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Instituția coordonatoare de tematică: Academia Română – Filiala Iași

Tematica: *Discurs literar-artistic și construcție identitară, secolele XVI-XX*

Numele și prenumele cercetătorului postdoctoral: RADOS Leonidas

Tema individuală de cercetare: *Rolul discursului antifanariot în construirea identității românești moderne*

The Role of the Anti-Phanariote Discourse in the Construction of the Modern Romanian Identity

Introduction

The anti-Phanariote rhetoric played in the Romanian 19th century a quite significant role in the alimentation of the identity discourse. In this case, there is an almost perfect communication between the transmitter of the anti-Phanariote discourse and the addressees (members of the

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community), who vibrate promptly and according to the expectations, in a manner which is already patent towards the middle of the century. Out of obvious reasons, related to the wide scale spreading, literature and art in their extended meaning, are drawn into the national project of construction and assertion of the Romanian identity, first borrowing, then imprinting specific elements and amplifying the anti-Phanariote discourse.

Moreover, the roots of this latter are to be searched in the sphere of politics, somewhere at the intersection of the 18th and the 19th centuries, in the context of the relation to Europe, regarded as the new political and cultural model and the only chance for the future of a country lying in an obvious economic and moral stagnation. Consequently, the Romanian intelligentsia of western education, but not only, starts rejecting, initially at an underground level (yet not less violent), then in a louder and more public manner, the traditional norms of the “Old Regime”, stigmatizing the ‘Phanariotism’, demonized and rendered responsible for all of the Romanians’ troubles, complexes and failures. This new ideology arose rather easily, as the process was facilitated, before 1821, by the realities of the country and the critical perception upon the foreign countries (see the travel literature); it reached its maturity after this date, when there was no one left to respond to the accusations, as the Phanariotes had left the public stage not only in the Romanian Principalities, but also in the Ottoman Empire and even in Greece, preferring the comfort of obscurity. Gradually, the anti-Phanariotism partially leaves the political stage, which had established it, and becomes more present in the area of literature, and particularly of the historical one.


Confronted with the not at all comfortable reality of the post-Phanariote time, when the society’s shortcomings and problems were perpetuated, as if ignoring the 1821 moment, the 1848 historians and ideologists were forced to formulate quick answers that had to eliminate the object and the causes of the objective, internal or external, criticism, changing the subject and diverting attention towards a factor external to the Romanian people. The Phanariotes’ otherness was used effectively and without reply in purging history from the foreigners’ actions and in protecting one’s own community, scarifying, by the violence of language, the most at hand victim. At the same time, the anti-Phanariote discourse represented for the 1848 historians an indirect way to assert, impose and legitimate the set of values borrowed from the Occident, but consciously assumed, values that were obviously different from the traditional ones, organically comprehended.

After Tudor Vladimirescu’s movement (1821), the social-political issues gain the forefront, at the expense of the cultural ones, though the period does not involve clear distinctions. The previous period, the Phanariote one, had to be rejected at all levels. The fact left a strong mark upon the whole Romanian book production and limited the availabilities of objective analysis; in spite of the Greek education many of them received, the 1848 revolutionaries had no reasons to like a period that most of them regarded as an obstacle against the modernization of society, of

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culture and against the change of mentalities. Moreover, the benefits of using this theme were already tested. That was the reason why the anti-Phanariote texts grew more and more numerous after 1821, a fact that one can easily note especially in the moments of big patriotic and national fervour (1848, 1859, etc.), when the stimulation of the community spirit became necessary.

The French revolutionary texts were undoubtedly models of inspiration for the anti-Phanariote discourse, closely followed, starting with the very phrase of “Ancien Régime”; other images were taken up as well, like the institutional decay, the civil servant’s corruption and cupidity, the personalization of function, etc. In a manner reminding of the ritual sacrifice, replacing physical violence with the verbal one, the anti-Phanariote discourse was diverting the Romanians’ frustrations and the resulting negative energy towards the most appropriate external element, thus achieving a reinstatement of social harmony and unity.

The 1848 revolutionaries’ standpoint – the people most entitled to criticize – resorting to the whole available arsenal of the “old Regime”, became the favourite (and, at the same time, the easiest) paradigm in which Phanariotism was assimilated at the level of representations, by the next generations.

There are some short theoretical analyses on the anti-Phanariote discourse, but an overview is completely missing, not to mention an inventory of the literary texts that are indispensable to this approach. The retrieval of the anti-Phanariote discourse proper to the historiographical sphere showed a number of results, but even here the approaches are partial. Moreover, we lack an integrative perspective – a very difficult task - explaining in detail the relationship between the anti-Phanariote discourse and the assertion of the national Romanian identity.

Resorting to a violent discourse (both at the level of language and message), the Phanariotes’ criticism had in view, in the first three decades of the 19th century, a triple purpose: the consolidation of the forming national consciousness by domestic reconciliation; the identification of a common enemy and the orientation of the anger that could have exploded (with catastrophic results) within the group, towards the outside. The technique was used by other emergent nationalisms as well, choosing enemies like the Ottoman Turk, the Russian or the Hungarian, but the Phanariote otherness was the perfect victim for the sacrifice that would have allowed the elimination of the ballast of the past and the purging of the country’s history from the foreigners’ actions.

From our standpoint, it is interesting that, though the purposes of the anti-Phanariote discourse were reached in the second half of the 19th century, this continues to be present in large environments, including intellectual ones, up until the present, as a result of the formalization of the excessively critical perspective, together with the formation and the consolidation of the Romanian State’s structures in the mentioned period. The 1848 model was perpetuated in time and even if the change of contexts brought forth new elements in the analysis or attempts of

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objectification (exclusively confined to the historiographical discourse), the image of the Phanariote remains the same. The dissemination of the 1848 perspective reached all the domains of analysis, from historiography to fiction, from poetry to drama, from journalism to festive or political discourses. Moreover, two kinds of means most at hand were resorted to, ensuring the success of the approach: the reiteration in the public space, on all occasions having something to do with the subject, and most importantly, the education of the young generations, at all schooling levels (primary, secondary, higher) in the spirit of the 1848 conception of things.

The channels by which the anti-Phanariote discourse entered the public space are various, but by far the historical writings are the favourite *transmission belt*. Interesting is the context, with all the comprehensible changes of emphasis and contradictions, at the intersection of the 19th – 20th centuries.

The project focuses on the idea of identity and, henceforth, we are interested in the whole methodological and conceptual arsenal pertaining to the field. We are interested in the filiation of ideas, in the differences of perception, nuances, as well as in the language conveying ideas, experiences, representations or, equally important, in the everyday life sphere, which constructs stereotypes, customs.

We use, in our investigation, sources (memoirs, correspondence, fictional or historical texts or even written theses of the modern students of Iasi, etc.) in which the emphasis slips according to the context in which the text was written and published and especially according to the author's intention. For instance, in the case of dramatic representations, widely enjoyed by the public at that time (furthermore, one of the few leisure activities), we deal with a mechanism that creates in the community's mentality and for the community an exemplary national past; that meant renouncing, through specific procedures (particularly by inciting the public and attracting spectators in the development of the drama), the ballast represented by the Greek influence and the dimension of the Phanariote period.

Each type of source must be dwelt upon in a distinct way, so that we could reconstruct, out of these disparate and sometimes contradictory fragments, an image that is largely known but which we relate to the national idea and to the Romanian identity construction. In other words, the way in which we treat memoirs must be different from the way in which we treat the historical genre, just like journalism has different values compared to the political discourse, even if the two levels have numerous common points. In this domain (journalism), we should mention the calendars and almanacs published by different publishing houses of the 19th century, a source that was little resorted to lately.

The criticism of Phanariotism, firstly emerged, as mentioned above, in the political area, passes quite fast in the historical writing, for instance, where, through the mixture between old and new, tradition and modern, it makes a career, especially in the 1848 period, but long after as well.

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In this context, the genesis and filiation of ideas is quite important, as well as the way in which it crosses the different domains of the cultural area, to support the construction and assertion of the national identity.

The end of the Phanariot Regime

The 1821 events led to one of the most intense challenges for the Concert of Europe. The Great Powers were facing an unprecedented situation considering the Greek insurrection and how it and the Romanians' movement led by Tudor Vladimirescu affected the equilibrium of force and the destiny of "the sick man of Europe" (as the Ottoman Empire was called). At the time, the two mutinies drew the attention of the Great Powers because they generated tension throughout Europe on the one hand and because the issues they encompassed bore solutions for the continental peace on the other.

Is well known that at the Troppau conference (October-December 1820), Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed on the principle of intervention for fear the Naples revolution, perceived as part of a larger European problem, might generalize and turn into a revolutionary torrent.¹ Therefore, the diplomatic maneuver area was rather restricted.

The two movements were connected both openly and underground, as was much discussed by the historical literature. As many others, we consider that the Romanians' mutiny started as part of the Philiki Etaireia and then diverged and gradually progressed on its own, based on its needs which were not always similar to the Greek revolutionaries'. This separation was only natural, all the more so because, at the end of the 18th century, Rhigas² projects and geo-political vision were not embraced by the Romanian elite preoccupied more and more by the idea of a political evolution in keeping with local values, interests, and traditions.

European diplomacy seems to have favored the Greek cause, even if both Romanian and Greek peoples were under Ottoman domination and shared the same fate. Especially as a result of Ottoman hostility against the 1821 insurgents, the Greeks were regarded as a modern nation under oppression waiting for a favorable context for their independence to be acknowledged, as a nation which lived up to the standard raised by their illustrious ancestors with heroic sacrifices. Their fate had become extremely imperative and required quick resolution. On the other hand, the Romanians

¹ Capodistrias himself spoke firmly on that occasion for the neutralization of the "revolutionary plague". Cf. Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, *Mémoires et rapports de Jean Capodistrias (1809-1822)*, „Balkan Studies” 19,1/1978, p. 27.

² We refer especially to the revolutionary proclamation clandestinely printed in Vienna at the end of the 18th century and addressed to the peoples in the Ottoman Empire: ΝΕΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΟΙΚΟΙΣΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΥΜΕΛΗΣ ΤΗΣ Μ.ΑΣΙΑΣ, ΤΩΝ ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΩΝ ΝΗΣΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΛΑΧΟΜΠΟΓΔΑΝΙΑΣ. See Rigas Velestinlis, *Scrieri revoluționare*, Bucharest, Omonia, 1999, Greek-Romanian bilingual edition.

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did not manifest the same determination, which is why they lacked a well-defined identity in the Western perception and appeared to be just another population within the Ottoman Empire. As the Romanian cause was not officially recognized as a European issue, Moldavia and Wallachia were nothing but an instrument, pressure and, at the same time, compensations means in the great continental politics.³

Priorities were definitely not the same for the Neohellenic and the Romanian elite. For the Greeks, independence was an openly-stated end, but the Romanian intelligentsia never took it into consideration for various reasons. They rather leaned towards a large autonomy within the Ottoman Empire and the former system of local rulers. The issue of independence was present in an autochthonous project addressed to Napoleon I in 1807, but as the international context was far from allowing radical change at the time, the idea was put aside for two decades. It was in fact a decision catalyzed by the attitude and interests of Russia, which would have never accepted an independent state as its direct neighbor.

We have already mentioned above that Romanian insurrection was closely connected to the Philiki Etaireia, as Tudor Vladimirescu had been initiated for a period of time just before the Hellenic insurrection broke out, most likely in 1820. In time, the two movements acquired distinct identities and, more importantly, different purposes. It is certain that the Philiki Etaireia leaders counted on Romanians' enthusiasm in the cause of escaping Ottoman oppression, but the practical errors in the field made the collaboration impossible. The excesses of some Philiki Etaireia groups, especially in Moldavia (robbing the population and churches in search for food, horses and guns), made the local elites regard this movement with great reserve, on top of its lack of energy, resources, external support and good leadership. These elites repeatedly assured the Porte and Russian Empire that Moldavia would not adhere to the mutiny of the Greek "apostates". They also insisted on the necessity of native rulers and to remove all the Greeks from public positions and monasteries. Moreover, the Etaireists' presence caused the Ottoman armies to enter Moldavia along with the violence inherent in such incursions, which eliminated any trace of sympathy.⁴

The invasion of the Principalities, the most obvious solution otherwise, had been long postponed by the Ottoman Empire because of the effortful mobilization system and especially for fear of Russian intervention. High Turkish authorities were convinced that both movements were

³ Chancellor Metternich's part was essential in keeping Romanians' cause outside European political debate. The same great Austrian politician was more sensitive to the Greek issue, which, he thought, required quick resolution; of course, he did not consider the independence of Greece, but the improvement of the situation of Pericles' descendants within the Ottoman Empire.

⁴ In Wallachia though, where Vladimirescu's movement controlled politics, such hostile manifestations never occurred, another proof of the relations between the two insurgent actions.

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secretly led by the Russian Empire⁵ and often accused "European deceit" and hidden agenda meant to weaken the Porte.

Thereupon, the movements were severely condemned in the correspondence of the foreign cabinets. In January 1821, at the Congress of Laibach, the Great Powers had criticized both insurrections in the Principalities, but later on the perception changed based on the Ottoman political errors and their violence against the Christians (particularly the Greeks) in the empire. The two insurrections, Greek and Romanian (and especially the first), eventually stopped being considered by the public opinions in the great European countries as illegitimate, dangerous movements because of the revolutionary actions, but as "noble", due to their purposes. As a consequence, the attitude of the Great Powers would significantly change later on.

The first power that displayed a more relaxed attitude was Russia, which the Ottomans had anticipated. On July 5th/18th, 1821, baron Stroganov, the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, sent a document to the Porte in which he stated that, due to Russia's position of protector of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire (including the Romanian Principalities) with which she was invested following the international treaties in Kuciuk Kainardji and Bucharest (1774 and 1812), the Tzar firmly denounced the violent actions taken against the Greeks and Turkish excessive measures against the two movements. Earlier in June, the Russian Empire had requested that the churches destroyed be restored, precise criteria to find the guilty be established, peace into the principalities be restored and Ottoman troops withdraw, which indicated a meaningful shift in attitude.

Unlike France, under quarantine and expecting to see how things go between the Philiki Etaireia and Tudor Vladimirescu and to understand Russia's interest and involvement, English diplomacy favored without reserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and condemned as illegal the Greek and Romanian movements. Both Ipsilanti and Vladimirescu were perceived as dangerous and their actions likely to trigger a Russian-Turkish conflict that could jeopardize the Ottoman authority in the area and the long-sought European force equilibrium.

Certainly, things were not black and white. For instance Strangford, the English ambassador in Constantinople, wrote on February 26th, 1821 that Tudor Vladimirescu's movement fought the phanariote administration exclusively and did not question the Ottoman authority. Charles Bogot, the English ambassador in Petersburg reported to Castlereagh on March 23rd/April 4th, 1821 that the two movements appear to be very different and that „the revolt of the Moldavians under Prince Ipsilanti must be distinguished from that wich has broken out in Wallachia under

⁵ In fact, baron Stroganov, the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, condemned the two movements, Etairist and Vladimirescu's, offering moral and military support for the restitution of order. But on February 27th/March 11th, 1821, chancellor Nesselrode was announced that this offer was not opportune because it generates unease and he was condemned for supporting the Greeks.

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Vladimirsky and wich, from everything wich is at present known, appears to have had a separate Origin, and in most respects a different object.” The same diplomat thought that Vladimirescu's movement did not seem to reclaim independence: „to disclaim the authority of the Porte, or to endeavour to establish complete National Independence.”

A year later, in March 1822, Strangfort sent Kock to Bucharest with the mission to fill out a questionnaire. Out of eight questions, the fifth (Quelle est l'opinion des gens les plus sensés parmi les boyards sur le résultat final de l'entreprise des grecs et de quel esprit supposerez-vous le peuple animé en général?) remained unanswered, Kock could not say for sure as the majority of the elite in Wallachia had taken refuge, but he considered, "without fear of being wrong", that the outcome is just one, especially since „en général le peuple et les boyards valaques qui haissent de bonne foi la nation grecque, désirent la totale extinction de cette nation.”

In June 1821, a very analytical editorial published in "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" stated that Ipsilanti was perceived in the Principalities as being exclusively interested in the Greek cause, which made both Tudor Vladimirescu and the Serbian prince Miloș Obrenovici refuse to follow him. The European annalists easily understood that, in fact, Philiki Etaireia's purposes were contrary to Vladimirescu's, as his movement meant to banish the phanariotes and restore the former privileges of the Principalities.

The reality was, and even the cabinets of the Great Powers understood it, Etaireia's cause was completely separated from the Romanian movement. In parallel, as we mentioned before, the Greek issue started to be perceived by the European public opinion differently from the Romanian issue. By means of an unprecedented mobilization of the elites and through the heroic acts in 1821 and the following years, the modern Greeks managed to make themselves known, admired and supported at a time when the memory of the French revolution still gave monarchs chills. One more thing explains Europeans' affinity for Greece, and that is the Greek antiquity. From the interest in reviving Antiquity and removing Greece from the gray area between the bright West and the exotic lights of the East⁶ to the acceptance of the Greeks' political emancipation (as sole guarantee of classicism resurrection) there was just a step.

On the other hand, Romanians were late in this national awakening marathon, but, unlike the Greeks, they had to remove the obstacle of phanariote rulers first, a controversial and more and more criticized (both from inside and outside the country) intermediary between them and the Porte. Moreover, Romanians' taste for European civilization and values developed later, because direct contacts with Europe were very restricted even during the phanariote regime as compared to the Greeks who, by means of trade and mercenaries enrolled in the armies of the Great Powers and even study trips, but also due to their particular inner structure, had the chance to become acquainted to Europe sooner.

⁶ Maria Todorova, *Balkanii și Balcanismul*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2000, p. 127.

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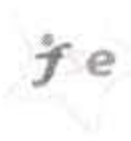
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We must not neglect the part played by the Greek diaspora, with their intense promotion throughout Europe. This phenomenon touched its peak especially following the ^{Kuciuk Kainardji peace, a} sign of "magnificent promises for the future"⁷ in itself. Numerous Greeks who migrated after 1774 and founded associations and commercial companies involved in the transit trade between East and the Central Europe supported financially the Greek national cause. The very members and agents of the Philiki Etaireia (two thirds of which were tradesmen and intellectuals) went everywhere in the West and the Greek world to make their people's wishes to carry out secular expectations known. Young disciples of Korais preached the principles of political enlightenment in European radical publications such as "Melissa", "Loghios Ermis" and "Kalliopi."⁸

Needless to say, the Romanians did not benefit from such useful instruments: a glorious past, known and praised by the entire civilized world, direct contact with Western cultural and civilization centers, powerful diaspora very active in Europe, not to mention large amounts of money for the national cause. Consequently, while the Greek movement echoed across the Western world, the situation of the Romanians in the Principalities had not drawn the attention of the great "European public." Even the philhellenes, open to more radical changes, ignored the situation of the Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbs who, in their view, should have united their forces to support the Greek cause.

Let us not forget that the Romanians have been "discovered" later. Without a glorious antiquity, they faced indifference and neglect and also the idea that "the Moldavians and the Wallachians were always half free,"⁹ unlike the Greeks, who suffered a long time under Turkish oppression. For the time being, Europe was willing to issue solutions for the people of Greece, invoking the necessity to acknowledge her independence and inclusion into the large European family, disregarding the other nations in the same area confronted with the same issues.

On the other hand, Romanians regrouped harder and less efficiently than the Greeks. At the end of the 18th century, the excesses of the Phanariote Regime forced Romanians in the Principalities to think of themselves as a nation and wonder what to do to stand among the civilized states of Europe.¹⁰ Signs of sympathy would appear, especially from the French, only after the 1821 revolution was popularized and regarded as an attempt to end an unpopular regime and to establish a system in which Romanian individuality could flourish.

A champion of the new trend of analysis of Phanariotism. Constantin Erbiceanu and his studies at

⁷ G.G. Gervinus, *Insurrection et régénération de la Grèce*, vol. 1, Paris, 1863, p. 38.

⁸ Pashalis M. Kitromilides, *Iluminismul Neolen. Ideile politice și sociale*, Bucharest, Omonia, 2005, p. 380.

⁹ The assertion belongs to Iuri Ivanovici Venelin, Bulgarian philologist and historian. Cf. Maria Todorova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹⁰ Cf. Andrei Pippidi, *Identitate etnoculturală în spațiul românesc. Probleme de metodă*, in Al. Zub (ed.) *Identitate și alteritate în spațiul cultural românesc*, Iași, 1996, p. 72.

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the University of Athens (1865-1868)

Perfectly uniform, the classical type of approach persisted in historical literature until the last quarter of the 19th century, denying Phanariotism any possible positive feature and reaffirming its destructive impact on “national” culture. With the eighth decade though, nuances became more prominent and the monolithic image of Phanariotism started to fissure. It must have also been Junimea’s merit, as this cultural society essentially influenced the modern evolution of Romanian society and brought a new spirit and realism to replace the romantic historiographic perspective.¹¹

It was in this cultural and scientific climate that Constantin Erbiceanu (1838-1913) started his work. Both theologian and historian, Erbiceanu immediately drew the attention of the public with his investigation of an exotic epoch that had long been criticised and with the novelty of his interpretation. Nowadays he can be considered a pioneer of professional studies dedicated to the Phanariote regime in the Romanian Principalities and the first scholar who tried to analyze the epoch more objectively and without his predecessors’ ideological redundancy.¹² Erbiceanu’s most significant studies examine the Neohellenic influence on Romanian society and culture based on documents found in libraries and archives in and outside the country: *Cronicarii greci cari au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă* [The Greek chroniclers who wrote about Romanians in the Phanariote period], București, 1888; *Priviri istorice și literare asupra epocii fanariotice* [Historical and literary considerations on the Phanariote period], București, 1901; *Bibliografia greacă sau cărțile imprimate în principatele Române în epoca fanariotă și dedicate domnitorilor și boierilor români* [Greek bibliography or the books published in the Romanian Principalities in the Phanariote period and dedicated to the Romanian princes and boyars], Studii literare, București, 1903; *Bărbați culți greci și români și profesorii din Academiiile din Iași și București din epoca zisă fanariotă (1650-1821)* [Greek and Romanian learned men and professors in the Academies of Iași and Bucharest in the Phanariote period], București, 1905, etc.

The schooling phase is often concisely, schematically dealt with, even in some of the monographs dedicated to different personalities, ignoring the importance of education, of

¹¹It is worth mentioning Iacob Negruzzi’s efforts to understand where the extraordinary inertia and bias of the Romanian society against the Phanariote regime came from; he reached the conclusion that many Transylvanian scholars, gathered in big numbers in the capital of Moldavia and used to see in the other Transylvanian class a foreign hostile people, took these feelings with them in their new country: “they had to find a new foreign people and they invented the Phanariotes”. See Iacob Negruzzi, *Amintiri din “Junimea”* [Memories from “Junimea”], (Bucharest: Cartea românească, 1923), 20.

¹² See, in this respect, Leonidas Rados, *The first Romanian Neohellenist: Constantin Erbiceanu (1838-1913)*, in *Balkan Studies*, 41/2001, 114-137 and *Acte și documente privitoare la viața și activitatea lui Constantin Erbiceanu (1838-1913)* [Documents regarding Constantin Erbiceanu’s life and activity], in “Arhiva Istorică a României”, new series, vol. 1 (2004), no. 1, 161-178.

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professional training in their later activity and work. We cannot imagine the extremely venturesome historiographic approach that Constantin Erbiceanu undertook without taking into account the experience he acquired in the field of the Greek letters on the occasion of the scholarship that the Romanian State granted him to specialize in the field of theology at the University of Athens, following an already established practice meant to refresh the generations of researchers. Though C. Erbiceanu minimized the influence of the studies pursued in Athens on his historiographic results, and underlined that he became a historian “alone and late” as he had a natural inclination “towards researching ancient things with thoroughness”¹³, one cannot deny the part that his training in the Hellenic environment and his studies in the fields of the Greek language, literature and history played, granting him a clear advantage over other Romanian researchers of such a complicated period.

Here we will try to approach the stage of his studies in Athens, synthesizing, as much as possible here, the aspects of his training with all component stages (the educational background in the country, the obtaining and utilization of the scholarship, the attempts to extend this *peregrination academica*), then his return home and the finality of his studies in Athens (his hiring in the public education system and his gradual initiation in the researches of the history of Hellenism and of the Phanariote regime in the Romanian Principalities).

Constantin Erbiceanu had graduated in 1858 from the Socola Theological Seminary (Iași) and then from the Faculty of Theology of Iași (1860-1864). At the end of 1864, the only graduates of the Faculty of Theology (which was going to be closed soon because of the lack of professors and of students), C. Erbiceanu and Filotei Romanescu were each granted a two-year scholarship to study theology at Athens and Paris¹⁴. Both of them known as serious and hard-working students¹⁵, they are two of the tens of young people that the Romanian State subsidized to specialize abroad so that, at their return, they could contribute in the progress of the society.

In spite of all reforms that the rulers enforced, the defects of the local educational system were deep and difficult to overcome, even after the two Romanian universities were established at Iași (1860) and Bucharest (1864); nobody believed that studying in the country was a valid alternative to studying in renowned European universities. The lack of an adequate, numerous enough and well-trained public for the faculties of the country, the rudimentary infrastructure, the low quality professors, the non-attractive courses, the obsolete curriculum were as many reasons to

¹³ Constantin Erbiceanu, *Viața mea scrisă de mine după cât mi-am putut aduce aminte* [My life written by myself as much as I could remember] (Bucharest: “Gutenberg”, 1913) 28, 19.

¹⁴ DJAN Iași, *Universitatea “A.I.Cuza”. Rectorat collection*, file 33\1864, p. 1.

¹⁵ See the proceedings of some of the examinations in Leonidas Rados, *Acte* [Documents].

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prefer education abroad, which inevitably brought forth the professional success and, last but not least at all, an advance in the social hierarchy¹⁶.

Even the official policies in the educational field, more and more suitably calibrated to the State needs, recommended for the teaching staff of higher education institutions to be elected from among the people who had attended courses abroad, so that tens of young people were supported with generous stipends to perfect their studies abroad and, coming back home, to participate in the progress of the whole society¹⁷. Their obligation was, first of all, to assiduously attend the courses and the examinations, and then to return home with a diploma and to work where the authorities were going to send them, in the field they had specialized in, for a period of time twice as long as the duration of the stipend.¹⁸

Returning to our case study, C. Erbiceanu was informed by the authorities that he could not modify the programme of the scholarship without a previous notification of the government (or else he would lose the financial support and even pay compensations) and that at the end of the period he had to come back home with the diplomas and “serve the State”: furthermore, before his departure, the young man gave a written declaration according to which “after my return to the country I commit myself to join the clergy as a theologian”¹⁹. Three days later, on 12 January, after a voyage by water, he was in Athens, thanking the Romanian authorities “with deepest gratefulness” for the scholarship; under the pressure of the daily necessities, he was asking for the stipend for the first trimester and for the reimbursement of the travelling expenses²⁰.

From an institutional point of view, Greece had started the reforms earlier than the Romanian Principalities, but they had not been finalized. Besides some previous projects²¹, the real foundations of the modern educational system had been laid during the Regency (1833-1835) and

¹⁶ See these aspects treated at length in Lucian Nastașă, *Itinerarii spre lumea savantă. Tineri din spațiul românesc la studii în străinătate (1864-1944)* [Itineraries towards the academe. Romanian young people studying abroad (1864-1944)], (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2006).

¹⁷ The policy of State stipends was so important, that the very process in which the modern Romanian intelligentsia emerged could not be understood and researched ignoring the direct contact of the Romanian students with the educational centres of enlightened Europe.

¹⁸ See conditions in the Statute of Education from 1864, section II, articles 330-342, in C. Lascăr and I. Bibiri, *Colecțiunea regulamentelor, legilor, programelor și diferitelor deciziuni și dispozițiuni generale ale acestui departament de la 1864 la 1901* [Collection of regulations, statutes, programmes and different decisions and general ordinances of this Department since 1864 to 1901] (Bucharest: Imprimeria Statului, 1901), 26-27.

¹⁹ ANIC, MCIP, file 224/1865, p. 85 and 75.

²⁰ ANIC, MCIP, file 224/1865, p. 71. He was given 80 ducats for the travelling expanses and 100 for the first trimester.

²¹ *I Metarithmisi pou den eghine. Tekmiria Istorias, I, 1821-1894* [The Reform that has never taken place. History notes], ed. Alexis Dimaras (Athens: Ermis, 1973), 15.

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under Otto I (absolute monarchy between 1835-1844 and constitutional monarchy between 1844-1862). The educational system, characterized by centralization and classicist orientation, had been elaborated by the German scholars Fr. Tiersh and Georg Ludwig Maurer; while the former pleaded for the introduction of the German model adapted to Greece's past and cultural specificity, the latter, a member of the Regency, supported a construction on completely new bases, in accordance with the same German model²².

After the independence was proclaimed, the whole Hellene elite realized the necessity of a higher education institution, where the staff that was needed for an increasingly complex State structure could be trained. The university was thus established in 1837, with the direct participation of the two German cultural personalities (Tirsch and Maurer), with a threefold objective: to ensure the necessary civil servants, to work as a cultural channel between the East and the West and to offer a higher education alternative possibility to the Greeks living outside the Kingdom of Greece, contributing thus to the process of unification²³.

Although the University borrowed the German model as far as its organization was concerned (with some French influences characterizing the State universities), Athens did not have yet all ideal conditions for study. On the whole, the Greek environment that the young Constantin Erbiceanu joined remained a complicated one, even if the situation was not as dramatic as it had been two decades before, when the descriptions that the Romanian theology scholars made suggested the image of a society in deep crisis. Let us mention that in 1846 Ioan Nicolescu, one of the Romanian students, wrote in a letter from Athens that "the condition of Hellas is one of big difficulties because of privation [and] privation and poverty urge the human being to fulfil disgraceful things", while one of his mates, Ilie Benescu, deplored the problems and dangers of his stay in Athens, not so much because of the financial difficulties, but because "life, and not only mine, but that of my mates as well, is endangered"²⁴.

The future Hellenist got however too late to Athens to be enrolled²⁵, so that the board of the University recorded him as a simple auditor, while the enrolling was going to take place at the

²² Alexis Dimaras, *Ksenes epidraseis sti diamorfosi tou ekpaideftikou sistimatos* [Foreign influences in the transformation of the educational system], in "Deltio tis Etairias Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paidias", no. 2, (Athens, 1978) 60-63. See also the analysis of a contemporary, J.-J. Ampère, «De l'instruction publique et du mouvement intellectuel en Grèce», *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Avril 1843, 110-134.

²³ K.Th. Dimaras, *Ellinikos Romantismos* [Greek Romanticism], (Athens: Ermis, 1982), 349-350.

²⁴ Cf. Victor Papacostea and Mihail Regleanu (eds.) *Seminarul Central 1836-1936. Documentele intemeierii* [The Central Seminary, 1836-1936. The foundation documents], (București, 1938), 202-205, 214-218.

²⁵ For reasons probably pertaining to the availability of the funds, the Ministry made frequently this error, of sending the young people abroad much after the beginning of the academic year, when the enrolling was already blocked, a thing that caused the Romanian students many troubles, as they were forced to take their diploma in a strictly limited period of time.

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beginning of the academic year of 1865-1866. The few months left would be used to improve the Greek language skills, as the certificate issued by the Rectorate recommended²⁶. Though substantial, the money order of the government reached with difficulty not only Athens, but all the places where the Romanian scholars were, so that the two theologians wrote many times for the stipends to be sent, just like the their colleagues studying in Paris, Liege or Berlin²⁷.

In October 1865, while his mate left the Greek capital or Paris looking for better study conditions (without the Ministry's acceptance, which was a breach of his commitments), Erbiceanu was able to send a certificate of his enrolling as an ordinary student of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens²⁸; on 22 December he wrote the Ministry again, annexing the proof of the "strict attendance of courses and my industriousness" for the whole year 1865²⁹.

In the autumn of 1866, after one more year of scholastic efforts and impeccable behaviour, Erbiceanu was finalizing his two-year stipend in Athens, started on 1 January 1865; the time however had not been sufficient to get the graduation diploma, seeing that the courses involved four years of study, and not two, as the Ministry of Education had planned. So that the theology student wrote the Metropolitan of Moldavia, asking him to intercede with the Ministry to obtain a two year prolongation or, at least, one until the summer of 1867, when he could try to acquire a "small testimonial". The scholar's proofs of responsibility were deemed to be sufficient and the Metropolitan interceded indeed in his protégé's favour with the authorities, who approved the prolongation of the stipend until 1 January 1868³⁰. He rigorously used the time he won to pass the examinations, both at the Faculty of Theology, where he was enrolled, and at the philology department of the Faculty of Philosophy, whose courses he attended, as at the University of Iași³¹.

On 5 January 1868, C. Erbiceanu announced the Ministry that the stipend ended and that he managed to pass all the necessary examinations, receiving the graduation diploma as well³². He

²⁶ ANIC, MCIP, file 226/1865, p. 205.

²⁷ See the letters the two signed together, on 19 May and 2 June 1865. In the latter they wrote that they were sending the study certificates that the Ministry needed, but that the lack of the scholarships "brings forth many difficulties in our studying". Cf. ANIC, MCIP, file 226/1865, p. 125 and 204.

²⁸ ANIC, MCIP, file 229/1865, p. 49.

²⁹ ANIC, MCIP, file 85/1866, p. 11 and 12. This was also a necessary condition for them, for the Ministry of Education to keep a record of the students. In May 1868, the control grew even stricter, following the otherwise fair idea that the "State has the right and the duty" to ask for "diligence and success" from the young scholars abroad; so the authorities imposed the scholarship holders to send at the end of each academic year, besides the semester proofs, detailed certificates with the staging of the scholarship, the attended courses, the passed examinations and the marks they got. See ANIC, MCIP, file 125/1868, p. 7.

³⁰ ANIC, MCIP, file 84/1866, p. 743 and 735.

³¹ ANIC, MCIP, file 101/1867, p. 91 and 92.

³² His diploma (one copy can be found under call number ANIC, MCIP, file 124/1868, p. 21) was signed on 5 January by the Rector Th. Orfanidis and the Dean of the Faculty of Theology, K. Kontogonis, conferring him the title of

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thanked the Romanian authorities and “the whole nation” for the financial efforts, declaring that he was ready to serve the country that required a just reward for the sacrifices that were made, but not before a three-four month study period at Paris, to “observe and study there the theological methods [...] and to find the necessary instruments in my study”³³.

In Paris, he hears several courses and, being now convinced that his education was far from being achieved, he wrote again the Ministry on 5 February 1868. Bringing in support his thoroughness in Athens, he asked again for the prolongation of the stipend to study philosophy in Germany. He was of the opinion that the studying period in Athens had been exclusively dedicated to Theology (although he had attended courses of Philosophy as well, that proved to be very useful in his career), being thus deprived of a “more elevated education”; he thought that the void should have been completed with the study of philosophy, seeing that, he underlined, “a developed reason should be in consonance with an enlightened faith”. In other words, he hoped to avoid the “effects of mysticism”, which often emerge as a result of exclusive theological studies, by “studying and acquiring knowledge in the philosophical systems”³⁴. An interesting thing is that the authorities decided, in this phase, to approve the two year prolongation to study philosophy in Berlin, but after a few days the decision was cancelled for reasons related to the lack of budgetary resources (“given that there are no funds, this cannot be approved”), which they immediately announced him about³⁵.

In the present case, it is interesting to follow the transmission of the idea that the studies in Athens were insufficient and that education should be continued in France and Germany. Of course, the image of the Hellenic higher education system was not, in the Romanian public opinion, comparable to other systems or universities in Europe, just as the Athenian environment was not comparable to the Parisian, Berliner or Viennese ones. Another aspect was that the University of Athens was a few decades old only, that it had been a somehow artificial construction (as it was not built on a pre-existing something), and the testimonies of the Romanian

prolytas (graduate) in theology, with the mark *lian kalos* (very good), between *kalos* (good) and *arista* (exceptional). Another copy of the diploma, preserved in the family archives, is reproduced in the anastatic edition Constantin Erbiceanu, *Cronicari greci care au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă* [Greek chroniclers who wrote about Romanians in the Phanariot epoch], postface by Andrei Pippidi, Introduction and genealogic tree by engineer Constantin Erbiceanu, (Bucharest: Cronicar, 2003), annex 1, p. 35. On the graduation examinations, see Athanasios Rousopoulos, *Odigos ton foititon tou Panepistimiou Othonos* [Guide for the students of the Ottonian University], (Athens: 1857), Annex VI, *Diatagma peri eksetaseos ton foititon tou Panepistimiou* [Decree on the examination of the University students], 157 and Annex XIV, *Peri ton didaktikon kai apolytirion exetaseon* [On the graduation and doctorate examinations], 187-197.

³³ He was going to leave for the city of light right away, so he asked for the money for the return home to be sent to Paris. The Ministry approves his demand and sends him 30 ducats in Paris. ANIC, MCIP, file 123/1868, p. 98 and 99.

³⁴ ANIC, MCIP, file 124/1868, p. 19.

³⁵ ANIC, MCIP, file 124/1868, p. 18 and 22.

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young people who had studied there (especially of those who had been there in the fifth decade, when the general socio-economic situation proved to be quite difficult) were, most of the times, deeply negative³⁶.

It is very likely that two of his future mates at the Faculty of Theology of Bucharest (Barbu Teodorescu and Nicolae Nițulescu) might have increased his desire to study in Germany; they had returned to Bucharest from there with graduation diplomas in theology and with the titles of *doctor philosophiae* obtained in 1865 at Leipzig, one of them wishing to complete his education at Athens³⁷. Although these contacts did not exist during the studies, the subsequent accounts of the two did nothing but reinforce the Hellenist's regret.

The failure of the "German attempt" marked C. Erbiceanu deeply; he did not succeed in forgetting this episode even in his last years of life, when he was writing his autobiography, blaming for the Ministry's refusal the acrimony of some of his enemies, exclaiming in conclusion: "I would have made maybe more in life if I had studied in Germany as well"³⁸.

Apart from Filotei Romanescu's critical perspective, susceptible of being circumstantial and determined by the need to explain the fact that he had left the University without the approval of the Romanian authorities, the situation of the University of Athens and that of the Faculty of Theology in particular was a complex one. Kostas Lappas noted that most of the professors appointed in 1837 had benefited from a German education (including the German ones brought in by Otto I). Analysing the 1837-1900 span, he found out that of the 160 persons in the teaching staff, 69% had attended a German university, either exclusively or as part of the *peregrinatio academica* phenomenon (53% had studied exclusively in Germany or Austria), while only less than 40% had studied in France. The distribution by faculties is also relevant: the teaching staff with a German education held the total control of the philological department of the Faculty of Philosophy, where they imposed the German thinking and methodology in the study of ancient philology, history, archaeology. The teaching staff from the Faculty of Theology had studied in German, Russian or French universities; the German pre-eminence was responsible for a more liberal scientific a religious spirit here, the distance taken from the tradition rituals, for which the

³⁶ The classicist orientation of the Hellenic educational system, imposed by the Bavarians, did not have the expected results either, starting with the language issue; hence the comparison another German, Paul Kipper, made in 1897, with Xenocrates' shoe, made of the finest leather, but not fitting the foot. Cf. Christos Katsikas, Kostas Therianos, *Istoria tis Neoellinikis Ekpedefsis. Apo tin idrisi tou ellinikou kratous mechri to 2004* [History of Neo-Hellenic education. Since the foundations of the Hellenic State to 2004] (Athens: Savvalas, 2004), 44.

³⁷ ANIC, MCIP, file 85/1866, p. 511 and 529.

³⁸ Constantin Erbiceanu, *Viata mea* [My Life], 14-16.

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professors and the faculty on the whole were publicly accused by some zealous intellectuals or fervent Orthodox believers³⁹.

According to the letters that were preserved and to his autobiography, C. Erbiceanu heard in the first months after his arrival to Athens the courses of the Faculty of Theology, taking at the same time private lessons of Greek, following a rule that all Romanian scholars that studied there, before or after him, followed. Starting with the autumn of 1865, when he is enrolled as an ordinary student, his responsibilities, as well as his expenses, grow. That happened because in the University of Athens, like in any other university of Europe, including the two Romanian universities, the enrolment, the courses, the examinations were, at least theoretically, paid⁴⁰; the rest of the scholarship was dedicated to the house rent, to food and to the private teachers, to the school supplies and to books (rather expensive at Athens, compared to Bucharest or to Iași).

He lived, over the whole period of three years, near the University, at the Galfcopidou house, first with his mate from Iași, Filotei Romanescu, then alone. We do not have further data as for his socializing opportunities; a sure thing is that the number of students in Theology was very limited, a few young men (3-8) a year. The scholarship was big enough (50 ducats per trimester) and, apart from the inconvenient of the systematic delay of the money orders, the student managed to save a small amount that allowed him to engage in the study travel to Paris in 1868.

Unfortunately, neither the public archives nor the family archives preserved the enrolment documents received by C. Erbiceanu. We would have known for sure the subjects he heard, in Theology and in Philosophy, like in the case of the first Romanian scholarship holder, Dimitrie Racoviță, who had also attended the theological and philological courses two decades before⁴¹. We could however try to make several general considerations with regard to the two specializations the Romanian student pursued.

Philology, as a specialization of the Faculty of philosophy, was deemed to be the grounds and the vehicle of the other disciplines, seeing that beyond the instrument of language there cannot be knowledge, or information exchange or science. Besides the subjects of philological hermeneutics, which were the basis, philosophy and history were auxiliary sciences, the student

³⁹ Quoting an article by D.S. Balanos, K. Lappas reminds of the fact that two of the most fervent critics were Konstantinos Oikonomos and Apostolos Makrakis, the latter regarding the faculty as the “devil’s den”, while its professors were “heretic faked theologians from Germany”. Kostas Lappas, *Panepistimio kai foitites stin Ellada kata ton 19 aiona* [University and students in 19th century Greece], (Athens: KNE, 2004), 150-151.

⁴⁰ The amounts of the taxes are mentioned in Athanasios Rousopoulos, *Odigos*, Annex III, *Diatagma peri prosorinou kanonismou tou en Athinais sistithisomenou Panepistimiou* [Decree on the provisional ruling of the University founded in Athnes], 145. The taxes, on the other hand, were very difficult to collect in practice.

⁴¹ See Leonidas Rados, *Bursierii români de la Universitatea din Atena în secolul XIX: portretul unui grup* [The Romanian Scholarship holders at the University of Athens. Portret of an group], in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie G. Barițiu”, Cluj-Napoca, 46/2006, p. 94.

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having to pursue course and assimilate information from these fields as well. The major courses were mandatory, while in the category of the auxiliary courses, the student had the possibility to make options. Both the major and the auxiliary courses changed their titles frequently, both in Philosophy and in Theology, so that there is a big difference between the academic guides of that time from this standpoint.

In its turn, Theology was regarded as one of the most difficult sciences, because, as the texts of the period said, in order to fulfil his destination, the theologian had to hold information of Hellenic philology, of history, but also of philosophy (logics, metaphysics, psychology)⁴². The subject matter was divided into three parts (the explicative or exegetic one, the historic one and, finally, the systematic one); the first laid the foundations of the theological study by assimilating the instruments of philological nature (Hebraic and Greek grammars, the dialect of the Scriptures); the second phase involved the history of Christian religion, the lives of the Saints and of the Apostles, and of the Christian Church in general, while the third part studied the Christian dogmatics and ethics, patrology, the ecclesiastic law, etc. The practical aspects, pertaining to the catechetic, homiletic and pastoral theology were taught in specialized seminaries.

There were only four professors in the faculty of Theology, among whom the highest in rank was Konstantinos Kontogonis, whom we could regard as a *factotum* of the Faculty, as he taught many subjects, from the encyclopaedia of theology and its methodology, to Hebraic archaeology, introduction in and interpretation of Scriptures, ecclesiastic history, etc. He was the dean when Erbiceanu passed his diploma examinations. The other professors were Panagiotis Robotis, who taught ethics, dogmatics, liturgics; Alexandros Likurgos, who, though less present in the life of the institution after 1866, taught the encyclopaedia of theology, homiletics, symbology and the history of dogmas; and Theoklitos Vimpos (substitute between 1860-1867, full between 1867-1869, honorific between 1869-1903), who taught Hebraic, introduction in the study of the Old Testament, and interpretation of the Old Testament according to the Hebraic text. We should also add here lecturer Zikos Rosis, who taught in 1867 homiletics⁴³.

We know that the history classes were given, during Erbiceanu's studentship, by two important historians, K.Paparrigopoulos and D.Vernadakis. The former, undoubtedly the most highly acknowledged Hellenic historian of the 19th century, taught over several semesters the history of the Greek people, whose synthesis he started to publish in 1860. The latter, both a philologist and a historian, taught the history of the ancient Greeks, the history of the Romans and

⁴² Cf. *Odigiai pros tous foititas* [Instructions for students], (Athens: Royal Prints, 1853) 7.

⁴³ The data are extracted from D.S. Balanos, *I Theologiki Scholi tou Panepistiniou Athinon* [The Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens], extracted from "Enaisima", Athens, 1931, 142-186.

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the history of Middle Ages⁴⁴. Very important were also the courses of Greek literature held by the famous K. Asopios, elected Rector of the University several times, well-known by the professors of Iași and an already tradition intimate of the Romanian scholarship holders⁴⁵.

In the attempt to refresh the State apparatus, the Romanian authorities granted stipends for the meritorious young people to study abroad, and particularly for those who were supposed to subsequently work in the educational system. This was actually a practice that all the “young” States in the area had. The University of Athens attracted several waves of Romanian students (most of them coming from or neighbouring the ecclesiastic environment), who were specializing in classical philology or in theology, a field in which the institution offered at least an image of competitiveness. Among these rather few young men, there was also the future Hellenist C. Erbiceanu, who pursued in the Greek capital his studies of Theology and, as a second specialization, of Philology.

The finality of C. Erbiceanu’s Athenian experience is well known. Returned home in 1868, he occupied the position of professor at the Theological Seminary of Iași until 1887, when he was transferred under excellent conditions to Bucharest as, among others, professor at the Central Theological Seminary and at the Faculty of Theology. He became a famous researcher in the field of the Phanariot regime studies and his career ascension went along with the publication of his work. We believe that the Athenian episode in Erbiceanu’s education, with the philological components offered by Professors K. Paparrigopoulos’ and K. Asopios’ courses which he attended (and which led him, at the same time, to the issue of Modern Hellenism), laid the grounds for a specious, less passionate research than the one most of the Romanian historians had made before him, when approaching the controversial topic of Phanariotism.

The next step in exegesis on the Phanariot Regime and of the Greek influence

In this early twentieth century, when favourable conditions existed for a less passionate study of the Helleno-Romanian interferences and especially of the influences of Neohellenism, a researcher appeared on the Romanian intellectual market, who promised to widen the openness started by his predecessors by using a critical method borrowed from the German culture. His

⁴⁴ Vaggelis D. Karamanolakis, *The formation of historical scholarship and history teaching at the University of Athens (1837-1932)*, INR/NHRF, Athens 2006, Annex [History courses at the Faculty of Philosophy], p. 417-418.

⁴⁵ Professor Asopios appeared in the Transcript of the students as “tutor” of the group of students that the “Veniamin” Theological Seminary of Iași sent in 1856 to study at the University of Athens. Furthermore, on 18 January 1865, Epaminonda Frangoudis, the fresh professor of Hellenic philology at the University of Bucharest, asked him to take care of the two scholars sent by the “Dacian government”: Filotei Romanescu and Constantin Erbiceanu, suggesting that the two should receive a Greek education meant to bring them nearer to Hellenism. Professor K. Kontogonis from the Faculty of Theology was going to receive a similar letter as well. Cf. The National Library of Athens, Asopios Archives, call number As 1281.

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name was Demosthene Russo and he was born in 1869 in Thrace, as an Ottoman subject, becoming, a few years after his immigration to Romania, one of the best experts in the field of the South-Eastern European cultural relations, a respected and feared scholar, a seminal personality and a central figure in the interwar Romanian cultural environment, who entered a strong disputation – a famous one, in cultural circles – with the most highly acknowledged Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga⁴⁶.

By bringing near him his niece and nephew, Ariadna and Nestor Camariano, and by initiating them in the secrets of the field studies, Demosthene Russo became the “founder” of a dynasty of specialists who strongly, or even fundamentally, marked the field of the history of Hellenism in Romania and offered models to follow as for the scientific accuracy, the limpidity of presentation and of methodology. The two descendants carried on their uncle work and completed it with their own researches and findings, building, one paper after the other, one book after the other, one of the most powerful and influential directions in the field of cultural studies.

We should specify that among the three characters we deal with here there are important differences, at several levels. We will only insist on two of them. On the one hand, Demosthene Russo had the advantage of his position as a University Professor in Bucharest, which allowed him to establish a school; by surrounding himself with students and faithful collaborators, they kept a fond memory of him over the decades. His nephews generally worked as solitary researchers, opting, wherever they could, for individual projects. On the other hand, unlike their uncle, Nestor and Ariadna published an obviously greater amount of materials, benefiting from free access to the notes and projects initiated by the “founder”. The first difference led to a *de facto* situation in which the Professor is referred to in several papers, articles, notes and obituary notices, while this is not the situation in the nephews’ case. Consequently, the bibliographic information we could resort to in making this paper are not, out of objective reasons, equally distributed.

Born in 1869, in Peristasi, in Eastern Thrace, Demosthene Russo attended there the elementary school, and then he was sent by his parents to the School of the Patriarchy of Constantinople; he graduates it in 1888, under the directorship of archimandrite Gregory Palamas;

⁴⁶ In a paper presented in 1944, the historian M. Berza noticed that the Romanian historiography after World War I evolved in two distinct directions, “under the influence of two deeply different minds: N. Iorga’s one and D. Russo’s one”. He deplored the fact that these schools, inspired and run by the mentioned scholars, according to their own features, priorities and values, did not meet in order to fuse, but they developed one against the other, stressing, each of them, one of the qualities that Bernheim required from a historian: *Geist* (Iorga) and *Method* (Russo). M. Berza acknowledged the Hellenist’s “vast culture, passion for investigation and sharpness”, but, bringing forward indirect arguments suggested by a 1942 text of Gabrielle Pepe („Introduzione allo studio del Medioevo latino”), he opted for Iorga’s school, considering that the wide influence that the hypercriticism promoted by Russo enjoyed, eventually led to a qualitative decline of historiography. Cf. M. Berza, „Metodă istorică și falsă erudiție” [Historical method and false erudition], in *Revista istorică*, 30, 1944, pp. 96-108.

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he was a hard-working student, as his highest marks, in all subjects, show us: Christian ethics, catechetics, Church history, Ancient Greek and Latin, philosophy, universal history, elementary mathematics, physics, experimental chemistry, natural history, geography, French, Turkish, history of Hellenic and Latin literatures. The diploma he obtains allows him to teach in both the public and the private system, as well as to attend University courses⁴⁷.

He chooses to continue his education and in the fall of 1888, he enrolls at the Philosophy Faculty of the University of Athens. After two years spent here, Demosthene Russo goes to Germany, intending to specialize in philosophy and philology. Besides the Humboldtian ideals and the academic freedom, the *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lehrnfreiheit*, so appreciated in the academic world of the nineteenth century, the German university also granted the guarantee of an intense intellectual life and of a thorough specialization. The perfect organization of the German universities, the rigour of lectures, the academic staff, counting many celebrities, the variety of disciplines, and not least, the real competition between the universities, used to make that model an exemplary one all over the world. That is why a South-Eastern European young man's attendance of a German university would have provided a useful visiting card in the personal career and social promotion, especially in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In the fall of 1890, Russo was already enrolled at the University of Leipzig, one of the most frequented German universities, situated in an active commercial city, of renown in the whole south-eastern European region. Famous professors like Theodor Mommsen, Wilhelm Wundt, Karl Brugmann, Karl Lamprecht, Curt Wachsmuth, etc. attracted, by their name and competence, crowds of students from all over Europe and made Leipzig a favoured destination for those who aimed at specializing and overspecializing particularly in the field of (classical) philology. As itinerancy was one of the main features of studies in Germany, Russo transfers, in October 1891, to the University of Berlin for the winter semester.

It seems that the Berlin spirit, more cosmopolite, did not satisfy the young Greek, as in the spring of 1892 he returned to Leipzig for two more semesters, the summer and the winter ones, the latter uncompleted, however and he decides to defend his doctorate here. He passes first the oral examination (28 April 1893) in Philosophy, Ancient Greek and Pedagogy in front of Professors Masius, Wachsmuth and Heinze, with *cum laude*. His doctorate thesis was accepted by the faculty on 13 May 1893, when all the academic authorities still waited for were the legal number of abstracts of the thesis in order to declare him *philosophiae doctor* (Doctor in Philosophy).


Freshly arrived to Romania in 1894, Russo found here a quite tense climate, on the background of the Zappa affair and of the "Macedonian issue". Not having the Romanian citizenship was a significant limitation, reducing his perspectives to the area of the Greek communities, so he contents himself with a position of secondary teacher at the most famous

⁴⁷ Cf. the diploma preserved in the scholar's archives.

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Greek High School, the “Venieri” Boarding School in Galați. After a few years spent here, he moves to Bucharest, where he contributes to the Greek newspapers, he works as an editor for the “Patris” newspaper, or gives private lessons.

Meanwhile, Demosthene Russo made his entrance on the intellectual market. The first works, published at the intersection of 19th and 20th centuries, small and relatively modest in terms of importance (on topics like the Hellenic press in Romania, the laments – thrinoi – on the Fall of Constantinople), meant for a Greek-speaking public, evolve towards more elaborate papers, on similar topics, published in journals and magazines in Greece.

The Romanian academic environment – like all the region - experienced the lack of effective instruments in the detailed research of the national past, and one of the most critical segments was that of the sources written in Greek. Since 1910, Romania’s Historical Committee, an body that brought together renowned historians and philologists, had insisted for Demosthene Russo, co-opted as a member on I. Bogdan’s and C. Giurescu’s suggestion, to draw up a guide for those interested in the editing and criticism techniques. Thus, in 1912 appeared *Critica textelor și tehnica edițiilor* [Criticism of Texts and Editing Techniques], an extended and well composed study that brought the author the contemporaries’ respect and fame⁴⁸. Exemplifying with texts from the classical Greek, Byzantine and ancient Romanian literatures, Russo succeeded, in this genuine method guide, in bringing even closer his friends and in tempering his critics, preparing thus his way towards an academic chair.

The next writing *Elenismul în România* [Hellenism in Romania] (Bucharest, 1912), also enjoyed a great reception; he underlined here the significance and necessity of the Byzantine studies (and, in general, of the studies dedicated on history of Hellenism) for the Romanian scholars, moderately insisting upon the Byzantine and Phanariot influences in the local culture⁴⁹.

Therefore, over one decade, the Hellene scholar built, meticulously, an image of “proverbial scientific probity”, holding the necessary characteristics for a substantial work that should not repeat the errors of the other researchers who adventured upon the field of Byzantine and Neohellenic studies. At the same time, the lack of visible results in C. Litzica’s didactic activity led to the general opinion that a change was needed in the teaching of Byzantinology at the

⁴⁸ Even N. Iorga, his later enemy, praised this important contribution in the grounding of the field, stating that in Russo’s writing there is “much erudition and a variety of pieces of information, many good counsels, much diligence for perfection” (See *Neamul românesc literar* [Romanian Literary Nation], 1912, p. 512). Over the years, in an attempt of literary history, the book was deemed “the most authorised study on text editing”. See Marin Bucur, *Istoriografia literară românească* [Romanian Literary Historiography], pp. 215-216.

⁴⁹ The historian N. Iorga admitted, before and after Russo’s passing away, that the writing is “objective and civilised”. In magazine *Drum drept*, I (1913), p. 62 and *Un om, o metodă și o școală* [A Man, a Method and a School], Bucharest, 1940, p. 19.

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University of Bucharest, and the Dean I. Bogdan (vice-president of the Romanian Academy as well) did not conceal the esteem he had for Russo.

The fame he won with works of fine erudition, together with I. Bogdan's total support led to D. Russo's getting the tenure of the Chair of Byzantine studies on 5 November 1915, a position in which he was appointed without competitive examination⁵⁰, on the basis of a proposition report signed, in May 1915, by most of the Professors, and in which the Hellenist was regarded as the "only scholar who promises to fulfil the hopes that our Faculty had when it established the chair of Byzantine philology or of Medieval and Modern Greek Philology, as he prefers to call it".

The scholar's work is not an extended one. It comprises about 30 studies on the Helleno-Romanian interferences, and quantitative insufficiency was a reason for criticism during his life, and of unfair ridicule after death. It is true, however, that after the World War I, occupied with the students' and collaborators' guidance and on the background of an increasingly weaker health, the scholar did not publish any more with the frequency he was expected to.

He worked constantly on his synthesis of the Greek-Romanian relations, *Elenismul în România* [Hellenism in Romania], whose plan he had conceived starting from the 1912 study with the same title, gathering materials and information all the time, but avoiding to start the final stage of composition for fear that he might lack an adequate public. As he was pretentious with everything that concerned him, always wanting to be perfectly informed, some of his writings could not find the final form for print.

Born in 1906 at Peristasi, Ariadna Camariano attended there the elementary school. Her family was forced to immigrate to Romania after the 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe, so that Ariadna and then her brother Nestor arrive to Constanța, then to Bucharest, looked after by their uncle, Professor Demosthene Russo.

The young woman adapted herself gradually to the Romanian environment, she learnt the language and, after secondary studies in private, she got the secondary education diploma in 1931. Afterwards, she attends the courses of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest, obtaining her bachelor's degree diploma in 1936 and the doctoral degree a few years later.

Well-known in her environment for her thorough researches, for the clear style of her publications and her critical, sometimes biting spirit, inherited from her uncle, her competences concerned the field of cultural studies: researches in history and literature, historical Greek-

⁵⁰ According to the same notebook, it seems that D. Russo himself had urged the Dean for the position to become his without competitive examination, on the basis of his work (a fact that the rulings allowed); he was inspired by Ramiro Ortiz' case, a philologist of Italian origin, who had been appointed, the same way, Professor in the university of Bucharest; the calculation was an simple one: considering the official status of the chair, the members of the board would have been, first of all, the historians who were against him (N. Iorga, D. Onciul, V. Pârvan).

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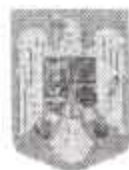


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Romanian relations, mutual literary influences, paternity of ancient Romanian literature works, Greek education in the Principalities.

The true recognition came at the beginning of the eighth decade, after the publication of the volume on the Princely Academies, which enjoyed an enthusiastic reception from the specialists all over the world, becoming a classical text in the specialized studies area. This is also the period when her famous (in the academic environment) dispute with Al. Duțu (probably the most valuable Romanian researcher in the field of cultural studies) grows more acute; the golden apple of dispute was the mediating role of the Greek culture between the Western and the Romanian cultures and the impact of the Princely Academies⁵¹.

Ariadna Camariano starts her research career in 1935, while she was a student, when, in her first thematic register, appeared a study dedicated to the influences of the Neohellenic lyrics, presented first in the Seminar of Romanian modern Literature and Folklore⁵². The analysis in the issue of models and imitations occasioned for her vivid polemics, without inhibitions, with some Romanian celebrities, among whom B.P. Hasdeu and I. Odobescu. The in-depth documentation and clarity of ideas, presented in an attentively established order, are characteristics that will mark the whole scientific production of the Hellenist.

After three years of waiting, in the difficult conditions of the World War II, Ariadna Camariano published in 1946, at Bucharest, her first book (*Spiritul revoluționar francez și Voltaire în limba greacă și română* [The French Revolutionary Spirit and Voltaire in Greek and in Romanian], Bucharest: Cartea românească, 1946). With a favourable review from L. Găldi and Leandros Vranoussis, her work was intended to be a useful instrument for researchers in Romania, Greece and France, and was concentrated around the idea that the oldest French influences in Romania should be looked for in the Greek literature and among the Greeks settled here.

In other two studies, she dealt with the socio-political circumstances that led to the publication of theological anti-Enlightenment works in Greek and in Romanian, establishing with accuracy the paternities and presenting the translation variants; in the text on the translation of *Teatrul politic* [The Political Theatre], attributed, until then, to N. Mavrocordat, she put to good use her skills of erudite philologist and historian, polemicising with C. Erbiceanu, C. Litzica, A. Papadopoulos-Vretos or V. Mihordea, correcting, where necessary, the inaccurate observations circulating in the specialized environment.

⁵¹ See, for instance, Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, "Precizări și identificări privind unele traduceri românești din greacă (sec. al XVIII-lea)" [Specifications and Identifications Regarding some Romanian Translations from Greek (18th Century)], *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 22 (1973), 2, pp. 271-279.

⁵² "Influența poeziei lirice neogrecești asupra celei românești: Ienăchiță, Alecu, Iancu Văcărescu, Anton Pann și modelele lor grecești" [The influence of the Neo-Hellenic lyric poetry on the Romanian one: Ienăchiță, Alecu, Iancu Văcărescu, Anton Pann and their Greek models], Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1935.

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Particularly interesting is her contribution in the history of the Neohellenic theatre in Bucharest⁵³, probably the first coherent analysis of the issue, insisting upon the beginnings, but also on the staged plays, which represented, by their subject and interpretation, an important patriotic stimulus for the Greek intelligentsia. The author makes a selection of sources, choosing the “safest information” and criticizes G.V. Tzokopoulos, but also Nicolas Lascaris, to whom she imputes the lack of discrimination in the publication of sources, or disputable affirmations, or the lack of apparatus.

Ariadna Camariano had already distinguished herself as a remarkable researcher, and her subsequent studies dealing with issues as different as the translations of Giovanni del Turco and Voltaire in Romanian⁵⁴ or the filiation of some anti-Ottoman texts from the beginning of the 19th century⁵⁵ fully demonstrated her erudition. As an acknowledgement of her value, she was approved four contributions in *Istoria literaturii române* [History of Romanian Literature], an important instrument published in 1964 and utilized by both philologists and historians.

Though the second thematic register is opened in 1945-1946 by a short article in the Greek newspaper *Nea Ellas*, we should first notice the tardy study dedicated to Jeremia Cacavelas⁵⁶, published in full creative maturity, which represented, by the meticulousness of analysis (including the level of the manuscript circulation) and the polemic spirit, one of the most accurate and interesting contributions signed by the researcher. One year later, in 1966, her contribution on Iosip Moisioudax was published, where she discussed the ethnical origin of the scholar, reconstructing with accuracy the phase of his education and his activity in the Romanian Principalities, opening a door towards the universe of the philosophical, mathematics and pedagogical preoccupations of the director of the Princely Academy of Iași⁵⁷.

Of Ariadna Camariano's entire historiographic production, the monograph on the Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iași distinguishes itself from the point of view of its value and echo. The work had a particular destiny, being published in two editions, a Romanian one, smaller, and a French one, complete⁵⁸. A huge documentary material, mostly unpublished, allowed the author to

⁵³ “Le Théâtre grec à Bucarest au début du XIX-e siècle”, *Balkanica*, 6 (1943), pp. 381-416.

⁵⁴ “Voltaire și Giovanni Del Turco traduși în limba română pe la 1772” [Voltaire and Giovanni Del Turco translated in Romanian in 1772], *C. Giurescu* homage volume, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 175-182.

⁵⁵ “Despre poema patriotică antiotomană *Trâmbița românească*” [About the Anti-Ottoman patriotic poem *The Romanian Bugle*], *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 2 (1957), pp. 457-464.

⁵⁶ “Jérémie Cacavela et ses relations avec les Principautés Roumaines”, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 3(1965), 1-2, pp. 165-190.

⁵⁷ “Un directeur éclairé à l'Académie de Jassy il y a deux siècles: Iosip Moisioudax”, *Balkan Studies*, 7 (1966), pp. 297-332.

⁵⁸ *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974, 830 p.

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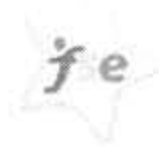


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analyse almost all aspects of the education in the Academies, from the teaching staff, to the organization and the educational-pedagogical methods, and to the role of the institutions in the Romanian and South-Eastern European areas. If the Romanian edition was very well received by the public⁵⁹, awarded by the Romanian Academy, the French edition (almost double, as it included the two chapters with the professors' bio-bibliographies, refused by the Romanian Academy), awarded in its turn by the Academy of Athens, quickly became a standard in the research of the history of education and of the South-Eastern European area⁶⁰.

Although less important in the whole of the Hellenist's work, the studies of history proper are represented by topics such as the Phanariote tax system, the Greek revolt from 1768-1774 organized by Tsarina Catherine II, the pro-French trend among the Ionians or the presentation of some Philiki Etaireia front members. We can notice here the correct interpretations, the coherence of exposition and the richness of information from primary sources, as well as a good knowledge of the specialized Greek, Russian or French literature.

The text editions, on which she worked alone or together with her brother Nestor, have in common an enormous toil and the critical method. As a homage to their erudite uncle, the text of a chronicle discovered by Demosthene Russo in the library of the Holy Sepulchre Metochion at Constantinople was published in 1965, in a bilingual text, becoming an important and necessary instrument, especially for the Romanian and Greek medievalists⁶¹. This is only after two decades that another edition, gathering the "diplomatic" reports addressed to Prince Constantin Mavrocordat (a topic she had dealt with in a study from 1961 as well) was published by Ariadna Camariano, proving to be equally useful, despite a rather contestable title⁶².

Nestor Camariano (1909-1982) distinguished himself as one of the most active researchers in the field of humanities, offering the specialized public over 90 works in fields like the history of Romanian literature, comparative literature, book history, history of the Philiki Etaireia and of Greek-Romanian relations. Most of the texts were published in Romania, but some of his maybe

⁵⁹ Among the reviewed authors we mention Paul Cernovodeanu, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 9 (1972), 1, pp. 150-153), V. Mihordea, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 90 (1972), 1-2, pp. 202-208, Gh. Cronț, *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, 25 (1972), 3, pp. 613-617), Maria Marinescu-Himu, *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, 13, pp. 271-273, Alkis Myrsinis-Manthos *Ηπειρωτική Εστία*, 22 (1973), pp. 421-425, P.K. Gheorgountzos, *Πλάτων*, 24 (1972), pp. 338-342, etc.

⁶⁰ See the reviews of Eleni D. Belea, *Μνημοσίνη*, 5 (1974-1975), pp. 421-426, Georgios Caras *Ερανιστής*, 14 (1976), pp. 247-248, Asterios Argyrou, *Balkan Studies*, 20 (1979), 1, pp. 168-176, etc.

⁶¹ *Cronica Ghiculeștilor. Istoria Moldovei între anii 1695-1754* [The Chronicle of the Ghiculești. History of Moldavia between 1695-1754], Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1965.

⁶² *Reprezentanța diplomatică a Moldovei la Constantinopol (30 august 1741-decembrie 1742). Rapoartele inedite ale agenților lui Constantin Mavrocordat* [Moldavia's Diplomatic Service at Constantinople (30 August 1741-December 1742). Unpublished Reports of Constantin Mavrocordat's Agents], Bucharest: Ed. Academiei, 1985.

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most important contributions – if we think about his monograph on Athanasios Christopoulos – were printed in Greece.

He was born on 23 March 1909 and he attended, with interruptions, because of the armed conflicts, the elementary school in his native town, Peristasi, included in the Turkish territory. After the loss of his father, a trader, and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, his family moves to Romanian, to Constanța (1922) and he is soon taken, like his sister Ariadna, by his uncle Demosthene Russo to Bucharest.

Rather few things are known about the next period of his life, some of them from his or his sister Ariadna's or their uncle's correspondence. Nestor made his secondary education in private and, passionate by books and their history, he enrolled in the '30s to the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest, where his uncle was an influential professor already and where he obtained his bachelor's degree diploma in a few years (1936), directed by Professor D. Caracostea, with a thesis on the history of comparative literature.

Since the years of his secondary education, he entered, gradually, the refined intellectual circles of the Wednesday and Saturday meetings at Russo's house, and he appropriated the latter's method and inclination towards the exact detail; he also started to become close with the professor's students and collaborators; some of them, when they reached important positions, supported him in his career, as in the cases of C.C. Giurescu., D. Caracostea or N. Cartoian, while in the case of a few others we could notice that the relations grew colder in the years that followed the Byzantinist's death, when survival became a difficult and individual issue.

Indeed, the scholar's death (1938) was hard to endure by his nephew and niece, in spite of the complicated medical interventions that Russo had been submitted to over his last decade of life and which should have prepared them for the approaching unforgiving end. The professor had appointed Ariadna, in July 1937, his legatee, leaving her the house and an appreciable bank account, from which she was supposed to pay fixed sums to her mother or brother until he would end his doctoral studies. On the other hand, his library, probably the private library with the highest number of rare books in the country at that time, was left to both of them, in equal parts⁶³.

His first publishes in 1935, the same year as Ariadna, as a student; his paper, *Primele încercări literare ale lui C. Negruzzi și prototipurile lor grecești* [C. Negruzzi's First Literary Attempts and their Greek Prototypes], appears in the collection of monographs of the Institute of Literary History and Folklore in Bucharest, directed by D. Caracostea, a close collaborator of D. Russo. The contribution had a fine internal logic and, in spite of some gaucheries at the level of expression, it brought new elements and useful corrections on the beginning literary activity of C.

⁶³ We can see how well-equipped this library was from the additions Nestor made to the two volumes of D. Ghinis' *Bibliografia grecească* [Greek Bibliography] (1939-1943) and published in 1940 and 1943 in magazines from Athens and, Bucharest.

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Negruzzi, a classic of the Romanian literature of the transition epoch, by identifying the originals or the intermediary editions of the works he had translated. The next year, he published two studies in a scientific magazine: a more extended one, dedicated to the Italian-Neohellenic literary confluences, and a smaller one, about the Greek influences in Ienăchiță Văcărescu's *Grammar*.

So he started his scientific activity under the careful guidance of his uncle, who followed his evolution, sending the nephew's texts to his friends as well. Basil Munteanu wrote Nestor from Paris in March 1936, letting him know that both his and his sister's studies are included in the bibliographic column of «Revue de Litterature Comparée» of the French capital, due to the fact that both papers, "constructed like clocks", included "conclusions worthy to enter the general circulation of ideas regarding our literary beginnings".

The difficulties did not end after 1943, when the Neohellenist officially entered the group of researchers. The war had affected all destinies, and a totalitarian regime was about to take possession of Eastern Europe; Romania was fully experiencing the new realities, at both the institutional and the individual levels. The institutes were closed or "fused", in a process of "reformation" of education and research (more intensely after 1947), a process by which the uncomfortable persons were excluded from the system. Nestor himself was in a real danger, as he himself admitted in a letter to the academic of Iași P. Caraman, in the fall of that fatidic year 1947: "it seems that the scientific institutes will be strongly affected, and many people, among whom I seem to be myself, will be fired"⁶⁴. He survived, however, the purges, and could focus on his passion, the research, offering the academic environment tens of studies, papers and notes, discovering and publishing new manuscripts.

Retired in 1968, Nestor Camariano continued to work in the same rhythm, preparing different writings, among which two monographs for the publishing house of the famous Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki. One of them, dedicated to Christopoulos, in fact his *opera magna*, was finished in the beginning of the 1980s, and he saw it published in impeccable conditions (1981), but he passed away soon, only a few months after, on 3 of June 1982, at the age of 73, unfortunately in full creative élan.

He canalized his energy on two main levels. First of all, the discovery and publication of historical documents, second the reconstruction of historical moments in the last centuries, or the analysis of cultural events and personalities in the South-Eastern area.

⁶⁴ Cf. the letter of 2 Oct. 1947, preserved in the family archives. P. Caraman was excluded from the chair in October 1947. The correspondence between the two started by a request to Nestor to borrow him at Iași a few Greek books, though Dan Simonescu had made him aware of the Hellenist's anecdotic golden rule not to borrow books home, after he had lost many precious items from D. Russo's library. Nestor eventually accepted and which was more, he took himself the volumes to an intermediary destination and consulted the libraries in Bucharest to offer the philologist of Iași other indications he needed. So Petru Caraman declared to be "unusually impressed" by the rare kindness of the Hellenist (letter of 12.09.1947).

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As long as he was the employee of the Romanian Academy, he took over the 2nd volume of *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești* [Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts], with the titles that entered the Library of the Academy after 1909⁶⁵. Indeed, this was published in 1940 and comprised the description of over 230 manuscripts (831-1066)⁶⁶, the material being organized, in a useful way, in eight sections: Theology, History, Law, Medicine, Translation in Modern Greek, Schoolbooks, Miscellanea, Varia⁶⁷.

Afterwards, as a researcher at the History Institute, he contributed, with other colleagues, in the editing of the five volumes of documents on the year 1821 in the Romanian Principalities, counting over 2,000 pages; the fourth volume included sources referring to the Philiki Etaireia. In the same collegial spirit, he collaborated to the publication of a fundamental instrument for the investigation of the Romanian society of the nineteenth century, which included the bibliographic description of all articles and news appeared in the Romanian old periodicals. In the same years, together with his learned sister, he edited in parallel text *Cronica Ghiculeștilor* [The Chronicle of the Ghiculești] (1965), he handed over, at the publishing house, the manuscript in parallel text on the Romanian Principalities (*Efemerides*) by C. Dapontes and participated in another major project started by the Romanian Academy, where he dealt with the historical literature.

His contributions in the second direction, most of the times individually undertaken, are not less important. In 1938, in the first issue of the Bucharest *Balcania* journal, was published a well-documented and inciting study on Rhigas' work, a popular topic that was going to attract the Greek scholars' attention⁶⁸. He would return many times on the life and work of this so disputed scholar in the Balkans, capitalizing materials gathered over a long period spent in libraries and archives.

The Philiki Etaireia and the events of the year 1821 also represented favoured topics in Nestor Camariano's work, to which he dedicated years of research. Except for two notes published in the Bucharest Greek newspaper of *Néa Elládas*, the first scientific contribution appeared in 1947,

⁶⁵ In March 1939 the work should have been handed over, as one can read in two of the letters (from the family archives) in which Al. Elian asked Nestor to go to his boss, Al. Rosetti, with the manuscript of the catalogue he had worked on.

⁶⁶ We should mention that the editor took from C. Litzica, so criticized by his uncle, 100 descriptions of manuscripts (831-930) that he had published after the release of volume I of the *Catalogue*; Nestor introduced them in the beginning of his edition, with some small changes and mentioning the source.

⁶⁷ He had prepared for this kind of toil since the spring of 1935, when his uncle sent him to Transylvania to catalogue the Greek manuscripts and prints from the Astra Library of Brașov, with the intention to buy the items on sale. Nestor solved the task quite fast, sending the scholar, on 15 April, two lists with 122 Greek titles. Cf. unpublished correspondence in the family archives.

⁶⁸ "Contributions à la bibliographie des oeuvres de Rigas Velestinlis", *Balcania*, 1 (1938), pp. 211-229. Nestor Camariano's study found immediately echoes among the Neohellenists, who intervened in the debate: C. Kerofilas, in *Le Messager d'Athens* 29-30 June 1938; Ap. Daskalakis, in *Néa Eστία*, 24 (1938), 279, pp. 1075-1078; N. Svoronos, in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher*, 15 (1939), p. 324.

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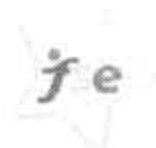
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while the next ones will come over a decade after. In all of them one can notice the respect for the historical document, the thoroughness of arguments and the big concern for limpidity.

Nestor Camariano wrote interesting studies, extremely useful for the researchers interested in the field and in issues of philological finesse, especially in the issue of the contact of Neohellenic culture (often an intermediary culture in the relations with the developed Western culture) with the Romanian one. Continuing the line of his debut texts, he patiently stopped on the presence of masterpieces of Occidental spirit, re-establishing literary filiations and paternities, investigating the cultural activity of the Greek companies or the beginnings of the Greek-speaking press in Romania.

But his most important works regard Alexandros Mavrocordatos' diplomatic activity in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, and the life and work of the scholar Athanasios Christopoulos, who lived most of his life in the Romanian Principalities; both of them were published in successful editions, in French, in Greece. For the latter at least, he worked for one decade, but he did not survive enough to enjoy the positive echoes and the admiration that this model of monograph – his most relevant writing, at the same time – stirred up.

It is quite obvious that the “dynasty” Demosthene Russo founded and which was successfully represented by Ariadna and Nestor Camariano, played a defining role in the South-East European historiography. D. Russo's preoccupations for the fields of the history of Hellenism and of Helleno-Romanian relations, his interpretations on Phanariotism were continued by his nephew and niece, whose works were inspired by the unfinished work of their uncle; the contributions of the three scholars are highly qualitative, competent and objective constructions, representing, in fact, deeper and deeper diggings in the same soil.

Conclusions

Aside from the negative stereotypes and false representations that crawl into peoples and nations minds about each other, there is a direct relationship between closeness and geographical remoteness and polarity of an image. If a group or a people is more distanced on the other, the projected image of the first on the latter will be diffused, but at the same time, welcoming and positive, because it is not identified as a potential threat. Not the case Phanariots that Romanians have known about and many more than a century, the group was quickly perceived as a ruthless competition for positions and economic advantages to climb the social ladder.

Images of Phanariotism as harmful socio-political factor, formed overtime based on direct perception and coexistence in the same historical space, based on relationships of all kinds, political, economic or cultural, but also as a result of perceptions indirect, mediated, of intellectual origins, often bear a superficial view of the defining elements of the Phanariot group. On the other

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hand, antiphanariotism is not a phenomenon exclusive Romanian, but it is equally true that here it has a specific note. The texts of the foreign travelers have a vital critical component, even if it does not reach the size of the one in the Principalities (in fact, they are often used by Romanian authors in a propagandistic manner), not to mention the texts of Edgar Quinet or Elias Regnault in the mid-nineteenth century, which immediately received Romanian translation.

The same, many Greek texts openly criticize the Phanariotism in the Principalities and the "original" in Constantinople, long before the *Essai sur les phanariotes* of Zolny Marc Philippe (1824), fact possible because different social strata of Greek society were in conflict before and after 1821, and because the Phanariots were often subject their nationals ironies and pamphlets. Even later, Greek historiography of the second half of the nineteenth century (the period in which history becomes a the scientific discipline in the academic life of Greece) has not taken a laudatory stand on Phanariots; besides the respect that it inspired for obviously cultural merit, their pro Ottoman position taken in the 1821 Revolution and in the War of Independence could not be forgiven.

However, Phanariotism receives other facets in Greek historiography, compared to Romanian, according to the centers of interest and analytical perspective. If the Romanian it is a social phenomenon, for the Greek is more a political phenomenon. In addition, in the Greek historiography, the relations of the Phanariots with the Principalities (so, the interest of the Romanian historiography) is only a fringe element, because the region consumes a fraction of the forms of manifestation of the Phanariot spirit.

As the Romanian state increases its control over society, especially in the educational structures, the negative image of Phanariotism (sometimes merged with Hellenism) is impressing deeper in general opinion, even becoming part of educational policy to be enforced at all levels. This explains why the topic is so present in modern Romanian historiography and in what parameters. But why the subject is so strong at the end of the nineteenth century? Why the need for revision? One of the classic exegetes of Phanariotism (C. Erbiceanu) considered in its early texts that had to be consumed first in hatred of the Greeks, for the period in question, to be objectively analyzed. Indeed, the forty-eighters generation, formed in the decades II-IV, when Hellenism survived at different levels, had already gone. However towards the end of the nineteenth century were born other challenges, have identified new priorities for national history – as the Macedonian issue – so the aversion against Hellenism, that referred Erbiceanu, could not be extinguished.

We find that the end of the nineteenth century is very rich in approaches of Phanariot subject, and powerful argued, too. Not all productions starts to be more balanced now, but a growing interest in the topic mentioned is undeniable. The period brings a stronger professionalisation in the guild of historians, became more sensitive to suggestions of positivism.

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Therefore, we deal with new realities in historiography, new methods to promote critical, positivist interpretations. We conclude that, overall, the turn of the 19th beginnings of the 20th centuries is a time when criticism of the indiscriminate anti-Phanariotism tends to withdraw in the dilettante textes, to popular works and to textbooks. In the work of specialists, the essential compromise refers to a particular beneficial influence Phanariotism on cultural level.

On the other hand, inertia of popular opinion continues and one of the elements that maintained this is the doublelanguage, speech adapted to suitable opportunities and the diverse public. Note, even the leaders of Phanariotism revaluation, could not exclude some old ideas, however pleasing the public, contradictions more or less obvious in marginal texts, reviews the various occasions patriotic speeches. The space also features ancient sediments and concepts prove to be extremely resistant, template phrases, stereotypes that live on and make career.

It is no surprise that policymakers and opinion makers have used the high aversion to Phanariot Regime, deeply anchored in Romanian mentalities, as a bridge to build Romanian national identity, and to adapt it to the new European context. In that sense, the activity of the national school system at the end of the 19th century and the beginnings of the 20th century (but prolonged in interwar period and, in some points, until today), both by the voice of the teachers and by textbooks was an example of perfect mobilisation in achieving the desired objectives, even if that means the continuing of old stereotypes, already abandoned in professional historical writings. But all the forms of expression in the local society (litterature, theatre, etc.) had contributed greatly to the damnation of the Phanariot Regime and to the building of national identity.

Iași
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