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Between the Imperial Eye and the Local Gaze.

Cartographies of South-Eastern Europe

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Editors: MARIAN COMAN and ROBERT BORN

Foreword

TONI VENERI, *Between Land and Sea: Cartographic Modernities and the Balkan Peninsula (15th–16th Centuries)*

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

history of *cartographic modernities* that projected disparate motives, visions, and techniques on the geographical slate of the same region. Despite their common Ptolemaic cover, these maps ultimately escape the logic of a single narrative, diffracting and recomposing the highly articulated geographical space of a region that lay at the juncture between land and sea, Christianity and Islam, war and trade.

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

ROBERT BORN, *Map and Propaganda. The Example of Transylvania during the Long Turkish War*

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

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

MARIAN COMAN, *From Map to Text. The Prose Cartography of an Eighteenth-Century Adventurer*

The present study addresses the complex and ambiguous relationship between Enlightenment adventurers and cartography. In order to authenticate their travel experiences and to fabricate a geographical expertise, the adventurers pointed out the flaws of known maps and, simultaneously, pretended to have possession of secret, better, ones. They especially exploited the gaps in the cartographic knowledge of the regions situated at the very margins of Europe, such as the Ottoman

Empire. Such was the case with the Transylvanian-Suisse charlatan Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz, the main character of this article. In 1716, taking advantage of the Habsburgs' interest for Wallachia, this adventurer wrote a memorandum in an attempt to impress the potential employer with his geographical knowledge of the realm. However, Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's alleged expertise was an unconvincing pretence, as his description of Wallachia reveals a rather patchy and superficial knowledge. Nonetheless, at the core of his memorandum lies a detailed and systematic geographical description of Wallachia, extremely rich in place-names (no fewer than 503). The main contention of this article is that the memorandum is a pseudo-gazetteer of the 1700 map of Wallachia printed at Padua. Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's prose cartography was, to a large extent, a veiled reading of this map.

Keywords: Enlightenment; Adventurer; Cartography; Wallachia; Habsburgs

ALEXANDRU IONUȚ CRUCERU, *The Map of Wallachia Published in Padua in 1700. Production, Content and Early Use*

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

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

SILVIU ANGHEL, *The Motley Map: the Game-Changing Effect of Ethnographic Cartography on the Romanian-Russian Negotiations, 1914–1916*

Romania's negotiations to enter the First World War were a long and tortuous journey. A key issue in the negotiations was the list of Romanian

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

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

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

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

CEZAR BUTEREZ, *Revisiting a National Cartographic Project. The Place Names from the 'Plan director de tragere' Map Series (1916–1959)*

The 'Plan Director de Tragere' of the Army Geographic Service was the first large-scale national map collection covering all Romanian regions and also the first in the country's history to use a uniform projection system. Although the maps were initially graphically copied from earlier sources, they were continuously updated after 1921. The maps were used until 1959, when they were replaced by Soviet-inspired cartographic works based on the Gauss-Krüger coordinate system. The maps clearly had a military function, yet their rich content could be a valuable resource for the historical-geographical reconstruction of the natural and cultural landscape.

However, the 'Plan Director de Tragere' collection is proving particularly difficult to use due to its lengthy production, as its editions vary widely in style and content. As a result of the initiative of a geo-spatial.org project named *eHarta* to digitally preserve and share old cartographic material,

many map sheets from different editions have been scanned, georeferenced, and made available via the web, increasing the general interest in the collection. A highlight of the 'Plan Director de Tragere' are the place names, for which the cartographers, officers of the Romanian Army, received specific instructions on how to collect and display them on the maps.

The present study aims to investigate the possibility of a systematic indexing of the "Plan Director de Tragere" as a resource for toponymic research. It draws new conclusions from previous projects that have used the maps and will highlight the problems that should be considered when turning to the collection as reference material. In addition, the article will also address the still unresolved issue of using the maps as a basis for a strongly needed Romanian digital gazetteer.

Keywords: Plan Director de Tragere, historical maps, Romania, gazetteer, place names

Sortir de la Grande Guerre.

Les sociétés sud-est européennes de 1918 à 1923

(Actes de la session organisée dans le cadre du 12^e Congrès international d'études sud-est européennes, Bucarest, 2-6 septembre 2019)

Éditeurs : FLORIN ȚURCANU et VOJISLAV PAVLOVIĆ

Introduction

CLAUDIU-LUCIAN TOPOR, *Repudiated Biographies and Controversial « Stories »: Romanian "Collaborationists" and "Traitors" at the End of the War (1918)*

The Great War left behind it numerous broken destinies. Historians have recorded the loss of human lives, the destruction of goods, the physical suffering and even the psychological trauma. However, the statistics of this war only provide a limited perspective on what became of the survivors. Their reintegration into the new post-war society, the uncertainty of the present and the threats coming from their immediate past left their mark on the fate of many people who were the target of accusations and blame. The name "collaborationist" was applied during the war and in the subsequent years to a group of personalities whose reputation had meanwhile become doubtful. This group was never a homogenous one. Even though most of those affected were labelled as „Germanophile”, their group never included just the sympathisers of German politics or culture. Similarly, it was not only politicians who were included here. During the war there were many accusations

(sometimes supported by „compromising” documents, other times not) directed at individuals from the elites who allegedly „cohabited” with the enemy. The limits and the excesses of this cohabitation were also interpreted in a disproportionate manner, oftentimes according to the direction of the political disputes. It is down to the historians to recover (albeit partially) these broken destinies and to interpret without the contemporaries’ bias such „compromising” moments. Apart from the collaborationists, another, special category is targeted: the traitors. The existence of this group „apparently” clarifies part of the social fracture at the end of the war, by making the separation between the heroes and those who allegedly sold off the nation’s interests. Unlike the collaborationists, who could not be considered all traitors, the latter (some proven as such, others receiving this label as a matter of speculation) are mentioned frequently in the everyday (oftentimes offensive) discourse and in the rhetoric of the end of the war. Here, again, a historical analysis could clarify the fate of controversial individuals and, in some cases, even slow their fall into disgrace within the collective memory. This paper propose aims to deconstruct historical verdicts. It does not intend to rehabilitate historical characters, but rather to rediscover the mechanisms through which the memory of war has assimilated their vulnerabilities and stigmatised their culpabilities.

Keywords: war; victims, collaborationism; biographies; traitors; historical perspective

FLORIN ȚURCANU, *Expérience du rapatriement et témoignage sur la captivité : la sortie de guerre des prisonniers roumains en Bulgarie (1918–1919)*

For most of the Romanian prisoners in Bulgaria – captured at the start of hostilities during the battle of Turtucaia/Tutrakan (September 1–6, 1916) – the violence of war became identified with the violence of captivity. Their exit from the war rhymes, essentially, with the end of this particularly brutal and trying experience, as evidenced by their numerous testimonies delivered to the Romanian military authorities or published after the war. During the last year of the world conflict, while the war continues to rage on the French, Italian and Macedonian fronts, the Romanian prisoners return from Bulgaria to a country anguished by their fate, partially occupied and obliged to sign a peace separated with the Central Powers in May 1918.

Keywords: Great War, prisoners of war, captivity, repatriation, Turtucaia / Toutrakan

IRINA ACHIM, *L’archéologie roumaine à l’épreuve de l’histoire : le cas de Dobroudja pendant et après la Grande Guerre*

Since Romania entered the Great War in August 1916, the territory of Dobrudja, redrawn at the end of the Second Balkan War, was under military occupation until the autumn of 1918. Throughout this period, an important archaeological heritage, spread over several sites of the classical period (namely Tomis, Histria, Tropaeum Traiani, Callatis, Ulmetum), suffered the avatars of war. This contribution aims to present the situation of these archaeological sites and the destiny of their collections of antiquities during and after the war, based on documents from the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest (MNA). At the heart of the presentation is the figure of the scholar Vasile Pârvan, university professor and director of the MNA from 1910 to 1927. His efforts to organize Romanian archaeology on European bases and, at the same time, to do research in situ and to create the first museums and site collections in Dobrudja are considerable throughout his directorship. The file is enriched with testimonies taken from the memories of the time, more precisely those of Monsignor R. Netzhammer, Catholic archbishop in Bucharest, which offer valuable information on the fate of the cultural heritage of this Romanian province throughout the period of the war. Finally, the presentation will discuss the steps taken by Vasile Pârvan, more particularly between 1918 and 1923, for the recovery of the classical antiquities of Dobrudja which were transported beyond the Romanian borders during the war.

Keywords: Great War; Dobrudja; Vasile Pârvan; National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest; Romanian archaeology

DANIEL CAIN, *Citoyenneté, ethnicité et droits politiques dans la Grande Roumanie : le cas de Dobroudja (1919)*

The territorial changes that occurred at the end of 1918 called for a change in the restrictive legislation concerning the granting of Romanian citizenship. It was a binding condition for the Paris Peace Conference to recognize the new borders of Romania. Practically, the right to vote was also granted to those Romanians who did not legally benefit from Romanian citizenship. These measures were accompanied by the extension of the right to vote by renouncing census suffrage. The Bucharest authorities' mission was not easy at all: they had to instill the desire to live together in the citizens of Greater Romania. The 1919 parliamentary elections represented first test. They were held in a period when the new borders of the Romanian state were still subject to negotiations in Paris. Updating the electoral lists and implementing the new election system takes time. Postponed several times, the elections were finally held in early November both in the Old Romanian Kingdom and in the provinces that were de facto under Romanian administration. It is for the first time that

Romanians voted according to the norms of universal suffrage. Dobruja is a good example of this democratic practice in a society traumatized by war. The inhabitants of Northern Dobruja were granted the right to vote at the 1912 elections, after more than three decades they had been under Romanian administration (a period when they were deprived of the right to elect their representatives in the Bucharest parliament). Had the Great War not broken out, the inhabitants of Southern Dobruja would have had the same fate. In the autumn of 1919, the Romanian authorities decided, at least in theory, to ignore the ethnic composition of this territory (obtained in 1913) and to trust all its inhabitants.

Keywords: Dobruja, citizenship, elections, WWI, Romania, Bulgaria

MORITZ A. SORG, *Remains of an Old Order? Monarchy, Internationality and the Legacies of the First World War*

The radicalized war-time nationalisms of the First World War had put pressure on Europe's internationally connected ruling dynasties and led to a symbolic nationalisation of the Romanian monarchy. However, this article argues that the Romanian dynasty preserved much of its transnationality and the foreign origins of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie continued to play a significant role in domestic and foreign affairs after the end of war. To show this, the article analyses the development of royal family relations and self-conceptions after the armistice and examines how the transnational aspects of the monarchy influenced Romania's *sortie de guerre* period abroad and at home, contributing to a better understanding of monarchic transnationality after the First World War.

Keywords: Romania, Interwar Period, Monarchy, Transnationality, King Ferdinand of Romania, Queen Marie of Romania

MARIA ZOUBOULI, *Un peintre à la guerre : Paolo Rodocanachi entre 1918 et 1923*

The painter Paolo Rodocanachi, a descendant of a wealthy Greek merchant family from Chios, was born and died in the Genoa region of Italy, but enlisted twice in the Greek Army. In 1916 he was in eastern Greek Macedonia, who was at the time engaged in a conflict with Bulgaria, in the context of a political crisis that led to the National Schism, the final break between the supporters of King Constantine I and those of Prime Minister Venizelos. Rodocanachi got enlisted in the IV Army Corps, which got involved in a political and military imbroglio that ended in a paradox: the "deportation" of some 7,000 men to Germany, in a camp sheltered by the small town of Görlitz. There, the Town Hall building hosted the painter's first solo exhibition in 1918. When this unprecedented captivity ended in

1919, Paolo Rodocanachi returned to Italy, but in 1922 he was mobilised again for a mission as a painter of the Greek Army, this time in Asia Minor. His drawings were lost in the “Great Disaster” that followed. After these two unheroic but highly exceptional adventures, Rodocanachi retired to Italy for the rest of his life, devoting himself essentially to landscape painting, with a naturalist and lyrical attitude thus turning his back on the modernist avant-garde. By tracing the exceptional destiny of this original character, we aim to consider his aesthetic in the light of his patriotic commitments and the political and ideological issues of his time.

Keywords: painting, Greek diaspora, Greek national schism, Görlitz, Asia Minor Campaign

Varia

JACQUES BOUCHARD, *Nicolas Mavrocordatos poète lyrique*

Nicolas Mavrocordatos, during his imprisonment in Transylvania (1716–1718), wrote a poem in which he implores his father Alexander Exaporriton to intercede on his behalf with God Almighty, in his wish to be released from jail. The poem, which depicts Nicolas’ deep depression, is composed after the manner of Pindar, adopting that poet’s vocabulary, lyrical expression and sentence structure. Following Boileau’s example, he sets his poem within the frame of the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. Nicolas’ ode has remained unpublished for three centuries.

Keywords : Nicolas Mavrocordatos Alexander Exaporriton Pindaric Ode Boileau Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns Transylvania

PATRICE PIPAUD, *La « Lyonnais » sur le Danube : liberté de navigation et opportunisme commercial français (1856–1858)*

The Crimean War was an opportunity for France to try to extend its allegedly insufficient economic exchanges with the Danubian principalities. The Treaty of Paris, which ended the Crimea War, was to open the Danube to public law and European trade. This paper examines the circumstances in which entrepreneurs from the Rhône shipping industry, threatened in France by the rise of railways, attempted to reuse their ships by establishing a river shipping company operating between Moldavia and Serbia. The story of this ephemeral attempt, initially favoured by a navigation concession, is part of the debates initiated around the opening of the Danube to the navigation of all flags.

Keywords: Crimean War, Danube, Danubian principalities, river navigation, freedom of navigation, French economic interests

New Research Projects in the Institute for South-East European Studies

Order and Hierarchy in Late Antique and Byzantine Thought, research project funded by UEFISCDI (Marilena Vlad)

Praying in Late Byzantium. A Theological and Social Exploration of Philotheos Kokkinos's (Unedited) Euchai Diaphoroi, research project funded by UEFISCDI (Mihail Mitrea)

Comptes rendus

Dicționarul limbii române (DLR), t. I, litera A, fasc. 1, *A-Abzițui* (Cătălina Vătășescu); Nicolae SARAMANDU, *Limba română. Originile / La langue roumaine. Les origines* (Cătălina Vătășescu); Cătălina VĂTĂȘESCU (ed.), *New Perspectives on Balkan Linguistics / Nouvelles perspectives sur la linguistique balkanique* (Mihail-George Hâncu); Lora TASEVA, Roland MARTI (eds.), *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe* (Mihail-George Hâncu); Maria CIOATĂ, Anissava MILTENOVA, Emanuela TIMOTIN (eds.), *Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe and Related Areas* (Mihail-George Hâncu); Ivan BILIARSKY, *Defending the True Faith in the Twilight of the Empire. The Palaeologian Synodicon for the Sunday of Orthodoxy in Its Slavic Translation* (Mihail-George Hâncu); Ivan BILIARSKY, Mihail MITREA, Andrei TIMOTIN (eds.), *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe* (Mircea Duluș); Sandra ORIGONE, *Le signore del mare. Una storia del Mediterraneo medievale* (Alessandro Flavio Dumitrașcu); Niccolò FATTORI, *Migration and Community in the Early Modern Mediterranean. The Greeks of Ancona, 1510–1595* (Alessandro Flavio Dumitrașcu); Joseph NASRALLAH, Rachid HADDAD, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XIX^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, t. VI (Ioana Feodorov); Constantin A. PANCHENKO, *Orthodoxy and Islam in the Middle East. The Seventh to the Sixteenth Century* (Nicholas Bishara); Felicia ROȘU (ed.), *Slavery in the Black Sea Region, c. 900–1900: Forms of Unfreedom at the Intersection of Christianity and Islam* (Radu Dipratu); Thomas de WAAL, *The Caucasus. An Introduction* (David Neagu); Gabriel MARTINEZ-GROS, *De l'autre côté des croisades. L'Islam entre croisés et Mongols* (David Neagu); Radu DIPRATU, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire. Catholics and Capitulations* (Viorel Panaite); Orlin SABEV, *Waiting for Müteferrika. Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture* (Ioana Feodorov); Vassili GRIGOROVITCH-BARSKI, *Pérégrinations (1723–1747)*, traduit du russe par Myriam Odaysky (Ioana Feodorov); Πασχάλης Μ. ΚΙΤΡΟΜΗΛΙΔΗΣ, *Θρησκεία και πολιτική στον Ορθόδοξο*

κόσμο. Το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και οι προκλήσεις της νεωτερικότητας (Mihai Țipău); *Abrégé des principes de la grammaire française. Scurtare începăturilor grăitoarei franțozești. O piesă insolită la dosarul francofiliei și francofoniei românești.* éd. LIA BRAD CHISACOF (Ileana Mihăilă); Ștefan PETRESCU, *Corespondenții români de presă și publicațiile emigrației balcanice (1877–1916)* (Elena Siupiur); Alberto BASCIANI e Egidio IVETIC, *Italia e Balcani. Storia di una prossimita* (Stelu Șerban); Annemarie SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ et al., *The Romance-Speaking Balkans. Language and the Politics of Identity* (Stelu Șerban).

In memoriam

Grigore Brâncuș (1929–2022)
Constantin Iordan (1946–2021)

Vie scientifique

Livres reçus