaporto né salvacondotto si no viaggino per la Francia,

perché in caso d'arresto non venghi creduto il ministro di vostre eccellenze sviatore di questa gente, bensì quando sappi per il mio corrispondente che siino gionti a Besazor gli munirò di tutto, come mi sono obligato et il tenore della loro scrittura lasciatami ricerca, gli articoli della quale non ho potuto attidere comprobar costi il tempo molto stringendo, ma spero che vostre eccellenze me li autenticarono, gli ho somministrato qualche denaro fino a Bezenzori et a parte a parte gli farò tenirne tanto che per il loro bisogno li basti. Convegno pure provvedere le loro moglie che sono tre et figlioli con doi altri che seco partono et vengho avisato siino della professione. Vi anderà fra li vetrieri et loro famiglie 200 doppie in circa, né credo che vostre eccellenze vorano che io ne resti socombente, per gli huomeni già tengo l'ordine, ma s'io non promettevo anco per le conne l'affari stava ne' primi termini, gli aggravii che in questa città io provo, aggravato ci 40 persone, sono incredibili né mi posso valere di mercanti che sono tutti essausti di cenaro, onde converò io qui farne gli esborsi et a suo tempo suplicherò la bontà di vostre eccellenze assicurandole che per tali viaggio farò usare tutta la restritione et risparmio. Mi sono servito nella condota di questo negotio di Pietro Fachinetti letore venetiano che certo non ha risparmiato alcune diligenze per ben servire vostre eccellenze et appresso cotesta arte di vetriari si rende meritevole di riconoscimento.

Quel tal monsiu Motta è nella veraria ma opera poco bene, né per lui si potrà, per quanto vengho assicurato, continuare il lavoro, onde il tribunale di vostre eccellenze per il loro infinito zelo alla patria, per la loro singolare prudenza et avvertenza che ha somistrate a chi li serve li proprii lumi, haverà questo merito d'haver preservata arte sì stimabile alla patria et alli suoi sudditi et a me resterà sempre un desiderio, audite, di vedere continuate le beneditioni del signor Iddio alle cose et persone, di vostre eccellenze, rassegnandomi in mentre.

Parigi, li 4 aprile 1667

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

29. 1667 aprile 26, Parigi

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori miei signori colendissimi

[...]

Doppo ch'io portai a vostre eccellenze l'avisò della partenza sopra li poste delli tre vetrieri per quella parte che gli fu aditata ormai 23 giorni in circa, con mio stupore et tavaglio inesplicabile delle loro mogli non vi è alcuno avisò di loro et pure dovevano farmi avisare da Besanzon per il signor Francesco Cechato, cavalierizzo sudito di vostre eccellenze ch'è in quelle parti. Si dubita però o che le lettere siino state intercette da partitanti che sono, puosi dire, in disperatione per la loro partenza o che sii accaduto alli sopradetti qualche grave accidente. Il Motta continua il lavoriero ma con poco vantaggio et proffitto. Se li tre fuggiti pervenirano costi farano in modo, per quanto mi promisero, che altri non si porterano a questo servitio insinuando pessime informazioni. S'è discorso però di sviare un tal Brocho, ma si ciò non segue prima dell'arrivo di Antonio Della Rivetta si promette egli alla sua venuta impedirlo. Mi humilio a vostre eccellenze et resto al solito.

Parigi, li 26 aprile 1667

Di vostre eccellenze devotissimo et obbligatissimo servitor Marc'Antonio Iustinian

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 436 (1586-1667)]

30. 1667 maggio 7, Venecia

1667 7 maggio

All'ambasciator in Franza

Qualche giorno s'è differito da noi di rispondere alle lettere di vostra eccellenza, attendendo la comparsa supposta viva de' vetriari che erano già da Parigi partiti. Non per anco veduti havemo stimato bene a non portar più a lungo gli più espressivi attributi. Dal merito suo singolare per opera superata dalla sua desterità di tanta conseguenza quanto è quella di haver spiantata costì e restituita qui un'arte di tanta stima e di tanto vantaggio a pubblici ed a privati interessi e un privilegio presente et unico conservato in ogni tempo con occhio geloso da' nostri maggiori, intendemo le forme con le quali hanno cercato i pretesti al partire, indirzzatigli dalla sua virtù e, benché non comparsi ancora, volemo ad ogni modo sperare che giungano per la buona direttione che hanno preso del camino. Resterà quel monsù La Motta el quale, come solo e non pratico come gli altri dell'arte, pur ci giova a credere che si vada parimente disponendo al partire ed a lei non daremo eccitamento nessuno per ciò già naturalmente disposta ed applicata. Quanto alle spese che le saranno occorse di somministrargli per il viaggio, per le mogli e per altri necessari bisogni staremo attendendo a suo tempo gli avvisi sicuri del magior risparmio. Intanto augurando a vostra eccellenza perfetta salute.

Giovanni Antonio Zen inquisitor

Gironimo Corner consiglier inquisitor

[ASV, Inquisitori di Stato, Lettere agli ambasciatori in Francia, b. 153 (1607-1750), n. 55]

REVIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Egyházi gyűjtemények szolgálatában / În Slujba colecțiilor eclesiastice (ed. by Rita Bernád), Kolozsvár / Cluj-Napoca, Editura Verbum, 2010, 318 p.

This volume is the result of a conference held in the summer of 2009 in Alba-Iulia. The event was organized on the occasion of the Bishopric's millenary existence. As the book's introduction mentions, the conference enjoyed the participation of 124 researchers, including important members of ecclesiastical, scientific and cultural life, in the spirit of ecumenism. Thus, beside the representatives of the Roman-Catholic Church, there were also Calvin Protestant, Evangelic, Unitarian, Greek-Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish personalities. The conference section regarding the ecclesiastical Archives and Libraries gathered 15 presentations, which texts are included in this present volume.

The book is bilingual, the studies being published both in Hungarian and Romanian. Some of the papers are very short, having rather the features of a brief note or report: one or two pages, without footnotes. Such an example is the second study, Harmati László Béla's short presentation, with the title *Az egyházi Múzeológusok Egyesülete / Uniunea Bibliotecilor Eclesiastice* [The Union of the Ecclesiastical Libraries] [sic!]¹. On the other hand, one should note that this presentation is about an association founded only in 2008, in Budapest.

On the other side, there are much longer and well-written studies, like the ones signed by Marton József, former dean of the Faculty of Roman-Catholic Theology at Babeş-Bolyai University, Sipos Gábor, associated professor at Babeş-Bolyai and president of the Transylvanian Museum Society, Emödi András, Chief Archivist of the Roman-Catholic Diocese of Oradea, or Molnár B. Lehel, Chief Archivist of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania.

All studies are focused upon similar topics: history of Transylvania, historical Church Archives, museum collections, or methodology of preservation and research. For instance, the study of Marton József, entitled *Az ezeréves erdélyi egyházmegye kulturális szerepe, különös tekintettel a Papnevelde könyvtárára / Rolul cultural al diocezei milenare din Transilvania, cu atenție specială asupra bibliotecii Institutului Teologic din Alba Iulia* [The Cultural Role of the Millenary Diocese of Transylvania, with a special attention paid to the Library of Theologic Institute of Alba Iulia), has a synthetic and complex character. Based on an exhaustive historical introduction, focused on the role taken by the Transylvanian Diocese in medieval political life, presents the role played by the Roman Catholic Church as institution, but also of its individual representatives, in Transylvanian education and cultural processes. The presentation comes to an end with the reference to the moment represented by Márton Áron, and his unavoidable conflict with the Communist regime.

Dârja Ileana's study presents the extremely rich and valuable collection of the Batthyaneum Library, the former private library of a Transylvanian bishop, Batthyány Ignác, officially established in 1978. As a result of nationalizations during the communist

¹ Correct translation in Romanian should be: *Muzeologi*, or in English "Museologists".

period, it became part of the network of Romanian National Libraries, and is still currently in function under its administration. The Batthyaneum preserves more than 24,000 rare books, among them a part of the famous *Codex Aureus*, more than 660 various rare translations of the Bible, etc. Beside these rare books, the Batthyaneum holds a consistent archive and also a museum collection. Along with the author of this study, we regard as a very important event that this special library collection became part of the "Enrich Manuscriptorium" project. This makes possible that knowledge regarding the local and regional "Transylvanian" values be at its rightful place as part of global network of spiritual and cultural values.

Hendre Biró Doina's study is focused on a special historical event: the role of Batthyaneum as an institution in organizing the Scientific Days of Alba Iulia in 1912. The study is on its turn well-structured in several subchapters, and contains a lot of original research, many unpublished sources being cited in its notes. A similar case study, presenting a very specific moment, is Kurta József's article, which deals with the issue of the book donations made by George Rákóczy I to Calvin Reformed Church, and their impact over Calvin ecclesiastical library development. Biró Gyöngyi's study has the same marks of inter- and multidisciplinary approach. Henceforth, we could probably place it in the field of cultural management, since its topic refers to research methods for the library and archive materials of the Unitarian Church, and to the further management of its results. In his short essay, Schmidt Dániel presents the current situation of the Bibliotheca Laurenziana from Satu Mare.

Mihály Ferenc's study could be placed in the field of history of arts, having the suggestive title *Fából készült műalkotások az erdélyi templomokban / Mobilierul din lemn în bisericile din Transilvania* [Wooden Art in Transylvanian Churches]. The study is illustrated by several pictures, and one should also notice the ecumenical approach of the author, having case-studies not only from Catholic, but also Protestant church-buildings.

One subject, two authors, one title, two studies: this is how we could best characterize the report-study that follows. The *Műtárgyleltározás a Gyulafehérvári Főegyházmezejében / Inventarea obiectelor de Artă în Arhidiocesa de Alba Iulia* [Inventory of Objects of Arts in the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia] is structured in two parts: the first one is written by H. Kolba Judit, while the second one by T. Németh Annamária. The valuable information concerning this material and also the aesthetic and spiritual treasures are completed by photos, which make the text more pleasant to be read. Similar well-illustrated with visual elements and argued by a complete system of reference are the study-reports signed by Iamas Iringo and Kovacs Maria-Marta: *Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület klenódiáinak és textiliáinak leltározása / Inventarierea obiectelor liturgice metalice și textile ale Bisericii Reformate din Ardeal* [Metal and Textile Liturgical Objects of Transylvanian Reformed Church], and by Szögi László, *A Gyulafehérvári Érseki és Főkáptalani Levéltár forrásértéke Erdély története szempontjából / Valoarea de izvor istoric cu privire la Istoria Transilvaniei a Arhivei Arhiepiscopale și a Capitulului de la Alba Iulia* [The Value as Historical Source regarding Transylvanian History of the Archives of Archdiocese of Alba Iulia]. Also a good work is the one of András Emödi, *A váradi és szatmári római katolikus püspöksége régi könyvtármányainak összegyűjtése, rendezése és feldolgozása 1998-2008 / Colectiunea, ordonarea și prelucrarea cărților cărților episcopilor romano-catolice din Oradea și Satu Mare 1998-2008* [Collecting, Managing and Researching the Books

of Roman-Catholic Bishoprics of Oradea and Satu Mare 1998-2008]. Bernád Rita's study-report, entitled *A Gyulafehérvári Érseki és Főképtalani Levéltár Gyűjtőközpontjai / Centrele de Colectie ale Arhivei Arhidiacezane din Alba Iulia* [Centers of Collection of the Archdiocesan Archives of Alba Iulia] shares also important methodological knowledge, in addition to the primal, empirical information.

Sipos Gábor's study examines a very interesting "Managerial aspect: the issue of human resources of Ecclesiastical Archives". Thomas Şindilariu's study (*A brassói Honterus gyűlekezet levéltárának 50 éve, 1958-2008 / 50 de ani de la fondarea Arhivei comunităţii Honterus, 1958-2008* [50 Years since the Foundation of the Archives of the "Honterus" Community in Braşov, 1958-2008]) presents the successful Honterus Archive project, although started in a very inappropriate moment: the years of repression following the anti-Communist Revolution in Hungary. A kind of activity-report is also the study of Molnár Lehel, which presents the Evolution of Archive Fund's collecting process in the Unitarian Church since 1916, from the events of World War One to nowadays.

We could bring a few critics to this volume, especially regarding the translations, since the Romanian and Hungarian texts are not always having the same meaning. More specialists could have been invited, especially from the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Romanian Church Archives, or even abroad. However, we consider that the initiative itself has to be encouraged, and we express our hope that in the future more events like this one are going to take place. It could bring a great contribution for a better understanding of other cultures, for making our methodological knowledge more diverse and sophisticated, and also to promote that dialogue on the level of science and high culture that leads to a mutual understanding of our universal and specific values.

***Atlas istoric al oraşelor din România, A Series: Moldova, fascicle 1, Suceava* (coord. by Mircea D. Matei; text: Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc, Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu; maps by Simona Bondor; transl. by Sigrid Pinter, Winfried Ziegler), Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2005, XIX + 19 p. + 8 maps + one engraving**

The map-drawing documents edited by the Romanian Academy and the Commission of the Town History of Romania are published in three series: A. *Moldova*, B. *Ţara Românească* and C. *Transilvania*, following thus the system used for the national collections of diplomatic sources: *Documente privind istoria României* and *Documenta Romaniae Historica*.

Due to the exceptional political, ecclesiastic, social, cultural and urban importance of the medieval city of Suceava, the editors of A Series. *Moldova* began the collection with the presentation of this urban centre settled at the East of the Carpathian Mountains.

This first fascicle follows the format, structure and content of the previous volumes (Sighişoara and Sebeş), with only one exception: the attaching of a consistent chapter regarding the history of the city. This is legitimate especially if one takes into consideration the historical importance and the much bigger size of this urban centre in comparison to the abovementioned two cities.

Because of the lacunae in the cartographic (which are very late) and archeological (incomplete diggings and only partially published results) sources, the editors of this fascicle proved to be cautious in redesigning the city's aspect previous to the middle of the 16th century. The only exceptions are represented by doubtless archeologically references (princely court, Suceava's consequent fortifications, cult monuments, handcraftsmen's districts) and the few written information referring to some squares and lanes of the city.

The work is bilingual. The pages numbered with Latin numbers are in Romanian, while their correspondent with Arab numbers is the translation in German. This fascicle opens with a *Cuprins* [Summary], followed by a *Cuvânt înainte* [Foreword] and a short presentation of the physical-geographic frame of the city of Suceava. Afterwards, Mircea D. Matei presents a succinct study modestly entitled *Introducere în istoria oraşului* [Introduction in the history of the city]. It is followed by a short history of Suceava between 1388 and 1996, under the title of *Cronica oraşului* [The city's chronicle], after which a proposal for the reconstruction of the headstone of Eudocia of Kiev in the church of Mirăuți is presented, a section written by Mircea D. Matei, Viorica P. Batariuc and Ioan Scripcariuc.

Further, there is *Evoluția demografică* [Demographic evolution] of the city, accomplished by Dan Dumitru Iacob, *Structura morfologică* [Morphological structure] and *Etapete de extindere a oraşului* [The phases of the city's development], these last two sections being drawn up by Teodor Octavian Gheorghiu. Afterwards, Viorica Paraschiva Batariuc, Florin Hău and Gheorghe Sion briefly present the present day and disappeared *Monumentele istorice* [Historical monuments] of the fair, while Dan Dumitru Iacob, Paul Niedermaier and Ioan-Marian Țiplic reproduce fragment of several *Descrieri istorice ale oraşului* [Historical descriptions of the city].

Viorica Paraschiva Batariuc and Florin Hău have also drawn up a map of the *Descoperirilor arheologice* [Archeological discoveries] with the afferent conventional signs, while Dan Dumitru Iacob wrote a correspondence of the *Denumirile străzilor* [Streets' names] in the 15th-18th centuries, 1890-1906, 1907 and 1995, the work's *Bibliografia* [Bibliography] and *Proveniența ilustrațiilor* [The origin of the pictures] included in the fascicle.

The volume comes to an end with eight maps, that is: a fragment of *Harta Bucovinei* [Bukovine's map] including the surroundings of the city of (drawn up in 1781 by François Heigl; scale: 1:89,000); *Planul zonei* [The sketch of the area] of the fair of Suceava (set up between 1773 and 1775 by major Büschel, scale: 1:57,600); *Planul zonei* [The sketch of the area] of the city of Suceava (composed in 1830 by lieutenant Maurer and completed in 1863-1864 by captain Norbert von Pelican, scale: 1:28,800); *Planurile oraşului Suceava* [The sketches of the city of Suceava] dated in 1995 (scale: 1:10.000) and 1856 (scale: 1:2,500); *Planul oraşului Suceava cu denumiri de străzi (vechi și actuale) și numere de proprietăți* [The sketch of the city of Suceava with (former and present) names of the streets and numbers of properties] (dated in 1856, scale: 1:2,500); *Parcelarea oraşului* [The division of the city] in 1856 (scale: 1:5,000); *Etapete de extindere a oraşului* [Stages of city's extension] (scale: 1:5,000). To all these, the editors added a *Stampă* [Engraving] of the city relying upon a drawing by Franz Xaver Knapp (1857).

The work is one of major interest not only for historians, but also for geographers, topographers, cartographers, philologists and archivists, since it inserts the most ancient maps and cadastral designs in the scientific milieu.

Arcadie M. Bodale

***Atlas istoric al oraşelor din România, A Series: Moldova, fascicle 2: Siret* (coord. by Dan Dumitru Iacob; text by Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc, Şerban Dragomirescu; maps by Mariana Vlad; transl. by Sigrid Pinter), Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2010, XII + 12 p. + 7 maps**

We notify the publishing of the second fascicle of *Atlasul istoric al oraşelor din România* [The Historical Atlas of the Cities of Romania], A series. *Moldova*, referring to the city of Siret. The editors' option is not casual at all, since it is about one of the most ancient Romanian urban centre. In addition, Siretul held for a while the position of main residence of the princes of Moldavia and of siege of the Roman-Catholic Bishopric at the East of the Carpathian Mountains. As a result, it became an important commercial centre on the route that linked Poland to the cities of Chilia and Cetatea Albă at the Black Sea.

Unfortunately, as it happened with other cities beyond the Carpathians, the loss of the political importance of Siret in Suceava's benefit led to the diminishing of its administrative, economic, religious and demographic position, which significantly altered its urban features.

As well as the previous fascicles – referring to the cities of Sighişoara, Sebeş, Suceava, Târgovişte and Câmpulung – this volume was drawn up according to the norms established by the International Commission for the History of the Towns concerning the work's format, structure and plan.

Thus, the work opens with a *Cuprins* [Summary], followed by a *Cuvânt înainte* [Foreword] signed by Dan Dumitru Iacob and certain *Repere fizico-geografice* [Physical-Geographic References] presented by Şerban Dragomirescu. Afterwards, Franz Pieszech and Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc draw up the section entitled *Cronica oraşului* [City's Chronicle], containing the most important chronological references of the history of Siret, while Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc also sets up a serious *Introducere în istoria oraşului* [Introduction in the city's history], where she noted very well that this town belonged to "apanajul fostelor doamne ale ţării [appanage of the country's former princesses". Then, Dan Dumitru Iacob investigates the *Evoluţia demografică* [Demographic evolution], *Structura morfologică* [Morphological structure] – where he examines the transit routes, the urban division between the central and the industrial areas of the settlement between the 18th and the 20th centuries –, and also the five *Etape de extindere a oraşului* [Phases of city's extension]: 12th-13th centuries; the end of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries; the second half of the 14th and the 16th centuries; the 17th-19th centuries; the 20th century. Further down, Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc presents short portraits of the *Monumentele istorice* [Historical monuments] of Siret and its surroundings. It is about the Orthodox churches of Sfânta Treime [Holy Trinity], Sfântul Ioan Botezătorul [Saint John the Baptist], Sfântul Onufrie [Saint Onufrius] and Sfântul Dimitrie [Saint Demetrius], along with the Catholic and Armenian dwellings, not preserved nowadays.

Consequent to this, Dan Dumitru Iacob sets up a selection of the most important quotations referring to the *Descrieri istorice ale oraşului* [Historical descriptions of the city], and Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc enumerates the *Descoperirile arheologice* [Archeological discoveries] in the area of Siret for the period between Cucuteni Culture and the 17th century. Afterwards, the work includes a table with *Numele străzilor* [Streets' names] – drawn up by Dan Dumitru Iacob, *Bibliografia* [The bibliography] – composed by Victoria Paraschiva Batariuc and Dan Dumitru Iacob, and also a presentation of the *Provenienţei ilustraţiilor şi hărţilor* [Origin of the illustrations and maps], also written by Dan Dumitru Iacob.

The volume comes to an end with seven maps: *Planurile zonei* [Area's sketches] of the fair of Siret, drawn up in 1784 (scale: 1:89,000) and respectively in 1790 (scale: 1:28,800); *Planul oraşului* [City's sketch] dated in 2005 (scale: 1:10,000); *Planul oraşului din 1855, cu numele străzilor vechi şi actuale* [Sketch of the city in 1855 with old and present streets' names] (scale: 1:2,500); *Etape de extindere a oraşului* [Stages of city's extension] (scale: 1:5,000); *Parcelarea oraşului* [The division of the city] in 1855 (scale: 1:5,000) and *Parcelarea oraşului* [The division of the city] around 1900 (scale: 1:5,000).

Like the previous fascicles, the Atlas of the city of Siret is also bilingual, the pages numbered in Latin being written in Romanian, while their correspondent in Arab letters comprising the translation in German.

Unfortunately, despite its importance, the history of the city of Siret remains less known because of the lack of extensive archeological diggings, destined to supply the small number of the documentary information referring to this settlement. Henceforth, since this work includes the most ancient maps and cadastral sketches of the city and area of Siret in the scientific milieu, the publishing of it would certainly rouse the interest of the historians, geographers, topographers, cartographers, and philologists.

Arcadie M. Bodale

Virginia Isac, *Contribuţii la o biobibliografie Alexandru Ioan Cuza* [Contributions to a Biobibliography of Alexandru Ioan Cuza], Iaşi, Editura Junimea, 2005, 157 p.

As it is known, consequent to a hardworking activity extended even after her retirement, Virginia Isac published the most available and complete working tool referring to the Archives in Iaşi: *Catalog de documente din Arhivele Statului Iaşi. Moldova* [Catalogue of documents from the State Archives in Iaşi], vol. I (1398-1595).

After this volume of documents, although she had been retired for a long time, Virginia Isac has continued to investigate the archives and libraries, focusing upon the period of the union of the two Romanian Principalities (1859) and upon Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza and his wife, Elena Cuza. Naturally, the author's congeniality with this topic is to be connected to her birth's settlement – the commune of Ruginoasa, Iaşi county, where is the location of the palace and the church where the bones of the former prince were deposited – and to one of the first buildings where she lived in Iaşi: the former inn of Petru Băcalu, in front of which the *Hora Unirii* [The Union's hora] was danced on January 24, 1859.

Consequent to her investigations, it was in 2005 when another important working tool was printed. It is about *Contribuții la o biobibliografie Alexandru Ioan Cuza* [Contributions to a bio-bibliography of Alexandru Ioan Cuza], extremely important for both the established and those at their prime activity in the field of history.

The work is structured in two different parts. Thus, the first part, *Cronologie* [Chronology], contains at the beginning a study about the genealogy of the Cuza family. It is followed by a chronology of Prince's family and personality. It begins with year 1784, when his father, Ioan Cuza, was born, and comes to an end with year 2001, when the work of Dumitru Ivănescu, *Alexandru Ioan Cuza în conștiința posterității* [Alexandru Ioan Cuza in the conscience of posterity] was published. Since the very beginning, the author compels the attention that the possible inadvertences that one could detect in the text of this part would be because of the simultaneous use of the two calendar styles in the period.

For the second part, *Referințe* [References], the author insists upon the publication of any type that refer especially and directly to Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Henceforth, there are gathered together all volumes, studies, articles and notes from magazines and newspapers, irrespective of the fact that it is about essential or minor works, published between 1859 and 2003. Accordingly, 888 titles are assembled, being ordered depending on the year of publication, so that the researcher could easily understand the periods of time and the amount in which a real interest for the prince's personality exists. Meanwhile, one could note that, among each year the order of the works is alphabetical depending on authors.

The book closes with an *Indice de autori* [Author's Index], designed to facilitate the easy retrieval of the items.

It is certitude that this editorial issue of major interest not only for the historians generally focused upon the Romanian modern history, but also for the archivists that are in charge of the documentary material dating in the time of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, facilitating the individual study necessary for studies and documentary exhibitions.

Arcadie M. Bodale

Virginia Isac, *Principele Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Scrisori din exil. 1866-1873* [Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Letters from Exile. 1866-1873], Iași, Editura Junimea, 2007, 148 p.

Virginia Isac came into contact with the archives since she was a student, when Professor Alexandru Gonța brought the students in his class of Romanian history to the State Archives in Iași. There, he urged them to work directly with the original documents. This fact inspired them with love for document, which Virginia Isac would observe since 1951, when she became employee at this institution. In this position, she was able to gain a particular place among the archivists at the State Archives in Iași. After her retirement, she continued her research work in the archives and libraries in Romania, especially those in Iași and Bucharest.

Thus, Virginia Isac made systematic investigations at the National Archives in Bucharest (*Casa Regală* [Royal House] fonds), National Archives in Iași, Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (Cuza Archive), National Library (Mihail Kogălniceanu fonds) and Union Museum in Iași. Among the numerous documents and unpublished information she detected, one should note those regarding the period of exile of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza and his family.

These were gathered in the volume *Principele Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Scrisori din exil. 1866-1873*. The work contains 48 documents, numbered with Arab figures, written in Romanian and French, the latter presenting also the translation. One could add a facsimile in German referring to the registration of Al. I. Cuza's family in the Register of Population in Viena, dated in December 1867.

Naturally, the greatest number of these documents are letters of the former prince now in exile and, after his passing away, of his wife Elena.

It is about Al. I. Cuza's letters dated between May 10, 1866 and April 25, 1873, and directed to Carol Davila, Vasile Alecsandri, Prince Carol I, Emperor Napoleon III, Iordache Lambrino (prince's friend and brother-in-law), Costache Negri, Ilariu Isvoranu (prefect of Mehedinți, where Cuza was elected as deputy in absence), Grigore Balș (president of the Senate), Teodor Vasiliu (employee at the Romanian Railroads), Teodor Veisa (deputy president of the Senate), Petru Grădișteanu (politician and member of the Academy), Manelas Ghermani (banker and high official in the Ministry of Finances and afterwards in the National Bank of Romania), the Council of Ministers of Romania, and also to Empress Eugenia and Duke Grammont, the widow and respectively the representative of the former emperor of France, Napoleon III. Among these letters, the editor also inserted the receipt in September 11, 1867, according to which Al. I. Cuza bought Manner house in Döbling, in the neighbourhood of Vienna, where he wrote the most of the letters included in this volume; the leasing contract of Ruginoasa estate concluded between the former prince and Smaranda Docan (dated in June 11/23, 1868); Alexandru Ioan Cuza's will on December 27, 1872/January 8, 1873 (presented as facsimile), and a bond of payment signed by the former prince according to which a sum of 7,000 golden napoleons were to be paid.

The editor adds Elena Cuza's letter to the court of Suceava county in order that Ruginoasa estate be inventoried and the minute for the inventory drawn up by the letter in May 29-June 30, 1873), an excerpt of Alexandru Ioan Cuza's death from the civil register of the commune of Ruginoasa, along with a minute of the sell of the buildings abroad in the benefit of the former prince's family.

In the end, the editor attaches photos of the villa in Florence and of the memorial plaque put on the place of the house in Ober Döbling, in which Alexandru Ioan Cuza lived during his exile.

The volume comes to an end with *Lista documentelor* [Documents' list], containing the date, the addressee, and their abstract.

Meanwhile, the editor compels the attention that this volume could be completed with other letters, about which one knows that they existed, as the archives and libraries would reveal their secrets to the scholars.

The documents are accompanied by the critical apparatus necessary for such an investigation, which is settled immediately after the transcription of the original document. As such, for the documents in French, this apparatus is always in front of the editor's translation.

The work has a particular importance, both for historians and for the common public, since it introduces a series of documents less known in the scientific milieu. As a matter of fact, by now, the acts regarding the period of the exile have been published only sporadically or in fragments. In addition, this volume completes the editions of documents that have included the letters of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza in his youth and during his rule.

Arcadie M. Bodale

Virginia Isac & Aurica Ichim, *Principesa Elena Cuza. Corespondență și acte. 1840-1909* [Princess Elena Cuza. Correspondence and Acts. 1840-1909], Iași, Editura Junimea, 2009, 464 p.

To a significant extent, this work is the result of the activity and scientific strictness of one of the most noted Romanian archivists, Virginia Isac. The idea belongs to her and originates in her ample researches in the Romanian archives and libraries. Co-opting Aurica Ichim in this project, a very appropriate organizer, the endeavor came into being. Virginia Isac detected the documents in the Central Historical National Archives and the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, at the National Archives in Iași and Drobeta-Turnu Severin, and also from various publications, while Aurica Ichim discovered several acts in the National Library in Bucharest and made photocopies of all the documents she detected. Afterwards, taking advantage of her rich experience in editing medieval and modern documents, Virginia Isac copied and translated the acts, made the footnotes and indices and corrected the whole text. As a result, the volume *Principesa Elena Cuza. Corespondență și acte. 1840-1909* was issued at Junimea publishing house in Iași. The work was presented on April 12, aprilie 2009 at Solești, where one could find out the ruins of the former mansion where Elena Cuza was born, on the occasion of the commemoration of 100 years since the former first lady of the United Principalities passed away.

The volume begins with a *Notă asupra ediției* [Note about the edition], followed by *Corespondență* [Correspondence] heading. 240 letters written by Elena Cuza are gathered here, dated between January 11, 1840 and February 13, 1909. They were sent to her parents Ecaterina and Iordache Rosetti, her friend and then brother-in-law Iordache Lambrino, her sister Zoe Lambrino, her husband Alexandru Ioan Cuza, her cousins Elena Beldiman and Dimitrie A. Sturdza, her nephews Dimitrie Lambrino and Alexandru C. Cuza, then to Vasile Alecsandri, Dionisie Romano Bishop of Buzău, Nicolae Kretzulescu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Dimitrie Gr. Ghica, Mihai Gr. Sturdza, miss Ida Vegezzi Ruscala, Ermiona Quinet (b. Asachi), Elena Bărcănescu, Olimpia Gross, Ana Davila, Zulnia Sturdza, Paulina Alecsandri, Maria Bogdan, Eugenia, Carol Davila, Baligot de Beyne, bishop Iosif Bobulescu, King Carol I and Queen Elisabeta, General Ioan Em. Florescu, princess Iulia Obrenovici, Costache Negri, Constantin Cazimir, Efreim Ghermani, Tudorachi Vasiliu, Ștefan Chimet, Dimitrie C. Butculescu, Pulcheria and Theodor Rosetti, Titu Maiorescu, A. D. Xenopol, Vasile Kogălniceanu, colonel Lipan, count Gloria, deputy V. A. Urechia, G. Vrabie, prefects of Covurlui and Roman, State Secretary of Moldavia, Council of Ministers, University of Iași, citizens of the cities of Galați and Huși, municipal councils in Tg. Ocna and in the commune of Cuza Vodă, the

board of the schoolmasters in Iași, Romanian Academic Society, Council of Family, Cuza-Vodă Economic-Commercial Society in Filioara, Committee of the Inauguration of Cuza-Vodă School in Galați and to a maid-servant Marghioala. There are attached the letters received by Elena Cuza from the French colony in Florence, from Prince Mihai Gr. Sturdza, Duke Gramont, Princess Iulia Obrenovici, Count Gloria and King Carol I. At last, the same section includes the counterfoils of the passports released to Elena Cuza and her relatives, and also the act of Elena Cuza's decease.

We must specify that a part of the letters included in this section had also been published in the volume signed by D. Ivănescu and V. Isac, *Alexandru Ioan Cuza. Acte și scrisori*, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1973. Nevertheless, their recent republishing in alphabetical order offers a new image of Elena Cuza's personality and feelings.

Section *Acte* [Acts] follows and contains 36 documents referring to the adoption of children Alexandru and Dimitrie Cuza by Alexandru Ioan Cuza and his wife, Elena, the succession of the wealth inherited from Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the sale of the family's buildings abroad, the purchasing of houses in Iași, the obligation to pay off a debt, the wills and the acts of decease of princes Alexandru Al. Cuza and Dimitrie Al. Cuza, the debate over prince Alexandru Al. Cuza's succession and acts of charity towards Caritatea Hospital.

Further down, inside of *Addenda* heading, the editors include the 17 letters discovered by Aurica Ichim at National Library of Romania.

The volume comes to an end by inserting a *indice de nume* [index of names] and *cuprinsul* [summary] of the work. This latter is extremely useful, since it is drawn up as a list – alphabetical and chronological – of the addressees and of succinct summaries of the documents.

All the acts in this work are published in chronological order, depending on sections. The greatest number of letters was written in French, but in this volume they are published along with the translation in Romanian. Unfortunately, during the make-up process, the setter of the text made confusion between article *le* and *ce* when dealing with the date in French, and the editors lost sight of this detail.

Many letters are also accompanied by rich notes that generously offer information about characters and facts, so that the reader easily understands the text. In addition, all the documents have information about the place where the previous editions are preserved. This critical apparatus is settled immediately after the transcription of the original document. Therefore, in the case of the documents written in French, this apparatus is always before the translation.

Moreover, this work completes the study drawn up by Lucia Borș, *Doamna Elena Cuza*, which was published in four editions between 1936 and 1992.

At the same time, the editors deplore the fact that a great part of the correspondence of Elena Cuza have been lost, some of the letters being destroyed by herself, while others have remained unidentified in the libraries and archives in Romania and abroad.

Arcadie M. Bodale

Rețete cercate în număr de 500 din bucătăria cea mare a lui Robert, întâiul bucătar al Curții Franței, potrivit pentru toate stările, traduse de Postelnicul Manolachi Drăghici [Des recettes vérifiées en nombre de 500 de la grande cuisine de Robert, grand cuisinier à la Cour de France, appropriées pour toutes les états, traduites par Postelnicul Manolachi Draghici] (éditeurs Olga Rusu, Constantin-Armand Vizitiu), Iași, Editions Opera Magna, 2005, 331 p.

Le volume de recettes culinaires proposé par les éditeurs Olga Rusu et Constantin-Armand Vizitiu a été traduit du français par *Postelnic* Manolachi Drăghici et publié pour la première fois à l'imprimerie de l'Institut de l'Abeille à Jassy en 1846.

Fonctionnaire d'Etat (*dregător, postelnic*) et mémorialiste moldois, il avoue dans le *Préambule* sa crainte que "plusieurs me critiqueront, même maudiront, pour avoir fait un travail qui rassemble des connaissances tellement ordinaires", mais en même temps il considère sa démarche comme nécessaire "à l'usage de tous ceux qui le désirent et pour l'apprentissage des travaux domestiques (*rânduelei*), qui est le fondement de la santé, du bien vivre et de l'économie des familles" (p. 4).

Manolachi Drăghici n'a pas été un vrai professionnel de la cuisine, mais un passionné de la gastronomie qui a osé, en publiant une des premières livres de recettes roumaines, assumer une mission avec un résultat incertain, dans un domaine peu fréquenté. Pourtant, sa démarche n'était pas une nouveauté absolue, son livre étant contemporain avec le plus célèbre "*200 rețete cercate de bucate, prăjituri și alte trebi gospodărești* [200 recettes culinaires vérifiées, gâteaux et d'autres devoirs domestiques]", signée par Constantin Negruzzi et Mihail Kogălniceanu, paru toujours à Jassy, en 1841.

Après une longue période dans laquelle l'art culinaire avait constamment mélangé les traditions autochtones avec les influences de la cuisine orientale (grecque, arabe, arménienne, byzantine) introduites dans les Principautés Roumaines dans la période de la suzeraineté ottomane, le XIX^{ème} siècle met en évidence la tendance d'occidentalisation de la cuisine roumaine. Cette nouvelle direction est particulièrement promue par les élites autochtones, par les étrangers établis dans les Principautés et par la génération de 1848 qui avait expérimenté à Vienne, à Paris ou à Berlin les raffinements de la gastronomie occidentale.

La première section du volume publié en 2005 réunit les interventions des éditeurs (p. XI-XXXVI). Dans sa *Note sur l'édition*, Olga Rusu apprécie que, en raison de simplifier la lecture, le texte initial a été transcrit de l'écriture cyrillique en écriture latine et adapté aux normes orthographiques en vigueur, sans pour autant diminuer le charme de la langue roumaine vieillie. Les éditeurs offrent des repères biographiques sur Manolachi Drăghici, savant que la postérité a retenu grâce à sa chronique *Istoria Moldovei pe timp de 500 de ani până în zilele noastre* [Histoire de la Moldavie durant cinq cents ans jusqu'à nos jours], publiée à Jassy en 1857 (p. XXI), et ils font une courte incursion dans la cuisine française moderne qui relève l'intérêt de plus en plus accru de l'haute société pour respecter une étiquette stricte à la table.

La recherche de la beauté, de l'harmonie et du raffinement gastronomique, de même que les nouvelles méthodes complexes de l'art culinaire commencent à remporter

sur la quantité des plats. Les informations sur Robert, ancien cuisinier du prince de Condé, sont rares et contradictoires, ce qui fait les auteurs admettre la possibilité que “Robert soit un nom générique à l’abri duquel l’éditeur a recueilli les plus importantes recettes et les recommandations culinaires du temps” (p. XXXIV).

La seconde section comprend le livre de recettes traduites par *Postelnicul* Manolachi Draghici en 1846, l’intention des éditeurs étant celui de reproduire avec fidélité les recettes de maître Robert. Après la préface, les 500 recettes sont regroupées dans 33 chapitres suivis par la Table de matières. Une annexe très utile est aussi le Glossaire (p. 303-320) qui explique les termes archaïques qui apparaissent dans le texte, en facilitant la lecture.

Les mets sont regroupés selon des sortes; on découvre 46 recettes de soupes et bouillons, une vraie abondance de “sauces grandes ou petits” et beaucoup de garnitures pour les mets de viande. Les 185 recettes préparation de la viande (85 seulement pour la viande de vache et veau, les autres pour la brebis ou l’agneau, porc, dindons (*claponi*), colombs (*hulubi*), l’oie, la cane domestique (*rățe domesnice*) démontre que, à ce moment-là, c’était un aliment fondamental pour ceux qui se permettaient ce luxe. Le gibier et le poisson étaient fréquemment présents sur les tables des boyards moldois, et pour cela le livre du maître Robert propose des mets à viande de chevron, lièvre, perdrix, cailles, espèces de cannes sauvages, esturgeons, brochets, carpes, écrevisses.

On ajoute à ces sortes les plats de légumes, appropriés pour les longues journées de jeûne, mais aussi des desserts, crèmes, gelées, glaces, compotes, confiseries. La lecture suggère aux gourmands un vrai festin gustatif, grâce aux épices et assaisonnements (poivre, cannelle, piment, cardamome, basilic, oignon, cumin, thym, livèche, persil, ail) qui ajoutent des saveurs pour chaque plat. Les recettes sont accompagnées de conseils pratiques, de sorte que ceux qui le désirent peuvent facilement les expérimenter.

La provenance occidentale des mets est mentionnée parfois dans leur titre (*Supă de găluștele italienești* – p. 17, *Pâne de orez americană* – p. 19, *Sos mare spaniolesc* – p. 28, *Sos olandez* – p. 39, *But de oaie, mâncare franțuzească* – p. 114, *Plăcintă englezească de hulubi* – p. 164, *Gato nemțesc* – 225, *Flan portughez* – p. 244), mais les passionnés peuvent y découvrir les spécialités du fameux maître cuisinier, nommées comme tels (*Sauce Robert* – p. 80, *Piepturi de rață sălbatică, mâncare Robert* – p. 151).

Malgré son titre qui annonce que le livre du maître Robert est “accessible pour toutes les états sociales”. la réalité est assez différente. Les ingrédients chers faisaient que seulement l’haute société se permette d’expérimenter la plupart des mets du livre. Le moment du repas était vu comme un événement social, digne pour autant d’une attention spéciale accordée à la décoration festive, élégante, suivant une étiquette stricte. On présente également les règles de rangement pour une table de 24-30 personnes, que pour 50 personnes (p. 296-299).

Le temps prolongé de cuisson des ingrédients, la méticulosité et l’astuce des cuisiniers constituaient les secrets de la réussite finale : les préparés très variés, savoureux et raffinés. Les recettes rapides étaient dignes de mépris, n’ayant rien à faire avec l’art culinaire, mais visant uniquement le but ignoble et élémentaire du rassasiement, et les noms de ces mets (par exemple: *Mâncare de curcă pentru femei leneșe / Plat de dinde pour les femmes paresseuses* – p. 156) expriment carrément l’opinion du chef Robert.

“Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai qui tu es” invitait le célèbre gourmet français Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin ses contemporains au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, une vérité qui n’a pas perdu d’actualité. La manière de manger définit une communauté et, avec d’autres traits qui décrivent la réalité quotidienne, reconstitue la mentalité de celle-ci. Les vieilles livres de recettes, issues des nécessités pratiques, offrent aujourd’hui la possibilité l’explorer un monde disparu.

Vue de cette perspective, le livre de recettes traduite par *postelnicul* Manolachi Draghici reflète les habitudes culinaires autochtones, mais surtout les aspirations sociales de la communauté auquel il appartient, il éduque les goûts des boyards moldois et, en même temps, propose une alternative à la cuisine traditionnelle. Contrairement au volume de Kogalniceanu et Negruzzi, qui avait connu un grand succès à l’époque, republié trois fois, le livre de recettes du maître Robert, pourtant que nécessaire, n’a pas connu de célébrité et fut rapidement tombé en oubli des contemporains de Manolache Draghici.

La réédition des *Recettes* par Olga Rusu et Constantin-Armand Vizitiu, 159 ans après la première parution, nous permet de jeter un clin d’œil dans l’intimité d’un monde roumain en cours de modernisation et de reconstituer les aspirations de raffinement de l’élite autochtone à la moitié du XIX^{ème} siècle.

Nous ne pouvons pas manquer d’avouer que cette année, en préparant l’exposition *Recettes culinaires et menus. Un essai d’histoire gastronomique*, nous avons découvert un exemplaire du volume de 1846 et nous avons ressenti le désir de ramener à l’attention du public les vieilles recettes du maître Robert par une réédition de ce livre-document. Inutile à dire, notre intention est restée muette devant le fait accompli déjà il y a quelques années par Olga Rusu et Constantin-Armand Vizitiu, ce livre que nous saluons.

Elena Mușat

Mihai Croitor, Sanda Borșa, *În numele revoluției: Mao și cultura politică chineză* [Au nom de la révolution: Mao et la culture politique chinoise], Cluj-Napoca, Editions Mega, 2008, 578 p.

Ce livre publié à Cluj par les historiens Mihai Croitor et Sanda Borșa attire l’attention par le thème peu recherchée dans notre pays et il est impressionnant par l’abondance et la variété des sources historiques. L’objectif du volume est de faire une analyse du régime communiste chinois dans les étapes des réformes de Mao Zedong et des conséquences politiques et sociales de la révolution maoïste. Organisé en neuf chapitres, l’ouvrage analyse la genèse et l’évolution du régime communiste en Chine dans le contexte de la guerre froide, des conflits et des négociations avec l’U.R.S.S. et l’évolution interne du Parti Communiste Chinois, tout ce qui est du rôle et de la place de la Chine dans le système international dans la période 1949-1976.

Dans le premier chapitre, Sanda Borșa met en évidence les traits caractéristiques du communisme chinois, tels la position et le rôle des paysans, considérés comme la base du régime et le subjectivisme, les contradictions des décisions de Mao en ce qui concerne la réforme communiste du milieu rural. L’auteur souligne le caractère précipité et parfois inefficace des réformes dans le domaine de l’agriculture dans la phase initiale de la révolution maoïste.

La victoire des communistes chinois devant l'énorme inflation, le support consistant des paysans (presque 90% habitaient dans le milieu rural pauvre) ont engendré la nécessité d'une réforme agraire. La réforme agraire de 28 juin 1950 avait comme but la destruction des grands propriétaires foncières et la réalisation d'une production agricole adéquate, réalisées d'une manière différente du modèle soviétique. Dans une première phase, entre 1952 et 1955, la collectivisation s'est réalisée en Chine d'une manière graduelle, avec la collaboration (non pas avec l'extermination, selon le modèle soviétique) des paysans riches. L'application de la réforme agraire a eu comme conséquence l'attribution des terres pour 60% de la population rurale de 40% des terrains cultivables de la Chine.

C'était une mesure à l'avantage des paysans riches et moyens et le surplus produit par l'agriculture n'a été qu'en partie dirigé vers le développement de l'industrie. Cette dynamique lente de la collectivisation a été changée par Mao en 1955, quand il a décidé d'en accroître le rythme, en imposant en même temps l'idée que la collectivisation de l'agriculture soit une étape préalable au développement industriel. C'est la période des procès-spectacles, terminés avec l'exécution des anciens grands propriétaires (les chiffres ne sont pas sûrs, probablement entre 200.000 et 2.000.000).

Les deux chapitres suivants, amples, bien documentés (incluant des transcrits des discussions des leaders chinois, soviétiques, coréens et américains, des notes critiques avec beaucoup d'informations) présentent l'évolution de la Chine sur le plan des relations internationales, l'alliance avec l'Union Soviétique et l'implication dans la guerre de Corée. Il y a une analyse détaillée de la séparation des deux Corées, l'instauration deux régimes politiques différents, le rôle politique et militaire des Etats Unis et de l'URSS, le déroulement de la guerre entre la Corée de Nord et la Corée de Sud (1950-1953), les plans chinois d'intervention dans le conflit coréen, les actions militaires chinoises et les négociations de paix.

La relation avec l'U.R.S.S. est suivie dans la perspective de la sécurité et de l'idéologie. La valeur documentaire du volume est démontrée aussi par la comparaison des sources documentaires chinoises et russes, par exemple des documents concernant les discussions entre Staline et Mao (décembre 1949-février 1950). Elles ont un contenu similaire, ainsi les mémoires de Shi Zhe coïncident avec les versions russes. La loyauté de Mao Zedong envers les valeurs du marxisme-léninisme est doutée par les soviétiques, la *déviaton maoïste* consistait dans la primordialité du rôle de la population rurale dans la révolution et non pas du prolétariat urbain, comme dans la doctrine soviétique. Les discussions ont été un assez stériles, les négociations détaillées étant entre Andrei Vychinski et Zhou Enlai qui ont parlé sur les principes du traité d'Amitié, Alliance et Assistance Mutuelle signé le 14 février 1950. Dans ce contexte, jusqu'en 1956, la collaboration sino-soviétique a été pleine et entière dans la politique extérieure.

Dans le IV^{ème} chapitre est analysée la nouvelle révolution maoïste commencée en 1956, et les auteurs mettent en évidence l'option de Mao pour une modernisation économique par bonds, basée sur l'improvisation, mobilisation et la spontanéité des masses. Mao disait que la révolution socialiste (la collectivisation des moyens de production a été terminée en 1957) sera suivie par une révolution en idéologie et en politique, et puis par une révolution technologique. Trois "expérimentes maoïstes" s'en suivirent, dont les échecs avaient provoqué des millions de victimes: *le Mouvement des Cent Fleurs, le Grand Bond en Avant, la Révolution Culturelle*.

Le Mouvement des Cent Fleurs (mai-juin 1957) avait comme but de stimuler la réaction des intellectuels contre les abus du régime, donc un moment de détente politique arrêté après cinq semaines par la *Campagne des Droitiers*.

Ensuite, en 1957-1958, une nouvelle vision maoïste a imposé le développement économique en bonds, basée sur la mobilisation du potentiel démographique immense de la Chine (selon le recensement de 1952, la population de la Chine 450 millions, mais les résultats finaux 582 millions). Le grand bond en avant (1958-1961) a été une forme d'organisation qui combinait l'agriculture, l'industrie, le commerce, la culture et l'éducation. L'agriculture étant le moteur économique de la Chine, on avait mis l'accent sur l'importance des communes populaires comme des unités territoriales et sociales conformément à la vision maoïste, où il n'y avait pas de propriété privée et tout était partagé. Les plus de 700.000 de coopératives agricoles étaient réorganisés et transformés en 20.000 communes populaires.

Pour le développement de l'agriculture, Mao considérait nécessaire un programme en huit points : la popularisation des nouvelles semences et espèces de plantes agricoles, la plantation épaisse, le labour profond, l'accroissement de la fertilité (par l'utilisation des engrais naturels, même des cheveux des femmes!), innovation des outils agricoles, accroissement de la qualité du système d'arrosage. La bonne production agricole de 1958 avait déterminé qu'au mois d'octobre les écoles et les universités soient closes, les élèves et les étudiants envoyés dans les zones rurales pour amasser les récoltes. Pourtant, à cause de la hausse des exportations et de la baisse des importations de graines et, en 1959, à cause de la sécheresse, des inondations, des ouragans, la famine s'était installée dans les familles de millions de paysans pauvres.

Les effets du *Grand Bond en Avant* ont été considérés remarquables dans le domaine de l'industrie (pourtant la hausse économique chinoise a été retardée pour une décennie !) et désastreux pour la société chinoise: environ 38 millions de morts (ou même 50-60 millions selon d'autres sources) entre 1958 et 1961, famine, terreur, exécutions sommaires, centaines de cas de cannibalisme.

Le cinquième chapitre de l'ouvrage présente l'évolution des relations internationales et la chute des relations sino-russes auprès du XX^{ème} Congrès du PCUS de 1956 (le premier congrès soviétique après la mort de Staline, qui a été critiqué), la crise étant provoquée non pas par les différences idéologiques, mais par l'échec du programme militaire commun de 1958. Ces relations ont été mis en tension par les attaques de la Chine contre les îles Quemoy et Matsu le 23 août 1958, comblées en 1969 par les incidents armés aux frontières sino-soviétiques – voir le VIII^{ème} chapitre ; temporisées par la détente sino-américaine dans les années maoïstes 1949-1976 (en février 1972, le président américain Nixon visitait la Chine, en marquant la normalisation des relations entre les deux Etats).

Le VI^{ème} chapitre reconstitue le moment du début de la *Révolution Culturelle* à Shanghai, lancée par Mao en janvier 1965 (on considère sa fin en 1969, mais en réalité elle s'est prolongée jusqu'à la mort de Mao en 1976). Une action spécifique à cette campagne maoïste a été la relocalisation des intellectuels à la campagne, afin qu'ils apprennent des paysans les valeurs prolétaires. Ce chapitre, très étendu, environ 100 pages, retrace en détail les actions d'élimination des adversaires politiques. Dans les années 1968-1969 a eu lieu une nouvelle initiative maoïste, très violente (beaucoup de gens ont été arrêtés, mutilés ou tués), la *Campagne de la Suppression des Rangs de Classe*, point culminant de la Révolution Culturelle, aboutie à sa fin auprès du IX^{ème}

Congrès du P.C.C., en avril 1969, qui marque le moment du pouvoir complet de l'idéologie maoïste.

Le VII^{ème} chapitre décrit le déroulement et les bases idéologiques et sociales de la *Révolution Culturelle*. "Le petit livre rouge" connaît une vaste circulation: recueil de 427 citations de Mao, "Le Grand Dirigeant", avec une structure thématique. Le 18 août 1966 a eu lieu la première des huit rencontres entre le Grand Dirigeant et les Gardes Rouges dans la Place Tiananmen de Beijing. Sous l'influence de cette propagande idéologique, des abus furent commis (perquisitions, confiscations, pillages) contre les catégories dites *noires* (au début 5, ensuite 7, puis 9, y compris les professeurs, des traitres, les espions, les capitalistes, les intellectuels); en même temps, les Gardes Rouges ont pris des mesures contre les intellectuels, artistes, même profanation des tombeaux, délocalisation des populations urbaines.

Une sorte de *tourisme révolutionnaire* fut organisé, avec de graves conséquences: épidémies de méningite cérébrospinale avec 3,04 millions de cas et 160.000 morts. Des millions de jeunes agissaient dans de différentes zones, en bénéficiant de transportation et hébergement gratuites, et la production industrielle souffrait des pertes. Les purges ont continué: Liu Shaoqi, le président de la République Chinoise, et beaucoup d'autres.

Le livre clôt avec une partie dédiée à la fin de l'époque maoïste, en suivant les conséquences de la *Révolution Culturelle*, mais aussi de l'entière époque Mao et l'émergence des nouveaux leaders communistes. La visite du président Nixon dans la Chine au mois de février 1972 a été la dernière victoire politique de Mao. Le 9 septembre 1976, Mao mourait. Deng Xiaoping, le leader du P.C.C. depuis 1978, commencera un long procès de "réconciliation avec le passé" et puis "le miracle chinois", l'essor économique de la Chine comme puissance globale.

Nous voulons remarquer les annexes qui contiennent un guide de transcription des noms chinois, un riche glossaire des personnalités et un corpus documentaire (incluant beaucoup de documents: proclamations, télégrammes, transcriptions des discussions entre Staline et Mao, Khrouchtchev et Mao, des rapports, des lettres et documents d'archives, fonds C.C. du P.C.R., section Relations Externes), des photos prises à l'occasion des rencontres politiques roumaines-chinoises.

La bibliographie est riche, moderne et actualisée: de nombreux atlas, dictionnaires, encyclopédies, mémoires, documents, des biographies, des synthèses, le périodique *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, études et articles, la plupart des sources étant américaines, beaucoup de ressources en ligne. On remarque aussi que de nombreuses citations (la plupart étant des fragments des discours ou des discussions de Mao) dans le texte, dans les notes critiques, sont présentées uniquement en anglais (p. 34-38, 177, 190 et autres).

L'introduction est assez minimale: brève présentation des chapitres et, un peu plus vaste, une présentation des sources bibliographiques. Notre critique porte aussi sur le premier chapitre, dédié à l'instauration du régime communiste en Chine, qui est trop limité, superficiel, rapporté à son rôle explicatif et représentatif, si l'on compare avec le VI^{ème} chapitre, par exemple. On aurait attendu de lire la moindre biographie, le moindre commentaire contenant les opinions des auteurs sur le personnage principal, Mao Zedong, au moins dans le glossaire des personnalités.

L'ouvrage mérite l'appréciation pour l'ampleur, la diversité, l'actualité et la valeur des sources documentaires, par la pertinence de l'analyse historique et la touche

d'humanisme apportée par les mémoires. Par cet ouvrage (et par d'autres proposés par les deux auteurs: *Unité et conflit dans le camp communiste: la dialectique du conflit soviéto-chinois*, Cluj Napoca, éditions MEGA, 2009 et autres) nous commençons à connaître l'histoire de la Chine d'une manière plus claire, plus objective et détaillée.

Monica Negru

ARCHIVAL STUDIES IN THE WORLD

Records Management Inspection Service in Croatia (an overview from State Archive in Split)

The ancient idea and the entire concept of "archive" exist as necessary response to the practical need of a man to keep record of public, private, administrative, political and other legal transactions and events, or in order to demonstrate and illustrate relevant historical facts. Modern European archives were created by the contemporary authorities with the intent to convey conspicuous quantities of data in one, central place that can be easily accessed and consulted.

The records management inspection service as a constitutive unit within the body of the State Archives represents a specific and very useful form of cooperation between the Archives and the records creators. The main goal of the records management inspection service in Croatia are inspection, registration, appraisal, weeding approval and taking into custody of the potential archive material (acquisitions). Within the records management activity, the communication with the records creators is of extreme importance even though methodologies and models may differ from one country to another.

The "funny" fact is that for a certain part of the archival community the first impact with the expression "heritage protection of archival material" outside the archive environment does not reveal much about the records management procedures and does not disclose its full contents. To a certain point, however, the (slight) existing diversity in forms of cooperation with the creators as well as the process of the protection of archival material (in the international archival community) can be understood and even regarded as positive.

The records management inspection service (RMIS) in State Archive in Split registers and categorizes all potential records creators. The RMIS range goes from regular general inspections to extraordinary inspections, if needed. Extraordinary inspections can be necessary in case the records are being moved to another location, or in case records creators change radically their standard business organization, etc., or in any other occasion when necessary to preserve the records and guarantee their security.

The protection of archival material in Croatia is performed through the service of protection of archival material carried out outside the archives also known as records management inspection service (RMIS). The RMIS, as a process undertaken at the system level, is supposed to participate actively in creating the preconditions necessary to establish new, better standards in archive management. Before the complete assessment and classification of materials and the evaluation of the creator itself is done, one cannot expect improvements at the primary care and security level, nor is able to undertake a policy of systematic acquisitions in the archives. Long story short: no serious improvement is possible without RMIS.

Therefore, the most obvious conclusion is that neither secondary operation cannot be completed, a fact that undermines the basic function of archives. Some steps have been made to organize and standardize legal acts, classification of creators etc. and to improve work of RMIS. What is important are the ways to implement legal obligations and regulations in practice, and to standardize methods in order to turn them into a recognizable know-how. All archives in Croatia supervise the selection and preservation of archival records through regular general and extraordinary inspections. After the inspection is completed, it is customary to issue a written report with deliberations on the given measures. Experience shows that the creators' approach in the performance of their duties appears to be more serious if they are given a written document. Closely related to this topic is the control of the implementation of sets of measures given to the creators. The control and constant supervision is necessary for preservation of records.

A further task in the protection, preservation and maintenance of archives is the appraisal and weeding approval. This segment of the protection is of great significance. If RMIS does not perform this part of the process with the due accuracy, some written documents could be lost forever and some could never be substituted with materials of equal importance. While performing this vital task, archivists rely mostly on the discretion and the requirements of certain laws issued to regulate the bureaucratic and the administrative aspect of the matter without considering the high value of information from the historical point of view.

Almost all local government officials are eligible for records management assistance by the records management inspection service. They are, therefore, fully responsible for filing the records destruction notice together with the records management inspection in case any public records is destroyed within the weeding approval. All records made by the records creators or other staff members on charge of records creation (record keepers) must be catalogued in order to avoid unauthorized destruction of records. To facilitate the records creators' (record keepers) tasks, State archives create legal acts such as Lists of records containing data on the record retention period or the duration of the record in the archive i.e. whether a record will be kept forever or not.

The final phase of the process of protection of archive materials is its acquisition. If all of the above mentioned procedures are performed correctly and the level of protection and conservation at this point of the procedure is satisfying, the acquisition is a purely formal act, in accordance with legal requirements and guidelines of the archival profession. The handover must be performed with extreme care for this is the last occasion to correct omissions and to complete the incomplete files. When records are ready for the acquisition in the archives they should be completely and thoroughly organized. The records management inspection service assists and monitors the acquisition policy of the Archives due to its delicacy and importance: without the adequate records management inspection service it would not be possible to perform systematic analyses of the archives in order to preserve them and increase their efficiency as a part of the national cultural heritage.

In the late 19th century, in Croatia a theoretical connection between Archives and the records creators existed, but in practice it started to exist only after 1945. But since then a lot has changed: the modalities in which records creators operate, the way they store and manage their documents (digitalized electronic format), the media etc. In the modern era, with rapid changes occurring, it is not hard to realize the importance of

the efficiency of the updated and upgraded archive system and also that the mere inspection of the archives of records creators is not sufficient by itself to keep the system together. The best practice experiences show that the monitoring of the entire life cycle of the document is recommended. Only when RMIS are thoroughly informed about the whole process concerning the document they can be efficient in its preservation to the future generations. It is also important for the archivists to become more active in creating legal acts and professional standards regarding the records preservation based on their experience. The role and the position of modern archives and records offices are determined by a complex network of components among which there are the laws regarding the records management, the quality of the archival service, practical, continuous records consultation and rapid changing technology (digital records).

With the evolution of the records (i.e. the media on which they are saved) it is important to make sure the classic archival methods follow the pace. Electronic records topic raises a set of delicate questions of almost romantic nature such as those on the necessity of keeping traditional records and centralized archives. Nowadays, in the world of electronic records the document's life cycle is different in comparison to what it was a couple of decades ago. The documents are easier to transfer but, in the same time, more difficult to protect. A great number of archivists all over the world are now in contact with new kind of records such as virtual archives, digitalized ones, etc. In 1997, the ICA (International Council on Archives) released *The Guide for Managing Electronic Records from an Archival Perspective*. ICARUS – International Centre for Archival Research organized in Vienna in 2010 the international conference dedicated to the “Archives on the Web – Experiences, Challenges, Visions”. It is thus obvious that there is a tangible need for a fast on-line access through which the vast majority of users satisfy their necessities for images of documents with no originals needed. In the era of IT the preservation of archive documentation becomes more low cost but in the same time high quality and high tech; the people get the large amount of information in a very small amount of time increasing their research effectiveness.

However, the electronic records have not changed the basic nature of the records creation. Documents exist because the administration needs them in order to work properly and they still need to be consulted because of their value as a historical and a part of cultural heritage. The foundation of the idea of the archive has not changed a bit: the documents are preserved as evidence. What changed are the ways the documents are kept, as well as the access to the records. Unlike the paper materials or microfilms, the digital technologies allow multiple access to the same document at the same time with almost no space required. However, while electronic record technology increases the efficiency of local records, it also brings some risks: those records and their information can be easily lost.

Nowadays archivists must maintain the basic function and purpose their profession and that of archives as well and preserve documents of great historical significance no matter on what platform. Essential future challenge for the archivists is to preserve the archives importance within the administration. At the end of 2006 Croatian State Archive started the construction of a new archival information system which should cover all archival functions: storage, preservation, management and facilitate the use of archival records. ARHiNET is a web application that includes several modules: Security and authorization, Description and processing of archives, Archival register and documentation, Creators and holders of archival material, Preservation of archives,

Digital contents, and Education. It is currently the national archival system in the Republic of Croatia, and it is recognized by the Ministry of Culture as the national project, as part a of the e-Croatia program, the operational plan of the Government of the Republic of Croatia. ARHiNET serves as an integrated system on the national basis for the exchange of information among institutions that keep archival records and archives portal for all information regarding the archival material of any kind and content relevant for Croatia. This Register contains all the necessary data on fonds and collections, archival units, almost 19,500 records creators and 7,000 holders of archival material.

Another challenge of the modern records management inspection service is to organize training courses for record creators. In Split, such courses are organized about twice a year. Several members of the archive staff, from every department, give a lecture and then, about two months later, a commission from Zagreb comes to examine the record creators and issues their certificates.

The main aim of the course is to inform records creators about records management, about the tasks of archive, about legal acts and standards that concern them as records creators. Archives need to be more involved in the records creators work. The Law says the records will be taken into custody of the archives only if they are arranged and listed, so it was logical for the records management inspection service to organize education for the records creators. In that way the records management inspection service helped record creators to care for and to protect properly their records, to repair them when necessary and made preparations for taking records into custody of the archives.

The first set of regulations on the professional training of the records creators was passed in 1988. This regulation determined the degree of education for the personnel who works in the records creation, its minimum level and the timing for its examination. For example: the records creators of category I and II are obligated to give their records to archives, they must have at least one of the employees that had passed the exam. These regulations also determine the Program of the exam that consists in legal acts concerning the preservation of records, the old ones and those still active, basic business managing, basic physical preservation, registration and arranging of the records and weeding approval. One of the problems of this typology of training is that all of it is made of basic notions and mainly theoretical. There is no such section as practice even though it is the most necessary aspect of the entire training program. Furthermore, the problem that encompasses it all is that, in general, the people do not realize the real value of the primary measures of care and preservation performed by the records creators. The latter is solely a psychological fact but it is of great importance in the perspective of the perception of the appreciation the records creators might have of their work.

Conclusion

By constantly monitoring the work of records management inspection service in Croatia over a certain period of time it is obvious that some improvement must be done such as the incrementation of the staff in the records management inspection service, the necessity of the continuous work on the training of the records management inspection service personnel, incrementation of the influence on the active life of documents, establishment of homogeneous standards of records management inspection service in whole Croatia, motivation for the staff, enhancement of abilities of records management inspection in order to improve and update the existing set of laws. Long story short, the

records management inspection service is undergoing a period of evolution during which it will be “forced” to adapt.

Maja Kovačević Kuzmanić*

The Archive of Taranto Meteorological and Geophysical Observatory

The Meteorological and Geophysical Observatory “Luigi Ferrajolo¹” is located in Taranto, in the South of Italy. Even today, it is one of the most ancient observatories in Italy and abroad. In 2011 this institute celebrated 120 years of scientific life in the country.

The history of this institute is related to Luigi Ferrajolo’s life, its founder and first director between 1891 and 1968, when he decided to retire and to leave the management to the present director, Vittorio Semeraro.

According to a Ferrajolo’s interesting essay, *Profili di climatologia Tarantina* (Profiles of Taranto Climatology)², various meteorological observations in Taranto began on April 1, 1866 at the Royal Coast Guard, after the establishment of the meteorological service of Italian Navy for weather forecasting.

At the beginning, Taranto thermo-pluviometric station started working in 1878 at the city hall, but the activity was stopped in 1884³.

Luigi Ferrajolo, when he was only 13 years old, installed in his house at Via S. Martino 31 a small thermo-pluviometric station, using some rudimentary instruments that he himself built although he was very young. The observations were so accurate that impressed Cosimo De Giorgi⁴, director of Lecce Observatory and founder of *Rete*

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¹ Luigi Ferrajolo (Taranto, 1878-1971). After studying Physics of the Earth in Naples, he was the founder and first director of Taranto Meteorological and Geophysical Observatory; this institute, recognized by the Italian Ministry of Air Force, entered in the international circuit of European observatories. Later he became also a geophysicist in the Italian Royal Air Force. He was a member of several scientific associations in Italy and abroad. He also invented a simple horizontal pendulum seismograph. Among his scientific publications: *Per l'emissione di un bollettino meteorologico internazionale radiotelegrafico dall'Italia*, “La Meteorologia Pratica” 5 (1924), 4, p. 141-143; *Osservazioni meteorologiche del 1927*, Taranto, 1928; *L'andamento del clima in terra jonica nel 1928*, “Risveglio Agricolo di Taranto” 7 (1929), 4, p. 109-113; *Saggio di Climatologia aeronautica dell'isola di Rodi*, “Rivista di Meteorologia Aeronautica” 1 (1937), 3 and 4.

² Luigi Ferrajolo, *Profili di climatologia Tarantina*, “Terra Ionica”, 1926, 11-12, p. 1-14.

³ Cosimo De Giorgi, *Studi sul Clima di Lecce e della Penisola Salentina - Dal 1874 al 1892 - Relazione al Consiglio Provinciale di Terra d'Otranto, al Consiglio Municipale di Lecce ed al Comizio Agrario del Circondario di Lecce*, Lecce, 1892, p. 28.

⁴ Cosimo De Giorgi (Lizzanello, 1842-Lecce, 1922). He studied Medical Science and Surgery in Pisa and Florence. He devoted himself to study seismology, meteorology, geology, paleontology, geography, history, archeology and agriculture. In 1874 he founded Lecce Meteorological Observatory and later Salento Meteorological Network. Among his scientific publications: *Note statistiche sul clima di Lecce e della regione salentina desunte dalle osservazioni eseguite nell'Osservatorio di Lecce dal 1875 al 1914*, Lecce, 1915; *La distribuzione della pioggia sulla*

Meteorica Salentina (Salento Meteorological Network)⁵; the young boy, in fact, was selected as the person in charge for the gathering of scientific data in the Town of Taranto. Therefore, this station, created with passion and sacrifice, entered in the national network of the sensing pluviometric centres.

In 1891, Taranto thermo-pluviometric station was back in service, under Luigi Ferrajolo's direction, nominated by Lecce Observatory, fulcrum of all Salento Meteorological Network, in cooperation with the Royal Central Office of Meteorology in Rome. Taranto station was also included in the national meteorological-agrarian service and its scientific data were published in *Rivista Meteorica Agraria* (Meteorological Agrarian Review).

In 1900, the Italian Ministry of Navy decided to include Taranto Observatory in the network of Italian meteorological observatories. From this moment on, the institute started the reading of data using some instruments given by the Italian Ministry of Navy, while the other ones were bought or built by Ferrajolo himself.

In 1905, the Town Council of Taranto contributed to the efficiency of the observatory, granting a decent seat in Palazzo degli Uffici (Corso Umberto n. 14).

In 1908, during the Congress of International Association of Seismology in Rome, the International Commission of Seismology complained about the lack of a seismological observation point on the Adriatic and Ionic sides. Therefore, in the same year, it was founded a new seismological centre in Taranto.

Ferrajolo bought a Wiechert seismograph and a marine chronometer, while the Central Office of Meteorology sent a Vicentini seismograph. Therefore, Taranto Observatory entered in the international network of the meteorological and geophysical observatories.

In 1911, aerological observations began in Italy using the pilot-balloon method: Taranto observatory was the first institute in Italy to enter in the network of aerological stations installed by Engineer Corps for aerological studies and researches⁶.

During the First World War, it carried out an important signal and weather forecasting service in the Gulf of Taranto and on the Adriatic side, useful for air navigation in the war operations. In 1919 this kind of activity continued and for this it was established in the observatory the aerological centre of Low Adriatic and Ionian Seas, the first centre of regional forecasting in Italy.

penisola salentina, Lecce, 1908; *Studi sul clima di Lecce e della penisola salentina dal 1874 al 1892*, Lecce, 1892; *Cenni autobiografici*, Lecce, 1914.

⁵ It was an efficient monitoring network which, as from 1877, extended the observations to the whole province of *Terra d'Otranto* (Land of Otranto), through the work of five observatories and 32 thermopluviometrical stations, located in Brindisi, Lecce and Taranto.

⁶ The project, established by the Italian Thalassographic Committee, for the study of air flows at altitude, was composed by the main aerological station in Vigna di Valle; the first-order aerological stations in Genoa, Pavia e Stra (Veneto); the second-order aerological stations in Moncalieri, Monte Rosa (Capanna Margherita), Lesa (Lake Maggiore), Milan, Bergamo, Verona, Udine, Treviso, Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, Piacenza, Livorno, Florence, Spezia, Perugia, Rieti, Montecassino, Sassari, Mileto, Taranto, Messina, Catania, Ischia and Trapani. Taranto began to work officially on October 1, 1913.

In the same year, Taranto Observatory, along with four Italian observatories, carried out the international meteorological radiotelegraphic service, whose landmark was Paris Observatory⁷.

In 1924, this institute controlled the thermo-pluviometric network of Taranto province, giving a great contribution to the study of meteorology applied to agriculture.

In 1926, on a proposal by Ferrajolo, local government installed on Palazzo degli Uffici a *Siemens* electric clock per minute activated by the observatory chronometers, through the way of current inversion relays. That provided the speaking clock per second for the town.

In 1934, Taranto Observatory was ceded to Italian Air Force, while in 1943 the seismological station was ceded to Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica, entering in this way in the Italian geophysical net.

In the second half of the 30s, the institute began to be interested in Dodecanese area and particularly in the East Mediterranean region. Several studies and researches of Aegean Isles climatic data were undertaken, where Italian military, air and naval bases were established. Studies about Leros and Rhodes islands were published⁸.

Since 1891 Taranto Observatory, with its historical series of data, represents in fact a valued heritage for the study of Taranto climatology; in fact, it is more and more useful to agriculture, industry and local authorities which have the necessity to know the climatic situation of Taranto⁹.

The Meteorological and Geophysical Observatory "Luigi Ferrajolo" possesses an important collection of historical scientific instruments, a library and an archive. The study of the records and books allowed to gather some interesting information and then to present in 2003 my graduation thesis in Archival Science for the degree in Cultural Assets – Archival and Library Heritage (supervisor Professor Francesco de Luca, University of Salento), entitled *L'Osservatorio Meteorologico e Geofisico "Luigi Ferrajolo" di Taranto e il suo archivio*, aimed to give some historical information about this institute, about its founder and first director Luigi Ferrajolo, about relationships this Observatory had with other institutes and organizations in national and international territory, by means of the examination of the archives document, that is the written memory; this work gave the chance to write an historical and scientific reconstruction of juridical, administrative and social relations during the years, but also to obtain a list showing sketchily the documentation of the non arranged fond.

Later, in 2006, a project promoted by Soprintendenza Archivistica per la Puglia (works supervisor Angela Muscedra, archivist Marianna Capozza) and sponsored by Italian Ministry of Cultural Activities and Heritage, within the national project *Specola 2000: Apulia scientific observatories*, brought to an operation of restoration of original order of the historical archive, produced and acquired by Taranto Observatory, data processing and archival description according to the General International Standard

⁷ Other observatories were in Genoa, Florence, Messina and Rome (Centocelle).

⁸ Antonio Serra, *Su alcuni elementi meteorologici interessanti la navigazione aerea rilevati nell'isola di Lero*, "Rivista di Meteorologia Aeronautica" 1 (1937) and 2 (1938), 1; Luigi Ferrajolo, *Saggio di Climatologia aeronautica dell'isola di Rodi*, "Rivista di Meteorologia Aeronautica" 1 (1937), 3-4; M. Vinciguerra, *Vento medio a Lero*, "Rivista di Meteorologia Aeronautica", 2 (1938), 1.

⁹ Marianna Capozza, *L'Osservatorio Meteorologico e Geofisico "Luigi Ferrajolo" di Taranto*, "Cenacolo – Rivista della Società di Storia Patria – Sezione di Taranto", Taranto, 2005, p. 151-168.

Archival Description (ISAD-G) and International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (ISAAR-CPF), with a final drafting of a finding aid (analytic description of the archival units which create the archival fond, including an historical essay about the history of the institute, index and bibliography).

The documents retained represent the sedimentation of papers produced by this institute during its evolutionary phases, when the meteorological station changes into a complete observatory, with the consequent increase of its scientific activity and tasks, carried out in a large time span.

The fond is composed by registers, notebooks, files, correspondence and letters, certificates, handwritten and typewritten notes, tables, graphs, diagrams of instruments (anemograph, actinograph, barograph, barometrograph, sunshine recorder, hygrograph, microbarograph, pluviograph, thermograph, thermohygrograph) and seismographs, weather and seismic bulletins, photographs and postcards. The archive is an important heritage which emphasizes the considerable activity of this institute in the field of meteorology, climatology and seismology. Ferrajolo's correspondence and personal papers are very interesting because they prove the scientific fervour which animated scientists in the 19th-20th centuries. This archive retains also some registers of Taranto Royal Coast Guard (1885-1893), some registers of Potenza Provincial Geodynamic Observatory "Emilio Fittipaldi" (1878-1933) and a file of Taranto pluviometrical station (1878). In this project only the documents produced by the first director Luigi Ferrajolo between 1891 and 1968 were considered.

Before starting this operation of archive restoration, another project, named "SISMOS" and promoted by *Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia* (INGV), was in progress; it was about the cataloguing and digitalization of seismograms possessed by Taranto Observatory and other Italian historical observatories.

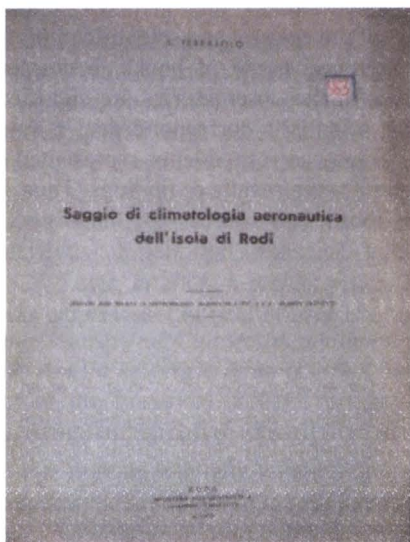
The historical research is a reconstruction of the cultural and scientific climate in which institutions and scientists worked; a background made of books, instruments, notes, cooperation among colleagues. The archives of the observatories are significant, not only for scientific observations, but also for scientist's correspondence, a valued documentary source. In the 19th and 20th century, in fact, correspondence represented one of the few ways to inform scientific community about some results or findings. Thus, it is clear the importance of historical archives and libraries as sources for the history of meteorology, seismology, geophysics and similar sciences, but also to understand scientific thinking and social changes.



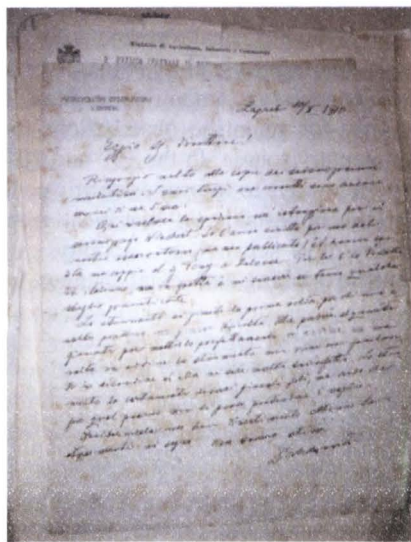
Luigi Ferrajolo (Taranto, 1878-1971)



The Wiechert horizontal component seismograph (c. 1908)



L. Ferrajolo, *Saggio di climatologia aeronautica dell'isola di Rodi*, "Rivista di Meteorologia Aeronautica" 1 (1937). 3 and 4



Letter from Zagreb Meteorological Observatory (dated October 10, 1910)



Present seat of Taranto Observatory at Via Duomo 181

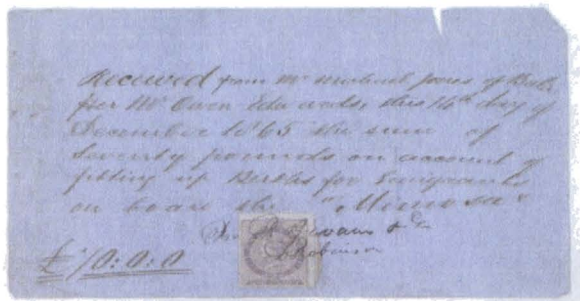
*Marianna Capozza**

Integración y proyección para proteger el patrimonio documental de la provincia del Chubut, Argentina

La provincia del Chubut, en la República Argentina, es una de las que conforman el territorio conocido como Patagonia Argentina. Creada en 1957 luego de ser administrada como Territorio Nacional, Chubut tiene una historia institucional reciente, de la mano de los acontecimientos relativos al descubrimiento del petróleo y la radicación de colonias galesas, a la vez que su pueblo tiene un sentimiento especial con sus orígenes mapuches y tehuelches.

Los archivos de la provincia del Chubut conservan así de los más variados documentos. Los historiadores de la región se han esforzado por rescatar las fuentes documentales y depositarlas en archivos, más o menos organizados, que preservaran la historiografía de su pueblo.

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Recibo, por valor de 70£ , recibido como pago de las literas fijas para los emigrantes del "Mimosa". Tomado de www.glaniad.com.

Con el tiempo, nos hemos encontrado varios profesionales trabajando en lo mismo. Es decir, instrumentando las herramientas que proporciona la ciencia archivística para preservar y poner en servicio el patrimonio documental. En un esfuerzo de unificar criterios, nos hemos puesto de acuerdo, nos hemos reunido en varias ocasiones, tales como jornadas y cursos, hasta llegar a madurar la idea de asociarnos con el fin de crear y gestionar los insumos necesarios para poder coadyuvar en el desarrollo de los archivos del territorio provincial.



Lewis Jones (1836-1904) rodeado por Tehuelches, ca 1867.
Tomado de www.glaniad.com

Así es como nace la Asociación de Administradores de Documentos y Archivos del Chubut, AADACH en sus siglas, que tiene como principal objetivo la unificación del esfuerzo humano en el planteamiento de estrategias para el desarrollo archivístico de la región.

Al ritmo del crecimiento de la ciencia archivística, las administraciones están detectando necesidades de gestionar sus documentos con efectivos métodos; ya sea con el fin de preservar para el futuro, o con el de optimizar los procesos administrativos y agilizar los trámites. Este esfuerzo de organización interna genera en cada administración una respuesta que recae en los archivos. Sin embargo, ha sido objeto de análisis para los archiveros involucrados, que estamos frente a dos condicionantes altamente decisivos: la falta de una estrategia archivística, por un lado, y la escasez de recursos humanos calificados, por el otro.

Hablar de una estrategia archivística para la provincia del Chubut nos obliga a dejar de lado la conciencia de centralizar todos los esfuerzos en la administración pública, es decir, en el gobierno provincial. Preservar el patrimonio documental histórico para el futuro de los chubutenses significa gestionar una estrategia inclusiva, en donde también las administraciones municipales, entidades culturales, bibliotecas, asociaciones, empresas privadas, cada una en su correcta medida, forme parte del esfuerzo por integrar una verdadera política documental conducente a la protección de los derechos y obligaciones fundados en los documentos.

AADACH pretende significar un canal, un medio, para que la técnica, los recursos y las decisiones políticas de todas estas instituciones sean correctamente definidas e implementadas.

Por otro lado, es preocupante la escasez de recurso humano calificado para llevar adelante semejante labor. Es por ello también que nuestra Asociación se constituye para trabajar en la capacitación del recurso humano, brindando posibilidades de crecimiento profesional a los sujetos que tanto trabajan contra viento y marea todos los días por resguardar y administrar los documentos. Todos sabemos lo que socialmente significa trabajar en un archivo. Al unísono escucharemos la palabra “castigo” al hablar de los motivos por los que una persona fue asignada en un determinado momento al archivo. De esta forma, cuando establecemos el objetivo de formar recurso humano para el territorio de la provincia, también estamos obligados a proyectar la formación de una mejor conciencia en la sociedad con respecto a los archivos.

Creemos firmemente que, en la medida que crezca la conciencia del pueblo del valor de los documentos y la importancia de los mismos en todas las etapas de su ciclo de vida, desde el resguardo de derechos y garantías hasta el fiel retrato del pasado, lograremos que poco a poco las instituciones también valoren al trabajador de archivos y la importancia de brindarle las herramientas de trabajo para el logro de los objetivos planteados.

Por supuesto sabemos que nuestro trabajo es generacional. Son los jóvenes de hoy los que valorarán y preservarán el patrimonio el día de mañana. No es una tarea fácil y nuestro accionar en la provincia del Chubut representará estar interconectados en forma permanente con la labor legislativa y la educación, poniendo todo cuanto esté a nuestro alcance para lograr el sostenimiento de la investigación en un esfuerzo por lograr que exista una política archivística y una estrategia para poder implementarla, con el correcto fundamento científico.

La publicación de material, manuales, procedimientos y mejores prácticas también será parte de nuestra labor diaria para lograr nuestros objetivos. Nos espera también el desarrollo de herramientas informáticas, que aplicadas al quehacer archivístico son de gran relevancia, ya que constituyen la interfaz necesaria con los usuarios y sistematiza el correcto uso de las herramientas de información, favoreciendo la

prevalencia de la información y la comprensión necesaria por parte del usuario, ya que se une así nuestro trabajo con sus necesidades.

Por último, desde AADACH esperamos que las instituciones comprendan que los mejores resultados son los que se obtienen del trabajo en equipo. La base de nuestra labor será la cooperación y esperamos tener la oportunidad de asesorar a las administraciones con el fin de beneficiar al pueblo de Chubut.



Logo de la Asociación

Federico Taboada Cardoso

Paul Morand a été redécouvert à Bucarest...

...par une lecture, un colloque et une exposition, événements organisés par l'Ambassade de France en Roumanie et de l'Institut culturel français de Bucarest au mois de septembre 2009.

Homme aux multiples visages – diplomate, poète, voyageur, journaliste, romancier, nouvelliste, historien et académicien, Paul Morand (1888-1976) “incarne la figure de l'Européen”; il est “un trait d'union entre Paris et Bucarest”¹ et “l'écrivain français qui s'est le plus intéressé à la Roumanie, à son époque”² a expliqué l'ambassadeur de la France en Roumanie, M. Henri Paul, lors d'une conférence de presse dédiée à cet événement.

Représentant de l'époque artistique effervescente des années vingt à Paris, fréquentant des artistes, des écrivains, des diplomates, industriels, Paul Morand décrit cette époque vue de l'intérieur. Par Hélène Morand, la cosmopolite princesse Soutzo (née en Roumanie dans la famille des banquiers Chrisoveloni), qu'il rencontre en 1917 et il épouse en 1922, également Roumaine, Grecque, Triestine et Française, Morand fait connaissance de la Roumanie et inscrit Bucarest dans son œuvre littéraire parmi les trois mémorables portraits de villes, à côté de Londres et de New York. En 1943 il rejoint Bucarest en tant que diplomate, représentant du régime de Vichy. Il quitte son poste au printemps 1944 et se rend pour longtemps indésirable au régime gaulliste.

On pourrait dire que non seulement Bucarest redécouvre Paul Morand, mais cet événement est le premier qui ait jamais été dédié. Un des commissaires de l'exposition, Michel Collomb, professeur à l'Université de Montpellier, eut récemment l'initiative d'édition des œuvres complètes de Paul Morand dans la Bibliothèque de la Pléiade aux éditions Gallimard.

L'événement qui remet en lumière l'écrivain français, comprends plusieurs moments: une lecture de Michel Favory de la Comédie Française du texte “Route de Paris à la Méditerranée” dans l'Atrium de l'Institut français de Bucarest, un colloque international à l'Aula Magna de la Bibliothèque Universitaire qui réunit professeurs, critiques littéraires, écrivains, historiens intervenant sur des sujets aussi divers comme les liens de Paul Morand avec l'avant-garde littéraire roumaine, Morand le diplomate etc. Les facettes de la personnalité et de l'œuvre de Morand ont été mises en évidence par Catherine Douzou, Marc Lambron, Andrei Pippidi, Carol Iancu, Ion Pop, Simona Modreanu, Dominique Fernandez, Adrien Goetz, Michel Collomb; les travaux du colloque sont réunis dans un remarquable volume édité par Svetlana Cârstea.

L'exposition organisée au sein des Archives Nationales de Roumanie a été le troisième moment de l'événement, restituant au public des documents intimes et officiels, manuscrits et éditions rares, des dessins à l'encre faits par l'écrivain et photographies qui

¹ Olivier Bosc dans l'“Introduction” au volume dédiée aux actes du colloque *Paul Morand, l'Européen*, p. 9.

² “Bucarest hebdo”, <http://www.bucarest-hebdo.ro/index.php?page=detalii&categorie=loisir&id=20090921-496>, édité en édition 330, p. 7 à 2009-09-22.

aideront à restituer l'image de cette personnalité complexe. Les documents proviennent de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, des Archives du Quai d'Orsay, de l'Institut de France, Bibliothèque Nationale de Roumanie, Archives Nationales de Roumanie et Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères de Roumanie, collections privées.

Les Archives Nationales de Roumanie ont contribué à cet événement avec des documents confirmant la visite de Morand en Roumanie, ses incursions dans les sites touristiques, au théâtre, à la Maison Royale et à la famille Bratianu, tandis que la période de sa mission diplomatique en tant que représentant de la France dans la Commission européenne du Danube.

L'exposition a bénéficié d'une mise en scène faite par l'architecte Attila Kim et le designer Ciprian Țocu, un concept original qui réussit à particulariser l'espace d'exposition dans le hall central des Archives Nationales, donc dans un bâtiment qui vit une vie professionnelle distincte.



Laura Dumitru

L'exposition 130 ans de relations diplomatiques entre la Roumanie et la France, la Grande Bretagne et l'Allemagne

Le 8/20 février 1880, les missions diplomatiques de la France, de l'Allemagne et de la Grande Bretagne ont transmis au ministère des Affaires Etrangères de la Roumanie des notes diplomatiques par lesquelles les trois puissances reconnaissaient l'indépendance de l'Etat roumain.

Pendant les mois suivants, les trois puissances occidentales ont envoyé leurs représentants diplomatiques à Bucarest: William Arthur White (représentant de l'Angleterre), le comte Ludwig von Wesdehlen (l'Allemagne) et Jules Ducros-Aubert (la France). Les représentants roumains désignés pour représenter la Roumanie ont été Nicolae Callimachi-Catargi à Londres, Gheorghe Varnav-Liteanu à Berlin et Mihail Kogalniceanu à Paris. Cette première vague de diplomates roumains de très bonne condition et éducation occidentale (surtout à Paris et à Berlin) ont établi un standard très élevé qui a assuré une époque d'or de la diplomatie roumaine pour un demi-siècle.

La présence de l'Etat indépendant roumain sur la scène politique européenne est le résultat d'un long processus, impliquant l'héritage de Napoléon III et le système des alliances soumises au *Real-politik* bismarckien, dans un contexte européen en permanent changement. L'événement immédiat auquel on peut se rapporter est le Congrès de Berlin (1878), à l'occasion duquel l'indépendance de l'Etat roumain a été reconnue, conséquence de la participation de l'armée roumaine à la résolution de la crise orientale. Mais la reconnaissance était soumise à des conditions : élimination de toute restriction religieuse dans l'exercice des droits civils et politiques existantes dans l'article 7 de la Constitution de 1866 ; la cession du sud de la Bessarabie à la Russie; le rachat par l'Etat roumain de certaines actions des chemins de fer exécutés par des constructeurs allemands. La Roumanie obtenait en revanche le Delta du Danube, l'Île des Serpents et une partie du nord de la Dobroudja (la lignée Silistra-Mangalia). La Roumanie avait aussi l'obligation d'assurer un couloir de transit des armées russes vers la Bulgarie, mais pour une période limitée à neuf mois. La reconnaissance par les pouvoirs occidentaux est survenue lors de mise en œuvre de ces clauses assumées.

Une fois reconnu comme acteur sur la scène internationale, le statut international de l'Etat roumain a continué d'augmenter quand, en 1883, le Parlement a proclamé la Roumanie comme royaume, octroyant au prince Carol de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen le titre de Roi. La politique extérieure du nouveau royaume pencha vers l'alliance avec les Puissances Centrales, mais dans la première guerre mondiale la Roumanie est entrée du côté de la Grande Entente.

La politique internationale au XX^{ème} siècle a connu des moments où les Etats dont ont célèbre les relations se sont trouvés dans des alliances opposées. Ils se retrouvent tous, au XXI^{ème} siècle, membres de l'Union européenne, au moment de cette célébration.

L'exposition a plusieurs sections qui reflètent les relations avec chacun des trois Etats occidentaux: la reconnaissance de l'Etat roumain indépendant par chacun d'eux, l'activité des diplomates roumains à Paris, à Berlin et à Londres, et des diplomates étrangers à Bucarest; le nouveau Royaume et sa présence sur l'échiquier politique européen. Les documents exposés sont des notes diplomatiques, des télégrammes, lettres de créance, des décrets émis par Charles I^{er} pour déléguer ses représentants auprès de ces grandes puissances, des discours d'accréditation, traités, conventions commerciales et de

navigation, le contrat de mariage du prince héritier Ferdinand avec la grande fille de la reine Victoria, Marie d'Edinburgh (future reine Marie de Roumanie), les cahiers du roi Charles, photographies des hommes politiques de Roumanie, France, Grande Bretagne et d'Allemagne qui ont participé aux événements qu'on évoque.

Les institutions qui ont collaboré avec les Archives Nationales de Roumanie pour le succès de cette exposition sont les Archives Diplomatiques auprès du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de la Roumanie, les Ambassades de la France, de l'Allemagne et du Royaume Uni à Bucarest, avec la contribution documentaire du Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de la France, Archives Politiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères d'Allemagne. Le consultant scientifique de l'exposition a été Mr. Rudolf Dinu, de l'Université de Bucarest.



Laura Dumitru

Cession de la Bessarabie, de la partie nord de la Bucovine et de la région Hertza, juin 1940, une relecture d'un moment historique controversé

Suite à la première guerre mondiale, la Roumanie avait atteint son maximum territorial, avec la l'union de la Bessarabie le 27 mars 1918, de la Bucovine le 28 novembre et de la Transylvanie le 1^{er} décembre 1918.

Pourtant, la Grande Roumanie a été un sujet difficile à gérer. Vingt ans d'administration roumaine en Bessarabie n'ont pas réussi à gagner la fidélité des minorités. L'Union Soviétique a exercé en permanence une pression politique à ce sujet, organisant des confrontations et des émeutes bolchéviques sur le Dniestr, destinées à mettre en difficulté les négociations avec l'Etat roumain, qui ne devraient pas aboutir à y reconnaître l'appartenance.

Durant l'été de 1940, dans les moments les plus dramatiques de la seconde guerre mondiale, quand la France était à genoux et l'Angleterre sous siège allemand, la Roumanie était obligée de céder presque toutes les provinces gagnées en 1918. La Bessarabie était la première à quitter l'Etat roumain, suite aux ultimatus de 26 juin et de 28 juin 1940. La logique des garanties internationales était déjà désuète, ni les franco-anglais, ni les ententes régionales n'ayant plus d'effet défensif. Consultées à ce sujet, l'Italie et l'Allemagne ont conseillé l'acceptation des demandes soviétiques.

Le Roi Charles le IInd a caché son impuissance devant l'avis du Conseil de Couronne du 27 juin, qui lui avait recommandé d'accepter des discussions avec les soviétiques. Mais la seconde note ne laissait pas de choix, pas de négociation: l'administration roumaine était contrainte à quitter la Bessarabie en quatre jours.

L'exposition met l'accent sur le moment juin 1940, mais essaie de décrire le contexte international de 1939, avec le pacte soviéto-allemand, le début de la guerre, l'avancement rapide des armées allemandes. Les notes diplomatiques relèvent qu'il y avait déjà des attentes quant aux prétentions territoriales soviétiques, mais les hommes politiques roumains et le roi Charles, rendant des visites à Kishinev, ont essayé de rassurer la population que la Bessarabie ne serait pas abandonnée sans combat.

Les documents mettent en évidence la propagande gouvernementale roumaine, la propagande soviétique, la situation de l'armée roumaine, l'avancement des troupes soviétiques, les quatre jours de l'invasion et le drame des milliers de réfugiés et de l'administration roumaine des territoires occupés. Des photos, des pellicules cinématographiques, des cartes et bien de documents administratifs, des reportages dans les journaux de l'époque se rejoignent pour retracer le destin de ces provinces abandonnés par un Etat impuissant dans le bras du Grand Frère.

Les institutions qui ont collaboré avec les Archives Nationales de Roumanie sont l'Institut d'investigation des Crimes du Communisme et de la Mémoire de l'Exile Roumain, les Archives Diplomatiques auprès du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, le Service Historique de l'Armée et l'Archive Nationale de Filmes. L'exposition a connu un vernissage à Kishinev, dans la République Moldavie et elle est encore disponible en format virtuel sur le site: <http://anr.infoideea.ro/basarabia1940>.



Laura Dumitru

Italy and Europe's Eastern Border (1204-1669). A Conference in Rome

Enjoying a prestigious company - Zentrum Mittelalterforschung, Institut für Byzanzforschung in Vienna, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, Accademia di Romania in Rome, Istituto Storico Austriaco in Rome and Ecole Française de Rome -, the Romanian Academy had the successful initiative to organize in Rome, on November 25-27, 2010 the conference having *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border (1204-1669)* as main topic. Even taking only the title in consideration, it results that the intention had a larger transparency in view, by surpassing the narrow frame of national and even bilateral history. By focusing upon the Italian space, the event proved that one could scientifically investigate beyond the barriers of self-isolationism and self-sufficiency.

The organization committee, represented by Iulian M. Damian, Dan Ioan Mureșan și Alexandru Simon, succeeded in gathering in the 'Eternal City' not only Romanian and Italian researchers and scholars, but also representatives of various scientific institutions from France, Austria, Bulgaria, and Finland. Certainly, this detail made that a real 'Babel tower' be built inside of the various papers and debates. Hence, the discussions were in Italian, English, French, and German, and many times each speaker used another language than his/her native one. It represents an additional reason in order to regard the conference as a positive event.

The conference gathered together scholars whose historical concerns focus inside the two events regarded this time as borders: the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the Venetian and non-Venetian participants to the Fourth Crusade and the fall of Crete in the hands of the Ottoman Turks following the long siege between 1658 and 1669.

On this occasion, the papers were grouped on panels, which were separated by debates and discussions, which proved to be extremely useful in clarifying various respects risen during the speeches.

The first day of the conference had Istituto Storico Austriaco di Roma as host. After the welcome speeches delivered by Richard Bösel – director of the Austrian Institute, Mihai Bărbulescu – director of Accademia di Romania in Rome, and Ioan-Aurel Pop – representing the Romanian Academy), the papers of the first two sessions were presented. The session entitled *Coordinate dell'influsso Italiano: dal Basso Medioevo alla Prima Età Moderna* was moderated by Claudine Delacroix-Besnier (Amiens) and brought together the papers presented by Luigi Pellegrini (*Verso la sponda orientale del Mediterraneo: i frati minori in terra dalmata e bosniaca*) and Ioan-Aurel Pop (*Bucharest-Cluj*) (*Il Papa, Venezia e 'il duca Valacho' nella crociata antiottomana di fine Quattrocento*). Dedicated particularly to the economic respects, the session entitled *Economia e scambio: rivalità e collaborazione nel Mar Nero e nel Mediterraneo Orientale* gathered the following papers: *The Treatise between the despote John Terter (AD 1387) and the Genoese of Pera – Character and Political and Economic Signification* (Ivan Biliarski, Sofia), *Alcune famiglie di mercanti ragusei fra XVI e XVII secolo: i De Stephanis-Scoccibucca (Stjepovic-Skocibuha) e i Facenda* (Gianluca Masi, Florence) and *Pratiche di devozione e distribuzione testamentaria del patrimonio nelle famiglie di dragomanni provenienti dalla comunità italo-levantina di Beyoğlu (Pera di Costantinopoli) nei secc. XVI-XVIII* (Cristian Luca, Galați).

Taking place in the library of Accademia di Romania, the subsequent sessions carried on as follows: the third one was entitled *Crociata ed unione delle chiese: paradigmi dell'espansione in Oriente e delle [sic!] difesa in Occidente* and presided by Ivan Biliarski. It consisted in the following papers: *La Santa Sede e le politiche dei Re d'Ungheria al Basso Danubio (1204-1241)* (Tudor Sălăgean, Cluj); *Unione religiosa, unità politica, alleanza militare. I legati pontefici in Oriente al tempo del concilio di Firenze e la loro missione* (Benjamin Weber, Paris); *Image de l'Union et de la croisade dans le Dialogue avec un moine contre les Latins de Théodore Agallianos (1442)* (Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Paris); *'La longue campagne' (septembre 1443-janvier 1444), analyse des opérations militaires d'après les sources de l'époque* (Emanuel Constantin Antoche, Paris); *Dalla 'lega italica' alla 'crociata italica': la spedizione contro 'il Turco' da Niccolò V a Pio II* (Iulian M. Damian, Rome); *Ein kleiner Ort ganz groß - der Hof von Mara Brankovic in Ezeba als Treffpunkt zwischen Levante und Ponente im 15.*

Jahrhundert (Mihailo St. Popovic, Vienna); *Venice and the Ottoman Conquest of Caffa: Preliminaries and Impact (1473-1477)* (Alexandru Simon, Cluj); *'Iter Ponticum': la reconstruction politique d'une espace international dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle (les acteurs et les stratégies)* (Güneş Işıksel, Paris) and *L'humanisme grec dans la renaissance italienne. Aspects d'un transfert culturel idéaliste* (Christian Gastgeber, Vienna).

Finally, the fourth session took place under the topic of *Cultura 'Latina' in Oriente – Cultura 'Greca' in Occidente* and was moderated by Christian Gastgeber. It gathered the papers presented by: Claudine Delacroix-Besnier (Paris, *Rencontres entre théologiens grecs et latins et échanges culturels sous les règnes de Jean VI Cantacuzène et de Jean V Paléologue*); Antoine Lévy (Helsinki, *Lost in 'translatio': Palamites and Thomists on the 'diakrisis kat' epinoian' in late 14th century Byzantium*). It continued in the conference's last day with: Francesca Marchetti (Bologna, *Herbal manuscripts from Byzantium in Padova and Venice*); Şerban Marin (Bucharest, *A Venetian Chronicler in Crete. The Case of Lorenzo de' Monaci and His Possible Byzantine Sources*); Dan Ioan Mureşan (Paris, *Paolo Morosini, la bibliothèque de Bessarion et la politique orientale de la Sérénissime*); Paolo Cherubini [Palermo, *Il cardinale Iacopo Ammannati (1461-1479) e la questione orientale*]; Aurélien Girard [Reims, *L'union avec les chrétiens de Syrie et la production culturelle roumaine à destination du Proche-Orient (1620-1660)*].

On organisational level, one could note obvious discrepancies between the consistences of the first two panels – 2 papers, respectively 3 – and the one of the other two – 9 and 7, respectively. Meanwhile, the paper delivered by Christian Gastgeber could better be integrated in the fourth session, referring to the Greek-Latin cultural relationship.

However the things stand, the matters approached a variety of topics. Henceforth, initiatives like this conference should be continued, since they demonstrate first and foremost transparency, but also provide high level scientific contributions³. It also contributes to the going out of the Romanian historiography from its own isolation.

³ Meanwhile, it was in 2012 when the papers of the conference were edited by the prestigious publishing house Peter Lang. Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften in Frankfurt on Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-New York-Oxford-Vienna. Edited by Iulian Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popovic, and Alexandru Simon, the volume *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border (1204-1669)* was inserted in the series entitled *Eastern and Central European Studies*, coordinated by Christian Gastgeber and Alexandru Simon. Unlike the conference itself, the papers in the volume are distributed according to the order of the participants' names. One could also note that a part of the papers are not included in the edited version, while others changed either the language, or even the title itself. In exchange, the editors inserted articles signed by Anna Calia (San Marino, *The Venetian-Ottoman Peace of 1479 in the Light of Documents from the Venice State Archives*), Bernard Doumerc (Toulouse, *Le problème des confins en Morée vénitienne à la fin du XV^e siècle*), Andrea Fara (Viterbo, *Italian Merchants in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (XIIIth-XVIth Centuries)*), Emir O. Filipović (Sarajevo, *'Ardet ante oculos opulentissimum regnum...' Venetian Reports about the Ottoman Conquest of the Bosnian Kingdom, A.D. 1463*), Borislav Grgin (Zagreb, *Antonio Bonfni on Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia in the Fifteenth Century*), Matteo Magnani (Paris, *The Crusade of Amadeus VI of Savoy between History and Historiography*), and Emanuelle Pujeau (*Malte, clef de l'Europe en 1565?*).

18.00: Antoine Lévy,
*Last (in translation) Palamites and Thomists on
the 'diakrisis kat' epinoian' in late 14th century
Byzantium*

18.30: Dibattito

Sabato, 27 novembre 2010, ore 10.00
Accademia di Romania in Roma
(Piazza José de S. Martin, 1)

10.00: Francesca Marchetti,
*Herbal manuscripts from Byzantium in Padova
and Venice*

10.30: Serban Marin,
*A Venetian Chronicler in Crete. The Case of
Lorenzo de' Monaci and His Possible Byzantine
Sources*

11.00: Dan Ioan Muresan,
*Papio Morosini, la bibliothèque de Bessarion et
la politique orientale de la Sérénissime*

11.30: Dibattito, seguito da pausa caffè

12.00: Paolo Cherubini,
*Il cardinale Iacopo Ammannati (1461-1479) e la
questione orientale*

12.30: Aurélien Girard,
*L'union avec les chrétiens de Syrie et la
production culturelle romaine à destination du
Proche-Orient (1620 - 1660)*

13.00: Dibattito e conclusioni finali



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**L'Italia e la frontiera
orientale dell'Europa.
1204-1669**

**Italy and Europe's
Eastern Border. 1204-1669**
CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI

ROMA, 25-27 NOVEMBRE 2010

Serban V. Marin

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- "Quelques considérations en marge de l'expédition du roi Jean I^{er} Albert en Moldavie (août-octobre 1497)", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A. D. Xenopol"* 49 (2012), p. 35-54

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- “Vidocq et le prisonnier de guerre autrichien », actes de la journée d’études”, in *Prisonniers et captivité de guerre à l’époque moderne, seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle – 1815*, Rennes [forthcoming]
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- "Achter gesloten deuren. Het Nederlandse notariaat, de Jodenvervolging en de naoorlogse zuivering", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 123 (2010), 2, p. 63-77

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