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*László J. Nagy*

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Szegedi Tudományegyetem  
Újkori Egyetemes Történelmi és Mediterrán Tanulmányok Tanszék  
H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2.  
Tel./Fax.: (36) (62) 544-805, 544-464  
e-mail : jnagy@hist.u-szeged.hu

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*Péter Ákos Ferwagner*

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## SOMMAIRE

Preface: Conflict, Change and Cooperation in Southeastern Europe and in the Middle East (17 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup> centuries) (Balázs Balatoni).....	5
Tibor Tóth The British and Irish volunteers' perception of the Ottoman and Christian armies during the Great Turkish War in Hungary (1683-1699).....	7
Roxana Martin Une perspective sur la Transylvanie : <i>Le château des Carpathes</i> de Jules Verne .....	19
Dorottya Mihályi Traditions modernisées : les avis des voyageurs sur le tourisme et les touristes au Maroc.....	29
Alexandra Fluerașu Le roumain influencé par le turc : les emprunts .....	41
Balázs Balatoni The Buxton Mission. British diplomacy in Bulgaria 1914–1915 .....	49
Anastas Bezha The Ottoman Heritage in Albania at the Brink of World War One .....	61
Levente Gábor Szabó Japanese ships in the Mediterranean. An unlikely ally escorting 70.000 troops for the Entente.....	85
József Kádár The Jordanian Nationalism .....	91
Dániel Ferenc Domján A Yugoslavian show trial – The history of the Zagreb spy trial and its background .....	101

*Varia*

Salvatore Bono Une Méditerranée élargie .....	111
Gizella Nemeth – Adriano Papo La testimonianza di Antal Verancsics al processo per l'assassinio di Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi .....	119
Mónika Kitti Farkas I prigionieri italiani nella fortezza di Szeged: i rapporti con la popolazione locale.....	139
Oliver Friggieri Rapporti letterari tra Malta e la Sicilia. Prospettive veriste nella narrativa maltese.....	151

## *Preface*

### **Conflict, Change and Cooperation in Southeastern Europe and in the Middle East (17<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)**

The notion of conflict has been almost proverbially bound to the region of Southeastern Europe (as commonly known, to the Balkans) and to the Middle East in the European conscience for about two centuries now. Despite earlier encounters, like the crusades or commercial relations, this geographically wide region, which was mostly identical to the greatest ambits of the late Ottoman Empire, has become synonymous with ethnic and religious tension and with perennial discord and conflict in the modern period – at least on the mental map of European public opinion. This notion has barely changed nowadays yet.

Conflict was one of the keywords of the one-day PhD Student conference, hosted by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Szeged. Our aim with this conference was to bring together a group of young scholars to discuss the developments behind this notion and to investigate the diverse history of this vast territory. To this end, the conference markedly had an interdisciplinary character due to the participants from the fields of literary studies and history. In their thought-provoking presentations, all participants also emphasized change in relation with conflict and cooperation.

Tibor Tóth (*Eötvös Loránd University*) guided us back to the Habsburg – Ottoman Wars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and meticulously described the perceptions of military volunteers from the British Isles about the Ottoman military capacity and also local conditions. In her study, Roxana-Voichița Martin (*West University of Timișoara*) analyses the literary images of Jules Verne's Castle of the Carpathians, and shed light on the Orientalist repertoire of Verne's popular novel. Dorottya Mihályi (*University of Szeged*) introduces us to the contemporary perception of tourism in Morocco. She convincingly demonstrates the contradictory relationship between "commercialized" and the "original" traditions represented in Moroccan tourism. Alexandra Fluerașu (*West University of Timișoara*) carefully enumerates the lingual cultural exchange between the Romanian and the Ottoman-Turkish languages by listing the adopted common words in given periods.

The second part of the present volume contains articles from the field of history. Balázs Balatoni (*University of Szeged*) gives a sketch on the diplomatic scrambles of the first years of World War I in the Balkans by displaying the activities of the Buxton-mission to Bulgaria. In his well-detailed article, Anastas Bezha (*University of Szeged*) reconsiders the evolution of the Albanian national movement in the context of the discrepancies of Ottoman modernization. The article of Levente Szabó (*University of Szeged*) is investigating an 'unlikely' event, the Japanese naval involvement in the Mediterranean during the First World War. József Kádár's (*University of Szeged*) article offers us a brief insight into the forging of Jordanian nationalism. The volume ends with Dániel Ferenc Domján (*Pázmány Péter Catholic University*) study about a communist show-trial in Zagreb. He persuasively

demonstrates the circumstances of the trial by utilizing a substantial amount of archival documents.

Finally, I would like to express our special thanks to those without whom the conference would never have been realized. We owe special thanks to our Professors who encouraged us to organize this symposium, despite the many difficulties we faced at the beginning. We are indebted to *Dr. Péter Ákos Ferwagner* and *Dr. Péter Vukman* for chair the sections of the conference. We are grateful for the support of The Department of History and Political Science of the Hungarian Association of PhD and DLA Students (DOSZ TePo) for helping make this conference possible. In particular, we thank the valuable assistance and guidance of Vivien Apjok, vice-president of DOSZ TePo. We are also very grateful for the contribution of *Dr. Zoltán Vajda*, Vice-Dean for International Relations, *Dr. Richárd Szántó*, Head of Institute of History, *Dr. Sándor Papp*, Head of Doctoral School of History, *Dr. László J. Nagy*, *Dr. Sándor Csernus*, and *Dr. Ágnes Tamás*.

Balázs Balatoni  
Szeged, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2019

## ***The British and Irish volunteers' perception of the Ottoman and Christian armies during the Great Turkish War in Hungary (1683-1699)***

**TIBOR TÓTH**  
EÖTVÖS LORÁND  
UNIVERSITY

During the Great Turkish War (1683-1699) a great number of foreign volunteers from all parts of Europe flocked to the Hungarian theatre of war in order to participate in the struggle against the Ottomans. Later in their lives many of these foreign volunteers became successful and widely-known generals, like the Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736) or the French marshal of Louis XIV, Louis Hector de Villars (1653-1734). Throughout the war thousands of these foreign volunteers were present in the field, and, arguably, the British and Irish constituted one of the largest and possibly the most prominent group among them. It is hard to tell exactly how many British and Irish volunteers took part in the war. We do not have any information either hints about their numbers in 1683 and 1684, but from 1685 on, the picture becomes clearer. Their most famous and distinguished engagement was at the siege of Buda in 1686, in the course of which about 150-200 English, Irish and Scottish men were active<sup>1</sup>, while similar numbers might have been present in Hungary during the next campaign. The torrents of volunteers suddenly stopped as the war in the West had reignited and William, Prince of Orange invaded the British Isles in 1688. As a result of these impactful events in the West, the activity of the British and Irish soldiery in Hungary significantly decreased.

In case of the British and Irish, we can clearly discern their paramount motive for travelling to Hungary. Obviously, everybody had their own personal reasons to risk their lives in a distant war, in a faraway country. For many, seeking an adventure, the gaining of personal glory or other aspects of self-improvement were important goals, but it is prevalent that nearly all of them strived to gather valuable military experience which, arm-in-arm with the fame acquired on the battlefields of Hungary, would help to boost their careers at home in the English, Scottish or Irish armies. Unfortunately, experience was hard to come by in the 1680s. Between 1683 and 1688 the war against the Turks was the only major and long-lasting military engagement in Europe which could offer an attractive opportunity for young, inexperienced noblemen and army officers to learn the art of war. The king himself played an important role in motivating his subjects to go to Hungary. James II, who reigned from 1685 to 1688, indulged in military affairs and desired his English army to be as ex-

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<sup>1</sup> The order of mention of the nationalities represents their importance and numerosity in the field, since after the English the Irish soldiers were the most significant, while the Scottish volunteers' number was surprisingly low during the given period.

perienced, fit and ready for combat as it was possible. In order to achieve this goal, the king and his commanding generals actively encouraged the engineers, officers and soldiers of the English army to participate in the war. They also readily accepted the individual requests of nobles and commoners for passes to go to Hungary. The king was not reluctant to send to war even his own illegitimate son, the then 15-year-old James Fitz-James (1670-1734), who later became known as 1st Duke of Berwick and a renowned general of the French army.<sup>2</sup>

During these bloody and merciless encounters in Hungary, the English, Irish and Scottish volunteers had an abundance of opportunity to learn and observe the combat effectiveness and methods of warfare of the Ottoman and Christian armies. Contrary to many contemporary and modern-day beliefs about the good-for-nothing character of the foreign volunteers, the English, Irish and Scottish actively participated in the campaigns and took part in nearly every military operation, including highly dangerous hand-to-hand combat. During the course of these campaigns they spent most if not every minute of their time in the ranks of the imperial army that is in the army of the emperor, Leopold I (r. 1658-1705). Moreover, they were in daily contact with the emperor's chief commander and other high-ranking generals. In addition to discussing the progress of the campaign, the tactics and strategies with each other, they seized the opportunity to discourse about these exact same things for example with Charles V, Duke of Lorraine (1643-1690) or the Irish born imperial general Francis Taaffe (1639-1704), thereby learning the art of war from the chief commanders themselves.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, only a fraction of these men, as we currently know it, left behind written testimonies of what they had seen and experienced in Hungary. Nevertheless, it still represents a copious amount of material compared to the number of testimonies written by other nations' volunteers.

For the analysis of the volunteers' perception of the opposing armies, I have made use of both published and unpublished sources produced by the volunteers. Most of them contained zero to none information about this question, therefore, for the sake of clarity and brevity, only those are going to be mentioned which were of any importance to our topic. Unfortunately, of the several hundred only a few volunteers' testimonies contained straightforward and unequivocal information about their opinions. I purposely avoided to draw assumptions founded on events they were simply part of, since, for example, seeing the Turks defeated all the time does not necessarily mean picking up negative notions like that the entire Ottoman army and war machinery was inferior to that of the Christian in all aspects. In order to avoid drawing false conclusions and creating vague and most of the time unverifiable theories about their personal perceptions, I have only served with unambiguous and direct statements.

The volunteers certainly have been under the influence of the imperial generals and officers they served with, but, as we are going to see, they dared to differ and to have disparate views, and I assumed that their impressions of the opposing armies are mostly, if not completely, based on their personal battlefield experiences. Since the imperial troops fought alongside various auxiliary forces from the Holy Roman Empire, it is essential to clarify

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<sup>2</sup> For an overview and more info about his life see Petrie, *The Marshal Duke of Berwick*; Handley, *Fitzjames, James, duke of Berwick upon Tweed*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) Accessed April 16, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9610>

<sup>3</sup> Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (BRBML), Osborn b174, 43.



that in case of their statements, which will be shortly put under scrutiny, the volunteers did not differentiate between the diverse bodies of the Christian army and treated them as a whole, united force as they expressed their views. They tend to describe the Habsburg troops and the Empire's regiments simply as "Germans", but this is not entirely accurate if we consider the fact that a lesser portion of the imperial regiments was consisted of other nationalities. It is also important to note that the volunteers formed their opinions by comparing the imperial army to the Ottomans. They might have come to different conclusions if they were to observe the imperial army against the French.

### Volunteers of note

The first volunteer of importance, in chronological order, was an English captain named John Talbot who arrived in Hungary in 1685 from the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Braunschweig-Lüneburg, or Hannover as it is generally known). He was an experienced and battle-hardened soldier who, previous to his Hanoverian employment, served in the army of William, Prince of Orange (1672-1702). In this capacity, Talbot fought in the Dutch War (1672-1678) doing "*many gallant actions before Maastricht and other places*". Only later on out of necessity he took up service in the armed forces of the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and became a commander of a company.<sup>4</sup> In 1685, as assistance to the emperor's struggle against the Turks, 10.000 Hanoverian troops were sent to Hungary by their Duke Ernest Augustus (1679-1698).<sup>5</sup> We do not know whether Talbot's company was designated to march with the rest of the army into Hungary because he never mentions the Hanoverian forces in his letters, neither his own company nor commanding duties for that matter. It is unclear in what condition and under what circumstances Talbot took part in the operations, but most likely he was part of the Hanoverian auxiliary force. In regard to the next year's campaign, although the highly esteemed Brunswick-Lüneburg troops stayed at home, John Talbot himself returned and fought bravely at the siege of Buda, this time as a volunteer.<sup>6</sup>

Captain Talbot's ultimate goal was, which somehow must have corresponded with his volunteering against the Turks, that after years of service in foreign armies finally to return home and receive a commission in the English army.<sup>7</sup> We do not know anything about his previous connections to Bevil Skelton (1641-1696) who was ambassador extraordinary at The Hague from March 1685 until October 1686<sup>8</sup>, but John Talbot frequently exchanged letters with him.<sup>9</sup> He sent numerous battlefield reports to the aforementioned diplomat concerning the siege of Érsekújvár (nowadays Nové Zámky) and the battle of Tát in 1685. Unfortunately, only two of his letters survived. In 1686 Skelton was relocated to Paris as an

<sup>4</sup> The British Library (BL), Additional Manuscripts (Add MS) 41812, fol. 176v.

<sup>5</sup> Károlyi, *Buda és Pest visszavívása 1686-ban*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> Only to be killed two days after his arrival during the first general assault on the 13th July 1686. See BL, Add MS 41842, fol. 28v.

<sup>7</sup> BL, Add MS 41840 fol. 116r. 20th August 1685. From the camp by Gomorha. Talbot's letter to Skelton; BL, Add MS 41812, fol. 176v, 202r. 18/28th August and 2/12th September 1685. Official diplomatic reports of Bevil Skelton from The Hague to Charles Middleton, Secretary of State.

<sup>8</sup> Bell, *A handlist of British diplomatic representatives*, 206.

<sup>9</sup> His letters can be found, accordingly, among the official reports, various diplomatic papers and many other types of documents related to the mission of Bevil Skelton at The Hague.

voy extraordinary to Louis XIV's court, and Talbot must have given up hope to enlist in England since we have no more letters of his pen either hints about their possible existence, which might also have something to do with his early death during the siege of Buda.

The next soldier of relevance to our topic is called Jacob Richards (c. 1660-1701) who is well-known among modern-day historians for his published and widely-used diary about the siege of Buda in 1686. He was a young commissioned engineer of the English army who was sent to Hungary by his king James II to "... *serve in the said army in order to his improvement for his Majesty's future service.*"<sup>10</sup> He was ordered to lead a scrupulous diary and to note down everything he observes and experiences abroad, most importantly "... *the marching and countermarching, and in the besieging of any town to observe their making approaches, mines, batteries, lines of circumvallation and contravallation, the height and thickness of their parapets and breadth of the grafts...* etc."<sup>11</sup> Luckily, Jacob Richards did exactly that and produced a series of diaries about his travels and engagements he had witnessed and been part of. Upon his arrival at Vienna he was accepted into the imperial army's engineer corps for the duration of the campaign and was regularly given tasks by his superiors during the siege.<sup>12</sup> The journal, as said before, was published in 1687 and it mostly corresponds with the surviving manuscripts of the diary. I have consulted both the published version and all three manuscripts of the diary, but preferred to use and cite the original manuscript which can be found in the Stowe Collection in The British Library.<sup>13</sup>

The other volunteer who was present under the walls of Buda was William Stewart, the first Viscount of Mountjoy (1650-1692). He was an educated Irish peer of Scottish origins who had both scientific and military interests. In addition to his colonelcy of a regiment, in 1684 he became Master General of the Ordnance of the king's Irish forces which meant that he was responsible for the condition of the fortresses, the storage facilities, the engineer corps, the armament, the train of artillery etc. in Ireland. Like Jacob Richards, he had no previous battlefield experience prior to his arrival in Hungary. He was already in his mid-thirties when he decided to fight as a volunteer against the Turks and perceived the travelling and the campaign as an excellent opportunity to gather experience and knowledge about nearly everything. As Mountjoy and his retinue passed through Nürnberg towards Hungary, he observed and reported to the Dublin Philosophical Society, whose he was the president for a brief period of time, the "... *most admirable curiosities... the finest (and which crowns) the most useful pieces of mechanism, or ingenuity could contrive, or hands make.*"<sup>14</sup>

Mountjoy led a diary about his travels through the continent on his way to Hungary and later about the progress of the siege of Buda. At the end of his siege diary there can be found a delicate elaboration, titled *Some remarks about the foregoing seige* (sic!). It contains many insightful comments about the campaign and represents an evaluation of the past events, where Mountjoy openly shared and expressed his personal opinions. The topics

<sup>10</sup> BL, Kings MS 226, fol. 2r.

<sup>11</sup> BL, Stowe MS 447, fol. 1r. "Instructions for Mr Jacob Richards to improve himselfe in Foreigne Parts beyond Seas, to be Employed at his returne as one of his Majesties Engineers in England."

<sup>12</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, f. 163r, f. 174r.

<sup>13</sup> All of the manuscripts can be found in The British Library under the following references: Stowe MS 448, Kings MS 226, Harley MS 4989. The title of the published diary is *A Journal of the siege and takeing of Buda by the Imperial army etc.*, London, 1687.

<sup>14</sup> BL, Add MS 4811, fol. 179v.

he chose to talk about also speak for themselves. In addition, like Talbot did in 1685 to the English ambassador at The Hague, Mountjoy sent long battlefield reports not only to his friends, but also to the Secretary of State of the Northern Department, Charles Middleton (2nd Earl of Middleton, 1650-1719). Both his diary and letters contain valuable information about the war in Hungary.<sup>15</sup>

We have some volunteers of lesser importance in consideration of our topic whose correspondences about the war contained only minimal, but still relevant information. Edward Vaudrey, a gentleman whose life is rather unknown, fought under Buda in 1686 and was a member of James Fitz-James' retinue as the young man's tutor.<sup>16</sup> He sent some letters to William Trumbull (1639-1716) the ambassador extraordinary at Paris (from September 1685 to October 1686) about the campaign.<sup>17</sup> Another volunteer of note was John Cutts (1660/1661-1707) who later in his life became a successful general of William III and served under John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722). He took part in the siege of Buda in 1686, some mentioning that he was the first to plant the imperial flag upon the walls of Buda. He returned for the next year's campaign and thus participated in the battle of Harsány-hegy and the invasion of Transylvania (1687). Although he had no previous military education nor experience, or any kind of connection to military affairs for that matter, in 1687 the Duke of Lorraine made him his personal adjutant for the duration of the campaign which put Cutts in a unique position only a few could enjoy.<sup>18</sup> Cutts' goal was to establish himself as an army officer with the help of the experience and fame acquired in Hungary. In 1687 he sent several reports about the campaign to Secretary of State Charles Middleton as well as to his sister in London.<sup>19</sup>

As we can see, all of them, except John Cutts, had a military background but they differed in experience, education and social standing. Talbot had already smelled gunpowder before the wars against the Turks, while the others, including Mountjoy and Richards, received their baptism of fire in Hungary. This does not mean that the latter two had next to nothing knowledge about military affairs and that their views are ill-conceived or unprofessional. They were born into a family of soldiers, particularly Richards whose two brothers, John and Michael, also became well-known engineers of their time.<sup>20</sup> Although we have no exact information about their former education, based on their diaries and letters both of

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<sup>15</sup> His diary is located in the repositories of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (New Haven, Connecticut) under the reference: Osborn b174. The publication and analysis of his diary is under way. Small parts of Mountjoy's letters are published in Erlington Ball, *Ormond*, but most of them are located in the British Library: BL, Add MS 41842. His travel diary and other writings from 1686 are stored in the Gilbert Library (Dublin, Ireland) which I haven't had the chance to consult yet.

<sup>16</sup> BL, Add MS 72586, fol. 63r.

<sup>17</sup> He served from this time on at least till his death at the side of James Fitz-James who was his friend. He died in the battle of the Boyne in 1690 fighting for the deposed king James II. See Dalton, *English army lists*, 113.

<sup>18</sup> Chichester and Hattendorf. *John Cutts*.

<sup>19</sup> BL, Add MS 41842, fols. 41-59. The publication of two articles about his engagement in Hungary and his letters to Charles Middleton is in progress.

<sup>20</sup> Dickinson, "The Richards brothers." 78-86.; Hebbert, "Major-General John Richards" 8-25.; Hebbert "The Richards brother", 200-211. For even further information see the respective articles in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography series.

them were competent and intelligent soldiers, curious even of the least important matters, with an analytical eye to everything.

### **The Ottoman and Imperial armies in the eyes of the volunteers**

The greatest and most striking difference which was witnessed by the volunteers was the prevalent confusion and outdated order of battle in the Ottoman army which stood in sharp contrast with the properly drilled Christian army's rank and file system. From the top of the hills west of Buda, right after the successful defensive operations on the 14th August 1686 against the Grand Vizier who came with his army to relieve the town, Jacob Richards wrote: "*From hence we could see all the rest of the Turkish army in the plains in numbers like flock of sheep which is their order of battle.*"<sup>21</sup> Mountjoy came to the same conclusions deliberating the reasons behind the Turks' complete defeat at Buda in 1686. Possibly from the same spot as Richards, since that day all the British and Irish fought together on the side of the imperial general Francis Taaffe and his troops, he wrote in his diary that "*we could see all the rest of the Turkish army in battalia, if we may call their order so.*"<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Mountjoy agreed with the Duke of Lorraine's opinion that "*their wanting that exact order which we observed in our squadrons and battalions*" was a crucial factor in causing confusion during battles and in their eventual defeats.<sup>23</sup>

Compared to the Turkish army, the volunteers had the opposite opinions concerning the imperial army's order of battle. The volunteers praised the sturdiness and order they showed during the field operations. Mountjoy writes, that he saw the imperial regiments to receive "*several charges from the enemy, which they supported with a courage that amazed me, and never shaken though many times outnumbered. I saw Taaffe's regiments at the same time charged in flank and rear with a vigour I thought nothing could resist, yet some squadrons faced each way and without any man quitting his rank repulsed the Turks with considerable loss.*" Talbot writes somewhat proudly to Skelton after the battle of Tát that "*we looked more like a wall than men in battle, to the best of my knowledge.*"<sup>24</sup> The volunteers often filled many pages while describing confidently the Christian army's order of battle.<sup>25</sup> This was done, in case of some volunteers, according to the precise orders of James II to observe the imperial army's methods of warfare and to bring home the knowledge the volunteers considered to be valuable and important to transfer into the English army.

Observing the Turkish army's tactics during the siege and field operations for nearly 4 months in 1686, Mountjoy was astounded by the fact that the Turks were highly inactive in the night, having no initiative at all to undertake sallies or to try to put succour into the town after nightfall. He discussed this issue with the Duke of Lorraine himself and the two men agreed that the main reason of this has to be their disorderly battle formations and "*not bringing their men to fight in rank and file*". The Irish volunteer concluded that these made

<sup>21</sup> BL, Stowe MS 448, fol. 15r. Entry of the 14th of August 1686.

<sup>22</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 28.

<sup>23</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 43.

<sup>24</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 115r. 20th August 1685. Capt. Talbot from the camp by Gomorha,

<sup>25</sup> We can find numerous examples when they described the Christian army's order of battle in a positive light. About the orderly movements of the Christian army prior to and during the battle of Harsány-hegy in 1687 wrote John Cutts. See BL, Add MS 69379, fols. 77-78.

the Turkish army "*liable to fall into confusion*" which would be all the more striking and devastating if they were to fight in the dark. But Mountjoy did not stop here: "*I think we may add to it that the despotic government which they live under abates that natural heat in them which nourished in men that are less enslaved, and their courage is raised in greater proportion by vanity and desire of greatness. This methinks they show by their constant putting on their finest and most remarkable cloths when they go to fight, now where men's actions are not seen there can be no hope of praise or advancement, and where they are equally concerned in the cause, the success must lean to the side who have most inward warmth.*"<sup>26</sup> We do not know much about Mountjoy's own political views neither the exact source of his aforementioned beliefs, and right now it is not the aim of this article to answer these questions.

In consideration of the image of the Turkish and Christian soldiers, opinions are somewhat divided and mixed. By reading Talbot's reports, it quickly becomes clear that he looked down on the enemy and had biased opinions, calling the Ottomans "*pitiful fellows*", a little later in the same letter stating the same thing again and says that "*... all the army does agree them to be the most pityfullest fellows they ever fought with.*"<sup>27</sup> Although he preferred a contemptuous tone while describing the Turkish army and its commanders, he remained a professional observer of the campaign's military aspects. Mountjoy had a different opinion. He commended the bravery, the constant caution and diligence of the defenders of Buda whose sallies were "*vigorous and hardly ever failed*".<sup>28</sup> He also, in part, defended the Grand Vizier's inactivity during the siege in front of whose eyes the city was finally captured. Mountjoy argued that the relieving force was consisted of raw recruits who had never fought before or "*who had fought only to be beaten*", and the loss of this army would mean the loss of the whole empire, but still, he remarks that an "*ill soldier*" would have done more than the Grand Vizier.<sup>29</sup> Talbot had much less understanding towards the Turkish generals and perceived them expressing himself, as usual, in a less gentle and subtle manner, to be "*men that does not understand the war.*"<sup>30</sup> Later he expressed the same opinion saying that all the Turkish commanders are not behaving like real soldiers and that they have no military experience at all.<sup>31</sup> It is obvious that the situation in 1685 compared to 1686 was different, and Talbot may sound too disdainful, but in the year of 1685 the Ottoman commanders fared badly indeed since they could not utilise the arising chances and favourable conditions during the campaign. And these are the exact reasons behind Talbot's ill-opinion of the Turkish commanders for he does not forget to elucidate to Skelton the whys of his aforementioned views.

It is never directly stated by Mountjoy, but he mentions the scimitar that is one of the main weapons of the Turks in a respectful and fearful way. He never forgets to remark if the person of quality was either "*struck down with a scimitar*"<sup>32</sup> or "*cruelly wounded by a*

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<sup>26</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, pp. 43-44.

<sup>27</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fols. 114r, 115v.

<sup>28</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 41.

<sup>29</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 42.

<sup>30</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 114r.

<sup>31</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 114v.

<sup>32</sup> Mr Richard Wiseman, a young aspiring gentleman from the county Essex was killed with the said weapon during the first general assault on 13th July 1686. See BL, Add MS 41842, fol. 28v.

*scimitar*”.<sup>33</sup> Many other instances could be brought up. Mountjoy writes about the Turkish sally on the 9th of July that “*at 4 in the morning [the Turks] sallied with such vigour that they ran over all our advanced trenches and with their scimitars hewed down 160 men.*”<sup>34</sup> It is an innocent theory that it might have been Mountjoy’s personal apprehension and worst nightmare to meet his death by the hands of a Turkish soldier armed with a scimitar.

It is interesting to see that some volunteers came to the exact same conclusions about one peculiar feature of the Turkish charges or assaults on the battlefields. They emphasised the great noise and resolution with which they started their attacks which was followed by an immediate and swift retreat after the first, usually devastating enemy volley. Talbot said that they approached the Christian lines with such a noise “*as if they would swallow us*”<sup>35</sup> while Mountjoy wrote that the Turks attacked “*with a vigour I thought nothing could resist*” and that after the first discharge they retired as fast as they came.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps Talbot was the one who wrote about this question in the most intelligible way, and according to him the entire Christian army shared this opinion: “*The whole army does agree that they never see men coming to blows with a greater sign of resolution than they did and sooner grew daunted. They marched with that assurance as if they would tread us under their horse feet... [they] stood but one valley of our shot which amazed them and turned to the hills.*”<sup>37</sup>

The British and Irish volunteers considered the German, that is the soldiers of the emperor and Holy Roman Empire to be brave and thirsty of plunder. And we just described nearly every country’s soldiers of the early modern period. Still, we have some other interesting remarks about the German soldiers which deserve to be mentioned. We have already mentioned the amazement of Mountjoy as he witnessed the courage and discipline with which the imperial regiments repulsed the vigorous Turkish charges on 14th August 1686. Edward Vaudrey, as he described a successful attack on the town to William Trumbull, wrote that the “*jolly Germans*”, which should be interpreted as brave or careless of the enemy’s fire, continued the attack and “*mounted boldly over their companions’ bodies and maintained the post in spite of Mahomet and all his Myrmidons.*”<sup>38</sup> Mountjoy thought the same and wrote to Middleton that the Germans “*fight like the devil*”, but he also noted that they do so in the hope of plunder.<sup>39</sup> Witnessing the final assault on the 2nd of September, his respect was diminished as the Christians sacked the city and massacred a large part of the inhabitants. “*And those, who for near three months had done more than men, in this action were less than women. The unruly soldiers set the town on fire and now I think the honour is only due to the Duke of Lorraine who*

<sup>33</sup> Mountjoy notes this in his diary about general Mercy who later died of his wounds. See BRBML, Osborn b174, 34.

<sup>34</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 8.

<sup>35</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 115r.

<sup>36</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 28.

<sup>37</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 115v; James Fitz-James also witnessed and described this event in the like manner but did not leave an explicit comment on it. See BL, Add MS 72524, fol. 176r. 16th August 1686. Imperial camp at Buda. James Fitz-James to his brother, Henry. The abridged version of the letter can be found at Purnell, *Downshire*, 204-205.

<sup>38</sup> BL, Add MS 72524, fol. 126v. 29th July 1686. Camp before Buda. Edward Vaudrey to William Trumbull. The mildly abridged version of the letter can be found at Purnell, *Downshire*, 199-200,

<sup>39</sup> BL, Add MS 41842, fol. 32r.

ordered all this action and by whose attack it was carried.”<sup>40</sup> Still, Mountjoy, as well as Jacob Richards, thought that the extent of the massacre was smaller and more quarter was given than usually expected from the “*severity of the Germans*”.<sup>41</sup> Captain John Talbot also left a quite similar remark about the German soldier in general, commending the “*usual severity and speed*” with which they pursue their objectives.<sup>42</sup>

We have one single event which draw the volunteers' attention to the Hungarian soldiers of the siege, the so called “*Heyducks*”. On the 24th of July the tents of the English were burglarized many of them losing everything except for what they wore that day. Richards and all the English volunteers immediately blamed the Heyducks “*who truly have the reputation of being very dexterous that way [in robbery]*” until they found out that the true culprits were their own servants.<sup>43</sup> An unknown English volunteer, possibly the unidentifiable Robert Clarke, called the innocent suspects “*thievish hussars*” in conjunction with the same affair.<sup>44</sup> The Hungarian common soldiers weren't the only notorious ones in the camp and their German counterparts were also criticised for their sticky fingers, for example by Mountjoy himself who remarked that “*the German soldiers are very yare that way...*”<sup>45</sup>

We have one last topic which the volunteers touched in their letters, and it is the image of the individual commanders of the Christian army. Unfortunately, they do not mention any of the Turkish commanders personally. The two generals they were mostly in contact with were the Duke of Lorraine and Francis Taaffe. Both of them were praised for their diligence and commanding skills. Mountjoy was particularly satisfied with the chief commander, saying that “*the Duke of Lorraine is so good and does place the advantage of the Empire and of Europe so far above any other concern, that the other will be no great mischief to us. There never lived a more watchful general, nor a better tempered man than he seems to me.*”<sup>46</sup> In his diary he writes that “*For the rest no man could shew more care, courage and applications, than he did during the whole siege. No man was up before him or after him went to rest, he toiled the most and slept the least of any in the army, and the successfulness of this siege is more justly due to him than to all the other officers together, had his discretion appeared in nothing else...*”<sup>47</sup> We have many more instances as he shares with his friends his exceptional opinion about the Duke. He was also delighted to see as the Duke of Lorraine encouraged the soldiers with his presence at the foot of the city walls during the many general assaults.<sup>48</sup> Possibly the closest to the Duke of Lorraine was John Cutts who, as we have mentioned already, served as his adjutant during the campaign of 1687 and was a respecer of the Duke.<sup>49</sup> Francis Taaffe was also held in high esteem by the volun-

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<sup>40</sup> BL, Add MS 41842, fol. 39r.

<sup>41</sup> Both of them used these exact same words. See BRBML, Osborn b174, 38; BL, Stowe MS 448, fol. 19r.

<sup>42</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 115v.

<sup>43</sup> BL, Stowe MS 448, fol. 10v.

<sup>44</sup> BL, Add MS 41840, fol. 212r

<sup>45</sup> BL, Add MS 41842, fol. 30v.

<sup>46</sup> Erlington Ball, *Ormond*, 426.

<sup>47</sup> BRBML, Osborn b174, 46.

<sup>48</sup> BL, Add MS 41842, fol. 34r; BRBML, Osborn b174, 17, 37.

<sup>49</sup> BL, Add MS 69379, fol. 77v. Cutts remarks that the Duke led the operations and encouraged the troops before the battle “with negligence and easiness suitable to the greatness of his character...”

teers, many of them commenting on his good capabilities and extreme good care he shows towards them.<sup>50</sup>

## Conclusion

As we can see, for the most part, the British and Irish volunteers had similar or sometimes perfectly identical images of the Ottomans and imperials, and this might tell us a little more about the general notion which was present among the Christian soldiers, or at least the British and Irish volunteers. We know that the aforementioned volunteers formed a cohesive group during the operations in Hungary. They fought together and, during respite, most likely discussed the events and progress of the campaigns. Even in those apparent cases when there was no chance that the volunteers were in contact with each other, for example Talbot who wrote his letters in 1685 while Mountjoy and Richards' in 1686, Cutts in 1687 and so on, they came to the same or similar conclusions. Regardless of the circumstances, whether they formulated their opinions on their own or have been influenced by the imperial generals and officers it does not alter the fact that the abovementioned impressions must have applied to the whole camp of the volunteers or, possibly, to the entire Christian army. As we have seen, Mountjoy discussed his ideas with the Duke of Lorraine and the two mostly shared each other's views. Talbot states it quite straightforwardly, and he does it more than once, that all the army does agree with his opinion about the Turks. Still, for the ultimate proof whether the volunteers' opinions correspond with the general image of the Turkish army, more research has to be done related to the perceptions of other participants of the war. Also, since the above presented manuscripts were not published like many other letters and diaries, except for Richard's diary, these written testimonies couldn't have any significant influence upon the English-speaking world's image of the Ottoman and imperial armies. Instead, we can treat them as a set of properties of the Turkish and Christian armies of the period. On the other hand, by looking at Lord Mountjoy's ideas about the decadent and "*despotic*" nature of the Ottoman state and society, they surely weren't born right on the battlefield but had a background with deep roots at home.

It is unfortunate that there are many other aspects of warfare which were not touched by the volunteers, for example the comparison of the opposing armies' firepower or artillery. Even so, by taking into account their remarks we can get closer to a better understanding of the reasons behind the Ottomans' defeats on the battlefield. There is a long-standing debate about the causes and nature of the military backwardness of the Ottomans and their ultimate defeat during the latter part of the early modern period, mainly focusing on the effects of the so-called European Military Revolution. We have seen that, according to the volunteers, the two greatest deficiencies the Ottoman army suffered from were their outdated order of battle and incompetent commanders, while at the same time the imperial army enjoyed both the advantages of a pool of capable leaders and a modern battle formation, the latter being a

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<sup>50</sup> Erlington Ball, *Ormond*, 426.; BRBML, Osborn b174, 30.; BL, Stowe MS 448, fol. 15v.; BL, Add MS 72524, fol. 177r. 16th August 1686. Imperial camp at Buda. James Fitz-James to Henry Fitz-James (his brother). The printed and abridged version of this letter can be found in Purnell, *Downshire*, 204-5.; *Memoirs of Berwick*, 13.



key element of the Military Revolution theory.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, none of the articles or books I had access to discusses in detail these two factors. Nevertheless, it would be, of course, an oversimplification to state that only these two features are to blame for the Ottoman army's impotence against the Habsburgs, therefore, this short article has to be treated only as a small contribution to the debate, and certainly not as a definitive answer.

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<sup>51</sup> For further information see the many works of Geoffrey Parker, Jeremy Black, Gábor Ágoston, Murphey Rhoads, and published works of other authorities on the question of the Military Revolution and early modern Ottoman and European warfare. For the latest contributions to this debate in Hungarian, see: *Századok* 152, No. 5. (2018): 937–1127.

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### **La perception des volontaires britanniques et irlandais sur les armées ottomane et impériale pendant la Grande Guerre turque en Hongrie (1683-1699)**

Pendant la Grande Guerre turque (1683-1699), un grand nombre des volontaires venant de toute l'Europe se sont rassemblés sur la scène hongroise de la guerre pour combattre les Ottomans. Des centaines d'entre eux sont venus de l'Île britannique. Pendant ces batailles sanglantes et sans merci, les volontaires anglais, irlandais et écossais avaient des possibilités abondantes d'observer l'efficacité des combats et les stratégies de guerre des armées ottomanes et impériales.

Même si les preuves ne sont pas nombreuses, pour l'analyse de la perception des volontaires britanniques et irlandais, nous trouvons peu de commentaires perspicaces et univoques sur le sujet venant de leur main. Les lettres manuscrites du capitaine expérimenté John Talbot, et le journal intime et d'autres écritures de William Stewart, premier vicomte de Mountjoy, sont particulièrement importants. D'après ces comptes rendus écrits de première main, il est possible de déterminer la perception des volontaires sur l'armée adverse. Pour éviter une conclusion fautive, seulement les rapports évidents étaient pris en considération. Entre autres, les volontaires ont trouvé l'armée ottomane gravement désorganisée, leur ordre de bataille dépassé et les commandants turques totalement incompetents. L'opinion sur l'armée impériale était justement l'opposée. Les volontaires ont perçu l'armée de l'empereur comme solidement organisée et formée, dirigée par des commandants compétents et doués, qui accentuent avant tout l'application et les capacités de Charles V, duc de Lorraine. En plus, ces remarques peuvent nous aider de nuancer nos connaissances sur les raisons des défaites de l'armée ottomane et ainsi, bien que d'une manière limitée, sur les questions déjà bien documentées des effets de la révolution militaire européenne à l'Empire ottoman.

# Une perspective sur la Transylvanie : *Le château des Carpathes* de Jules Verne

ROXANA MARTIN  
UNIVERSITE DE L'OUEST DE  
TIMIȘOARA

Connue sous le nom de Transylvanie (Transilvania) ou Ardeal en roumain, Erdély en hongrois et Siebenbürgen en allemand, le territoire de la Transylvanie se trouve au centre de la Roumanie, étant la plus grande province du pays. Aujourd'hui, la région est un lieu de cohabitation des « minorités nationales », principalement hongroise, roumaine et saxonne et offre une aire d'investigation particulièrement intéressante en matières politique, sociale et religieuse grâce à la richesse de son histoire. Cette partie de la Roumanie est présente dans plusieurs œuvres des écrivains étrangers, mais elle est célèbre aussi pour ses mythes, légendes et récits historiques. Un des plus célèbres livres est sans doute celui de Bram Stoker qui associe la région de Transylvanie à une atmosphère gothique ayant comme personnage principal un vampire : le comte Dracula. Ce livre a comme source d'inspiration la famille de Vlad Țepeș, surnommé Vlad l'Empaleur. Le roman *Le château des Carpathes* a aussi des aspects fantastiques, mais l'auteur choisit un autre but pour son œuvre.

La raison pour laquelle nous avons choisi ce sujet est que la région de Transylvanie avait été sous domination ottomane pendant des siècles (du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup>) et pendant plusieurs années, la Transylvanie a payé un tribut annuel au Sultan. Les conflits avec l'empire Ottoman ont commencé en 1459, lorsque Vlad l'Empaleur a refusé de payer le tribut demandé<sup>1</sup>.

## L'origine du livre

Après un siècle et demi de la publication du premier roman de science-fiction, Jules Verne reste le « *poète de la science* » et lègue de dizaines de romans extraordinaires. *Le château des Carpathes* est publié en 1892 et fait partie du cycle romanesque *Les voyages extraordinaires*. Les sources critiques disent que Jules Verne n'a pas visité la Roumanie et il a utilisé comme point d'inspiration les recherches de Joseph Marie et Elisée Reclus, mais aussi les récits d'une amie roumaine qui habitait en Transylvanie<sup>2</sup>. Le titre, *Le château des Carpathes*, annonce que l'action est placée en Roumanie<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Hobana, *Chipuri obiceiri și peisaje românești*, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Normalement, le nom propre *Carpathes* s'écrit sans la lettre *h*, mais Jules Verne choisit de l'écrire avec *thes* au lieu de *tes*.

Dès le début, le narrateur précise que « cette histoire n'est pas fantastique, elle n'est que romanesque »<sup>4</sup>. C'est-à-dire le narrateur ne veut pas accentuer les légendes faites autour du château, par contre, il veut se détacher de cette partie fantastique et créer une histoire basée sur des ressources scientifiques qui « sont le lot de l'avenir »<sup>5</sup>. En même temps, le narrateur désire qu'un jour « personne ne s'aviserait de le mettre au rang des légendes »<sup>6</sup>. À propos du début du roman, certains critiques affirment que Jules Verne utilise le mot *romanesque* avec la signification de *romantique*<sup>7</sup>. Toute l'histoire qui paraît *invraisemblable* à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle est devenue aujourd'hui non seulement vraisemblable, mais vraiment banale. Cela est due aux « ressources scientifiques » invoquées par Jules Verne qui, dans ce cas-là, ne représentent plus « le lot de l'avenir » mais l'héritage du passé. Aujourd'hui, les craintes des villageois de Werst nous semblent naïves.

Presque toutes les choses extraordinaires invoquées par Jules Verne dans ses romans sont réalisables aujourd'hui, l'électricité et la technologie qui sont les éléments principaux dans ce roman sont indispensables dans notre vie quotidienne.

### La trame romanesque

Dans le village de Werst, en Transylvanie, le berger Frick observe grâce à une lunette qu'une fumée sort du château de Rodolphe de Gortz, château qui est inhabité depuis vingt ans et autour duquel se font beaucoup de superstitions. Cette fumée annonce la présence d'un être plus ou moins surnaturel dans les yeux des villageois. Pour combattre ces idées, le forestier Nic Deck et Patak, le médecin du village, décident d'aller au château même s'ils sont menacés par une voix mystérieuse. Cette aventure est assez dure pour les deux et ils ne réussissent pas à révéler le mystère. Cependant, l'histoire du docteur Patak fait peur aux villageois et aux quelques familles tsiganes qui décident de quitter le village. De nouveaux personnages arrivent à Werst : le comte Franz de Télék et son soldat Rotzko. Ils ne croient pas en l'existence d'un être surnaturel dans le château et le comte demande aux villageois à présenter l'histoire du château et l'aventure de Nic Deck et Patak. En entendant le nom du propriétaire du château, le comte se souvient du baron de Gortz, de son compagnon Orfanik et aussi de la Stilla, une cantatrice italienne. Elle était tellement adorée par le public que le baron de Gortz a fait une obsession pour sa voix. Le comte de Télék l'a demandée en mariage et ils allaient se marier. Mais lors de son ultime représentation, la Stilla, « effrayante de pâleur », quitte ce monde à cause d'une crise cardiaque. Cet événement tragique donne naissance à une haine entre Franz de Télék et le baron de Gortz. Pour oublier cet événement, le comte quitte l'Italie avec son soldat et arrive dans le village de Werst, près du château de son ennemi.

Après avoir entendu l'histoire de Nic Deck, Franz de Télék assure les villageois qu'il parlerait avec les autorités de Karlsburg pour résoudre ce mystère, mais il décide de visiter le château sans qu'ils le sachent. Une fois dans le château, il entend la voix de la Stilla et il croit qu'elle est prisonnière. Lorsqu'il s'approche du lieu qu'il croyait être la Stilla, le baron

<sup>4</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Hobana, *Chipuri obiceiori și peisaje românești*, 84.

de Gortz apparaît et brise l'image de la Stilla. Cette image était, en fait, une vitre. Rotzko tire sur le baron de Gortz et détruit la boîte qui contient des enregistrements avec la voix de la Stilla. Orfanik suit son plan fait avec son maître et fait exploser le château, explosion d'où sort vivant seulement le comte Franz de Télék.

On découvre à la fin qu'Orfanik était celui qui a inventé cet appareil qui semblait parfaitement à la Stilla. Grâce à cet appareil, le baron pouvait entendre les derniers spectacles de la Stilla. De plus, l'appareil projetait le portrait de la Stilla sur un miroir et créait une telle illusion pour le comte qu'il croyait que la Stilla était vivante. Cette illusion l'avait rendu complètement fou.

### Thématique du livre

Le début du roman « cette histoire n'est pas fantastique, elle n'est que romanesque »<sup>8</sup> montre que le fantastique est nié par l'auteur, mais il précise que « cependant il convient de noter que le pays transylvain est encore très attaché aux superstitions des premiers âges »<sup>9</sup>. En conséquence, ce qu'on trouve dans ce roman est un contraste entre l'image créée et l'image réelle.

Des légendes préchrétiennes avec des êtres surnaturels dans un pays chrétien sont présentes tout au long du roman. Dans le deuxième chapitre, les pensées des villageois sur le château sont révélées comme le montre l'exemple suivant :

« Château abandonné, château hanté, château visionné. Les vives et ardentes imaginations l'ont bientôt peuplé de fantômes, les revenants y apparaissent, les esprits y reviennent aux heures de la nuit. Ainsi se passent encore les choses au milieu de certaines contrées superstitieuses de l'Europe, et la Transylvanie peut prétendre au premier rang parmi elles »<sup>10</sup>.

Les croyances au surnaturel sont expliquées par le narrateur : même le pope et le magister croient ces légendes et en plus, ils enseignent aux enfants que dans les forêts se cachent « [...] les "balauri", ces dragons gigantesques, dont les mâchoires se distendent jusqu'aux nuages, les "zmei" aux ailes démesurées, qui enlèvent les filles »<sup>11</sup>. C'est-à-dire cette idée du surnaturel est incarnée dans tout le village. La fin du roman est intéressante mais aussi bizarre parce que, même si Orfanik explique en détails le fonctionnement de son appareil, la fin est la suivante :

« Du reste, le magister Hermod n'a pas cessé de baser ses leçons sur l'étude des légendes transylvaines. Longtemps encore, la jeune génération du village de Werst croira que les esprits de l'autre monde hantent les ruines du château des Carpathes »<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 25.

<sup>11</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 241.

Un seul personnage fait exception, le docteur Patak qui ose nier l'existence du surnaturel « [...] mais personne ne l'écoute »<sup>13</sup>.

La technologie a fait son entrée dans notre quotidien depuis longtemps et nous pouvons aujourd'hui communiquer plus facilement et même voir les personnes à l'aide des portables. Jules Verne parle de ce phénomène au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle comme une chose ordinaire et déjà utilisée par la plupart des gens. Mais, en réalité, à cette époque, l'idée du téléphone était complètement nouvelle car des inventeurs comme Johann Philipp Reis, William Henry Preece, Alexandre Popov et Alexander Graham Bell n'ont contribué avec leurs expériences à ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui *téléphone* qu'à partir du milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>14</sup>. Ici, on a un fragment qui décrit l'électricité et la nouvelle invention, le *téléphote* :

« À cette époque – nous ferons très particulièrement remarquer que cette histoire s'est déroulée dans l'une des dernières années du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle –, l'emploi de l'électricité, qui est à juste titre considérée comme "l'âme de l'univers", avait été poussé aux derniers perfectionnements. L'illustre Edison et ses disciples avaient parachevé leur œuvre. Entre autres appareils électriques, le téléphone fonctionnait alors avec une précision si merveilleuse que les sons, recueillis par les plaques, arrivaient librement à l'oreille sans l'aide de cornets. Ce qui se disait, ce qui se chantait, ce qui se murmurait même, on pouvait l'entendre quelle que fût la distance, et deux personnes, séparées par des milliers de lieues, causaient entre elles, comme si elles eussent été assises en face l'une de l'autre »<sup>15</sup>.

Puis, comme explication supplémentaire, il dit : « Elles pouvaient même se voir dans des glaces reliées par des fils, grâce à l'invention du téléphote »<sup>16</sup>.

Par l'intermédiaire de la technologie, le narrateur réussit à créer une image artificielle qui s'oppose totalement à la réalité. Ce qu'il réussit à faire grâce à la technologie est d'une nouveauté extraordinaire pour cette époque, parce que, même après les explications données par Orfanik, les villageois ne renoncent pas à leurs croyances.

Même à l'époque, Jules Verne attire l'attention sur les effets négatifs de la télévision et implicitement de la technologie. Franz de Télék perd sa raison quand il entend la voix de la Stilla : « – Moi aussi... je sens que ma raison s'égaré !... répétait-il. Je sens que je vais devenir fou... fou comme elle... »<sup>17</sup>. Le XVII<sup>e</sup> chapitre est fini par la conclusion suivante : « Franz de Télék était fou »<sup>18</sup>. Il n'est pas le seul qui souffre à cause de la technologie. Quand Rotzko tire sur le baron de Gortz et détruit la boîte qui contenait des enregistrements avec la voix de la Stilla, il crie : « – Sa voix... sa voix !... Ils m'ont brisé sa voix !... Qu'ils soient maudits ! »<sup>19</sup>. Il choisit la mort dans son château dont l'explication est donnée à la

<sup>13</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 240.

<sup>14</sup> Tudesq, *Histoire de la radio-télévision*, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 213-214.

<sup>16</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 214.

<sup>17</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 202.

<sup>18</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 236.

<sup>19</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 232.

fin : « Or, cet appareil détruit, c'était la vie du baron de Gortz détruite aussi, et, fou de désespoir, il avait voulu s'ensevelir sous les ruines du burg. »<sup>20</sup>

Comme dans *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* le narrateur parle du phénomène *globish*, dans *Le château des Carpathes* le narrateur prévoit la dépendance et même la folie provoquée par la technologie de nos jours. La génération d'aujourd'hui, appelée *la génération Z*, est caractérisée par cette tendance à utiliser la technologie outre mesure. On apprend de l'étude réalisée par Jason Dorsey en 2016<sup>21</sup> que des dizaines de millions d'adolescents disent que les médias sociaux influencent le bonheur et l'estime de soi. Par conséquent, la vision futuriste de Jules Verne est devenue aujourd'hui réalité.

### Les personnages du roman

Plusieurs œuvres de Jules Verne suivent une structure nommée *triade des personnages*. Ici, dans le roman analysé, la triade est composée d'Orfanik qui représente le savant, de Nic Deck qui est le novice et de Franz de Télék qui est l'éclaireur. Dans cette catégorie des personnages on doit nommer aussi le docteur Patak et le baron de Gortz qui sont des personnages secondaires, la Stilla qui est un personnage épisodique par absence et les villageois qui représentent le personnage public. Ces villageois sont vus comme une seule voix qui lutte contre la science et qui ignore les explications d'Orfanik. Comme preuve on a la fin du roman : « Longtemps encore, la jeune génération du village de Werst croira que les esprits de l'autre monde hantent les ruines du château des Carpathes »<sup>22</sup>. Cela annonce clairement que les villageois n'acceptent pas la science.

Orfanik est un personnage construit dans l'ombre et il est connu comme « le compagnon » de Rodolphe de Gortz. Il est le savant du roman étant celui qui invente l'appareil phonographique. On apprend à la fin qu'il est l'inventeur de l'appareil qui diffuse l'image et la voix de la Stilla et aussi l'auteur de la voix mystérieuse entendue à l'auberge du *Roi Mathias*. Donc, il n'est plus vu comme un personnage effacé, mais plutôt comme un génie. Certains critiques associent le nom d'Orfanik à celui d'Orphée, héros de la mythologie grecque, grâce à son invention qui provoque la dépendance à Rodolphe de Gortz et aussi à Franz de Télék. Car, Orphée était capable de charmer n'importe qui, les hommes, les animaux et même les végétaux tandis qu'Orfanik a été capable d'inventer un appareil qui le fait apparaître comme « un savant doublé d'un magicien »<sup>23</sup>.

Nic Deck est un jeune ambitieux qui a beaucoup de courage même s'il est sans expérience et à cause de ces aspects, il est nommé aussi le novice du roman.

Franz de Télék est le guide qui résout le mystère du château et un personnage qui essaye de comprendre ce qui se passe avec le château d'une façon plus réaliste et refuse de croire en l'existence des êtres surnaturels, mais malheureusement l'appareil construit par Orfanik lui provoque la folie pour une période. La source d'inspiration pour ce personnage est la famille Teleki de Szék, plus précisément la famille décrite par les documents d'Auguste de Gérando. Le fils d'Auguste de Gérando, dit Attila « est devenu l'exemple de l'iconographie

<sup>20</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 239.

<sup>21</sup> Dorsey, *iGen tech disruption*.

<sup>22</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 241.

<sup>23</sup> Defer, *Le Château des Carpathes de Jules Verne*, 134.

transylvaine en Occident »<sup>24</sup> et en même temps un modèle pour le personnage construit par Jules Verne.

En ce qui concerne les noms propres utilisés dans le roman, il faut dire qu'ils sont d'origines étrangères, par exemple on trouve des noms d'origine allemande : Werst, Deck, Gortz, Franz, Frick et plusieurs noms d'origine hongroise : Patak, Télek et presque tous les noms de villes: Kolosvar, Hatszeg, Karlsburg, Petroseny. Il faut remarquer que le narrateur utilise aussi quelques noms d'origine roumaine, par exemple Florica et Miriota. Pour ce dernier, il donne comme explication supplémentaire « petite brebis », donc en roumain ce nom devait être Miorița.

### La Transylvanie vue par Jules Verne

Jules Verne décrit la Transylvanie à plusieurs égards : premièrement, il la présente du point de vue géographique :

« Curieux fragment de l'empire d'Autriche, cette Transylvanie, "l'Erdely" en magyar, c'est-à-dire "le pays des forêts". Elle est limitée par la Hongrie au nord, la Valachie au sud, la Moldavie à l'ouest. Étendue sur soixante mille kilomètres carrés, soit six millions d'hectares – à peu près le neuvième de la France –, c'est une sorte de domaine suisse, mais de moitié plus vaste que le domaine helvétique, sans être plus peuplée. Avec ses plateaux livrés à la culture, ses luxuriants pâturages, ses vallées capricieusement dessinées, ses cimes sourcilleuses, la Transylvanie, zébrée par les ramifications d'origine plutonique des Carpathes, est sillonnée de nombreux cours d'eaux qui vont grossir la Theiss et ce superbe Danube, dont les Portes de Fer, à quelques milles au sud, ferment le défilé de la chaîne des Balkans sur la frontière de la Hongrie et de l'empire ottoman. »<sup>25</sup>

Il doit être précisé que la Moldavie est à l'Est et non pas à l'Ouest comme frontière de la Transylvanie, de plus les Principautés de la Moldavie et de la Valachie s'étaient déjà réunies depuis 1859 dans un État unitaire – Les Principautés Roumaines Unies.

Le narrateur décrit aussi les villageois et même si Werst est un village et même le narrateur la considère comme « l'un des plus arriérés villages du comitat de Kolosvar »<sup>26</sup>, on trouve chez les villageois de Werst quelques qualités dignes d'être précisées : l'honnêteté, le courage, l'éducation et la culture, l'hospitalité. L'honnêteté apparaît en relation avec Maître Koltz qu'on caractérise par le propos suivant : « Il eût plutôt prêté qu'emprunté, et l'aurait certainement fait sans écorcher le pauvre monde. »<sup>27</sup> Le courage apparaît par rapport à Nick Deck :

« Jusqu'ici, Nic Deck n'avait pris aucune part à la conversation. Le forestier se contentait d'écouter attentivement ce que disaient les uns et les autres. Le vieux

<sup>24</sup> Levéel, *Transylvanie, la frontière distante. Karpathia de Mathias Menegoz (2014) et La Transylvanie et ses habitants d'Auguste de Gérando (1845-1847)*, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 37.

<sup>27</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 38.



burg, avec ses murs mystérieux, son antique origine, sa tournure féodale, lui avait toujours inspiré autant de curiosité que de respect. Et même, étant très brave, bien qu'il fût aussi crédule que n'importe quel habitant de Werst, il avait plus d'une fois manifesté l'envie d'en franchir l'enceinte. »<sup>28</sup>

Miriota Koltz savait qu'il était « un gars tenace et résolu, qui ne revenait jamais sur une parole engagée »<sup>29</sup>. L'éducation et la culture sont deux qualités représentatives pour Miriota Koltz ; une caractérisation directe est faite par le narrateur :

« Oui ! une belle fille, Miriota Koltz, et – ce qui ne gâte rien – riche pour ce village perdu au fond des Carpathes. Bonne ménagère ? ... Sans doute, puisqu'elle dirige intelligemment la maison de son père. Instruite ? ... Dame ! à l'école du magister Hermod elle a appris à lire, à écrire, à calculer ; et elle calcule, écrit, lit correctement, mais elle n'a pas été poussée plus loin – et pour cause. En revanche, on ne lui en remontrerait pas sur tout ce qui tient aux fables et aux sagas transylvaines. Elle en sait autant que son maître. »<sup>30</sup>

L'hospitalité de Jonas envers ses visiteurs est représentée par le fragment suivant : « – Une demi-heure de patience, et j'aurai l'honneur d'offrir à monsieur le comte un repas digne de lui... »<sup>31</sup>.

De plus, on trouve des fragments où le narrateur montre la spécificité de la région. Les vêtements des personnages sont décrits en détails, par exemple Miriota est habillée de

« sa chemisette brodée de fil rouge au collet, aux poignets et aux épaules, sa jupe serrée par une ceinture à fermoirs d'argent, son "catrinza", double tablier à raies bleues et rouges, noué à sa taille, ses petites bottes en cuir jaune, le léger mouchoir jeté sur sa tête, le flottement de ses longs cheveux dont la natte est ornée d'un ruban ou d'une piécette de métal. »<sup>32</sup>

La nourriture et la boisson traditionnelles roumaines sont des aspects évoqués par le narrateur :

« Jonas offrait cette sorte de bouillie ou gâteau de maïs, connue sous le nom de "mamaliga", qui n'est point désagréable, quand on l'imbibe de lait fraîchement tiré. À ceux-là, il présentait maint petit verre de ces liqueurs fortes qui coulent comme de l'eau pure à travers les gosiers roumains, l'alcool de 'schnaps' qui ne coûte pas un demi-sou le verre, et plus particulièrement le 'rakiou', violente eau-de-vie de prunes, dont le débit est considérable au pays des Carpathes. »<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 54.

<sup>29</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 54.

<sup>30</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 41.

<sup>31</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 123.

<sup>32</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 41.

<sup>33</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 50.

Par ailleurs, il y a aussi des informations même sur la fête de la Saint-Pierre et comment les villageois se réunissent :

« Chaque année, à la fête de la Saint-Pierre, s'ouvre la "foire aux fiancés". Ce jour-là, il y a réunion de toutes les jeunes filles du comitat. Elles sont venues avec leurs plus belles carrioles attelées de leurs meilleurs chevaux ; elles ont apporté leur dot, c'est-à-dire des vêtements filés, cousus, brodés de leurs mains, enfermés dans des coffres aux brillantes couleurs ; familles, amies, voisines, les ont accompagnées. Et alors arrivent les jeunes gens, parés de superbes habits, ceints d'écharpes de soie. Ils courent la foire en se pavanant ; ils choisissent la fille qui leur plaît ; ils lui remettent un anneau et un mouchoir en signe de fiançailles, et les mariages se font au retour de la fête. »<sup>34</sup>

### Conclusion

En guise de conclusion, nous considérons que Jules Verne réussit grâce à son livre *Le château des Carpathes* à présenter la Transylvanie d'une manière captivante car il analyse cette partie de la Roumanie à plusieurs niveaux, commençant par les personnages et ses qualités et poursuivant par les traits spécifiques de cette région.

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<sup>34</sup> Verne, *Le château des Carpathes*, 102.

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### **A perspective on Transylvania: The Castle of the Carpathians by Jules Verne**

The region of Transylvania had been for centuries under Ottoman rule. Our study focuses on the novel *The Castle of the Carpathians* by Jules Verne, published in 1892. The analysis is made of six chapters, leading to the introduction of the origins of the novel, continuing with its main subject followed by the literary theme, the characters, the narrative techniques and, finally, we propose an anthropological point of view of a space found under the Ottoman Empire at a given moment in history. The purpose of our study is to present Jules Verne's perspective on Transylvania: specific features, detailed descriptions, remarks on its native and foreign inhabitants. Working methods: textual and monographic analysis, anthropological reading.



## Traditions modernisées : les avis des voyageurs sur le tourisme et les touristes au Maroc

DOROTTYA MIHALYI  
UNIVERSITE DE SZEGED

A partir de la décolonisation, nous pouvons constater en Afrique du Nord une certaine lutte entre tradition et modernité. D'une part, les éléments traditionnels sont des facteurs d'unité des pays du Maghreb, et d'autre part, ils paraissent empêcher le progrès. Ainsi, la modernité est souvent considérée comme la seule garantie du développement et de la survie. Pour promouvoir l'économie après l'indépendance, il fallait que les États jadis suivant les principes islamiques acceptent et introduisent des idées et des méthodes occidentales. Cela a entraîné, entre autres, l'apparition du tourisme de masse dans le pays.

La période coloniale et la « mission civilisatrice » marquent les pensées, l'enseignement et même le système politique. La coexistence du traditionnel et du moderne peut être observée dans plusieurs domaines : grâce au développement de l'industrie, des sciences et de la technique, les structures économiques et sociales changent rapidement<sup>1</sup>. Après la décolonisation, une structure mixte, portant des traits à la fois traditionnels et modernes reste sur place<sup>2</sup>. Les contradictions résident dans des faits sociaux, économiques et culturels qui caractérisent aussi l'organisation du tourisme marocain<sup>3</sup> et qui encadrent différentes manifestations de la tradition et de la modernité. Tout d'abord, le tourisme de masse en tant que telle, dans le sens le plus actuel, est un phénomène moderne. Le tourisme est censé à assurer une grande partie du revenu public<sup>4</sup>, mais, avec l'apparition du luxe, du gaspillage et de l'exploitation de l'autre, il heurte sur plusieurs points les lois islamiques et les traditions locales. Pour attirer un plus grand nombre de visiteurs étrangers, les organisateurs du tourisme mettent en avant la tradition<sup>5</sup> ; mais c'est une tradition falsifiée car modifiée au gré des visiteurs occidentaux. Du point de vue économique, il est donc important de conser-

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<sup>1</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám a 21. század küszöbén*, 241.

<sup>2</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám a 21. század küszöbén*, 261.

<sup>3</sup> Notre choix est motivé par la politique du tourisme très active et singulière du Maroc.

<sup>4</sup> Nous devons noter que, même si l'importance du tourisme est soulignée par la plupart des ouvrages critiques, nous trouvons des exemples qui ne le mentionnent même pas comme source de revenu. Cf. Jean-Claude Santucci, *Le Maroc actuel : Une modernisation au miroir de la tradition*, Paris : CNRS, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> A l'intérieur du tourisme, il s'est créé tout un secteur, qu'on peut nommer *tourisme culturel*, qui vise la familiarisation avec la culture. L'objectif de cette branche de l'industrie du tourisme réside dans le rapprochement de la culture autochtone et des attentes des « clients » qui peut mener dans certains cas à la réinterprétation de la tradition et à la transformation de la culture en simple produit d'achat. Cf. Chris Rojek et John Urry (éd.), *Touring cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*, London : Routledge, 1997 et New York : Routledge, 1997.

ver et d'entretenir les traditions. Mais sur quel point cette tradition est-elle originelle<sup>6</sup> ? Autour de cette nature contradictoire du tourisme moderne se forment plusieurs groupes d'opinions. Les autochtones pauvres sont contre le luxe offert aux touristes ; les voyageurs sont contre le touriste qui accepte tout ce qu'on lui donne, sans réfléchir et sans prendre en considération les dégâts qu'ils posent par leur présence. Cependant, l'État encourage toute mesure d'entreprise pour attirer le plus grand nombre de touristes. Ce croisement des intérêts apparaît non seulement dans des ouvrages critiques mais aussi dans des sources « subjectives ». De ce fait, pour étudier les questions relevées au sujet du tourisme au Maroc, nous allons nous baser essentiellement sur les récits de voyage écrits sur le Maroc indépendant<sup>7</sup>. Nous faisons cela pour intégrer un point de vue différent que celui des auteurs des ouvrages critiques et pour dessiner une image plus complexe sur l'organisation du tourisme<sup>8</sup>. Pour comprendre le tableau offert par les voyageurs, la présentation de l'organisation et du fonctionnement du système du tourisme marocain semble nécessaire.

Comme il a été explicité dans notre introduction, le Maroc a choisi le touriste occidental<sup>9</sup> comme une des principales sources de revenu<sup>10</sup>. Pourtant, le tourisme marocain n'est pas une nouveauté postérieure à l'indépendance. Il s'est créé déjà à l'époque du protectorat, lorsque le pays était une destination touristique importante, surtout pour le repos des officiers français<sup>11</sup>. Pour pouvoir établir une politique du tourisme apte à garantir le succès et pour attirer l'homme de l'Occident dans le pays, on a mis en place au Maroc un *Comité central du Tourisme* (CCT), dont le devoir est d'arranger toutes les questions autour du tourisme et de désigner et réaliser les développements nécessaires à ce que le Maroc puisse devenir une destination touristique répondant aux exigences européennes. Ainsi, le CCT a été chargé d'une part de la construction et de la rénovation du réseau routier et de l'infrastructure, d'autre part de la protection du patrimoine culturel. Le comité a changé de nom plus tard, mais il gardait ses objectifs.

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stephan Wearing, Deborah Stevenson et Tamara Young, *Tourist Cultures: Identity, Place and the Traveller*, London : Sage, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Les ouvrages consultés sont les suivants : Jacques Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, Paris : Presse de la Cité, 1964. ; Renaud de Sinety, *Voyage au pays des Chleuhs. (Maroc au début du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle). Les guerriers laboureurs de l'Atlas*, Paris : Broché, 2007. ; Isabelle Demeyere, *Quatre saisons chez les Berbères*, La Tour d'Aigues : L'Aube, 2012.

<sup>8</sup> En regardant les dates de publication des récits, nous pouvons constater qu'il y a une grande différence entre le premier (paru en 1964) et le dernier (paru en 2012). Cependant, les caractéristiques, les objectifs de la politique du tourisme se dessinent clairement déjà dans la description la plus jeune et ils restent présents dans tous les récits de voyage. Même si le nombre de touristes aux années 1960 était beaucoup plus réticent, leur présence était déjà remarquable. Le premier voyageur ne pouvait pas être conscient des résultats de la politique du tourisme, mais il a formulé des constats et des prédictions concernant le futur, qui seront d'ailleurs justifiés par les voyageurs qui le suivent. Ainsi, le corpus choisi nous renseigne non seulement sur les éléments constants mais aussi sur la progression de la politique du tourisme.

<sup>9</sup> Sous la notion « touriste occidental » nous comprenons tout touriste venant d'un pays non-africain, avant tout du continent européen ou américain.

<sup>10</sup> Gourija, « Tourisme et développement durable ».

<sup>11</sup> Gourija, « Tourisme et développement durable ».

En 1955, un an avant l'indépendance, le Maroc possédait 256 hôtels qui hébergeaient presque 8000 clients<sup>12</sup>. En 2015, un peu plus de 10 millions de touristes sont arrivés dans le pays, ce qui est un chiffre considérable<sup>13</sup>. Cependant, pour l'atteindre, il fallait assurer des conditions appropriées, qui n'étaient pas accessibles au lendemain de l'indépendance et qui ne pouvaient se réaliser qu'au dépens des habitants déjà appauvris<sup>14</sup>. Sur ce point, nous pouvons relever la première contradiction du système : une partie de la population profite bien des possibilités du tourisme et acquiert une richesse remarquable, tandis que l'autre, la plus grande partie, devient encore plus pauvre<sup>15</sup>. Pour les touristes, on fait construire des hôtels de luxe et on leur propose de l'eau d'une quantité illimitée, tandis que les habitants locaux en manquent. Les conditions de vie des autochtones restent derrière celles des Occidentaux, et ils se trouvent souvent dans le besoin (malgré le fait que le Maroc figure parmi les pays les plus riches en Afrique). Ce contraste reste pourtant caché devant le touriste. Contrairement au touriste « aveugle », le voyageur, qui cherche les vraies traditions, désapprouve le développement de la politique du tourisme qui nuit aux autochtones.

Pour pouvoir introduire tous les changements mentionnés et transformer l'offre touristique en marchandise, il fallait réajuster le système économique et réinterpréter des lois islamiques<sup>16</sup>. Tout d'abord, il fallait commencer par l'invention d'une explication moins stricte de la loi islamique. Ensuite, il était nécessaire de réinterpréter les principes économiques car l'économie islamique se base sur des composantes socio-philosophiques et morales : pour l'Islam, il existe des valeurs plus importantes que les biens matériels<sup>17</sup>, et le devoir de l'homme est de s'assurer le bien-être mondain et de l'abondance après-mort<sup>18</sup>. Au centre de la théorie économique arabo-islamique il se trouve l'homme qui se soumet sans contradiction à la volonté divine<sup>19</sup>. Pour l'Islam, il existe trois catégories de besoin : le besoin fondamental, celui qui améliore la condition de vie et le besoin de luxe. Les deux premiers principes sont acceptés, même soutenus par l'Etat, mais le dernier est catégoriquement refusé<sup>20</sup>. Cependant, le luxe est indispensable pour fasciner le touriste occidental. Ainsi, nous nous trouvons en face d'un point de vue à la fois favorable et défavorable à la richesse et au luxe. Pour développer le secteur touristique, il fallait d'abord trouver un compromis entre la tradition islamique et l'économie de marché européenne. Ensuite, il fallait commencer la construction de l'infrastructure nécessaire (construire ou renouveler les réseaux routiers, bâtir des hôtels, des lieux de restauration, des parcs et autres endroits nécessaires pour le fonctionnement du tourisme) et préparer les habitants à l'arrivée d'une grande masse de touristes.

Nous pouvons voir que l'existence de la politique du tourisme au Maroc est avant tout soutenue par des arguments économiques. Le principe est très simple : le touriste paye, en

<sup>12</sup> Geotourisme, « Maroc ».

<sup>13</sup> Geotourisme, « Maroc ».

<sup>14</sup> Sur les inégalités du développement de l'économie voir : Santucci, *Le Maroc actuel*.

<sup>15</sup> Le clivage entre riches et pauvres est le résultat de l'importance croissante des ressources matérielles. Plus en détail voir : Rostoványi, *Az iszlám állam a 21. század küszöbén*, 259-164.

<sup>16</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám állam a 21. század küszöbén*, 33.

<sup>17</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám állam a 21. század küszöbén*, 213.

<sup>18</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám állam a 21. század küszöbén*, 213.

<sup>19</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám állam a 21. század küszöbén*, 215.

<sup>20</sup> Rostoványi, *Az iszlám állam a 21. század küszöbén*, 215.

échange les habitants locaux l'initient aux « traditions ». Cela veut dire qu'il peut participer aux événements locaux (par exemple apprendre la danse traditionnelle et danser avec les autochtones tout au long de la nuit) et regarder des spectacles originaux. Tout cela pose une question : comment peut-on nommer un événement « traditionnel », s'il a été inventé directement pour les touristes qui seront toujours des observateurs et des étrangers<sup>21</sup> ? Comment résoudre la contradiction entre le caractère local de la tradition et sa copie disons capitaliste ? En plus, l'essentiel d'une tradition réside dans la pratique régulière. Le touriste, par contre, ne veut l'expérimenter qu'une seule fois dans la vie<sup>22</sup>. La tradition devient un produit commercial, pareil à une bouteille de coca. Nous devons aussi ajouter que la tradition se modernise sans cesse et que c'est l'argent qui la modifie. Cela s'explique par le fait qu'il faut donner au touriste riche tout ce qu'il souhaite, il faut « mesurer la tradition à sa taille ». Si la tradition modernisée lui plaît, il va payer encore plus. Le tourisme heurte sur plusieurs domaines les cadres traditionnels, mais, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, cela est, dans une certaine mesure, l'objectif explicite de l'Etat puisqu'il est impossible de développer l'économie en se basant uniquement sur les principes traditionnels<sup>23</sup>.

Il existe plusieurs manières pour fasciner le touriste. La plus impressionnante est l'apparition des hôtels de luxe à cinq étoiles qui sont en opposition totale avec la nature du régime marocain. A cela s'ajoute la construction de l'infrastructure des loisirs, ainsi plages, piscines, terrains de golf et casinos. L'une des plus grandes contradictions réside, à notre avis, à la consommation des boissons alcoolisées, car le touriste occidental aime prendre un verre pour accompagner son repas ou pour mieux vivre les soirées calmes. Cependant, il est interdit aux musulmans de consommer de l'alcool. (L'un des voyageurs en trouve une explication simple en disant que le degré de l'alcool et le degré du soleil ensemble est trop<sup>24</sup>.) Cela n'empêche pas les restaurants et les petits magasins d'en vendre, avant tout pour gagner les faveurs des touristes. Nous pouvons remarquer l'apparition d'autres biens de consommation occidentale aussi, comme la coca ou des cacahouètes<sup>25</sup>, qui symbolisent pour les autochtones le luxe occidental. Celui qui peut se permettre de boire du coca est une personne hautement placée en hiérarchie. Évidemment, le touriste peut se servir des biens de consommation européens en une quantité illimitée et presque partout dans le pays, comme le montre l'exemple suivant : « A l'extrémité du défilé, une discrète buvette récompense les touristes courageux et distribue coca-cola, biscuits et cacahouètes. »<sup>26</sup>

Pareillement à l'alcool, les spectacles offerts par des femmes dépassent les limites établies par l'Islam car selon la norme, la femme ne peut se présenter qu'à côté de son mari. Par conséquent, elle ne peut pas se permettre de danser devant le public. Cependant, la danse reste l'un des plus importants arts de séduire l'homme occidental, et la tradition revendique qu'elle soit présentée par des femmes. Pour résoudre le problème, dans certains cas l'organisateur du *show* embauche des hommes vêtus en femme, pour garantir l'originalité et

<sup>21</sup> Royak et Urry, *Touring cultures. Transformation of Travel and Theory*.

<sup>22</sup> Duthie, *Tradition or Tourism ? How to spot the difference ?*

<sup>23</sup> Mimoun, *Du tourisme et de la géopolitique au Maghreb. Le cas du Maroc*.

<sup>24</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 91.

<sup>25</sup> Sans doute d'autres types de biens de consommation occidentale apparaissent au Maroc, mais ces deux sont les plus souvent cités par les voyageurs.

<sup>26</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 198.



l'enthousiasme du public. Le secret ne se dévoile que rarement, et les règles de l'Islam ne sont pas violées<sup>27</sup>.

Cette volonté de construire un monde qui mélange les éléments traditionnels et étrangers originaires de l'Occident moderne apparaît dans les ouvrages critiques sous le nom « d'Effet-Disney » ou « Disneyfication »<sup>28</sup> car cet ensemble de la tradition et du moderne formé aux faveurs des « clients » qui payent pour pouvoir s'amuser ressemble aux parcs Disney. On impose aux touristes une tradition enrichie par des éléments qui n'ont jamais fait partie de la culture autochtone. Ainsi, le touriste trouve plus facilement sa place dans un monde inconnu et étrange. Il s'y accommode plus vite et, ainsi, il est plus facile de le fasciner. Dans un milieu à la fois familier et captivant, il dépense plus d'argent, et il garde des souvenirs plus favorables.

L'insertion des éléments culturels n'est pas le seul domaine où le Maroc « imite » les usages occidentaux. Des efforts (qu'on peut juger comme positifs) apparaissent au niveau de la protection de la nature. Prenant conscience des effets nuisibles du gaspillage et de la pollution de l'environnement, le pays a introduit le programme du « tourisme durable »<sup>29</sup> qui devrait être réalisé jusqu'à 2020. Dans le cadre de celui-ci, le Maroc vise à diminuer les atteintes à l'environnement et privilégier les solutions écologiques. L'objectif est de garder à la fois les valeurs naturelles et culturelles, et le tourisme comme première source de revenus. Les efforts se réalisent dans plusieurs domaines, avant tout dans la protection des espaces verts et la construction des réservoirs d'eau<sup>30</sup>. Cette dernière est très importante car l'eau manque partout dans le pays, et le tourisme aggrave encore la situation. Les chiffres montrent qu'un touriste moyen consomme trois fois plus d'eau qu'un habitant local<sup>31</sup>. Dans un pays où l'eau pose beaucoup de problèmes, la construction des réservoirs d'eau est un acte louable et encouragé. La sensibilisation à l'environnement et la protection de l'environnement sont des ambitions novatrices qui portent sur elles l'influence occidentale et qui reflètent la volonté de modernisation.

Comment le combat entre traditionnel et moderne se manifeste-t-il dans les récits de voyage ? Le voyageur a une opinion défavorable sur le touriste. Cela n'est pas un nouveau phénomène, mais pour en comprendre les causes, il est nécessaire d'éclaircir les différences essentielles entre touriste et voyageur<sup>32</sup>. Le voyageur a comme objectif de connaître le pays

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 17.

<sup>28</sup> Rojek et Urry, *Touring cultures*. ; Duthie, « Tradition or Tourism? How to spot de difference ».

<sup>29</sup> La durabilité est au cœur de la stratégie de développement touristique durable. Source en ligne : [<http://www.tourisme.gov.ma/fr/vision-2020/tourisme-durable/tourisme-durable-strategie>] et Film institutionnel – Tourisme durable au Maroc. Source en ligne sur Youtube : [[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CaKXZ\\_NYIHE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CaKXZ_NYIHE)] (Consultés le 16/04/2019)

<sup>30</sup> Le réservoir d'eau de Marrakech, qui rassemble l'eau utilisée, la raffine et la réintègre aux circuits, sert l'exemple pour tout le pays entier.

<sup>31</sup> Les statistiques n'incluent pas l'eau utilisée pour maintenir les parcs, les terrains de golf, les piscines et les autres endroits touristiques. Voir : Geotourisme, « Maroc ».

<sup>32</sup> La différence entre touriste et voyageur est un sujet qui revient souvent dans les œuvres traitant le sujet des voyages. Pour cette raison, nous n'allons pas fournir une description complexe. Cependant, comme la partie suivante de notre étude se base sur la contradiction entre les deux catégories ci-mentionnées, nous ne pouvons pas éviter d'y consacrer une courte explication. Pour plus d'information voir entre autres : Odile Gannier, *La littérature de voyage*, Paris : Ellipses, 2001. Les

le plus profondément possible. Cela veut dire qu'il cherche à entrer en contact avec les habitants et à parcourir les endroits délaissés voire intacts par le tourisme. Il ne se contente jamais de ce qu'il voit, il veut savoir encore plus. Contrairement au voyageur, le touriste préfère se reposer et se laisser impressionner. Il croit tout connaître mais il ne parcourt qu'une très petite partie du pays, aménagée directement à ses faveurs et à sa fascination. Il n'entre pas en contact avec les habitants, il se contente de parler avec ses compagnons. D'après les récits de voyage sur le Maghreb indépendant, les organisateurs du tourisme font tout pour satisfaire le client, et ils offrent exactement ce que celui-ci désire, dans une quantité qu'il peut encore facilement digérer. Le touriste, ému par les efforts et l'attention de ses hôtes, accepte tout d'une manière positive et reconnaissante. Cela veut dire qu'il ne dépasse pas les cadres fixés par l'agence du voyage : il découvre les souks (et y dépense de l'argent), fait des tours dans le « désert » sur dos de chameau, et goûte aux spécialités. Le voyageur voit tous les efforts des hôtes entrepris pour simplifier les traditions. A ses yeux, la tradition ne signifie plus les coutumes originelles mais une sorte de marchandise qui sert à gagner de l'argent. Le conflit entre touriste et voyageur tient de cette nature différente d'observer et d'évaluer les choses vues. Le voyageur méprise le touriste, et il le dit dans son récit. Dans les descriptions écrites sur le Maroc au tournant du millénaire, le désaccord entre touriste et voyageur occupe une place importante.

S'il est important de rappeler les différences entre touriste et voyageur, il l'est aussi de décrire brièvement le contexte des voyages et des séjours touristiques. Nous avons déjà dit que l'apparition du tourisme de masse est liée à l'ère postcoloniale<sup>33</sup>. Il faut aussi ajouter que pour l'analyse du contenu, nous nous basons seulement sur les récits de voyage français. Ce fait nuance encore le contexte. Car ainsi, outre que le tourisme soit une garantie de revenus, les voyages vers le Maghreb indépendant, qu'ils soient individuels ou touristiques, portent en eux, dans beaucoup de cas, une valeur morale. Cela veut dire que beaucoup de voyageurs sont liés d'une façon « historique » à l'un des trois pays. Cela réside dans le fait que soit le voyageur/touriste lui-même, soit la famille de celui-ci y vivait pendant un certain temps. Ainsi, certains considèrent le pays comme pays d'origine. Jusqu'ici, nous nous sommes concentrés sur des facteurs financiers et des mesures prises par le Maroc pour séduire de plus en plus de « clients ». Outre les avantages économiques marocains, il faut prendre en considération les raisons qui poussent les Français vers le Maroc : la proximité géographique<sup>34</sup>, les convenances liées à la langue, ainsi que les liens privilégiés entre la France et les anciennes colonies<sup>35</sup> (Le fait que les Français vont vers le Maghreb doit aussi

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principaux traits caractéristiques du touriste sont présentés entre autres par Jean Cassou, « Du voyage au tourisme », *Communications* 10 (1967) : 25-34. doi : 10.3406/comm.1967.1141.

<sup>33</sup> Nous avons déjà signalé que le Maroc était une destination touristique privilégiée déjà à l'époque coloniale mais il s'agissait d'un tourisme élitiste, tandis qu'après la décolonisation, le tourisme est devenu une activité de masse qui touchait et touche même aujourd'hui les classes moyennes. Voir : Le Houérou, « L'héritage colonial sur les circulations contemporaines entre l'Europe et le Maghreb. »

<sup>34</sup> Lorsqu'on parle de la proximité géographique, il faut noter que le trajet entre les deux pays est devenu de plus en plus rapide. Ainsi, le temps du voyage ne pose aucun obstacle devant le voyageur ou le touriste.

<sup>35</sup> Le Houérou, « L'héritage colonial sur les circulations contemporaines entre l'Europe et le Maghreb. »

à une certaine mémoire, à une volonté de revivre le passé<sup>36</sup>.) Les motivations qui amènent les voyageurs vers le Maroc sont diverses. Pour en citer quelques-unes, sans vouloir dresser une liste complète, nous pourrions dire qu'il y figure le désir d'évasion et la recherche de la tranquillité, d'une épreuve, d'une tentative de vivre à l'intérieur d'une tribu ou le pèlerinage (« séjour de thème spirituel »<sup>37</sup>). Malgré la variété des motifs, les constats les plus importants des récits de voyage consultés coïncident : peu importe la vraie raison du départ au Maroc, le touriste apparaît dans les récits de voyage comme un instrument d'enrichissement et ennemi des voyageurs. Ceux-ci attirent l'attention sur le fait que le nombre des touristes est si grand qu'il est impossible de ne pas les croiser et que le tourisme développe et détruit à la fois le pays. Cela peut être observé sous différents aspects.

Tout d'abord, pour assurer un logement confortable qui convient aux attentes occidentales, on construit des hôtels de luxe qui ne correspondent pas au paysage intact, et qui font disparaître les espaces verts. Cela provoque la réprobation :

Dans un coin, trois sacs de ciments m'inquiètent. Le patron m'avoue qu'il va construire, accolé aux parois de la falaise, un petit hôtel... Ainsi dans ce cadre sauvage et grandiose va fleurir le béton ! Horreur...<sup>38</sup>

Les bâtiments directement construits à la faveur du touriste rendent le voyageur mécontent :

- Viens ! Répond-il sans hésiter. C'est la nouvelle mosquée, c'est la plus belle chose de la ville. Ravi d'avoir si vite trouvé un guide intelligent, je l'emmène en auto. Quelques minutes plus tard, après avoir longé de vieux remparts de pierre ocre coiffés de bougainvillées mauves, nous nous arrêtons devant un chantier de construction.  
- C'est là !

Ignoble chose... Mon œil n'embrasse qu'un veste quadrilatère, de béton entouré d'échafaudages. Rien n'est terminé. Et, même terminée, cette imitation d'ancien ne vaudra pas le déplacement. Ma déception est grande.<sup>39</sup>

Mais les bâtiments ne sont pas les seuls objets qui signalent la présence des touristes : les voitures dans le désert sont sujets du même avis négatif :

La bourgade ne semble pas avoir totalement perdue cette fonction d'icône touristique, si l'on en juge par le convoi de 4x4 affrétés par FRAM<sup>40</sup> qui passe en trombe au milieu des ânes effrayés, en soulevant un énorme vague de poussière<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Même si le « retour » est un genre de voyages qui caractérise avant tout l'Algérie, nous jugeons utile d'en faire mention. Plus en détail voir : Le Houérou, « L'héritage colonial sur les circulations contemporaines entre l'Europe et le Maghreb. »

<sup>37</sup> Cauvin Verner, *Au désert*, 63.

<sup>38</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 198.

<sup>39</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 24.

<sup>40</sup> Fer, Route, Air, Mer : Agence de voyage fondé en 1949. Originellement, il s'occupe de l'organisation des pèlerinages, plus tard il achète des véhicules et offre des voyages pour un prix considérable vers des pays exotiques.

Dans certains cas, la nature empêche l'établissement d'un centre touristique, même si le lieu paraît idéal pour séduire les gens. Les opérateurs touristiques sont prêts à dépenser beaucoup d'argent en espérant qu'à l'aide des conditions luxueuses, les touristes vont arriver en masse. Cependant, tout site n'est pas bon pour être transformé en un paradis touristique. Le voyageur reconnaît cela et en fait des reproches :

La chaleur est telle qu'arrivé à Mogador à midi, je n'ai qu'un désir, piquer une tête dans la mer. La plage est tentante, le sable brûlant. [...] Face à la mer, l'hôtel réserve à ses clients de passage des cabines particulières : il suffit de traverser la route. Je cours au bord de l'eau, avide de fraîcheur... Hélas ! le bain est glacé... Impossible de rester dans l'eau plus de trois minutes... [...]

Le ministère du Tourisme fait de grands efforts pour lancer Mogador comme plage internationale. Il est vrai que la baie est vaste [...] le sable fin, les hôtels confortables, le climat tempéré [...]

Mais l'eau est toujours glacée. Aucun remède à cela<sup>42</sup>.

Non seulement la construction des nouveaux bâtiments, mais aussi le placement sous protection peut causer du mal. L'exemple du *ksar*<sup>43</sup> d'Aït-Ben-Haddou montre que la volonté de préserver un site traditionnel peut provoquer la destruction de tout un village comme lieu d'habitat des autochtones. Dès que le territoire a été admis sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, les touristes ont apparu en grande masse, ce qui a chassé les habitants<sup>44</sup>. Dans un récit de voyage, nous pouvons lire concernant cet événement que « L'inscription du site par l'UNESCO a engendré un monstre. [...] Dépossédée de son âme, d'Aït-Ben-Haddou n'est plus qu'une marchandise touristique. »<sup>45</sup>

Pour l'argent, le touriste peut aussi s'acheter des expériences uniques, comme par exemple, faire un petit tour dans le désert sur le dos d'un chameau (qui est d'ailleurs souvent amaigri et tenu dans de mauvaises conditions). Pour le voyageur, le spectacle est à la fois drôle et triste :

Quelques kilomètres plus loin, deux cars sont arrêtés au bord de la route. Ils sont vides. A cent mètres de là, dans un champ, on retrouve les touristes, de dos, formant une masse compacte d'où émergent, au centre, trois chameaux. Pour cent francs, le chamelier fait accroupir sa bête, empoigne un amateur par le bras et installe sur la bosse. Quand l'animal se lève, le touriste bascule en avant, puis en arrière à la joie générale. Un petit tour, on s'arrête et c'est la descente, plus drôle encore<sup>46</sup>.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, au Maroc on offre des spectacles pour les touristes, évidemment s'ils achètent leur billet d'entrée. Ces spectacles sont, comme tout autre produit vendu pour les touristes, artificiels et elles servent à donner l'illusion d'être initié à un

<sup>41</sup> De Sinety, *Voyage au pays des Chleuhs*, 22.

<sup>42</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 122.

<sup>43</sup> Type d'habitat traditionnel.

<sup>44</sup> De Sinety, *Voyage au pays des Chleuhs*, 34.

<sup>45</sup> De Sinety, *Voyage au pays des Chleuhs*, 35.

<sup>46</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 21.

secret. Même si le touriste pense être intégré dans la tradition, il restera toujours étranger. Les voyageurs décrivent la modernisation de la tradition d'un ton triste et désespéré :

Je m'endors deux fois, mais touristes et marocains applaudissent des deux mains. Une fois de plus, la grosse mayonnaise berbère est passée sans encombre. C'est le tourisme cinq étoiles clé en main : pas besoin de visiter le pays, suffit de s'affaler dans les coussins de l'Oasis et d'écouter l'Ahouach exécuter sur mesure... et qui ne veut plus rien dire<sup>47</sup>.

Dans les récits de voyage, nous trouvons souvent des touristes qui ne sortent même pas l'hôtel où ils reçoivent tout confort :

Mais les touristes fortunés vous diront toujours que la plus belle chose d'El Jadida, c'est l'hôtel Marhaba. Au port de cette petite ville d'aspect misérable, il est d'un luxe insolent avec son confort, son personnel choisi, ses jardins, sa magnifique piscine, sa plage privée, entourée d'une enceinte [...]. Veut-on à tout prix isoler le touriste de luxe, lui servir sa piscine sur mesure et sa plage particulière, afin qu'il ne voie rien du Maroc ? Le malheur c'est ce vent qui souffle en permanence et qui lui rappelle, avec le sable et les papiers qu'il apporte, qu'en dehors de la forteresse où il se calfeutre un autre monde existe<sup>48</sup>.

Ce comportement va avec la création d'une image stéréotypée du touriste : celui-ci se promène dans la ville, appareil photo dans la main, et ne regarde que les bâtiments sur lesquels son guide attire l'attention :

Marrakech. Chaleur et poussière. Accompagnée de mes deux amis, je me retrouve débarquée au milieu des touristes, inmanquablement vêtus d'un short et d'un dos nu, avec l'appareil photo ou le caméscope en bandoulière. Images en boîte et tête vides. Comme on peut passer à côté des choses, telle l'eau qui glisse sur les plumes des oiseaux<sup>49</sup>.

Cela gêne et irrite le voyageur car, avec le tourisme, le pays perd l'essentiel de sa beauté et de son intérêt.

Il faut aussi noter que tourisme et commerce sont étroitement liés. Non seulement les traditions (modernisées) deviennent autant produits à vendre, mais c'est aussi le sort de toutes les marchandises qui ne représentent aucune valeur et qui n'ont aucune relation avec la culture marocaine mais qui plaisent aux touristes. Le souk, bazar traditionnel arabe, se divise en deux : une partie pour les autochtones, l'autre pour les touristes. Cette dernière ne vend que des imitations pour un prix élevé. Mais pour le touriste cela ne signifie rien : il ne saisit pas la différence entre original et copie et, en plus, il ne compte pas l'argent qu'il jette pour acheter des souvenirs. Les signes de la fièvre de consommation apparaissent au niveau

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<sup>47</sup> Demeyère, *Ahouach : Quatre saisons chez les Berbères*, 206.

<sup>48</sup> Chegaray, *Au Maroc à l'aventure*, 100.

<sup>49</sup> Demeyère, *Ahouach : Quatre saisons chez les Berbères*, 98.

des nourritures et des boissons, comme nous l'avons cité plutôt. Dans l'ensemble, les voyageurs désignent le désir de consommation comme déclencheur d'une certaine détérioration :

Avec le tourisme, la fièvre consumériste a gagné les esprits, mais l'édifice de terre sur lequel fructifie ce commerce est en passe de s'écrouler<sup>50</sup>.

Contrairement à l'image négative du tourisme, la rencontre avec l'autochtone et l'appréciation de l'intact apparaissent comme idéaux dans les récits de voyage. Les voyageurs reconnaissent le calme, la nature sauvage, la vie simple et traditionnel<sup>51</sup> des différents groupes ethniques. En échange, les autochtones se comportent amicalement à l'égard des voyageurs. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils peuvent constater que « les étrangers sont ici reçus comme des rois »<sup>52</sup>.

En guise de conclusion, nous pouvons dire que le tourisme et la relation touriste-voyageur occupent une place très importante dans les récits de voyage écrits sur le Maroc au tournant du deuxième millénaire. Le voyageur, en sus de se distinguer nettement du touriste, décrit d'un ton très critique l'organisation du tourisme et le comportement des touristes. Il juge le touriste négativement à cause de sa négligence et son ignorance, et il le condamne à cause du gaspillage et de la destruction du cadre traditionnel. Les voyageurs décrivent un monde contradictoire qui se base sur la manipulation de la tradition. L'imitation de l'authenticité est un instrument très important entre les mains des organisateurs du tourisme mais, pour garantir le succès, cette authenticité doit être modernisée. Le voyageur pense que la vraie tradition ne ferait qu'ennuyer le touriste. Il faut aussi admettre que la modernisation du pays est nécessaire pour pouvoir garantir le revenu qui est offert principalement par le nombre significatif des touristes. Cependant, cette modernisation ne devrait pas provoquer le gaspillage et l'augmentation du clivage entre les différentes couches de la société.

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<sup>50</sup> De Sinety, *Voyage au pays des Chleuhs*, 35.

<sup>51</sup> Dans le sens où ils négligent toutes acquisitions de la vie moderne européenne, ainsi machines et télécommunication.

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### Modernized tradition: Travellers on Moroccan tourism and tourists

After the independence of the Maghreb states, a special union of tradition and modernity can be observed in relation of travels. This relation can be detected in the simultaneous appearance of the will to return to the traditional values and in the intention to display to the European countries a high level of development which proves the capacity of managing without colonizer forces. These tendencies can be seen in the policies of tourism which is organised by the idea of fascinating the tourist and make it to have a good reputation of the Maghreb countries. Therefore, luxury buildings and places are being constantly constructed, and a European form of entertainment is integrated in the original Arab context. It is also possible to get to know some local traditions, but in a very modernized way, and far

from reality. This action of fabricating from the local customs an article of merchandise makes the local people nervous. The relation of tourists and local people are presented from the point of view of an outsider by travellers – who are neither locals nor tourist. They don't let themselves be influenced by tricks of tourist agencies. They try to avoid touristic places and programs organized to fascinate. The travelogues of independent travellers show us an image of the “fight” between the modern and the traditional in favour of rich European tourists. Travellers draw attention to the lies of touristic system. For this reason, I would like to present travellers' opinion on modern Maghreb tourism and on sacrificing of old traditions in order to earn more money and show particularly good image of themselves.



## *Le roumain influencé par le turc : les emprunts*

ALEXANDRA FLUERASU  
UNIVERSITE DE L'OUEST DE  
TIMIȘOARA

### **Considérations préliminaires**

« La langue roumaine est la langue latine parlée sans interruption dans la partie orientale de L'Empire Roman (Dacie, Pannonie, Dardanie, Mésie) depuis l'adoption de la langue latine dans ces provinces jusqu'aujourd'hui. »<sup>1</sup>

La langue roumaine, dans toute sa complexité, signifie plus que le latin. Cette langue a subi des transformations sans cesse, dues à la fois à son évolution naturelle et aux influences des langues voisines. Cet aspect est mentionné par le linguiste roumain Alexandru Rosetti dans son ouvrage intitulé *L'histoire de la langue roumaine littéraire des origines au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* : « La langue roumaine littéraire, telle que nous la connaissons aujourd'hui, en tant qu'élément constitutif de notre culture nationale, est le résultat d'une évolution longue et complexe. »<sup>2</sup>

De toutes ces influences, mon travail ne vise qu'une seule : l'influence turque. Les éléments turcs en roumain ont pénétré dans différentes époques. On distingue les anciens emprunts turcs, composés des mots d'origine couman et d'origine tatar jusqu'à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, appelés « preosmanli », et les mots plus récents du turc osmanli. Ce dernier type de mots est entré dans la langue roumaine soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire des langues slaves (le bulgare et le serbe). Il est remarquable que la plupart des mots d'origine turque soit entrée par une voie politico-administrative, c'est pourquoi ils ont disparu ou ils ont reçu une valeur péjorative<sup>3</sup>.

### **La cohabitation des Roumains avec des populations turques : considérations historiques**

Je souhaite traiter les deux principales catégories des emprunts turcs : les emprunts anciens (preosmanli) et les emprunts plus récents (osmanli).

Avant d'entrer en contact avec la langue turque osmanli (langue parlée sur le territoire de la Turquie d'aujourd'hui), la langue roumaine avait également été en contact avec d'autres idiomes parlés par les peuples turcs. Cette influence s'appelle preosmanli.

Les contacts entre les Roumains et les populations et langues turques remontent à la période allant du IV<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècles, où les Huns, les Avars et les Protobulgares ont occupé

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<sup>1</sup> Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române de la origini până în secolul al XVII-lea*, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Rosetti et Onu, *Istoria limbii române literare de la origini până la începutul secolului al XIX-lea*, 1 : 19.

<sup>3</sup> Sala, *Introducere în etimologia limbii*, 195-202.

temporairement des régions du territoire habitées par des Roumains, sans toutefois entretenir des relations stables avec eux.

Les premières populations qui ont influencé la langue roumaine ont été les Petchenègues et en particulier les Coumans. Ces groupes ethniques ont été provisoirement installés sur le territoire roumain Nord-Danubien du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'influence linguistique petchénego-coumane a attiré l'attention de plusieurs linguistes (B. P. Hasdeu, O. Densusianu, Al. Philippide, S. Pușcariu, etc.) qui ont adopté diverses positions, allant d'exagérer l'influence turque preosmanli à sa négation.

On sait que les Petchenègues sont arrivés en Europe, vers le Nord de la mer Noire, à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, et qu'au milieu du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, ils ont occupé certaines parties de la plaine du Sud de la Moldavie, de Munténie et d'Olténie. Au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ils ont traversé le Danube et se sont installés sur la rive droite du fleuve, y compris Dobrogée. Vers la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Petchenègues ont été vaincus par les Byzantins et les Coumans. Les survivants ont fui à divers endroits, notamment sur la péninsule balkanique et dans le royaume de Hongrie. Les régions occupées par les Petchenègues étaient donc envahies par les Coumans.

Au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, une autre population turque d'Asie centrale, les Oghouzes se divisent en deux branches : l'une se dirigeant vers le Sud-Ouest occupe des zones d'Anatolie, l'autre migrant de l'Ouest vers le Nord de la mer Noire arrive en Moldavie et dans la plaine du Danube. En 1064, ces Oghouzes passent le Danube mais ils sont vaincus. Certains retournent dans la plaine du Danube où ils vivent avec les Petchenègues jusqu'à ce qu'ils disparaissent de l'histoire.

En ce qui concerne les Coumans, ils dominent et contrôlent en 1068 un vaste territoire situé entre le lac Aral et le Danube Bas. Leur présence sur les territoires roumains devient vraiment importante dans la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans les documents byzantins (le premier datant de 1210), les terres extra-Carpates Nord-Danubiennes sont appelées Coumanie. Dans ces années, les Coumans deviennent chrétiens. À partir de 1236, ils sont attaqués par la Horde d'Or et ils sont vaincus. Une partie d'entre eux s'enfuit en Transylvanie et en Hongrie, une autre dans l'Empire byzantin. Une troisième partie est restée dans des zones précédemment occupées et coexistait avec des Mongolo-Tatars. Les Coumans ont ensuite disparu de l'histoire du fait de leur assimilation avec les populations majoritaires de ces régions, y compris les Roumains.

À partir de l'invasion des populations mongolo-tatares de 1239 à 1241, les Roumains entrent en contact avec un autre peuple turc : les Tartares de qui ils empruntent un certain nombre de termes en raison du voisinage. La Horde d'Or a dominé la Moldavie et la Valachie pendant un siècle. Durant cette période, aucune influence massive n'a pu avoir lieu car c'était un mélange de populations turques et mongoles, qui a gouverné par la force des armes.

De ces brèves données historiques, il semble que la population coumane, et dans une moindre mesure les Petchenègues et les Oghouzes, ont vécu en grand nombre, pendant environ trois siècles, sur le territoire roumain. Les trois ethnies parlaient des idiomes similaires. Trois siècles de cohabitation avec les Roumains auraient donc suffi pour emprunter un grand nombre de paroles de la population turque.

### Les emprunts turcs dans le roumain : catégorie, causes, sources, exemples

J'ai choisi de présenter quelques mots courants qui font partie même aujourd'hui de la langue roumaine et qui sont considérés d'origine preosmanli. Pour ces mots, il y a de solides arguments en faveur de l'étymologie coumane, mais les emprunts du couman ne peuvent pas être distingués clairement des éventuels mots d'origine petchenègue ou oghouze<sup>4</sup>.

Dans ce qui suit, nous proposons quelques exemples pour illustrer le phénomène décrit ci-haut :

- *Beci* « Cave » : mot d'origine coumane, lié à cum. *beči* « four ». Le mot oriental a été conservé dans l'ancien nom de Vienne, *Beç* > rom. *Beci*.

- *Ciob* « morceau, fragment, d'un objet de verre, faïence, argile, etc. ». La grande diffusion de la parole sur le territoire roumain et son absence dans les idiomes balkaniques rendent improbable l'étymologie turque. Cet aspect a incité les chercheurs à accepter l'origine coumane du terme: cum. *čop* ou *čob* « fragment d'un objet ».

- *Dușman* « ennemi, adversaire » a une propagation générale et d'anciennes attestations. Ce mot est admis par une double étymologie de tc. *düşman* et cum. *dușman*.

- *Tărâm* « région » < coum. *tarim* « jachère ».

- *Toi* « le point culminant de l'action ». Il est également trop large et ancien en roumain pour ne pas être considéré comme preosmanli. Pourtant, les chercheurs, par prudence, donne comme étymon : cum. et tc. *toy*.

- *Briceag* « canif, couteau de poche ». Il vient de tc. *buçak* « couteau » et de hongr. *bicska* « couteau » mais pourrait avoir une étymologie preosmanli : cum. *biçaq* « couteau ».

- *Burlan* « tube ou gouttière en métal, fonte, béton etc. ». Il peut être le résultat d'une contamination entre cum. *buryu* « tuyau, tube » et rom. *olan*.

- *Poznă*, avec la version régionale *pozământ*, prononcé comme tel dans la région roumaine de Maramourece. Il est utilisé dans toute la Roumanie et il est considéré comme ayant une étymologie inconnue ou allemande du all. « détresse, bêtise ». Le mot pourrait venir de cum. *pozma* qui correspond à la forme tc. *bozma* « blague, farce ».

Les éléments lexicaux roumains preosmanli (coumans) les moins controversés sont ceux de l'onomastique. L'anthroponymie a repris une série de noms de personnes qui, avec le temps, sont devenues des noms de famille ou des baptêmes<sup>5</sup> :

- *Aba* – tc. *aba* « père, grand-père, ancêtre ».

- *Basaraba* – tc. *basar* « celui qui maîtrise, domine » est également trouvé sous la forme de *Basarabă*, un nom populaire, avec des attestations du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans le Sud de la Transylvanie, de l'Olténie et du Banat. Il est aussi devenu un nom dynastique en Valachie. Il est également utilisé aujourd'hui dans la nouvelle version de *Basarab*, comme prénom et nom de famille.

- *Carabă* – tc. *qara* « noir » + *aba* « père, grand-père, ancêtre ».

D'autres noms de personnes considérés comme coumans, dont certains peuvent être d'origine petchenègue ou tartare, sont :

- *Borza* – *Borze* qui est cité comme étymon *Borzul*, le nom d'un noble couman, daté de 1211.

- *Dorman* – *Dărman* (le nom couman *Dorman* – *Derman*, de *Dărman* vient le toponyme

<sup>4</sup> Suci, *Cuvinte românești de origine turcă*, 171-228.

<sup>5</sup> Suci, *Cuvinte românești de origine turcă*, 204-205.

Dărmănești qui est une ville de Roumanie).

- *Hulubei* (coum. *Ulubey* < *ulu*, « fameux, majestueux, grandiose » + *bey* « prince ».)

Dans le domaine de la toponymie et de l'hydronimie, nous avons des arguments solides, présentés par d'importants linguistes roumains, en faveur de l'étymologie couman :

- *Teleorman* : « grande forêt »,

- *Caracala* : « forteresse noire » (c'est le nom populaire de Caracal),

- *Fălciu* : « bateliers ».

En outre, les noms des eaux terminés en *-ui* comme *Bahlui*, *Covorlui*, *Călimățui*, *Desnățui* sont d'origine coumane<sup>6</sup>.

Si les étymologies preosmanli ne peuvent pas être facilement élucidées, les emprunts osmanli sont beaucoup plus clairs dans la littérature spécialisée.

L'Empire ottoman, à l'apogée de son expansion, s'étendait du Nord-Ouest de l'Afrique jusqu'au Golfe persique et de la mer Caspienne au cœur de l'Europe. En conséquence, la langue turque a influencé tous les idiomes parlés dans ce vaste espace. Il s'agit des pays qui faisaient partie de l'Empire ottoman ou des pays trouvés sous son contrôle politique et militaire.

Ainsi, toutes les langues de l'Europe du Sud-Est et même le hongrois (car aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, la plus grande partie de la Hongrie était sous contrôle ottoman) ont pris beaucoup de mots turcs. Ces langues ont parfois joué un rôle d'intermédiaire dans le transfert de certains termes du turc vers le roumain. Le roumain a adopté des termes d'origine turque à partir de langues telles que : néogrecque (*babacă* [père], *caisă* [abricot], *fistic* [pistache], *pastramă* [viande salée et fumée], *saltea* [matelas], *taifas* [discussion]), bulgare (*burie* [tonnelet], *a se descotorosi* [débarrasser], *zarzară* [mirabelle]), serbe (en particulier les régionalismes de Banat: *avlie* [cour], *baș* [chef], *iorgovan* [lilas]), bulgare et serbe (commun pour les deux : *chirie* [loyer], *copcă* [trouée], *haiduc* [haidouc]), romaní (*baftă* [chance], *zuraliu* [énergique]), hongrois (*zseb* [poche], *dohány* [tabac]) et même des langues occidentales, comme le français (*emirat*, *fachir*, *meschin*, *sultanat* etc.).

De nombreux termes turcs, dont beaucoup sont arabes ou persans, ont pénétré dans différentes langues, connaissant une large diffusion dans les Balkans, l'Europe de l'Est et même au niveau international. Parmi les mots turcs de la langue roumaine, 51 % sont d'origine arabo-persane, 12 % d'autres origines, notamment occidentales, et seulement 37 % sont turcs et donc autochtones. Ce n'est pas une coïncidence, mais la preuve du rôle civilisateur de l'Empire ottoman entre l'Est et l'Ouest, entre l'Europe, l'Asie et l'Afrique du Nord. En générale, les mots appellent de nouveaux concepts pour les locuteurs qui les ont empruntés. Le roumain a emprunté du turc environ 85 termes internationaux pris par le contact direct entre les gens et par le commerce : (*atlas* [atlas], *bazar* [bazar], *cafea* [café], *chiosc* [kiosque], *iaurt* [yagourt], *divan* [canapé], *provă* [avant], *pupă* [poupe], *salam* [salam], etc.) et au moins 50 mots communs non seulement aux langues balkaniques et hongrois, mais également à d'autres langues de l'Europe orientale telles que : russe, polonais, ukrainien, tchèque, slovaque (*borangic* [soie grège], *bursuc* [blaireau], *calcan* [gale], *odaie* [chambre], *șapcă* [casquette], *tutun* [tabac], etc.).

Près de la moitié des emprunts roumains du turc (environ 1 300 mots) se trouve, outre le roumain et le turc, dans au moins deux autres langues balkaniques et dans le hongrois.

<sup>6</sup> Ivănescu, *Istoria limbii române*, 444-445.

Outre cette lexique balkanique, il se trouve également plus de 350 termes turcs existant uniquement en daco-roumain et dans une autre langue de l'Europe du Sud-Est : 60 mots communs uniquement avec le bulgare (*bidinea* [brosse à badigeonner les murs], *haimana* [concre], *moloz* [plâtras]), 77 seulement avec le serbe (*moft* [à son bon gré], *palmac* [unité de mesure] et d'autres qui ne sont plus employés) 57 avec le hongrois (hors d'usage sans exception), 51 avec le grec moderne (*fistichiu* [la couleur de la pistache], *nai* [flûte à pain], *zăgan* [une espèce de vautour], 15 avec l'albanais (*pardaf* [planche], *tocmagi* [nouilles]) et 96 avec l'aroumain (*acaret* [annexe à la maison], *cacealma* [louche affaire], *doldora* [bourré], *haihui* [avoir une vie bohème], *palavragiu* [bavard], *telemea* [fromage salé], etc.).

D'autres mots turcs n'ont été empruntés que dans le daco-roumain. Leur nombre est très élevé (environ 950), mais il s'agit en grande partie des emprunts régionaux, en particulier dobrogéens, ce qui explique leur prise en fonction de besoins individuels ou locaux. Cependant, certains sont devenus très répandus : *ciulama* [blanquette], *duium* [en grande quantité], *furtun* [boyau], *oǎ* [vernis à l'ongle], *puşlama* [concre], *tighel* [couture], *zeflemea* [moquerie], etc.

Les mots étrangers pénètrent dans une langue de deux manières principales : soit par la voie officielle, culte soit d'une manière populaire grâce au contact direct entre les locuteurs. Le chemin pris par les mots turcs dépendait de leur utilité en tant que signes de concepts, d'objets et des réalités dont les locuteurs roumains avaient besoin dans la vie quotidienne pour l'expression orale ou écrite.

Il est clair que des termes comme *buiurdiu* « décret », *muzecherea* « note diplomatique » ou *reiz efendi* (titre détenu par le ministre des affaires étrangères de l'empire) ont été empruntés par des moyens officiels, pendant que *burghiu* [vrille], *catifea* [velours], *chibrit* [allumette], *moloz* [plâtras], etc. sont les résultats du contact direct avec des artisans et des commerçants turcs. D'un point de vue numérique, les emprunts officiels et populaires sont divisés dans des proportions presque égales. La différence c'est que la plupart des emprunts officiels restent à la périphérie du vocabulaire et disparaissent rapidement. Certains d'entre eux ont passé l'épreuve du temps et sont devenus populaires dans toutes les zones, rurales ou urbaines, car ils ont défini des réalités qui se propagent parmi les masses : pièces de vêtements (*dulamă* [manteau], *iminei* [chaussures]), des plats (*chiftea* [boulette], *ciorbă* [soup], *ghiveci* [mélange de légumes], *musaca* [ragoût], *rahat* [loukoum]), éléments de l'habitation (*acaret* [annexe à la maison], *cearceaf* [drap], *cerdac* [balcon], *dulap* [armoire], *perdea* [draperie]), notions abstraites (*berechet* [abondance], *cusur* [défaut], *hal*, *huzur* [vie sans soucis], *naz* [minauderie], *siretlic* [fourberie]), propriétés (*chiabur* [homme riche], *derbedeu* [clochard], *fudul* [infatué], *lichea* [infâme], *puşti* [gamin], *ursuz* [acariâtre]), professions (*casap* [boucher], *salahor* [manoeuvre]), substances et minéraux (*chihlimbar* [ambre], *neft* [pétrole]), etc.

Par des moyens populaires, grâce aux contacts directs des classes moyenne et inférieure des Roumains avec les Turcs, de nombreux termes turcs ont été empruntés, la plupart d'entre eux sont encore dans le vocabulaire actif. Ils appellent le plus souvent des outils (*burghiu* [vrille], *macara* [grue], *macaz* [aigullage], *rindea* [rabet]), des articles ménagers (*chibrit* [allumette], *cutie* [boîte], *sacsie* [pot de fleurs]), des propriétés (*doldora* [bourré], *giugiuc* [joli], *haihui* [pour le gens : insouciant; jouyeux], *murdar* [sale]), des réalités spécifiques au commerce (*acadea* [berlingot], *trampă* [échange de marchandises]), à l'agriculture (*tarla*, *iastuc* [terres agricoles]), à la navigation (*geamandură* [balise], *ghionder*

[une sorte de rame]), à la faune et à la flore (*dud* [mûrier], *lalea* [tulipe], *lilic* [lilas], *pătlăgea* [sorte de tomate], *salcâm* [criquet]), aux aliments (*iaurt* [yaourt], *pilaf* [riz]), aux vêtements (*basma* [fanchon], *ojă* [vernis à l'ongles], *pingea* [semelle]), à la construction (*chirpici* [adobe], *geam* [vitre], *moloz* [plâtras]) etc.

Les emprunts officiels et les emprunts pris directement du turc représentent environ 1700-1800 mots, qui ont été utilisés dans la langue quotidienne des Roumains, dont beaucoup sont encore utilisés de nos jours<sup>7</sup>.

### La langue turque et la mode dans les Pays roumains

La séparation de l'influence orientale s'est manifestée par un processus difficile au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Après des siècles d'influence turque, la vie orientale a commencé à être remplacée par la vie occidentale. La partie riche et privilégiée de la société a commencé à adopter le style européen au niveau matériel, spirituel et comportemental. Les vêtements longs et larges ont été remplacés par les vêtements allemands plus étroits, les bottes avec les chaussures, les divanes classiques sont devenus des canapés élégants. Ce processus touche toutes les sphères de l'existence et le modèle suprême est le modèle français. Le français est parlé couramment à Iasi et à Bucarest et les enfants sont éduqués par des professeurs étrangers. Les Roumains commencent à voyager à l'ouest, Vienne et Paris deviennent des destinations fréquentes pour les dames de l'époque. Le premier élément nouveau semble avoir été la danse. Lors de bals organisés au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, des danses telles que le cadril français, la contre-danse anglaise, la mazurca polonaise devenaient indispensables. Les danses européennes ont été en contraste avec la barbe longue des boyards et leurs vêtements orientaux : du point de vue de l'habillement, certaines personnes conservent le vieux vêtement, d'autres adoptent et acceptent la mode européenne. Les deux types de vêtement se rencontrent dans la même famille : le père vêtu de façon traditionnelle, le fils à la dernière mode française.

Au niveau lexical, bien sûr, il y a des changements majeurs, plus ou moins acceptés, en fonction du sexe, de l'âge ou du statut social. Des mots tels que *jupân*, *chir*, *cocon* illustrant des personnalités exceptionnelles de la société, deviennent des appellations banales également utilisées dans les classes inférieures. Dans la terminologie des femmes, il existe une relation de concurrence entre *cucoană* et *madamă*. Dans tous les cas, les appellations *madame/monsieur* sont préférées à la *jupână/jupân*. Non seulement sur le plan linguistique, car le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle a été caractérisé par la coexistence de termes traditionnels (d'origine turque, grecque ou slave) utilisés parallèlement à des néologismes à prédominance française. La signification du néologisme n'était pas, dans de nombreux cas, équivalente à celle des variantes roumaines acceptées<sup>8</sup>.

### Conclusion

L'influence turque sur la langue roumaine est donc indiscutable, pour tous les linguistes et chercheurs qui se sont occupés de l'identification et de la classification des emprunts. Il

<sup>7</sup> Suci, *101 cuvinte de origine turcă*, 7-41.

<sup>8</sup> Ștefan Cazimir, *Alfabetul de tranziție*.

est extrêmement intéressant de voir comment certains mots datant de la période preosmanli (*beci, ciob, dușman, tărâm* etc.) sont d'actualité et font partie du discours actuel. En ce qui concerne les emprunts ottomans, les étymologies sont claires. Les termes populaires d'origine turque et les termes officiels devenus populaires sont extrêmement répandus aujourd'hui. Bon nombre d'entre eux fait partie du vocabulaire quotidien des Roumains au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle (*cearceaf, dulap, ciorbă, chirie, caisă, pastramă, saltea, telemea, moloz, dud, lalea, salcâm* etc.).

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### **Romanian influenced by Turkish: the Lexical Borrowing**

The Romanian language is a Latin language spoken continuously in the eastern part of the Roman Empire (Dacia, Pannonia, Dardania, Mesia) since the adoption of the Latin language in these provinces until today. Of course, Romanian is more than Latin. This language has undergone constant transformations, due both to its natural evolution and to the influences of neighbouring languages. Of all these influences, our work focuses on only one: the Turkish influence. The Ottoman Empire, at the height of its expansion, extended from north western Africa to the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea, and into the heart of Europe. As a result, the Turkish language has influenced all the idioms spoken in this vast space. These are countries that were part of the Ottoman Empire or countries found under its political and military control. The objectives of this research are:

- to specify how, when and in what way Romanians and Turks interacted;
- to analyse what kinds of cultural and linguistic imprints imposed by the Turks in the Romanised Danube provinces.

The work also highlights the obvious linguistic similarities between the Romanian language and other languages that have been in contact with Turkish. Almost half of Turkish lexical borrowings in Romanian are, in addition to Romanian, in at least two other Balkan languages and/or the Hungarian language. This paper invites interested parties to take a look at the Romanian etymology, which is based on the linguistic and cultural influence of a colonial empire: the Ottoman Empire.



## ***The Buxton Mission. British diplomacy in Bulgaria 1914–1915***

**BALÁZS BALATONI**  
UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

Noel and Charles Roden Buxton write in the preface of their book, *The War and the Balkans*, that no one can deny the supreme importance of the Balkans in the European War.<sup>1</sup> However, in spite of their contemporary statement, the assumed importance of the Balkans in the course of the Great War painstakingly faded away in the later memories of contemporaries as well as in historiography as well. As Keith Robbins pointed out that there are several accounts on the Dardanelles campaign but none investigated British Balkan policy in 1914–1915 as a whole.<sup>2</sup> In his glamorous book, David Dutton reconstructs the French–British policies in the Balkans between 1914 and 1918, but as a matter of fact, his analysis was made rather from the military’s point of view. Therefore, previous literature left enough room for further research into the diplomatic scrambles of 1914–1915.

In my paper I am going to focus on the quasi-diplomatic mission of Noel and Charles Roden Buxton in the Balkans in 1914–1915 by analyzing the personal correspondence of Noel Buxton. Therefore, I will not be able to cover the British diplomacy as a whole. In the first part of my paper I briefly sum up the Buxtons involvement in the affairs of the Balkan peninsula, and then I will provide a short overview of the period preceded the First World War. In the third part of this paper I will turn to the Buxton-mission of 1914–1915.

### **The Buxtons and the Balkans prior to 1912**

British engagement with the European territories of the Ottoman Empire was particularly strong throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The well-known Eastern Question connected Great Britain to the region despite it had not had crucial economic interest there. However, the fate of the withdrawing Ottoman Empire had raised political and strategic concerns among the great powers of Europe as the possible outcomes would have highly affected the delicate contemporary balance of power in the region.

The various Balkan nationalities gradually gained independence from the Porte during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By the last third of the century, the Ottomans’ possessions in Europe were confined merely to Albania, Thrace, and to the areas which contemporaries usually referred to as Macedonia, a shifting and evolving term in both space and time.<sup>3</sup> Contemporaries usually meant by Macedonia three Ottoman administrative units in Turkey-in-Europe: the

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<sup>1</sup> Buxton – Buxton, *The War*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Robbins, *British Diplomacy*, 560.

<sup>3</sup> Akhund, *Stabilizing a Crisis*, 588. For further literature on the delimitation of historical Macedonia see: Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 3.; Livanios, *The Macedonian Question*, 3. and Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics*.

vilayets of Salonica, Monastir and Kosovo. Ottoman Macedonia was inhabited by various ethnic and religious communities which did not share a common national identity in a modern sense; they rather identified themselves in pre-modern terms such as religion and language and other non-national loyalties.<sup>4</sup> However, this population had become the main target of each of the neighboring Balkan states' national propaganda, as they all claimed some parts of this territory according to their national unification programs. To this end, since the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a vast body of literature has been published by various Balkan intellectuals and scholars in order to justify their rightful national claims for the territory both in their respective countries and in Western Europe too.<sup>5</sup>

The role of public opinion gradually became a crucial factor in the conduct of foreign policy making in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Influential segments of the Western European societies, such as journalists, scientists, politicians, etc., formed various lobby-groups in order to promote different causes or support various nationalities, and drew the attention of their government to these, and put the issue in the very midst of domestic public debates. After the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century numerous similar groups were formed to promote just the cause of the Balkan nationalities. As one prominent British journalist at the time, Henry Nevinson noted that "every English person who knows anything at all about them has adopted one or other of the Balkan races as a favourite pet."<sup>7</sup> In the pre-World War period one of the most important group of this kind was the Balkan Committee which was founded by Noel and Charles Roden Buxton in 1902.<sup>8</sup> The Committee's main goal was to make the British Government (and the Concert of Europe) to compel the Ottoman Empire to introduce reforms in its land inhabited by Christians. Just before the well-known Ilinden Uprising of 2 August 1903 the Committee launched its agitation campaign which, however, highly resembled the great Bulgarian Agitation of William E. Gladstone in 1876. Noel Buxton and the Balkan Committee tried to keep the Macedonian question in the center of British political discourse for almost a decade. Although the group ventured to maintain an outward appearance of unity, in reality the Committee was deeply divided along (Balkan) national lines. Generally the Balkan Committee was regarded as a Bulgarophil organization.<sup>9</sup> By the time of the overwhelming victory of the Balkan Alliance in the first Balkan War, the Balkan Committee became as divided as the Balkan countries themselves.

### **The prelude to World War I: The Balkan Wars 1912–1913**

As Richard C. Hall points out, the Balkan Wars were a rehearsal to the Great War in many sense: the using of rapid-fire artillery; trench warfare, the extensive impact of the war on the civilian population, all these would be the characteristics of the coming European war.<sup>10</sup> In regard of my topic, it is important because it fundamentally determined the relationship be-

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<sup>4</sup> Brown, *Loyal unto Death*, 14–21.

<sup>5</sup> Ilchev, *My Country*, 32–50.

<sup>6</sup> Case, *The Quiet Revolution*, 111–113.

<sup>7</sup> Cited in Destani – Tomas, *Albania's Greatest Friend*, xx.

<sup>8</sup> De Bunsen, *Charles Roden Buxton*, 54–55. Though the foundation of the group was announced only on the pages of the 28th July 1903 issue of the *Manchester Guardian*.

<sup>9</sup> Gooch, *Foreword*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars*, 132–135.

tween the Balkan states, and this also hampered the Entente's room of diplomatic maneuver in the first years of World War I. The Balkan Alliance of 1912, which was made up mostly under Russian patronage, was a result of a series of bilateral treaties concluded between the Balkan countries. Contrary to the original Russian design, the Balkan bloc's aim was to 'liberate' the European territories of the Ottoman Empire. However, by the eve of the war the concluded arrangements, except the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, dimly outlined the territorial distribution of the future war spoils, and left this question open until the end of hostilities.

The First Balkan War started on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1912 by Montenegro, and soon the rest of the Balkan allies declared war on the Ottomans too. After a couple of weeks of fighting, the Ottomans suffered a devastating defeat from the allies, and by the time of the truce of 3<sup>rd</sup> November, they lost almost all of their European possessions, and their control actually was confined to three major fortifications, namely, Scutari, Janina and Edirne.<sup>11</sup> Due to the pressure exerted by the Great Powers, the belligerent countries met in London to negotiate the terms of peace. Parallel to this, another conference was held at St. James Hall by the ambassadors of the Powers in order to settle questions raised by the unexpected victory of the Balkan states.

Although the negotiations between the Balkan Alliance and the Ottomans were interrupted and the war continued, the talks between the representatives of the Great Powers were kept going on. After serious debates, the ambassadorial conference decided to establish an autonomous Albania in December 1912. However, this decision jeopardized Serbia and Greece's designs in this part of the peninsula, and this naturally led these countries to sought territorial compensation elsewhere, namely in Macedonia.<sup>12</sup> The symptoms of growing discord between the allies were palpable already in the spring of 1913. The Serbian prime minister, Nikola Pašić raised the necessity of the modification of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty as early as February 1913.<sup>13</sup> James David Bouchier, the Balkan correspondent of *The Times*, also noted the signs of rupture in a letter to Noel Buxton: "The truth is that the Servian officers finding themselves in possession at Monastir, etc., don't see why they should go out, and regard treaties as waste paper... The only remedy for the situation is arbitration is some form or other. Another campaign would be a scandal and a disgrace."<sup>14</sup> Finally, after the Scutari crisis the Great Powers demanded a complete cease-fire and peace negotiations were reopened in London. The Treaty of London, signed 30<sup>th</sup> May, settled many question which had arisen from the Ottoman defeat. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire had to cede all its territories west from the so-called Enos-Midia line. The treaty also settled the status of Crete, and handed over most of the Aegean islands to Greece, and, as I mentioned earlier, an autonomous Albania was to be established.<sup>15</sup>

Soon, however, the victorious Balkan allies ruptured over the spoils of war. Less than a month later the Balkan cooperation entirely collapsed. Feeling deprived from its "natural gains", Bulgaria attacked its former allies on the night of 28–29<sup>th</sup> June: the second Balkan War begun. After some initial success the Bulgarian troops had to withdraw, and especially after Romania and the Ottoman Empire also entered the conflict, the fate of the war was

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 80–95.

<sup>12</sup> Anastasakis et al., *Introduction...* 6.

<sup>13</sup> Demeter, *Kisállami törekvések*, 303.

<sup>14</sup> Cited in Anderson, *Noel Buxton*, 56.

<sup>15</sup> *Treaty of Peace between Turkey and the Balkan Allies*, 12–13.

decided. The representatives of the Balkan countries met in Bucharest to discuss the details of the settlement. As Richard C. Hall noted, for Greece and Serbia, the treaty was a complete success beyond their expectation. On the other hand, for Bulgaria it was a catastrophe.<sup>16</sup> It lost vast territories in Macedonia, and it also had to cede the Southern Dobrudja to Romania, not to mention the recapture of Adrianople (Edirne) by Enver Pasha. On the eve of the Great War the Balkan countries had serious conflict of interests which made cooperation between them almost inevitably impossible.

### **The Buxton Mission in the Balkans**

At the outbreak of the war many Europeans shared the optimism of Emperor Wilhelm II that the war would be short, and the soldiers “will be home before the leaves have fallen from the trees”. However, both the Entente and the Central Powers attempted to win over new allies to their side in order to prevail in the world struggle. To this end, some British politicians were convinced that the key of victory laid “in the East”. During the year of 1914, for British observers gradually realized that the Ottoman–German rapprochement eventually would be formalized in an alliance between them, which would have threatened basic British imperial interests, e.g. in Egypt. Although the Entente was keen to keep the Ottoman Empire out of the conflict, due to the conflicting interests of its diplomacy, finally, the Ottomans joined the Central Powers in September 1914.<sup>17</sup> At this point the stance of the Balkan States became crucially important to both power blocs. Some members of this British Cabinet, and other British politicians alike, had thought that the best way to relieve the Western and Eastern fronts, and subsequently to win the war, was to open a new front in the Balkans. Naturally, Serbia was considered as an ally to the Entente powers, however, the rest of the Balkan states remained neutral. Winston Churchill aptly noted in his World War I memoirs that in 1914 there were equally strong groups of supporters of the Entente and of the Central Powers in Greece, Bulgaria and Romania too.<sup>18</sup> In light of this, some quarter of British politicians started to emphasize the importance of a diplomatic mission to be sent to the Balkans in order to secure either support or, at least, benevolent neutrality of those countries. However, the attempt to revive the Balkan bloc of 1912 proved to be a very difficult task due to, as I pointed out earlier, the results of recent events occurred in the Second Balkan War.

The supporters of the “Eastern solution” within the British Cabinet, particularly David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill, First Lord of Admiralty, and Charles Masterman, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster – the latter was being the friend of the brothers – naturally sought the assistance of the main figures of the Balkan Committee, namely, Noel and Charles Roden Buxton, as they assumed that they could utilize the Buxtons’ networks in order to win over the neutral Balkan countries, particularly Bulgaria. As early as the end of August 1914, discussions had started to decide that in what capacity should the Buxtons be sent to Bulgaria and what were the exact objectives of their visit. At the early stage of the war David Lloyd George was keen to open a new front in the

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<sup>16</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars*, 124–125.

<sup>17</sup> On the Ottoman entry to war see: McMeekin, *Ottoman Endgame*, 95–133.

<sup>18</sup> Churchill: *The World Crisis*, 1:431.

Balkans, and he [thought] that two factors were essential to make the Balkan countries commit themselves to the Entente cause: a vast loan and a military landing either in South Dalmatia or in Salonica.<sup>19</sup> In a letter to Buxton, 22th August 1914, he authorized him to make credit arrangements with any Balkan country who decided to throw its lot with the Triple Entente.<sup>20</sup> Churchill wrote a letter to Noel Buxton regarding this mission, in which he asked him to “make [his] friends in Greece and Bulgaria realize the brilliant but fleeting opportunity which now presents itself”.<sup>21</sup> He claims that the Balkan states cannot expand without “internecine war”, but the “application of the principle of nationality in the southern provinces of Austria-Hungary would produce results so advantageous to the Balkan states that the memory and the consequences of former quarrels could be assuaged for ever [sic!]. The creation of a Balkan Federation comprising Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, and Greece, strong enough to play an effective part in the destinies of Europe, must be the common dream of all their peoples.”<sup>22</sup> Notwithstanding that the abovementioned members of the Cabinet wanted a formal diplomatic mission undertaken by the Buxton brothers, the Foreign Office did not share their enthusiasm, and it did not support neither Lloyd George’s ‘*blank cheque*’ nor the official use of Churchill’s letter. Sir Edward Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, refused to send Buxton as a Special Agent, because in his view “in that capacity more harm than good might be done”, and Buxton should travel there in a purely private visit as “sympathetic friend of Bulgaria”.<sup>23</sup> Keith Robbins argues that the Foreign Office reluctance to support Buxton’s mission ensued from two important factors. First, that from the very beginning of the war, the British diplomatic corps in Sofia regarded Bulgaria as already lost to the Entente. On the other hand, the F.O. did not really like the idea that an outsider, a troublemaker to use A. J. P. Taylor’s phrase,<sup>24</sup> penetrated into their domain of foreign policy making.<sup>25</sup>

Eventually, Noel and Charles Roden Buxton had set off to Bulgaria in the early days of September 1914. Noel wrote in his diary about his feelings about the subsequent mission during the journey to Sofia: “It is horrible to urge a people to war, but it would be in Bulgaria’s interest to do so, this being the best (and probably the last) opportunity of recovering her rights. This war offers what has never been possible before and could not be gained without the curtailment of Austria-Hungary, namely a final and permanent solution of the Balkan question. Also, the entry of Bulgaria would have the most marked effect in shortening the war.”<sup>26</sup> They arrived to Paris in the shadow of the German advance to the French capital, and continued their journey with several detours to Italy, to the port of Brindisi,

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<sup>19</sup> Dutton, *The Politics of Diplomacy*, 22.

<sup>20</sup> MS 951 c2/25. Spec. Corr. D. Lloyd George, 1913–1941: Lloyd George to Noel Buxton, 22th August 1914.

<sup>21</sup> MS 951 c.1/34. Spec. Corr. Winston Churchill 1914–1944: Winston Churchill to Noel Buxton, 31 August 1914. (copy)

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> MS 951 c.2/10 Spec. Corr. Grey of Fallodon 1906–1916: Sir Edward Grey to Noel Buxton, 29 August 1914.

<sup>24</sup> Taylor, *The Trouble Makers*.

<sup>25</sup> Robbins, *British Diplomacy*, 563.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Conwell-Evans, *Foreign Policy*, 88.

where to Churchill dispatched the HMS Hussar, a torpedo gunboat, at their disposal to swiftly sail off to Salonica.<sup>27</sup>

Although, they were enthusiastically welcomed by the local populace of Sofia, the brothers found themselves in a very discouraging political atmosphere. King Ferdinand and the Radoslavov Government were generally considered as pro-German, and the Buxtons had connections mainly with the leading figures of the opposition, like former Bulgarian prime minister Ivan Gešov, but not with the government. Their primary objective was to ascertain “the price” of Bulgarian entry to war. Mosa Anderson, the biographer of Noel Buxton, suggests in her book that he and his brother Charles actually outlined a territorial scheme for the Bulgarians in exchange for their commitment to the Entente’s war aims,<sup>28</sup> despite the fact that, as I earlier pointed out, Sir Edward Grey did not authorized them to make such offers. According to Anderson the scheme promised to Bulgaria “(1) the central Macedonian districts which had been ascribed to Bulgaria under the Serbo–Bulgar Treaty in 1912; (2) certain districts in the Dobrudja, now occupied by Rumania, and (3) in the event of Turkey entering the war against the Entente, the so-called Enos–Midia line. Bulgaria in return was to promise benevolent neutrality to Serbia, Rumania and Greece”.<sup>29</sup> [...]

Noel Buxton recorded a quite hostile attitude of the British diplomatic corps both at home and at Sofia as well. On the one hand, even before his departure from London, one of the highest officials of the Foreign Office suggested that he could spare the trouble to going to Sofia as Bulgaria was already lost.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, he was convinced that the Foreign Office drew the wrong conclusions from the “unduly pessimistic and misleading” reports sent by Henry Bax-Ironside, British Minister in Sofia (1911–1915), who was regarded as a “friend of Serbia”, and thus he was very unpopular in Bulgarian political circles. Looking back to the events of autumn 1914, he also notes in this letter to Robert Cecil, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1915–1919), that the First Secretary of the Sofia Legation, “O’Reilly [...] did much to diminish the unhappy effects thus produced. He was recalled in the Spring on the ground that he had kept up social relations with Germans his wife being a German. His value as bringing the best and latest inside information might have been immense. It was precisely information that was wanted. But not only was he not put into the War Department (where his knowledge would be of daily use) but he was not even seen by Grey or Nicolson on his return.”<sup>31</sup> Consequently, Buxton blamed the Foreign Office that the diplomatic corps had mismanaged this issue, and even regarded their work as amateurish. However, it is quite striking if we compare these observations with the memoirs of Sir Edward Grey. Although Grey’s memoir might be biased with the intention of self-justification, as all memoir might be, it seems he supported the idea of a revived Balkan bloc, though, as an experienced foreign policy maker, he saw also the great difficulties of such policy. However, he recorded that “[...] if, as a result of the present war, Serbia obtained access to the Adriatic and a large acquisition of territory to the west of her inhabited by Serbs, the settlement of the Macedonian question should thereby be made more

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>28</sup> Anderson, *Noel Buxton*, 64.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 64–65.

<sup>30</sup> MS 951 c.25/6 Balkans Jan.–Jun. 1915, Noel Buxton to Lord [Robert] Cecil, 21 June 1915.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

easy, and I saw very favourable possibilities as a consequence of this war".<sup>32</sup> All in all, in the light of the examined sources, it seems that British diplomacy in the Balkans was very indeterminate (at least on the surface), and apparently it worked rather half-heartedly towards the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Entente side. Robbins also suggests that from the beginning of 1914, behind the scenes, there was a struggle between Russia and Britain in Sofia for diplomatic supremacy.<sup>33</sup> Noel Buxton wrote at a later date about his frustration over Grey and the Foreign Office's reluctance to attain the cooperation of the Balkan countries: "It was more irritating to be encouraged to come, to leave all manner of work and also wife and family, to incur great efforts and expense, and (as it turned out) great dangers... and then to find that every suggestion for action either from ourselves or any other quarter was rejected and shelved, and generally that a steady stream of cold water was turned on so far as any forward policy was concerned."<sup>34</sup>

After a couple of weeks of negotiations, being disappointed in Grey's decisions, the Buxtons left Sofia for Bucharest where they found a generally pro-Entente sentiment. However, as Buxton remarked to Cecil, according to the British Minister, Sir George Barclay (1912–1920), that as late as October the local government had not been informed yet that Romania's help would be welcome by Entente.<sup>35</sup> They were also received by King Charles I (r. 1866–1914) and Queen Elisabeth who were very cordial with their English visitors but expressed their strong commitment to Germany. They also met with prominent Romanian politicians, such as Ion C. Brătianu, Take Ionesco, and certainly, the personnel from the British Legation.<sup>36</sup> However, their stay in Romania was unexpectedly interrupted by the death of King Charles on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1914.<sup>37</sup> On the morning of the royal funeral, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1914, the brothers were about to leave Bucharest by roofless car to one of their friend's nearby estate when suddenly shots were fired on them. Noel Buxton had been shot through his jaw, and Charles was wounded on his chest, virtually the bullets went through his lungs. The assassin, a young, 21 years old Turkish student who studied political science and philosophy in Paris, Hassan Taksim was hold down by the driver of the car. They were brought back to their hotel room where a great crowd gathered to witness the brothers' agony, and where a rather absurd and tragicomic scene occurred. Lady Grogan, the biographer of James David Bouchier, recorded in her book this moment as follows: "The wounded men were in a bad predicament, for, of the two other Englishmen present, the Minister, Sir George Barclay, was very short-sighted, and Bouchier extremely deaf. At last, Noel managed to gesticulate to Bouchier, who brought him a scrap of paper on which Noel wrote a line telling him to clear the room. If Bouchier had not acted on these instructions immediately, there is little doubt that one of the brothers would have succumbed."<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the Romanian gendarmeries brought to the hotel room the assassin as well in or-

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<sup>32</sup> Grey, *Twenty Five Years*, 2:185.

<sup>33</sup> Robbins, *British Diplomacy*, 565.

<sup>34</sup> Cited in Anderson, *Noel Buxton*, 65.

<sup>35</sup> MS 951 c.25/6. Balkans Jan.–Jun. 1915, Noel Buxton to Lord [Robert] Cecil, 21 June 1915.

<sup>36</sup> Conwell-Evans, *Foreign Policy*, 95.

<sup>37</sup> A rumor (enhanced by the Central Powers propaganda) immediately spread that the Buxtons poisoned the decidedly pro-German king.

<sup>38</sup> Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bouchier*, 162. Another description of this event can be found: Anderson, *Noel Buxton*, 66.

der to the Buxtons identify him. However, both of the brothers survived the assassination attempt, and spent about a month in a sanatorium near to the Romanian capital.

From a letter that Noel Buxton wrote from the hospital to his wife we know that he was warned by Sir George Barclay because according to the intelligence provided by the British Ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Louis Mallet (1913–1914), further attempts to murder them was expected.<sup>39</sup> After recovery from their wounds the Buxtons paid a visit to their would-be assassin, Hassan Taksim in prison. Noel wanted to know his motivation behind the failed assassination, and he also suggested to Taksim that his action might help them, and indirectly the cause of the Entente, in Bulgaria. The young Turkish responded quite cheerfully to this assumption: “Then I shall receive a decoration from the Balkan Committee!”<sup>40</sup>

The brothers were received back in Bulgaria as national heroes who spilled their blood for the country.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately the sources are quite laconic about the happenings of the following weeks. What is certain is that the Buxtons went to Niš, where to the Serbian government and parliament fled from the Austro-Hungarian offensive, however, our sources are quite inconclusive whom they met there. However, it is quite clear that the brothers arrived to Athens by the middle of December 1914. In a letter which never been sent to his wife, Noel Buxton still reports that they were feared from further assassination attempts. In this letter he also elaborates his personal motives about going to this mission and also about taking an active role in public life because he thought “partly because you are interested, & partly because (in addition) my friends, & especially my nephews & nieces, would like to hear them if I were killed”.<sup>42</sup> However, his fears proved to be unreal and they continued their journey back to Great Britain via Rome<sup>43</sup> and Paris where they discussed their experience with Georges Clemenceau who was then the editor of *L’Homme Enchaîné*, and Alexander Izvolsky, Russian Ambassador to Paris.<sup>44</sup>

### Activities and Failure in London

Upon their return back to Great Britain, the Buxtons thought that Bulgaria was still persuadable to join the Entente. Therefore, their next goal was to convince British political circles and public opinion alike about the utmost importance of bringing in Bulgaria to the war. In doing so, they utilized their earlier experience (and channels) in public agitation: a substantial body of articles appeared in various newspapers and journal favoring the claims of Bulgaria, and public meetings were held throughout the country as well in order to promote the Bulgarian adhesion to the Entente war aims. In the spring of 1915, Noel and Charles Roden Buxton published a book, *The War and the Balkans*, in which they summarized their

<sup>39</sup> MS 951. c.8/8. On Risks, Noel Buxton to Lucy Buxton, 27 October 1914.

<sup>40</sup> Anderson, *Noel Buxton*, 69. Unfortunately neither historical scholarship nor the sources gives reliable hints on the later fate of Hassan Taksim. He was sentenced to ten years in a labour camp in Romania which actually was consistent with a death sentence. However, according to Conwell-Evans, Taksim returned to Turkey when the Central Powers overran Romania in 1916–1917, and eventually died in İzmir (Smyrna) during the Greek occupation. Conwell-Evans, *Foreign Policy*.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> MS 951 c.8/8. On Risks, Noel Buxton to Lucy Buxton, 20 December 1914.

<sup>43</sup> MS 951 c.8/8. On Risks, Noel Buxton to Lucy Buxton, 30 December 1914.

<sup>44</sup> Anderson, *Noel Buxton*, 69–72.



views about the the general political situation in the Balkans, and also they evaluate the military strength of each states too. In the first chapter of their book ('The Balkans and the war') the authors express their hope that, as the Entente made the principle of nationality its primary war objective, the settlement of the 'Balkan problem' on the basis of nationality would build up "a permanent fabric of peace".<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the Buxtons' also argued that, from a military point of view, a re-instrumentalized Balkan bloc would meant additional 1.300.000 troops to the Entente forces which fact could be decisive in the course of the war.<sup>46</sup>

The main purpose of the book was to emphasize the possibility of Balkan cooperation. After providing the reader the general characteristics of each Balkan country, the authors depicted the 'rightful' Bulgarian territorial claims. These territories, which Bulgaria considered for herself, were mainly 'robbed' from Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War. They laid the claim for 'Serbian Macedonia', which technically covered those areas of Macedonia which were unconditionally allotted to Bulgaria by the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912 (but not the so-called contested zone). Besides this, the Bulgarians wanted an outlet to the Aegean Sea at Kavala. In his private letters, Noel Buxton recurrently suggested this possible concession to the Foreign Office, as Eleftherios Venizelos, Greek prime minister at the time, tended to accept this in exchange for territorial gains in Asia Minor with the consent of the Entente.<sup>47</sup> Bulgaria had claims for two other areas as well, both lost in the Second Balkan War, namely, Southern Dobrudja and Thrace (up to the Enos-Midia line).<sup>48</sup> James David Bouchier, in a letter to Noel Buxton, outlined a scheme which included a territorial reorganization of the Balkans too. Bouchier suggests in this letter that cooperation between the Balkan states could only obtained by decisive Entente agency. First of all, the Entente would have to declare that it would support, on the one hand, Serbia's claim to Bosnia and Northern Herzegovina, and to one or two ports on the Adriatic; on the other hand, Montenegro's claim to Southern Herzegovina and to Cattaro (Kotor), Budva and the district of Spizza (Sutomore) in Southern Dalmatia. Bulgaria could gain the desired territories if she would undertake a strictly benevolent neutral policy towards Serbia, Greece and Romania. As to Thrace, Bulgaria could have taken it in case she would declare war on the Ottoman Empire.<sup>49</sup> I think what is striking here, is the complete neglect of the Yugoslav solution of the 'Balkan problem', even if we know that at the time of publishing of the Buxtons' book and presumably at the time of Bouchier letter, the Yugoslav Committee had not been established yet. David Dutton noted with a dash of irony that the Buxtons' attempted to develop a "seductively simple programme of territorial rearrangements designed to bring the whole peninsula to the allied camp".<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the Buxton brothers and their supporters were right on that the mediation of the Entente powers was a necessary requirement to facilitate the rapprochement of the Balkan countries. Lord Newton, an old comrade of Buxton from the time of the Macedonian agitation campaign, emphasized this necessity in a letter he wrote to Buxton. He stressed that if the Balkan states could not come to an agreement then the Entente ought to force them to do so. Regarding the work of the Foreign Office he

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<sup>45</sup> Buxton – Buxton, *The War*, 16.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>47</sup> MS 951 c.25/6, Balkans – Jan.–June 1915, 'Kavala I'.

<sup>48</sup> Buxton – Buxton, *The War*, 73.

<sup>49</sup> MS 951 c.25/7 Balkans – July–Sept., James David Bouchier to Noel Buxton, undated.

<sup>50</sup> Dutton, *The Politics of Diplomacy*, 19.

also added that “it seems to me that British diplomacy as regards the Balkans has never been so intensely futile before. Here we are, fighting the Turks and without getting any assistance from the Turks’ natural enemies”.<sup>51</sup>

With the exception of Lloyd George, the members of the British Cabinet showed less and less interest in the possibility of bringing in Bulgaria to the war on the allies’ side. Sir Edward Grey doubted this option from the very beginning, and also feared that making promises in Sophia would destroy Serbian morale without any guarantee of real support or at least neutrality from Bulgaria.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, Grey was more interested in securing Italian support than Bulgaria, and therefore the idea of forcing Serbia to make concessions to Bulgaria became almost impossible for him, as Italian designs on the east shore of the Adriatic confronted Serbian (Jugoslav) territorial claims.<sup>53</sup> Churchill and Lloyd George seemingly dropped the Bulgarian option as well, because they put their lot in the on-going great British offensive in the Dardanelles. Despite all of this, Noel Buxton could arrange two dinners at the Savoy Hotel with the Bulgarian Minister in London to discuss the conditions of the entry of Bulgaria to war but this could not change anything decisively.<sup>54</sup> The British Cabinet still communicated contradictory: what Lloyd George promised on one day, Sir Edward Grey confuted on the other day. This uncertainty also made the Bulgarian Minister in London to consider his resignation from his post. As I emphasized earlier, by the summer of 1915, British Cabinet members put their money on other horses: Grey hoped an all-pervading victory from the Italian entry and Churchill from the breakthrough at the Dardanelles.

## Conclusion

Finally, Bulgaria entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1915. Behind this fateful decision there were several different reasons. First of all, the Central Powers could offer more to Bulgaria without forcing any of their allies to make concessions. On the other hand, by autumn it seemed that the German-led bloc would win the war.<sup>55</sup> However, the history of the diplomatic scrambles in Bulgaria during this period also shed some light on the discrepancies of foreign policy making at least on two levels. First, from the papers of Noel Buxton it seems that the conflict between the Foreign Office and other branches of British administration caused serious problems when urgent decision-making was needed. On the other hand, historical literature suggests that the joint diplomacy of the Entente did not work as smoothly as it was assumed before.

Noel and Charles Roden Buxton’s mission to Bulgaria also shed some light on both aspects. What is strikingly obvious from Noel Buxton’s paper is the ongoing struggle within the British political elite for power in the foreign policy decision-making process. In the long run, dissenters like the Buxtons were outmatched by other self-claimed foreign policy,

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<sup>51</sup> MS 951 c.25/6 Balkans – Jan.–June 1915, Lord Newton to Noel Buxton, 6 May 1915.

<sup>52</sup> Grey, *Twenty Five Years*, 191.

<sup>53</sup> Robbins, *British Diplomacy*, 570. However, it is interesting to note that Grey in his recollections claims that he supported the scheme outlined by Noel Buxton about the possible territorial concessions to Bulgaria, and he conducted his policy with the other Great Powers accordingly. Grey, *Twenty Five Years*, 199.

<sup>54</sup> Conwell-Evans, *Foreign Policy*, 109.

<sup>55</sup> Crampton, *Bulgaria*, 138.

more precisely: Balkan, experts who claimed their share in the re-shaping of this part of the world according to their sympathies and mostly biased presuppositions.

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### **Tentatives diplomatiques britanniques aux Balkans dans les premières années de la Grande guerre (1914-1915)**

Les coups de feu fatals de Sarajevo ont poussé le continent européen entier en guerre à la fin de l'été 1914. Le rôle de l'Europe du Sud-Est n'était en même temps que secondaire, même pour les contemporains, vue l'ensemble de la Grande Guerre. De plus, il se trouve en position arriérée dans l'historiographie occidentale comparé aux événements qui se sont déroulés au Front de l'Ouest ou au Front de l'Est. Les nouvelles recherches lancés à propos du centenaire consacrent, heureusement, une plus grande attention aussi à l'Europe du Sud-Est. Dans ma communication, je souhaite présenter les ambitions de la mission Buxton, préalables de l'entrée en guerre bulgare, en se basant sur l'héritage composé des écritures personnelles et les sources publiées.

Les alliés opposants cherchaient, à partir de l'éclatement de la guerre, à faire entrer à la guerre des nouveaux participants de leur côté, ainsi augmentant leur chance de victoire. La direction politique britannique a confié par cette raison Noel Buxton, le leader du *Balkan Committee*, et son frère, Charles Roden Buxton qu'ils utilisent leur influence aux États balkaniques et qu'ils aplanissent les divergences bulgares, grecques et serbes en les convaincant pour l'Entente. Pour la Grande-Bretagne, il était de grande importance de créer un certain bloc balkanique afin d'empêcher la relation entre les Empires centraux et l'Empire ottoman entrant en guerre de leur côté en automne 1914. Dans ma communication, je consacre une attention particulière aux propositions britanniques pour résoudre les contraintes balkaniques.

# *The Ottoman Heritage in Albania at the Brink of World War One*

ANASTAS BEZHA  
UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

## **Introduction**

The object of this paper, it is one of many attempts to analyze the heritage of the Ottoman rule in the four Albanian-speaking vilayets, and later the newly shaped independent Albania, under the aegis of the Great Powers and their decisions of London 1913. The question that rises is: what is the Ottoman heritage in Albania? It's the islamization of the society, the minarets, the common taste in food and habits, the feeling of being part of this Meso-region as Jenő Szűcs has rightfully described and Maria Todorova has called as imaginary, more than real (the Balkan phenomena<sup>1</sup>)? Or the Ottoman heritage is the blood, fire and war, continuously proposed by the national official history?

This paper focuses on the direct line between the attempts of the late Ottoman Sultans to modernize their empire, the difficulties that they faced, and how and when these problems manifested in Albanian-speaking territories, and the link with nationalism. In the first chapter I am going to provide a reader with a summary of the economic, politic and military attempts and failures of the Ottoman Empire in 19<sup>th</sup> century in the optic of the modernization process under the Weberian theory. The second chapter, under the elements of the first one, will introduce the concept of periphery and center relation, on how the attempts and failures of modernization, taking into account the temporal-spatial delays, were introduced in the Albanian speaking areas. Different Albanian groups perceived them differently leading to a heterogenous response of the neighboring nationalities, which answers the problem of latency of the Albanian nationalism, especially on the first phase.

## **The Sick Man of Bosphorus. The military problem**

The end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw the Ottoman Empire in a crisis situation, that persisted for more than one century. In an age when progress and modernization were the main driving forces of the world, the Empire was hardly an empire, more closely resembling to a medieval pre-modern state like China in the T'ang Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The main elements of this period were the decentralization forces (with governors almost independent in Tripoli, Egypt, Albania, etc.), continuous losing battles and sovereignty over territories (Wallachia, Moldavia, Serbia) and an ever-spreading corruption and pression from the local *ayans*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

The calm days of the empire were shattered in a number of seemingly periodical clashes with the old Russian adversary, first in 1774 and later in 1792. After the crushing defeat, from a much smaller army of disciplined Russian soldiers, Sultan Selim III (known for his lamentation over the situation of the empire), gathered 20 of the most prominent intellectuals of the empire to write a memorandum, over the solution facing this crisis. Unanimously the intellectuals agreed for a change of course, but they were divided upon the route to take. One group wanted the reintroduction of the practices of the Golden Ottoman Age, meanwhile the other group opted for the emulation of the westerner practices. In the end, under the dubious influence from the west, the Sultan opted for the second course of action.<sup>4</sup> According to many scholars of the period, this path taken from Selim III and Mahmud II, was an attempt of modernization, mainly to centralize and reorganize in a more fashionable way the power of the government, not only under the military pressures from the west, but also from the decentralizing forces of the *janissaries* forces and the *ayans* (local leaders acknowledged by the central government). What once had been the strength of the Ottoman Empire (decentralization and autonomy of decisions by the local leaders) had manifested in the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century as the main problem in the coming decades.<sup>5</sup>

This environment on the other side, proved to be the ideal ground for the spreading of power and later political thoughts expressed by a form of proto-nationalism in the Balkans. Backed mainly by the Russians in military terms, and the westerners through economic incursion, three ethnic groups stood up: the Bulgarians, the Greek and the Serbians. Among these ethnic groups was raised a form of self-consciousness manifested in three social elements: 1) Traders and guild members operating in different colonies or capitals of the West like Vienna, Trieste, Venice or Odessa; 2) Non-Muslim intellectuals in direct contact with the trading member class; 3) Local military leaders, half romantic and half bandit (*hajduk, klepht*), which in most of the cases had military experience, by working as mercenary forces in the West.<sup>6</sup>

In 1795 Selim III tried to reform the administration frame of the empire, by organizing the state unto 28 provinces administered by vezirs, which were appointed by the sultan. In theory the vezirs could be fired from the Porte and for any mayor decision had to communicate with the center, but de facto none of the administrative attempts proved viable.<sup>7</sup> In his attempt to reform his power base, which was the military, Selim III tried to create a private army outside the specter of influence and control, inside the palace (the ulema and the janissaries) and outside of it, by continuously calling for military instructors (mainly French ones). The result was a creation of a new fighting corpus of 22.865 soldiers under 1590 officers in 1806.<sup>8</sup> The initial result showed great progress in comparison with the embarrassment of the performance of the old corpus. And this led to the breaking point where Selim III in an attempt to disband the military forces of the Janissaries, was killed by a coup and his nephew Mahmud II barely survived the assassination attempt in July 1808.

After the assistance of the Alemdar Mustafa Pasha forces (mainly Albanian and Bosnian troops), the *Deed of Agreement* (mistakenly posed as an Ottoman Magna Charta) was

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 33-35.

<sup>7</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 47.

signed in October 1808, which laid the foundation for the security of the State, the Sultan and his sovereignty. Ironically this act was an agreement *par excellence* for the recognition of the respective powers of the sultan and the *ayans*, which all came into the capital to sign and honor it with their respective armies. In a sense this act and all the other attempts of Mahmud II, were an attempt to modernize the main power structure available to him, considering his weak position. The deed of 1808 and other modernizing reforms that Mahmud II opted, were half measures, and in many cases worked better in the center (Anatolia) than in the other provinces

The reforms were pushed back by the continuous pressure from the janissaries and the ulema, who on November 1808 had killed Alemdar Pasha, the main supporter and grand vezir of Mahmud II, prolonging the military difficulties of the empire. After the defeats in Missolonghi of the Greek forces from the much superior and modern military forces of Mehmet Ali of Egypt, the sultan had decided to get rid once and for all the janissary corpus in 1826. This led to the creation of the regular troops (one of the main elements of the Weberian theory over modern states) named the Victorious troops of Muhammed (*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*).<sup>9</sup> With this event, all the affiliated orders related with the janissaries were forced to hide or be exiled, among them the Bektashi order, who found a resting place in the areas, that once used to be ruled under the independent ayan Ali Pasha Tepelena. This course of action didn't included only the military aspect, but also hit the *Timar* and *Ziamet* economic system, the branch upon which the power of the sultans was being held for centuries.

### The economic failure

To create a modern army, are needed two things and in grand quantity: men and money. Posing the Weberian theory of the modern state, the most rational way to finance the ever-growing bureaucracy and army, the capitalist system is seen as the most ideal source of stable incomes. The Ottoman economy up until the brink of WWI was not a capitalist one, either in liberal or protectionist forms. The economic system until the Land Law of 1858, had been barely functional until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The state revenues were acquired from two taxes: the *tithe* (the percentage of agricultural production) and the *cizye* (the millet taxation of non-muslim communities). Beside these revenues the state had control on ports, borders and monopolies all over the empire. Under this system, the state had stable monetary revenues, but in the beginning of the century the economy encountered many problems. One of many was the fact that Ottoman economy remained a pre-mercantilist economy with high agricultural elements. Priority in this economy was the self-efficiency of the provinces and the remaining surpluses were either incorporated into the military budget or sent toward Istanbul. This led to a close system where the use of the coinage was low and the trading among normal people was done by products to products forms.

Making things worse were the Sultans laws, protecting the guilds and pushing toward the importation of low-quality goods, stagnating the country toward a poor economic and fiscal system that almost collapsed under the continuous internal demand for debts from the

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<sup>9</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 60.

High Porte.<sup>10</sup> Beside the issues showed above, the main problem that led to budgetary difficulties between 1770-1840 were the military voices, more than the reforms or the corruption of the state, as generally believed. The wars with Russia, Iran and Egypt, not to mention the internal fights with the ayans, had impacted more than the loss of the territories and revenues from the Serbian and Greek case. The desire to modernize the army, *alla Prussian* style, toppled with the payments of wars had reached the half of the budget expenses.<sup>11</sup>

The Ottoman currency periodically lost value. In 1789 1 *Kuruş* was approximately 5.9 g of silver, dropping to 1 g from 1884 until the WWI. Available in the markets all over the empire, there were 47 different types of the *Kuruş* currency, mainly from the different private minting facilities and the speculations that the Ottoman finances kept doing to set right their payment books.<sup>12</sup> What made worse the situation in the long term was the continuous devaluation of the currency meanwhile the taxes didn't change according to the scale of the devaluation or the inflation rates. Shortly putted the Ottoman state was consuming more on non-profitable investments like the military, was having currency problems, was exporting less and less and importing low quality materials with the hope to protect the internal producers. Adopting wrongly on the model of modernization of Egypt, the state protected the monopolies of raw materials like opium, silk and tabaco. This led to the lowering of the incomes from these products, meanwhile (especially in the Balkan area) the contraband flourished.

The introduction of the Tanzimat reforms on 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 1839 and the Ottoman-British pact of 1838 were a major moment not only in political terms, but also economic ones. Mainly seen a breakthrough, either from the westerners into the Ottoman Empire, or to the empire into the European Power Concert, the reality is that these moments pushed more the empire into the economic instability. As we have seen above the empire had exhausted all the borrowing capabilities from the internal market, leading toward borrowing abroad, in order to implement the military and bureaucratic reforms. The debt between 1875/6 was so high, that it reached 200 million British pounds, or 2/3 of the Ottoman budget. On 1881 the Ottoman economy under the great debts and expenditures fell into default. The European Powers, reaching to get back their investments, organized the OPDA (Ottoman Public Debt Administration) which up until WWI had the control over the finances of the empire.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile the rise of the German power, as Fritz Fischer has rightfully described, was a coordination of efforts between the industrial branch (such as the steel industries and cities around them created by Friedrich Krupp) and the military one, in the Ottoman Empire less data is available to us to create a picture of the industrial elements of the century.<sup>14</sup> The liberal opening up until the end of the Tanzimat period and the returning to the protectionist form of economy under Abdul-Hamid II, didn't appealed any investors to do any investment in the Ottoman Empire. In the end of the Tanzimat period the Ottomans were pushing for the policy: *Everything must be produced at home, sur la place*.<sup>15</sup> A few steps were made to create an industrial complex, mainly military outside Istanbul (*Grande Fabrique Zeytin-*

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Pamuk, *A monetary history*, 188.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 193.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 214.

<sup>14</sup> See the book of Fritz Fischer: *War of Illusions*.

<sup>15</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 93.



*burnu*) and another one in *Bakırköy*. But until the start of WWI the complexes couldn't produce enough armaments and ammunition, such as heavy shells of artillery, leading to the need for import with higher cost. Ironically, even though the empire was a major producer of cotton, couldn't produce bandages.<sup>16</sup>

Table 2 Data from Mitchell's <i>Historical Statistics</i> (Demography)	State income per year	Coal production in ton	Railway lines km
<b>Great Britain</b>	1680 million	229 million	32623 km
<b>France</b>	1831 million	33.4 million	40770 km
<b>Austro-Hungary</b>	1321 million	11 million	22981 km
<b>Russia</b>	2113 million	16.2 million	62300 km
<b>Ottoman Empire</b>	330 million	0.6 million	5759 km
<b>Germany</b>	N/A	N/A	63378 km

One very interesting data to shed some information about industrialism was the production of coal as prerequisite for industrialization. Even though the oil deposits in Mesopotamia were discovered before WWI, they remained unused. The transportation system in many senses was obsolete, opting for the traditional way of shipping goods and barely was pushed forward by the interests of the European powers to link the Balkan and the other parts of the Ottoman state with the centers of trade. In comparison to India, a non-modern European country, with twice the size of the Ottoman Empire, had 10 more times railway lines, meanwhile Russia had 62300 km of railway lines. This data shows the huge disparity in production and communications lines between a pre-modern country and her modernized adversary.<sup>17</sup>

The rhythm of military reforms, putted more stress in to the economy opening toward the west, not only for finances but also politically to be accepted by the European Power Concert. Putting the empire into the focus of the European concert was elementary for the statesman of the time, as the only way to secure finances, border security (after the revolt of Mehmet Ali of Egypt and the previous Balkan and Russian conflicts). But as usual both the treaties by opting for a new legal prospect produced more changes than the empire and the sultans were willing to accept. For example, in the religious aspect the ulema group was the first to contradict the course of action, posing it not only as an interventionist foreign move, but into a degree a bypass of their religious authority in decision-making. The reactionary Muslim element even moved in very brutal fashion, posing threats to Christians communities in a number of events, such as the great pogrom of 1860 in Baghdad. The Ottoman state in many cases opted for reconciliatory movements, trying to pacify the religious discontent, especially in the Balkan where it was mixed with nationalistic sentiments. The bells of the different churches all over the empire, after Tanzimat, instead of being metallic, remained wooden, in order not to stress more the Muslim community. Among the religious groups

<sup>16</sup> Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy*, 78.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 79.

even the Orthodox Patriarch in Istanbul opposed Tanzimat, commenting the following: *The state has made us equal with Jews, we were better under the Muslim superiority.*<sup>18</sup>

On educational prospect many Ottoman researchers consider either the Tanzimat or Abdul-Hamid II period as an enlightened period for the empire. In reality it was more of a make up than a reformation. During Tanzimat initiated the opening of a number of professional schools, such as Medical, Military and Bureaucratic ones, which were expanded during the Hamidian regime. One of the reformers Midhat Pasha, emphasized greatly the expansion of the bureaucracy via education, and led to the opening of the *Mekteb-i Mulkiyye* and the School of Civil Administration in Istanbul on 1859. Beside the opening of this type of schools in the capital, great efforts were made to open them in the provincial capitals as well, and under the Freedom of Provinces status (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*) every ethnic group took under control the education of their private financed schools. In 1869 it was passed the Education Law, which created a 5-layer hierarchy of schools.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the benefits in letter of every law signed during this period, the reality proved to be different. According to the numbers that we have, despite the military schools and the professional ones, the system was almost non-existent, with 119 *rusdiye* in all the provinces (17 alone in the capital).<sup>20</sup> According to the words of one of the educational reformers of that time Cevdet Pasha, the high education and the basic elementary education were purposely bypassed: *There was only the immediate interest to educate a small technic and bureaucratic class, that would lead to modernization; the mass-education was not in the agenda.*<sup>21</sup>

### The political impasse

Mahmud II and two other predecessors, Abdul-Aziz and Abdul-Mejid as Karpat had rightfully described initiated a number of economic and military reforms, mainly to achieve and implement the modernization of the state. But in their attempts to do so, they never fully committed to the modernization of the empire like the western style. As Huntington would had said, the rulers were opting for modernization in military, industrial and scientific turns, not toward a westernization. This trend was visible in many cases.<sup>22</sup> One of them is the political ideology as the main tools that the modern state has in its disposal in order to effectively govern and centralize. In the Ottoman Empire one ideology-one state pattern was not viable, and this led to multiple ideological groups rallying for power and affirmation.

The late period of Tanzimat, which after that led to a short constitutional period and later to the introduction of a form of Absolutism (opting for imperial social construction via Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism) of Abdul-Hamid II, was the failure of the political system and ambient to produce a stable environment, and a unifying ideology (pre-requisite of modernism). Interesting is the form how the empire was run at that time, a number of reforms were done, but still no constitution was raised. The legal system until the Ottoman constitution of 1876 was more a collection of agreeable arrangements between two legal

<sup>18</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 75.

<sup>19</sup> Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans*, 154.

<sup>20</sup> Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, 74.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 68.

<sup>22</sup> See *Clash of Civilization* by Samuel Huntington.

systems, the Shari'a and the Sultans laws (*örfi law*). The high number of legal and religious elements (*fiqh*, *kanun-names*, *fatwas*, *yasak-names* and *adalet-names*), topped with the regional regulatory oral systems of different groups, created an heterogenous environment, where decision making was very fluid and less centralized. Over this multitude of known and unknow laws, the Ottoman society with over 30 million people, was divided in multiple layers, comprising the religious and social elements (*askeri*-rulers made up from *ulema*, *bureaucracy* and *janissaries* and *re'aya*-the ruled ones) under the umbrella of the religious millets.<sup>23</sup> The laws either religious or not, were up in the air legally, and every effort could be nullified by the mood of the Sultans. The bureaucracy had a free hand on the power structure, under the umbrella of the reforms, and no control from any other source of power.

The political polemist of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were in havoc in their view of the Empire mainly calling it: “a government of Bedouin in the heart of Europe, expressed by an absolutist form of government fit only for tribes”.<sup>24</sup> Their laments were understandable, considering the facts they brought up. For them “savage” states such as Montenegro and Serbia had constitutions and parliaments such as *Skupštine* (1805), Rumania with its own bicameral legislative body (1866), Mount Lebanon with a mixed assembly (1864) or Crete with her own General Assembly (1866). For the political analysts, the Ottoman Empire was behind even among her Muslim sibling states, where Tunis in 1861 had voted the first constitution among the Muslim countries, and later followed by Egypt in 1866. A constitution was essential for the safe guarding of the rights of all the citizens in the empire, and foremost would had halted the influence of the West toward the affairs of the Ottomans.<sup>25</sup>

The short period of Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire between December 1876-February 1878, was like rain in the middle of the legislative Ottoman desert. Pushed forward by the CUP and brought down by the events of war and decision making by the Great Powers after the Russian-Balkan states victories of 1877-1878, these events brought back to power a ruler like Abdul-Hamid II, who opted for the only way available to him to save the empire, the absolutist one. As some historians view him as an enlightened ruler in a period of turmoil, and some as a great despot, the truth is in the middle on my opinion. After the losses of great parts of territories in the Balkans, he saw that the number of Muslims in the empire rise up from 60% to 73.3% from the data from the censuses of 1881/2 and 1893.<sup>26</sup> Under these conditions arguable he saw fit a rallying of the remaining forces (and mainly opposing the CUP constitutional regime ideas) under the banner of Pan-Islamism. This move was not only a move for the demoralized internal Ottoman forces, but also a diplomatic bluff toward the Great Powers. Again arguably his role as Caliph of all the Muslims around the world, that with a snap of his fingers would had attack the west (especially threatening the British interests in India), is far from reality. The Arabs and especially the Sherifs of Medina and Mecca, had considered the sultans since the period of Selim III as pagans under the Wahhabi doctrine, refusing the yearly gifts toward the Holy Muslim cities.<sup>27</sup> Also not in favor of the position of Abdul-Hamid II, was his rather simplistic view of the West and East, where one was motivated by political and material actions under the

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<sup>23</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 19-20.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 114.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 112-113.

<sup>26</sup> Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 148-150.

<sup>27</sup> Hanioglu, *A brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 19.

banner of nationalism, the later one motivated by the geniality of Arabic origin from which Islam stemmed from.

The failure of modernizing the Ottoman Empire as Huntington would have suggested, was purposely generated by half-measures from the sultans to hit the base-power of the political enemy inside the Empire (pushed modernization toward technical and scientific appropriation, without westernization). Under these conditions instead of a unifying ideology, the Ottoman landscape produced a hydra ideology, where different groups or power holders kept emerging and seeking absolute control, such as:

1-The Sultan, which opted for the concentration of power like the Russian example of the Tsars.

2-The bureaucratic/rational intellectuals, coming from either from the reformed Ottoman school or from the foreign ones inside the empire, discontent with the society and the lack of order (constitution and parliament).

3-The religious branch, more and more falling into the Wahhabi doctrine of Islam.

One sentence from Kemal Karpat is on my believe essential to describe the empire up until the beginning of WWI: *In the streets of the empire during the Hamidian regime, you would have found logical intellectuals (architects, military officers, etc.) debating with contempt and violence against doubtful mystical figures, beggars and occult members over the best way to save the empire.*<sup>28</sup>

### **The Albanian Mahalla answers back**

On 1<sup>st</sup> of September 2017 in the newly reconstructed national square of Albania in the capital of Tirana, the Muslim community held the *Namaz* for the Kurban Bayram. This event stirred up many debates in the coming days, mainly to the images circulated from the medias. There, hidden behind a black curtain the great sculpture of the National hero Skanderbeg (vanquisher and Christian protector against the Turkish invasions) was shadowed by the podium where the *hoca* (hoxha) was holding the ceremony. In this event the Albanian society was divided into two camps, those imposing the religious view for this curtain and to the other side, those condemning this action seen as retrograded Islamic movement pushing toward a less laic society, mainly affiliated to the Ottoman heritage. In one square, one picture, two myths, one religious and the other nationalistic, were clashing from primacy in the subconsciousness of the public. A perfect Balkan picture. But there is more into it or not? On my opinion yes, taking into account the words of Fernand Braudel: *politics is like the bubbles of the sea waves, we must investigate further what's under it.*<sup>29</sup>

When we start analyzing the Albanian nationalism, there is a number of problems related with it. Mainly its latency (Albania was one of the last countries to separate via independence in 1912/13), has posed major problems how it has been perceived by different authors. In the Turkish historiography, nationalism unraveled the threads that unified the empire and it was seen as purely a religious and political movement, pushed by the adversaries of the ottomans. In reality little interest has been shown to the socio-economical elements of it, causes that in the majority of the cases, the policies were veiled under the na-

<sup>28</sup> Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, 72.

<sup>29</sup> Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 20.

tionalistic banner.<sup>30</sup> In the case of the Albanians, the Muslim brothers and later traitors, their nationalistic view was bypassed by the Turkish historians, mainly by opting the view that such thing as Albanian nationalism never existed (religion=nation). Interestingly this position was adopted also by the early political and historical neighbors of Albania, Greece and Serbia, which mainly by adopting this connotation (religion=nation) benefited upon territorial expansion, either by including Christians or by removing Muslim population from their disputed territories.

On the other side of the isle, the Albanian communist historiography implemented an antagonistic approach, spurred by an interesting political and ideological hybridization. In the view of the communist ideologs of that time, the Albanians were one of the oldest people in Europe, and by hitherto being purely European, fought for over 4 and half centuries for their freedom from the Ottoman yoke. Interesting and intellectually choking is the dogmatic phrase: *We fought with pen and sword to cut through history (E came rrugen e historise me palle e pene)*. As many new countries in the Balkan, creating an identity historiography was primary in many cases, and this period of identity creation was relatively new, spanning from the inter-war period (1919-1939) up to the communist one. The time was short and the two ideologies had to be implemented together, by putting aside the elements that didn't fit the general story telling (uncomfortable reactionary views). In the case of Albania, the Academy of Science was organized in 1972, and only during this period onward a more organized and scientific approach was led toward the periodization of history, but never outside the frame of sanctioned hybrid ideology (national communism).

My opinion is that both these views are outdated and don't show a clear indication toward a better understanding of the center and periphery problem, due to the failure of modernization and the introduction as a salvation anchor of nationalism in the Balkans. Again the historical truth, remains in the middle of these two controversial descriptive histories.

The Albanians, generally called as *Arnaut* or *Arnavud* by the Ottomans and their documents, are relatively late comers into the real Ottoman gamefield of power. The majority of processes that happened into the late 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, putted them into a pivotal role, that in many cases remained free or was taken due to their pragmatic and bellicose abilities. Even though either the Albanian or Turkish historiography articulates generally the presence of 42 Grand Viziers and an innumerable number of functionaries and military personnel, when it comes to actual and statistical data the numbers seem to be missing and are very fragmentary.

Mainly incorporated into four Albanian speaking vilayets (Kosovo, Monastir, Shkodra and Salonica), this ethnic group predates the Ottoman invasions in the 13-15<sup>th</sup> century. Arguable under arms or taxation policies the Ottoman rule imposed a policy of religious conversion into Islam, which up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century as shown from the Ottoman documents, was not accepted by the local population. Only after this period the trend in religious demographic numbers started to change in favor of the Muslim Millet. According to Halil Inalcik the policies of the early ottoman rulers, where not those of exclusion, but integration expressed by the term *İstimalet*. According to him through an integration policy of the border areas and practice of *Aman* (mercy toward the defeated) the same ruling classes before the Ottomans, kept their privileges by bowing to the new rule. Hitherto the existent ruling

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<sup>30</sup> Keiser et al, *WWI and the end of the Ottomans*, 74.

classes converted into Islam and gradually started the same conversion for their peasantry, which they ruled, under the interest of social, political and economic benefits.<sup>31</sup>

Beside this policy of conversion from above, the Ottomans kept using other methods, such as the practice of a strong *Sufism* (Islamic mysticism), mainly by sending among the different areas of the Balkan *Sufi*, religious figures comparable with the Christian missionaries. Strongly was their presence into the areas of Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia, where huge problems were posed by the heterogenous nature of the populations of these areas. In these areas the number of Sufi movements (*tariqat/tekke*) kept rising, spanning from *Bek-tashiyya* to *Halvetiyya*, *Qadriyya*, *Mawlawiyya*, *Rafi'iyah* etc.<sup>32</sup> This general reshuffling of the demographic and religious cards, even by using the arms lead to new realities, which in a sense provoked a slowing element into the quick activation of the national movement. Mainly the areas of three northern vilayets extensively converted into Islam, meanwhile a small minority in the area of Shkodra kept the Catholic rite, and in Janina the orthodox community remained strong. An important number of people also fled toward Italy, after the defeat of the rebellious coalition of Albanian nobles under Skanderbeg in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, mainly composed from populations from Lezha, Drisht and Shkodra. This diaspora was called the *Arberesh*, denoting the place of their origin *Arberia* (Albania). They settled in Sicily, where they formed a large diaspora that served as one of many nuclei of proto-nationalism, especially in a location called *Piana Degli Albanesi* (Valley of Albanians).<sup>33</sup> Despite this conversion, an element must be kept in mind on my opinion, the pragmatic reaction toward a new imperial force and policy. This form of pragmatism was seen in the vain practices in relation with the canonical orthodoxy of the Islam in many areas of Central and South Albania. There was a mixed form of crypto-faith, such as the crypto-Christians of the area of Shpat near Elbasan, having two names (one Christian and one Muslim) and having special areas for other believers in churches or mosques.

Why these two policies are important on this analyzes? Mainly due to the fact that the Ottomans reintroduced them again in the Balkan in order to face the problems of nationalism and failure to modernize in a Weberian way. The conditions economically and politically had changed in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, and a reintroduction of old policies worked against the predictions of the Ottoman statesmen. For example the policy of Pan-Islamism, had a later manifestation on the Balkan, pushing the different ethnicities on a religious clash. The one religion, one nation was pivotal in the nationalistic narrative, and not an umbrella that envisioned the citizens of the empire.

But what were the conditions of the vilayets in these periods? Unfortunately, the data available to us for the period up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century is very fragmentary at best. In economic terms the data from the Ottoman Empire is almost non-existent showing a complete lack of interest. Surprisingly for a state that wanted to enter the European Concert of Powers, the first commissioned socio-economic census by the Sultan was made in 1897 showing the latency of the reforms and change of mindset of the Ottoman bureaucrats. Michael Palairt's book over the Balkan economies between 1800 and 1914 has no data over Albania. The Mitchell historical statistic collection puts the first entries related to the country

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<sup>31</sup> Inalcik, *The status of the Greek orthodox*, 408-411.

<sup>32</sup> Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans*, 44.

<sup>33</sup> See the book *Stratiotes* by Paolo Petta.

after 1920, meanwhile other economic writers as Sefket Pamuk, don't mention anything. There is no industrial data of this period, but only the data from shops collected not periodically from the Ottoman authorities for tax purposes in 1831, 1881 and 1901, which indicate a rise of commerce in the vilayets of Kosovo, Bitola (after becoming the center of the Ottoman 3<sup>rd</sup> Army) and Janina. On this bases we can do general assumptions based one the recounts of travelers and foreign counsels.

The economy was a closed agrarian one, mainly agricultural and linked more with the contraband trade of opium, silk and tabaco, not to mention weapon done during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the Land Law of 1858 and the abolishment of the *Timar* system, an Albanian equivalent remained in place, due to the clan-based economy and oral tradition. After 1858 the private property was introduced for the first time, as a legal known term in the Ottoman legal system. The pastures of large communal tribes under chieftains or *Bayraktar* (flag-bearer in Turkish) in the mountainous areas of central and north Albania, regulated from oral legislatives corpuses called *Kanun*, generally were administered as private properties. The *Bayraktars* as warlords and leaders of the tribes gave the pastures in a system that emulated a late form of feudalism, and all the trades in the areas of the tribes, had to pass through the approval of this figure (sometimes even *harac*). Beside this form of revenue, the collection of taxes for the central government was pivotal for this class of mountainous nobles. After the introduction of Tanzimat, the tax collection process (*malikane*) was stopped due to the speculation activities of the *Sarafs* of Istanbul, but never managed to be implemented into these secluded areas.

Table 3 Data from Csaplár-Degovics's *Az albán nemzetéválás kezdetei, 1878–1913* (city shops)

	1842	1888
<b>Skutari (Shkodra)</b>	2600	3500
<b>Prizren</b>	950	1560
<b>Korica (Korça)</b>	480	840
<b>Berat</b>	680	820
<b>Elbasan</b>	580	730
<b>Tirana</b>	610	720
<b>Prishtina</b>	380	530

From the travels of the Austro-Hungarian counsel Julius Freiherr Zwiedinek von Südenhorst, who was appointed by the Ballhausplatz to investigate the situation in Albanian speaking areas between 1899-1906, another group held economic interest. The nobles of the low-lands devided between high nobles (*Bey*) and low one (*Aga*), had a grown into a considerable force, due to their affiliation with the High Porte as bureucrats and the favourable arable areas that they controlled. Mainly travelling through the areas of the Kaza of Tirana, he gives this analyzes of their incomes: “*The Kaza of Tirana was one of the most neglected agricultural areas of the Balkan Peninsula. There was virtually no infrastructure, construction work was not carried out and the Ottoman Empire showed no interest in improving the economic situation in the area. The fields were managed with underdeveloped technology and outdated methods, which meant that the average crop yield was low and*

famines were common. Of the respected gentlemen of the Kaza, only two, the Pasha's Mehmet and Esat (both from the Toptani family), had enough land to guarantee a livelihood that suited their rank alongside government revenues. In 1900 alone, they earned an annual gross income of 2,000 Turkish pounds each from their fields. However, the national party's 'Bey' only had incomes of between £ 100 and £ 700, and thus could not afford the level of life needed to maintain their long-term reputation and power. Moreover, they could not even dispose of their existing income freely, because the Ottoman state levied ever higher taxes. For example, they were able to supplement their income with smuggling (horse) smuggling, money lending at usurious interest rates, and possibly fees for case law."<sup>34</sup>

The Aga group in his description had much lower incomes, leading toward opportunistic maneuvers in order to gain official positions in the local administration, up to working the lands with their families.

The use of coinage was very small among the normal people, preferring the using of foreign coins due to the trade with the West (from here stems the famous Albanian saying: *E kam blere me franga ari – I bought it with golden franks*). Also up until the beginning of the WWI, there was no serious investment on infrastructure or railways (the first ones started during the Austro-Hungarian invasion of 1916/8). The main ways or routes were those along the shores of rivers and water streams. The only infrastructure elements, were made by local population as a form of tax payments, such as building small stone bridges, or keeping the passes open, and continued despite the abolishment of this form of payments introduced by the Tanzimat reforms. Since the Ottoman state had no power to carry out its fundamental tasks, a part of their duties was taken over by the Beys and Agas. The most important of these tasks was that of maintaining the administration outside the city limits (in the countryside and in the mountains) and exerting judicial actions, such as personal courts.<sup>35</sup>

On a political view the majority of the territory was mainly a half independent territory, where the authority of the Ottoman functionaries was hard to be implemented. Shemseddin Sami Frasheri, an Ottoman intellectual of Toske origin and later supporter of the independentist cause, in his encyclopedia named *Kamus al-alam*, mentioned the fact that these territories were mainly independent. The Ottoman authorities had appointed 4 Vali (*Wali*), but large areas like the mountainous areas of Gjakova, Peja, Shkodra, Luma, Dukagjin, Mat and Mirdita were organized under the counsels of Elders or Bayraktars.<sup>36</sup> In 1868 according to Hasan Kaleshi and Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf the Ottoman authorities tried to implement a number of submissive actions toward these areas, especially in order to collect more accurately the taxes and soldiers, a disarmament of the local populations and giving an end to the conflict either among the civilians (blood feuds) or the civilians with the authorities. Unfortunately, these actions failed in 1874 in the areas of Kosovo. In the vilayet of Shkodra, the Vali had to accept the rule of the mountainous areas under a council of Elders, due to a number of problems such as the clash of legal corpuses between the oral ones of

<sup>34</sup> Die osmanische Staatsmacht hatte auf dem Gebiet der *Çifliks* keine Geltung mehr: Ebenda, 03.09.1901, Nr. 20, p.17.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 17.

<sup>36</sup> Frasheri, *Dheshkronje*, 1888.



the natives and the one of the Ottomans.<sup>37</sup> In these locations the law was represented by the oral ones called *Kanune* (*Leke Dukagjinit* in the Albanian Alps, the one of *Skenderbej* in the central area, the one of *Laberia* in the area between modern day Albania and Greece etc.) which in many cases were toppled with the religious laws of the Millets. In a democratic form there was no form of massive representation, mainly oppressed by the dictate of big clan leaders in the north of Albania or Kosovo, and the interests of big landlord families in the center and south Albania (due to the trade and empowerment in the last century with the empire or with her enemies). Zef Jubani, a catholic of origin from Shkodra, used to mention the fact that, these areas were used to the special status they had (*müstesna*). By judging the actions of Grand Viziers like Ahmed Cevdet Pasa, who after 1860 build only mosques, he blamed the catholic and muslim clergy of working to divide the people, not implementing school projects in the area or appointing reasonable local officials.<sup>38</sup>

The educational system before and after the Education Law in 1869, was inexistent. As mentioned in the previous pages, the reformation was a closed one, with the hope of creating a small bureaucratic branch, and the number of *rushdiye*, was small for the whole empire. The later reformers of the period after Tanzimat, tried to change the trend by turning the local *medrese* into laic schools, but didn't had any major success. Again Zef Jubani mentions that even though the sultan law had given the opportunity to all the ethnic groups to open the schools, the ones in Albania lacked freedom and equality. In the few existing schools the most important element was the fact that they were too much Ottoman and pro-Turkish identity for the Albanian Muslims.<sup>39</sup> As the data shows the functional schools were the ones financed by foreign investments, leading to high percentage of illiteracy (90% approx.) among the Albanians, especially in relation with their identity. For the nobles, the only education solution was the education either in Istanbul, or to the neighboring countries schools, in order to get educated toward a military, bureaucratic or economic prospects.

The fragmentation was even bigger in regional linguistic or religious prospect. There were two dialects: *Gegerishtja* – Northern part and *Toskerishtja* – Southern Part, meanwhile the language didn't had a written alphabet until 1908 (under the influence of Austro-Hungarian diplomats), which produced dividing elements among the different groups. Toppled to this linguistic absence was added the multitude of religious practices where the majority was held by the Sunni (50-60%), the orthodox rite (15-25%), the catholic ones (5-10%) and a branch of Bektashi (5-10%), leading toward a spectrum of extreme religious elements (mainly after the Pan-Islamic policy Abdul-Hamid II) to nominal non-practitioners.

The Crises of 1876-1878 found the Albanians a situation of disarray, in many prospects as it is shown above. Even before the crises, there was a continuous push toward a self-reaffirmation of the Albanian identity, who according to the Albanian historiography, served a proto-nationalism phase. Also Nathalie Clayer identifies this period as reaction phase due to major changes such as: the formulation of an albanolog academic branch in the West, the reinstituted consciousness of the *Arberesh* (diaspora of Albanian origin in Italy), the infiltration of Christian (*Propaganda Fide*) or Protestant missionaries and their

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<sup>37</sup> Clayer, *Ne fillimet*, 193-194.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 196.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

works on translating the holy scriptures in Albanian and reaction toward the political emancipation of the Greek (1821-29), Serbians (1812-29) and Rumanians (1802).<sup>40</sup> Mainly supported by the works of foreigners who had a keen interest on the Western Balkan affairs, the proto-nationalistic move was pushed forward by the diaspora of Albanians. They printed brochures, periodic and journals, but had major problems with financing and reaching their reader, especially in the Albanian speaking vilayets. These set of events before the Crises of 1876-78, led toward a more perceivable orientation what was *Albanism*, but not on my opinion toward a clear nationalistic ideology on political term.

Let's take into consideration the other set of events that happened during the disastrous defeat of the Ottomans in 1877-78, and how the Albanian historiography views this moment as the first phase of the nationalistic movement. Putting in the center the creation of League of Prizren on 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1878, the nationalistic historiography justifies these actions led by the Albanians, in order to counter the moves of the neighboring forces, primarily the Slavs. What is out of the context is the fact that the majority of elements are taken out on purpose, on the premise to justify this political move. The main actors of this League are the brothers Frasheri, Mehmed Ali Pasa Vrioni and the counsels of elders from the four vilayets (Sanjak of Novipazar, Kosovo, Dibra and Tetova, Mat and Luma, Janina) endangered by these expansionist activities. Writing a number of *Kararname and Talimat* (decision paper and army orders) sent toward the Sultan, the Albanian historiography pushes these decisions as nationalistic request. But if they are read correctly with the context of the time, each one of them holds almost no nationalistic element, but a clear request for the implementation of reforms on modernistic view. Important is the fact that almost all the documents in their addressing toward the sultan don't mention the ethnic element as primary, but put first the regional identity and later the religious one (among the signatures we can observe the presence of Slavs, Greeks, Vlachs and Albanians). The majority of them had the following requests:

1. The formation of a regular modern army, due to the inability of the irregular troops (*ittifak*) of the local clan leaders, to act in case of a threat from their Slav neighbors. The request for the modern army would had helped also the local leaders to control the flows of *muhajirs* fleeing the theater of war in the north, which according to some source was massive (modern request-not national).
2. The implementation of the reforms, especially the ones related with the introduction of bureaucrats in the Albania speaking areas, who know Albanian, in order to pacify the local councils of Elders and *Bayraktars* and cease the hostilities caused from blood feuds or other conflicts (modern request-not national).
3. The opening of schools in Albanian language, beside the Ottoman language, as previously done with the other ethnic communities in the empire, under the Freedom of Vilayets act and the Education Law (modern request-not national, in a context where there was no Albanian alphabet yet).<sup>41</sup>

Even more dubious is the position of Abdyl Frasheri and Mehmed Ali Pasa Vrioni during the period of two years. Before the League of Prizren, Abdyl Frasheri had taken a collision course with the Ottoman authorities, mainly by opting for a total division from the em-

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 143.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 230.

pire in case of an absence of an autonomy. In April 1877 along with Vrioni, he had gone into contact with Hellenic authorities in order to see the possibility for a dual monarchy with Albanian territories. This idea was not new and continuously was pushed by the Patriarch of Istanbul and the Greek interest groups, taking into genesis the idea that the rebellious Ali Pasa of Tepelena was trying to do the same during his rule. Pushing toward this common cause, was also the number of intellectuals who in the past and in the future, in the absence of a written alphabet proposed the idea of writing Albanian with Greek letters such as Jani Vreto among many. Again this course of action was on my opinion a desperate one, in the lack of a real possible solution for the crises. After the dislocation of irregular bands of Greek nationalists in Saranda on February 1878 and the flee of the Muslim population of these areas, the two Albanian intellectuals cut the ties with the Hellenic authorities.<sup>42</sup> A thorn for the Albanian-Greek dialog on this matter, were the continuous plans of the Greek monarchy for Epirus (modern South Albania) considering it, its own territory made up by orthodox (again the connotation religion=nation). The newspaper *Neologos* in May 1878 had shown the previous change of policy toward this matter, posing the idea that the Albanians were a tribe of new commers in the 7-8<sup>th</sup> century and the Bektashi Muslims of the south (the biggest religious group in southern part of the vilayets) were only Islamized Greek.<sup>43</sup>

More influential in the nationalistic tone is the list of requests that was made under the watchful eye of Abdyl Frasheri, while he was in Janina to organize the work of the committee of the League there. Added to the request of the North were a number of new ones, such as the consolidation of the work for the Albanian language, the unification of the 4 vilayets into a new administrative formation and pacing up of the reform process in these lands.<sup>44</sup> In relation with the language reform it must be said, that under the continuous pressions of the Albanian nobles and intellectuals, the High Porte commissioned Ali Pasa to organize an Albanian alphabet committee in 1867-1871. Due to major debates over which one of the letters should be used, and continuous push by the authorities to accept the Arabic version of Daut Boriçi<sup>45</sup> (Davud Şükrü Boriçi), the meetings had become less and less productive and more conflictual among the members of the committee like Jani Vreto, Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Mustafa Pojani, Ismail Qemali, Sami Frasheri, Pashko Vasa, Kristaq Zografi, etc. Another problem for these committee had been the form of the dialect, because the presence of two dialects was seen as problematic. After many attempts the Ottoman authorities stopped the work of the committee with the argument, that the Albanian language was not a civilized one to be taught in the schools such as the Ottoman, Persian, French, Arabic or Greek.<sup>46</sup>

The brother of Abdyl, Sami Frasheri understanding the antagonistic path of his sibling (most probably hearing the moods of Albanian nobility members in Istanbul and the threats of the Ottoman authorities) wrote to the Sultan in September 1878 a list of requests more moderate and brought forward a unified platform posing: a) the protection of the sovereignty of the position of the sultan in these lands (always forgotten by the Albanian histori-

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 225-226.

<sup>43</sup> Vreto, *Vepra*, 133-137.

<sup>44</sup> Frasheri, *Historia e Lashte*, 263-267.

<sup>45</sup> The same Daut Boriçi is found in other documents of the time as responsible for the schools in the Albanian vilayets in 1860 as controller of their quality.

<sup>46</sup> Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans*, 155.

ography); b) no territorial concession to the foreign enemies; c) administration and local bureaucrats who knew Albanian (Albanian preferably); d) the creation of a regular army (considering the fact that the irregular ones of the nobles of these areas couldn't fight and arm their bands against modern Balkan forces).<sup>47</sup>

Abdul-Hamid II, under the dire situation of the empire, and understanding that the only front of support in Rumelia were the Albanians, kept them close to himself. But he never reached to the point of giving them major concessions like autonomy, schools or Albanian-lead administration. Understanding the previous lessons with the other nationalistic movements in the Balkan, he incited the power and intra-ethnic struggle in the border areas between Slavic and Albanian natives. Under the advices of the Grand-Vizier Safvet Pasha:

1. He introduced the Albanians in the sultan guard (national figures like Isa Boletini) and closely tying his throne with this group through loyalty and religious threads.
2. In many cases he publicized the idea that an autonomy of the four Albanian-speaking vilayets would had led to the rupture of the secular "brotherhood", and the death of the Albanian nation without the Ottoman Empire.
3. In 1879 in Istanbul, he allowed the opening of the Society of Writing Albanian Letters, as sweetening of the intellectual and linguistic conflict between the two sides. After a short period the Society was closed.<sup>48</sup>

The arrest of Abdyl Frasheri and many other leaders of the north and the bribing by the Ottoman authorities of many southern toske nobles such as Mehmed Ali Pasa Vriani as mytaserif of Berat, Neki Pasa Libohova as mytaserif of Gjirokastra, almost threw the national movement into a disarray. Different foreign authors such as G.W. Gawrych analyzing this event came with the conclusion, that the League meant different things for different actors, meanwhile the "*national awakening*" was an element not so central in their agenda.<sup>49</sup> Nathalie Clayer on the other side views this moment as an explosion of heterogenous interests under the threat that the Slavic states were posing in the borders.

But was the League of Prizren the starting point of the Albanian nationalism? On my opinion no. Not only the conditions were not adept for this action course, but even the actors were not prepared or willed to back up in military terms the intellectual request of the Frasheri branch. This activity of the Sultan, in addition of his absolutist form of exerting power via the Pan-Islamic Movement and the Khalif-Sultan semi-divine figure, toppled with the activity of the inner and outer forces, produced a shattering of the national movement into three groups:

1. The radical independentist group, mainly composed by western albanologs, travelers, Albanian diaspora in the West (arberesh in Italy, in the USA, etc.), who was opting for the full separation from the Ottoman Empire.
2. The undecided group, made by the upper class of the nobility of the South and Central Albania, who under the Tanzimat period and later received wealth, education and power by scaling the Ottoman hierarchy. Undecided this group opted from the autonomy alternative, to joining the Young Turks (CUP), up to the point of a joint state with Greece.

<sup>47</sup> *La Ligue Albanaise*, November 1878, 98-101.

<sup>48</sup> Clayer, *Ne fillimet*, 236-244.

<sup>49</sup> Gawrych, *Ottoman Administration*, 38.

3. The rising loyalist group, heavy attached to the benefits of the last period of governments of Abdul-Hamid. Enjoying the privileges of the court, or the blind eye of the government toward their semi-independent bayraks, this group didn't saw politically and economically doable the independence as a form of preserving the nation.

In the north, especially Kosovo the religious identity and the hate for the Slavs was more potent than the idealistic call for a national state. The local autonomy that was preserved for so long under the *müstesna* conditions, was pivotal in necessity. Meanwhile in these areas, this freedom meant a way to survive via illegal trades of weapons, tabaco, opium and horse smuggling, not to mention not having too many Ottomans interfering in their business. The Albanians have a saying: *You can choose everything, but your neighbor is given by god*, and the people of these areas knew this truth and accepted certain realities that were sweetened by the smell of profit. In the area of Shkodra the catholic element had also different ambitions. Their hate for the Ottomans was comparable for the Austro-Hungarians also, and in a number of cases the *Garibaldiism* feeling throw many intellectuals in alliance with the Slavic forces of Montenegro. Zef Jubani for example didn't hide his view on this regard, to the point he was excommunicated as a Jesuit priest by the organs of *Propaganda Fide* controlled by the *Kultusprotektorats* of Austro-Hungary.<sup>50</sup> Regionalism and the interests of the local leaders remained primary, meanwhile the national movement was delayed until the condition were ripe. In Central Albania, the priest of the Abbey of Mirdita, closely related with figure of the powerful *Bayraktar* Preng Bibe Doda, in March 1897 wrote to the Austro-Hungarian consul a memo, where he suggest to him the idea of 5 initial small states (canton alike), that would had formed the nucleus for a national state.<sup>51</sup>

In South Albania the situation was more problematic due to the interest, that local nobles had while being either local administrators or holding high positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy in Istanbul or other imperial provinces. The period of Tanzimat had laid to the local leaders a way into bureaucracy without having to clash like the previous *ayans*, meanwhile during the Hamidian period, their interests were closely linked with those of CUP movement. Among the list of intellectuals of that time, most of them had once in their life had affiliation with these movement. One interesting data comes from the analyses that Nathalie Clayer has made to the list of ulema and other bureaucrats during the Hamidian period between 1824 and 1889 from a campion of 189 individuals. The data shows that the southern or Toske ulema, where much more integrated into the high religious hierarchy, and had a high mobility outside their respective native ambient, in comparison with their northern/Gege compatriots.<sup>52</sup> These numbers were not only indicative of the educational system in the South, being more vivid due to the orthodox or protestant education activity, but also to the integration that the South had in the affairs of the empire and a different perception of the world (*Weltanschauung*) also describe by the work of Namik Delvina.<sup>53</sup> Either orthodox or Bektashi, the toske members viewed primarily the solution for the Albanian case, by firstly adopting the reformist platform before going toward the independence solution. People like Ibrahim Temo, Shahin Kolonja, Bajo Topulli, Ismail Qemali, etc. were

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<sup>50</sup> Clayer, *Ne fillimet*, 254.

<sup>51</sup> AMAE, NS Turquie, vol. 13, Scutari 1/3/1902.

<sup>52</sup> Clayer, *Ne fillimet*, 312-324.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 324-330.

educated in the imperial schools, and before opting for radical policies, they had to choose other ways in order to safe guard their carriers, families and interests.

The dichotomy orthodox-Bektashi for the Toske of the South was also important to understand, why there was this “delay” in the nationalistic movement as the traditional historiography would had putted. Analyzing the journals of the time, which mainly were published abroad, a large interest was shaded on the role of the Frasheri family members (mainly the younger brother Naim), the Albanian Muslims in the empire and their affiliation with the Bektashi order. Mainly posing the fate of the Albanians and the ones that were Muslims, the group of Istanbul (made from associates from the Society of Writing Albanian Letters) had taken into consideration the idea of putting all the Albanians under one oath (*Besa*) as Sami Frasheri had written in the past. Taking the notion of the neighboring nationalistic ideologies, where nation was equal with religion, the Muslims who were in majority would had rallied under the flag of *Bektashism*, denoting their different, tolerant and European way of following Islam.<sup>54</sup> Since 1878 Abdyl, the older brother had made meetings with the Baba (Dede) of the Frasheri area to organize their believers under the cause of nationalism. The uncle of the three nationalist brothers, Dalip Frasheri had translated from Persian and given to the Bektashi leaders, the book entitled *Furulit Hadiqatu-Sa'ada*, which consecutively was added to the religious texts of the sect.<sup>55</sup> Also during this period, a large number of marriages were made from this family with other noble family members, leading toward a strengthening of the role of the Frasheri line into the nationalistic cause. Faik Konica, the editor of one the two primary journals of the diaspora after 1878 named *Albania*, denounced the figure of Naim Frasheri, as a person who was trying to steal the national movement, by creating a church where the Christ would had been him.<sup>56</sup> Viewed in this prospect the accusers of the Frasheri brothers have some sort of logic into their accusations. If this plan would had worked, the tekkes of the Bektashi order would had been used massively (were used in reality) to educate and convert the different Albanian Sunni via their educational texts and alphabet fashioned by their branch in Istanbul. But in reality, these accusations were more on the line of half-truths, to hide old resentments and problems of socio-political lines such as the clash between bey class and the other social strata. Also the Bektashi leaders proved to be too inactive, either from their accusations for opium consumptions from the editor of *Drita* Shahin Kolonja<sup>57</sup> or the fact they were kept under constant surveillance by Hamidian authorities due to their affiliations and cooperation with Albanian members of CUP.<sup>58</sup> In mind must be kept that even if this scenario would had worked, the other local beys would had not accepted willingly a dissolution of their political power without negotiation toward whichever organization would had been created.

Even in the diaspora, who continuously pushed for the independentist agenda, the religious division was hard to bypass. When Ibrahim Temo went in Bucharest in 1895 after a schism with the *Young Turks* movement, he created a journal called *Drita*, which had a great impact on the national discourse of the time. There he found two groups of nationalists: one made of rich Greeks who hated the Ottomans, and one made of Albanian Muslims

<sup>54</sup> *Albania*, Vol C: 47-48.

<sup>55</sup> Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans*, 114.

<sup>56</sup> *Albania*, Dt. 1897.

<sup>57</sup> *Drita*, Nr.10 Dt. 3-16/4/ 1902, p. 1-2.

<sup>58</sup> Hanioglu, *The Young Turks*, 53-54.

that hated the first group for being religiously radical and related with the finances of the Rumanian cause of dual monarchy spanning across Macedonia and Albania.<sup>59</sup>

Divided between the Sofia, Bucharest, USA, Egypt, Brussel, London and Italy, the Albanians of the diaspora were the most active toward their national requests. Between the period of 1878-1896 where formed 11 journals, which were not printed in frequent way.<sup>60</sup> These journals were published by young active Albanians, and in the majority of the cases they didn't profit anything from their selling, since they were given for free to their communities. This situation led, that the majority of them had a short life, due to lack of finances or fall into the pocket of interest groups with an eye for the future throne of the country (Albert Gjika/Ghica) or the nationalistic/linguistic path (Patriarch of Istanbul and the CUP). After 1896 up to 1908 the number of journals quadruplicated reaching up to 46.<sup>61</sup> But despite this number the problem were very visible with it. The two main journals of that time *Albania* and *Drita* where printed outside the empire and sold respectively 80% and 70% of their volumes outside the empire. The newspaper of Thimi Mitko, an orthodox intellectual from Korca emigrated in Egypt, had problems like the other journals to move around the empire, due to the restrictions of the Ottoman authorities and the Greek affiliated orthodoxy.

Even if a small percentage of the published works would had arrived in the Albanian speaking territories, the nationalistic ideas on my perspective would had to pass throu two great barriers: the opposition of the local actors bought, bribed or with a different agenda (Young Turks) and primarily to bypass the fact that the majority of the population was illiterate and there was no alphabet. A small window of opportunity was given by the continuous actions of the protestant Bible Society, the contraband smuggling and reading of the books inside the perimeters of the foreign consul buildings of Austro-Hungary and Italy.

### **Nationalism or Proto-nationalism?**

Taking into consideration the facts risen above the first phase of nationalism proposed by the Albanian historiography, my believe is that this period was more of a reaction/patriotic phase due to the problems resulting from the crises of 1877/8 in the Balkan. The true moment where nationalism on my perspective initiated, is linked with the three Austro-Hungarian conferences convened in November and December 1896 (17/11, 8/12 and 23/12/1896) for the purpose of drawing up a new policy in Albania. The participants, officials and experts agreed that actions should be improved. It was planned to radically reorganize the Albanian policy of the monarchy: in the church, school and subsidy policies of the areas of responsibility of the consulates, via the status of the *Kultusprotektorats*. However, the northern Albanian clergy sympathized with Italy despite taking regular financial subsidies from Vienna. The Albania policy up until the turn of the century, was thus unable to build up a loyal church toward the Danube monarchy despite the sums invested. Despite the fact that the Albanian bishops were fundamentally loyal to Vienna, this could not be

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<sup>59</sup> Clayer, *Ne fillimet*, 268.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 373.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 374-374.

said for the lower clergy. In this prospect the Foreign Minister Gołuchowski decided to increase subsidies to the local church.<sup>62</sup>

The conference also changed the previous teaching strategy: the teaching posts in the monarchy-funded schools could only be taken over by their own citizens, and they had to teach with Albanian language textbooks. The new school policy openly supported the strengthening of Albanian national consciousness, for the idea of Albanian nationalism did not pose any threat to the interests of the monarchy. With this step, Vienna wanted the creation of a national and pre-state consciousness, after the expected dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

In support of Albanian nationalism, Gołuchowski decided to set up new consulates on the proposal of the Consul General of Shkodra, Theodor Ippen, also in the Muslim territories, in order to make contacts with the local population and especially the nobles of Central and South Albania.<sup>63</sup>

Interesting is the work of Uran Asllani, who analyzing the diaspora in Austro-Hungary up until 1912, due to the policies of 1896, was in majority (80%) catholic, mainly from Shkodra, Kosovo and Montenegro. The majority of the priests that were educated in the monarchy, went into the Franciscan Monasteries of Croatia and Bosnia and had a close experience with the Croatian nationalism (Gjergj Fishta, Shtjefen Gjecovi, etc.), and becoming hitherto conductors of these political ideas through sermons.<sup>64</sup> Also one of the early intellectuals educated in Vienna, Gjergj Pekmezi introduced after 1905, a Latin version of the alphabet into the process of education lead by the institutions financed by the monarchy. Not only these finances were covering large activities despite the three objectives of the conferences, but were also covering the expenses of the education of a new generation of sons of Beys and Bayraktars, preaching and propagating a closer intellectual and economic tie with the new elite. The net of scholarships went up to the South Albania and helping orthodox students, meanwhile the data show only 7 Muslims Toske, who covered by themselves their expenses, among them Eqrem Bey Vlora.<sup>65</sup>

Under these conditions the Albanian nationalism as described by the official Albanian historiography, or the Turkish one, doesn't explain or fit none of the reasons for its latency on surfacing on the Balkan political field. Without the connotation with the problems of the empire and the ones that the local population faced, and the latency they had to show its effect by travelling from center to periphery and back ward, a maimed theory of Albanian nationalism has been served to us for the last half a century. The periodization compressing three phases: 1) 1876-78, 2) 1905-6 (surprisingly associated with the Pugachev rebellion, and without taking into account the CUP activity), 3) 1912-3 (independence period), isn't satisfactory at least, and let alone demonstrative of the events of the time. The lack of the unified intellectual and military formation, the disunity in the diaspora, the conflictual attitude of the religious and regional actors, toppled with the deficiencies of the Ottoman Empire, on any standard historical analyzes doesn't show any sign of a nationalistic movement on political level up until the first phase of 1877-8. The movement is a patriotic reaction resembling more a proto-nationalistic phase, taking into account all the facts mentioned

<sup>62</sup> Csaplár-Degovics, *Österreichisch-ungarische Interessendurchsetzung*, 135.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> Asllani, *Studentët shqiptarë*, 22-32.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 28.



above. The Ottoman Empire was not the big monster as described from the Albanian historians (more a relegated second type imperial power), and the Albanians in the majority of the cases didn't cut their way through history with sword (but knew what pragmatism and compromises meant).

On these results, the narrative and periodization of the current historiography needs to be revised, not emphasizing only on the semi-romantic narrative, but on data and facts. Also a greater focus must be implemented on the role of the Austro-Hungary, especially on her activity in the country after 1896, and how it was entangled with the activity of other national figures. The role of the Danube Monarchy is essential on my opinion, not only to ascertain the periodization, but also on how the course of action of the Albanian nationalism was paved (alphabet reform, independence, etc.).

## Conclusions

My aim was to show a visible link between nationalism and the failure of the Ottoman Empire to modernize in a Weberian prospect. Meanwhile the majority of the works tend to fall into classic description of the people and their acts, and little interest is shown into the ambience that forges these people. The process that for more than one century failed to be implemented into the empire left a scar into the institutions and the consciousness of the different ethnicities of the empire. And under this long and sickening wait, different groups decided to act according to their agenda, meanwhile others were forced to react to the changes imposed by others. In the majority of cases nationalism was seen as the saving anchor for these ethnicities. A number of factors had a contribution on how quick or late did one ethnic group implement nationalism as an exit point: the place where their diaspora was settled and how rich it was the flux of political ideas that they brought into their native places, a historical consciousness reflected by an idolized early form of state and the presence of a language and the influence of the other Great Powers in the region.

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### L'héritage ottoman en Albanie

L'objectif de notre communication est d'analyser l'héritage du règlement ottoman dans les quatre *vilayets* albanophones et plus tard en Albanie indépendante nouvellement formée sous l'égide des grandes puissances et de leurs décisions de Londres de 1913. La question qui se pose est la suivante : quel est l'héritage ottoman en Albanie ? L'islamisation de la société, des minarets, le goût commun des plats, les habitudes communes, le sentiment de faire partie de cette méso-région, comme l'a dûment décrit Jenő Szűcs et comme Maria

Teodorova l'a nommé plutôt imaginaire que réel, ou l'héritage ottoman est « sang, feux et guerre », comme il est proposé par l'histoire nationale et officielle ?

Notre communication rejette ces arguments que nous trouvons trop accablants et aveuglants envers une analyse complète de l'héritage ottoman, non seulement en Albanie mais dans les Balkans. Notre communication est essentiellement axée sur la ligne directe qui relie des tentatives de modernisation des sultans du Bas-Empire, les difficultés auxquelles il fallait faire face, la question de savoir comment et quand ces problèmes se sont-ils manifestés sur les territoires albanophones et leur lien avec le nationalisme. À partir de quel moment cet héritage a-t-il été vu comme trop oriental, rétrogradé et non plus accepté par les groupes ethniques de l'empire et surtout par des Albanais qui étaient considérés comme grands bénéficiaires des offices du *divan* ottoman et éternellement ingrats en face de leurs « Frères turcs » ? Notre communication interpelle le débat sans fin entre la nouvelle vague et l'ancienne conception des historiens si le nationalisme avait été la cause ou le résultat de l'histoire formée et sans cesse tumultueuse de cette région d'Europe. L'objectif de notre analyse s'étend sur les événements d'un siècle et entre le centre de l'empire (Istanbul) et une petite partie périphérique (Albanie).



## *Japanese ships in the Mediterranean. An unlikely ally escorting 70.000 troops for the Entente*

LEVENTE GÁBOR SZABÓ  
UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

### **The Anglo–Japanese Alliance**

The rapid modernization of Japan, in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, greatly upset the delicate balance of power in East Asia. After successfully defeating China in 1895, it came into direct conflict with the colonizing powers of France, Russia and Germany. Great Britain wanting to consolidate power in the Far East, decided to enter into an alliance with Japan officially in 1902. Consequently, this alliance forced Russia to face Japan without the help of France in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) which eventually resulted in the colossal defeat of the Russian fleet at Tsushima. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was renewed in 1911, and a mutual defense pact was incorporated to the agreement.<sup>1</sup>

The First World War began on 28 July 1914, and the British ultimatum to Germany expired at midnight on August 4. At the beginning, Japan's entrance to the war was not welcomed, and by the nature of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, there was no obligation for Japan to automatically join in hostilities even if Britain declared war. On 3rd August 1914, British Ambassador Sir Conyngham Greene<sup>2</sup> visited Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kato Takaaki,<sup>3</sup> and showed him the telegraph which said:

“Sir Edward Grey<sup>4</sup> did not think that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would be involved, nor did he think it likely that His Majesty's Government would have to apply to the Imperial Japanese Government under the terms of that Alliance.”<sup>5</sup>

The British position quickly and often changed in the next few days. Still on 3 August Grey said that if hostilities spread to the Far East then the British would rely on Japanese support to protect their interest in China. On 4 August Grey told Inoue Katunosue, Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, that Britain should avoid, if it could, to draw Japan into any trouble. However, on 7 August, Grey reversed his first proposal and brought a most urgent message to Minister Kato, which said, “It is most important that the Japanese fleet should,

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<sup>1</sup> O'Brien, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, 161-165.

<sup>2</sup> Ambassador to Japan from december 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Foreign minister of Japan at the outbreak of the war, later he will be the 14th Prime Minister of of the country. (Japanese names are written according to Japanese custom so family name then given name.)

<sup>4</sup> British Secretary of State, later Ambassador to the United States.

<sup>5</sup> Trotter, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, 1.

if possible, hunt out and destroy the armed German merchant cruisers who are now attacking our commerce.”<sup>6</sup>

In the beginning Britain tried to limit Japanese involvement both geographically and politically. However, the changing tides of war and the increasing success of the German raiders and U-boats forced Britain to ask for more and more help from Japan. This changed the strategic area of Japanese assistance from the Far East to the Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, Atlantic Ocean and eventually to the Mediterranean.

### **Extending help**

The first official request to send Japanese ships to the Mediterranean came on 13 August. The British Navy asked the Japanese assistant naval attaché, Captain Abo Kiyotane, to deploy the cruiser *Izumo* which had been dispatched to Mexico, to head for Esquimalt<sup>7</sup> to protect the coast of North America. Then, on 2 September, Grey sounded out Ambassador Inoue as to whether the Japanese Government would be disposed to send a division of their Navy in order to cooperate with the Allies Navy primarily in the Mediterranean and ultimately in the decisive theatres to cope with the German cruiser *Goeben* and the light cruiser *Breslau* in the Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> Minister Kato declined the request citing that they cannot split the Japanese Navy any further.

Subsequently, there was no request from Britain for over a year. However, as German naval effort had been concentrating on commercial raiders, on 2 February 1916, the British Admiralty communicated to its Foreign Office:

“The presence of a flotilla of Japanese destroyers in those waters would be of the greatest value in view of the present demand for Allied vessels of this type. Tentative enquiry has, from time to time, been made of the Japanese naval attaché as to whether his Government would be likely to accede to a request for a flotilla of destroyers to be sent to the West, but no indication has been given that the Japanese Government are considering the matter. It would not be necessary to specify the Mediterranean as their destination, since they could, if preferred, be employed in home waters, thus releasing others for the Mediterranean. My Lords quite appreciate that it may, on political grounds, be thought inadvisable to solicit the Japanese government for naval assistance in the West, but the practical necessities of the naval situation make it necessary to ask, that the suggestion should be seriously considered.”<sup>9</sup>

Britain changed the designated target from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, Atlantic Ocean, Home Waters, North Atlantic and Far East several times so there was no real movement from the Japanese. For a year, Britain stopped all requests coinciding with the end of unrestricted submarine warfare.

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<sup>6</sup> Trotter, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, 102-105.

<sup>7</sup> Part of British Columbia.

<sup>8</sup> Trotter, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, 132-133.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 153.

### Changing tides in the Mediterranean

By the end of 1917, most of the major naval features of World War I had been demonstrated. This was nowhere more evident than in the North Sea, which had been the principal strategic area of the naval war. Here the British and German navies had met in a series of inconclusive actions, culminating in the Battle of Jütland in May 1916. The British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet met, but despite serious losses, neither side was able to defeat the other decisively. It was this surface stalemate that led to the German decision to undertake unrestricted submarine warfare again against Britain in early 1917.<sup>10</sup>

After Germany reinstated the unrestricted submarine warfare, Britain asked Japan to help escort convoys in the Mediterranean to help the war effort. The Japanese opinion about giving assistance changed, because while in the beginning of the war it was in their interest to limit their involvement, later as all major powers engaged each other in naval combat the Japanese missing out on the combat experience concerned the Admiralty.

The Japanese Navy was in great need to gain practical knowledge in modern warfare and naval combat. On 4 February 1917 another request was sent to Japan. This time, however, seeing that the Japanese were much more receptive to help, the British government asked for a whole fleet. Japan was firmly against the possibility of sending capital ships to the Mediterranean, because despite their power they were neither helpful against submarines nor suitable for escort missions.

The Imperial Navy decided to dispatch destroyer squadrons to the Mediterranean and presented the following conditions to Ambassador Greene from Minister Motono<sup>11</sup> on 2 February:

1. The *Tsushima* and the *Niitaka* to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>12</sup>
2. The *Akashi* and a detachment of destroyers, consisting of two flotillas to be sent to the Mediterranean.<sup>13</sup>
3. Those vessels not to be placed under the command of the Admiral Commander-in-Chief of the British Naval Forces, but to act in co-operation with him or at his request.
4. It is to be understood that any reinforcement of the Japanese ships now to be sent will be impossible under actual conditions of the Japanese Navy, and that the ships are to be based on Malta will not be called upon to extend their operations beyond the Mediterranean.<sup>14</sup>

Japan formed and sent the 2<sup>nd</sup> Special Squadron of the Imperial Japanese Navy under the command of Rear Admiral Sato Kozo to help convoys defend against submarines. The

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<sup>10</sup> Evans and Peattie, *Kaigun*, 167.

<sup>11</sup> Motono Ichirō foreign minister of Japan from 16th of November 1916.

<sup>12</sup> Both ships were cruisers.

<sup>13</sup> All together 1 cruiser and 8 destroyers (*Akashi*, *Ume*, *Kusunoki*, *Kaede*, *Katsura*, *Kashiwa*, *Matsu*, *Sugi*, and *Sakaki*)

<sup>14</sup> Trotter, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, 176.

fleet initially consisted of the cruiser *Akashi* and the eight destroyers of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Destroyer Flotillas. Later, in the beginning of 1918 the squadron was reinforced with the cruisers *Izumo* and *Nisshin* and the 15<sup>th</sup> Destroyer Flotilla.<sup>15</sup> Altogether, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Special Squadron was comprised of 3 cruisers and 12 destroyers.

By the end of the war, ships belonging to the squadron had accompanied 788 Allied ships, including transports carrying 70,000 troops. They engaged German and Austro-Hungarian submarines on 34 occasions failing however to sink any of them.<sup>16</sup> Successfully completed 348 escort missions covering over 240,000 nautical miles.<sup>17</sup>

Overall Japan lost 72 sailors in the 16 months they were stationed in Malta. The biggest loss they suffered was from the loss of the destroyer *Sakaki* which after being torpedoed lost 59 officers. The ship however still made it back to port successfully.<sup>18</sup> British leaders lavishly praised the Japanese for their performance in the Mediterranean. Winston Churchill, who as First Lord of the Admiralty, was the driving force behind British and Japanese naval cooperation. He “did not think the Japanese [Squadron] had ever done a foolish thing”.

The governor of Malta, Lord Methuen, while reviewing Japanese warships in March 1919, lauded the Japanese navy for “its splendid work in European waters” and expressed the hope, that “God grants our alliance, cemented in blood, may long endure”. The Japanese Navy spent 72% of their time at sea compared with 60% by the British and about 45% by the French and Italian Navy.<sup>19</sup>

### Effects of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Special Squadron

The Allies felt that Japan was always asking too much compensation for what they regarded as marked contrast to her small assistance, and that the Japanese sea power projected to the Mediterranean was commented as being “only a drop in the bucket” by the British Navy. However, the Second Special Squadron accomplished great success in diplomatically supporting the national interest of Japan. During and after the war, these destroyers visited 53 ports around France, Britain, Italy, Belgium and Greece. In London, they participated in the victory parade and could show that Japan had cooperated with Britain. In Paris, Japanese sailors showed their existence not only to the citizens of Paris, but also to the delegates of the Peace Conference. One of the member to the Paris conference, Ambassador to Italy Hayashi Gonnosuke told Admiral Sato that by the Japanese activities in the Mediterranean, Japan was able to show her loyalty as an Ally and obtain understanding of the Japanese contribution to this war. Hayashi said, “We could show that Japan supported the Allies as an ‘entente’ and thus obtained the position as one of five big powers at the Paris Peace Conference.”<sup>20</sup>

Another interesting long-term effect of the reluctance of Japan to send ships and especially capital ships to Europe was that both Britain and the United States thought that Japan was keeping most of its navy safe so the ships will be ready for the next war. This led to a

<sup>15</sup> The 4 destroyers of the 15<sup>th</sup> Flotilla are *Momo*, *Kashi*, *Hinoki*, *Yanagi*.

<sup>16</sup> Evans and Peattie, *Kaigun*, 169.

<sup>17</sup> 1 nautical mile is 1852 meters, 240,000 nautical miles is 444,480 kms, enough to circle the Earth 11 times.

<sup>18</sup> Halpern, *A Naval History of World War I*, 393.

<sup>19</sup> Falls, *The Great War 1914-1918*, 295.

<sup>20</sup> Sato, *Oshu Taisenchi Chichukai niokuru Teikoku Kaigun no Sakusen*, 20-21.



deep distrust especially from the United States that directly influenced the U.S. policy towards Japan in general, but more importantly in the upcoming Washington Naval Conference, where the capital ship quota of Japan was limited.

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### **Bateaux japonais dans la Méditerranée. Un allié improbable escorte 700 000 soldats pour l'Entente**

La modernisation rapide du Japon dans la deuxième moitié du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle a grandement bouleversé la balance du pouvoir délicate en Asie de l'Est. Après avoir vaincu la Chine en 1895, le Japon est entré en conflit avec les forces colonisateurs de la France, de la Russie et de l'Allemagne. La Grande-Bretagne, voulant consolider son pouvoir en Extrême-Orient, a décidé de faire alliance officiellement avec le Japon en 1902. Cette alliance a forcé la Russie de faire face au Japon sans l'aide de la France qui a causé un défit colossal de la flotte russe à Tsushima. L'alliance a été renforcée en 1911 pour inclure un pacte de défense mutuelle. Ainsi, au moment où la Première Guerre mondiale a éclaté, le Japon a joint le camp de l'Entente.

Quand l'Allemagne a rétabli la guerre sous-marine à outrance au début de 1917, l'Angleterre a demandé au Japon d'aider à escorter des convois dans la Méditerranée pour aider l'effort de la guerre. Le Japon a envoyé le deuxième escadron spécial (2<sup>nd</sup> Special Squadron) de la Marine Impériale Japonaise pour défendre contre les sous-marins. La flotte se consistait officiellement du croiseur *Akashi* et de huit destroyers du 10<sup>e</sup> et du 11<sup>e</sup> flottille de destroyer. Jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, des bateaux appartenant à l'escadron ont accompagné 788 bateaux des Alliés, des transporteurs emportant 700 000 soldats compris. Ils ont attaqué 38 fois des sous-marins allemands et austro-hongrois, sans réussir à couler quelconque.

Tout compte fait, le Japon a perdu 72 marins pendant les 16 mois où ils étaient stationnés à Malte. Les Japonais ont été somptueusement glorifiés pour leur performance dans la Méditerranée par les leaders britanniques. Winston Churchill, qui était Premier seigneur de l'Amirauté à l'éclatement de la guerre, était la force motrice de la coopération maritime britannique et japonaise. Il « n'a jamais pensé que les [escadrons] Japonais auraient fait une chose absurde ».

Le gouverneur de la Malte, Lord Methuen, en étudiant les navires de guerre japonais en mars 1919, a glorifié la marine japonaise pour son « travail splendide dans les eaux euro-

péennes » et il a exprimé son espoir en disant les suivants : « Dieu accorde notre alliance, cimentée par le sang, qu'elle dure longtemps. »

# *The Jordanian Nationalism*

JÓZSEF KÁDÁR  
UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

## **Introduction**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ideologies developed in Europe appeared in the Middle East as a consequence of Napoléon's campaign in Egypt. During the century one of these ideologies became the most dominant thought in the Arab world. The first thinkers and political agitators of nationalism, such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani or Mohammed 'Abdu, recognized the cultural threat of the West, focused on the resurgence of Islam and advocated the unity of the Islam world. According to al-Afghani's Pan-Islamism, only the unified Islam world would be able to confront Western colonialism.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the decline of the Ottoman Empire made the Arabic-speaking political thinkers urge to focus on the ethnic and linguistic differences between the Arabs and the Turkish. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, who is usually regarded as the precursor of Arabism or Arab nationalism, emphasised that the resurgence of Islam should be necessarily led by the Arab people. He stated that the caliphate should bring back to the Hejaz and an Arab from the descendants of the Prophet should be elected as caliph.<sup>2</sup> Later, Sati' al-Husri, the most significant theorist of Arab nationalism, had already emphasized the importance of Arab unity and declared that Islam unity would not a realistic prospect.<sup>3</sup> On the eve of World War I, Arab nationalism became a very popular movement in the Middle East and the Arab leaders utilised some of its elements to their political goals against the Ottomans.

Sharif Hussein, who was appointed as Emir of Mecca by the Ottoman Sultan right after the Young Turk revolution, 1908, had secret relations with the British during World War I. The correspondence between Sharif Hussein and High Commissioner Henry McMahon contains Britain's misty promise about a future Arab Khalifate that would have involved the whole Arabian Peninsula and the Fertile Crescent (without Egypt).<sup>4</sup> Finally, Hussein, who hoped that he could establish the long-dreamed khalifate after the war, launched the Arab Revolt in 1916 against the Ottomans supported by the British.

However, the Great Powers had already decided to divide the Middle Eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire among each other<sup>5</sup> and had never had the intention to let an inde-

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<sup>1</sup> Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism*, 18-19.; Balogh András et al. *Nemzet és nacionalizmus*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> From the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman sultans had the title of caliph.

<sup>3</sup> Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism*, 23.; Balogh et al., *Nemzet és nacionalizmus*, 85.

<sup>4</sup> The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence, 1915-1916. In: Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, 13-17.; Kádár, Emir Abdallah's Early Political Career, 106-107.

<sup>5</sup> See the Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916. In Hurewitz, *Diplomacy...*, 18-22.

pendent Arab Khalifate be established. After the World War ended, the Great Power reshaped the map of the Middle East by establishing new Arab states. According to the newly formulated Mandate system, that was based upon the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Syria and Lebanon became French Mandate, and Britain received Palestine and Iraq.

Winston Churchill, Britain's secretary for the colonies, called upon the Cairo Conference in March 1921 to lay down the principles of Britain's Middle Eastern policy. Britain's primary strategic goal was to ensure the route from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, hence they decided to create a buffer state, and carved out Transjordan, the land beyond the River Jordan, from the Mandate of Palestine. Emir Abdallah, the second son of Sharif Hussein, was appointed as Emir of Transjordan. Thus, the Great Powers created the basis of the future nation-state system in the Middle East, which also meant that they sowed the seeds of regional nationalism.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Emirate of Transjordan**

Before World War I, nobody could find a land called Transjordan and the people, who lived on that land, had never identified themselves as Transjordanians. This area was part of the Ottoman Empire with largely Bedouin inhabitants lived mostly in tribes who kept a few contacts with the Ottoman administration. Only the north-western residents had everyday relations with the larger towns of Damascus and Nablus, the southern tribes looked toward the Hijaz. No national movement, therefore, had emerged in the tribal society before the World War.<sup>7</sup>

In the moment of the creation of Transjordan, it was a poor, backward, and ungovernable country. Only the north-western part of the desert country was available for agricultural production, and the harvest largely depended on the annual rainfall. The inhabitants were divided among numerous semi-nomadic Bedouin tribes, only a little part of the population lived settled lifestyle in the Ajlun region in the north. The rivalry between the tribes was part of the everyday life and the individuals' sense of social identity determined by tribal affiliation. Social services, like education and health services, were almost non-existent, and illiteracy was extremely high.<sup>8</sup>

During the post-war negotiations between Britain and the local leaders, the latter insisted on having a high-ranking Arab leader as head of a new state. In my opinion this indicates that the inhabitants of the future Emirate started to think in more nationalistic terms.<sup>9</sup> Emir Abdallah seemed the right candidate for this position. He was one of the members of the Hashemite family, so he was a direct descendant the Prophet Mohammed. Traditionally, the Ottomans always appointed a Hashemite as Emir of Mecca throughout the centuries. During the Arab Revolt, Abdallah stayed in the Hijaz and tried to restrain the Saudi expansion, but his troops were defeated in two battles in 1919 that Abdallah barely survived the campaign. Shortly after that he probably decided to leave the Hijaz, but he was waiting for the right time, the time when his brother, Emir Feisal, had to escape from Damascus in

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<sup>6</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians*, 7-8.

<sup>7</sup> Anderson, Betty S. *Nationalist Voices*, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 13.; Robins, Philip. *A History of Jordan*, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Nationalist Voices*, 15.

summer 1920.<sup>10</sup> Abdallah reached Ma'an (an important town in the southern part of Transjordan) in the late autumn 1920 with some 2.000 armed men. In Ma'an he tried to earn the local leaders' support and came into contact with British diplomats, too. His arrival coincided with Britain's need to decide the future of their Mandates. Since the local leaders warmly welcomed and supported Abdallah after his arrival in Amman, Secretary Churchill invited the Emir to Jerusalem at the end of March 1921 and appointed him as Emir of Transjordan.

At first Transjordan played the role of a buffer state and military base between Palestine, Iraq and the Saudi territories. For this purpose, the British created the Arab Legion led and educated by British army officers. By the mid-1920s, Transjordan concluded the negotiations with Abdel Aziz ibn Saud on the southern borders of Transjordan. In 1928, Britain and Transjordan signed the Anglo-Transjordanian Treaty that laid down the rights and obligations of the Emir and the relation between the two states. The same year the newly established Transjordanian Parliament adopted the Organic Law functioned as a constitution. Hence, the process of making a state finished just at the end of the 1920s.<sup>11</sup>

### **Transjordanian Nationalism vs Hashimite Pan-Arabism**

As I mentioned before, the reshaping of the map of the Middle East created the possibility of the development of regional nationalisms. By the end of the 1920s, Transjordan drew its border lines and "those who came within the boundaries of the Jordanian state became potential citizens of the nation".<sup>12</sup> Through the years of the Mandate, however, the development of the sense of Transjordanian identity was a slow process.

Firstly, the society of Transjordan was mostly tribal, and the inhabitants' identity tied to their tribe. Moreover, there were no any nationalist leaders in the country before, the only demand of the Transjordanian towns (such as Kerak, Salt) was the appointment of an Arab prince as Emir of the new state at the end of 1920, as it was mentioned before. It was a hard task to create a new national identity instead of tribal identity. Emir Abdallah solved this problem by nominating the tribal leaders (the sheikhs) to high government and administrative positions. Unavoidably, these government officials began to identify themselves nationally Transjordanian.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the borders drawn and the state institutes created in the 1920s, in one word, the making of the Transjordanian state was one of the supra-tribal institutes that paved the way for the national identity.

Another component was the Emir himself, who was not a Transjordanian<sup>14</sup> but gained his legitimacy from the origin of his family and the Arab Revolt. For the local sheikhs, he was "a revered chief who deserved their loyalty and submission".<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Emir Feisal, third son of Sharif Hussein, was proclaimed as King of Syria by the Arab National Congress. The French, however, invaded Damascus in the summer of 1920, and exiled Feisal from the town.

<sup>11</sup> Kádár, *Emir Abdallah's*, 111.

<sup>12</sup> Anderson, *Nationalist Voices*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, *Nationalist Voices*, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Abdallah was born in Mecca in 1882 and educated in Istanbul. After his father, Sharif Hussein was appointed as Emir of Mecca, Abdallah became representative of the Hijaz in the Ottoman parliament. He served in the Arab Revolt during World War I.

The Arab Legion was also a supra-tribal structure. The British and Abdallah established this army in 1923 to defend Britain's strategic interest and the integrity of the state. The Legion was commanded and trained by British army officers from the beginning, but the core of the army consisted of Arab officers and soldiers of many different origins (Lebanese, Syrian, Transjordanian, Palestinian, and Hijazi), most of them served in Emir Feisal's army in Damascus before his dismissal. However, Britain put pressure on the Emir to remove these nationalist members from the Legion and increase its number with local tribesmen. When Major John Glubb<sup>16</sup> arrived in Transjordan in 1930, he created the Desert Patrol within the Arab Legion in order to protect the boundaries and oil pipeline connecting Kirkuk and Haifa. This group that later reorganized as Desert Mechanized Force consisted only Bedouins and played a significant role in protecting internal security. Hence, the Arab Legion became one of the essential pillars of the state of Transjordan. Besides, it was also active in making a sense of Transjordanian identity by incorporating the tribes into the state structures. The Bedouins, who served in the Legion, began to identify themselves as Transjordanian.<sup>17</sup>

Overall, these three supra-tribal institutes (the state, the Emir, and the Arab Legion) formed the basis of the Transjordanian national identity. Although, Emir Abdallah had never committed himself to Transjordanian nationalism because he had large-scale Middle Eastern ambitions: to create Greater Syria. His entire political thought that could be called Hashemite Pan-Arabism, based on the future unity of the Middle Eastern Arab states (Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Syria). Abdallah could rely on the Arab Legion, that was not only playing a role in defending internal security but also symbolized the political power of the Emir.<sup>18</sup> Hence, Emir Abdallah hindered the growth of Transjordanian nationalism since he focused on his Pan-Arab ambitions, moreover, to emphasize his commitment, he had never appointed any politician of Transjordanian origin as prime minister.<sup>19</sup>

Abdallah looked toward Palestine as a first step to unify the Arab states. Although drawing the international border between Palestine and Transjordan in the 1920s caused the beginning of the division of the people. The roots of Palestinian national identity, of course, had already appeared but the connection between the two states was still strong during the Mandate. On the one hand, both countries were under the British Mandate, and the two administrations always cooperated. The Transjordanian British resident was dependent on the High Commissioner in Palestine. Moreover, Palestinian officials were often appointed to the Transjordanian administration as well. Emir Abdallah's ambitions toward Palestine also strengthened the Palestinian–Transjordanian relations. The Emir built strong political connections with prominent Palestinians, chiefly those who did not agree with Grand Mufti

<sup>15</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 18.

<sup>16</sup> John Bagot Glubb is a British army officer who served in the Western Front during World War I. In 1920, he was sent to Iraq, and then, in 1930 arrived in Transjordan where he founded the Desert Patrol within the Arab Legion. This group consisted of bedouins. In 1939, he was appointed as commander of the Arab Legion. He served in Jordan until his dismissal in 1956.

<sup>17</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 17-18.; Anderson, *Nationalist Voices*, 18.

<sup>18</sup> Massad, Joseph A., *Colonial Effects*, 223.; Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 20.

Amin al-Husseini's<sup>20</sup> policy. On the other hand, the two people of the countries looked at each other as Arab brothers. The Transjordanian people supported the Palestinian opposition to Zionism and tried to send them arms and money during the Arab Rebellion in the 1930s, but the Arab Legion hindered it, even the Transjordanian government, as an ally of the British Mandatory system, arrested Palestinian insurgents.<sup>21</sup>

During the Arab Rebellion, the report of the Palestine Royal Commission, as known as the Peel Commission, appreciated Abdallah's role in Palestine. The commission suggested the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine to Transjordan<sup>22</sup> under the reign of Emir Abdallah who immediately urged the British government to establish "a unified Arab kingdom composed of Palestine and Transjordan under royal Arab rule".<sup>23</sup> However, Abdallah had to wait ten more years.

Ten years later, in 1947, the United Nations General Assembly adopted its famous partition plan. Transjordan in the meantime became an independent state, and Abdallah proclaimed himself as king. After the adoption of the partition plan, King Abdallah initiated negotiations with the British and the Jewish Agency as well, to win their support.

In February 1948, Abdallah sent his prime minister and Glubb to negotiate with Britain. Abdallah needed open support from the British to take control over the Arab part of Palestine after the evacuation of British forces. Britain, in theory, stood by Abdallah's plan and warned him about the vacuum of power when Britain would leave the area.

Abdallah also had secret negotiations with the Jewish Agency. The king assured Golda Meir that he supported the partition plan. Both parties opposed to the possible establishment of a Palestinian state and looked at Grand Mufti al-Husseini as a common enemy. However, Abdallah thought that the establishment of the Jewish state was still too early and suggested her a peaceful settlement. According to Abdallah, an undivided Palestinian state should be created, where the Arab Legion would ensure internal security and the Jews would have autonomy. Within a year this state would unify with Transjordan, and Jews would receive the half of seats in the Parliament and a not-determined number of seats in the cabinet. In Abdallah's opinion, they could have avoided the outbreak of the war.<sup>24</sup> The Jewish Agency, however, was to create a Jewish state, so, at the end of the meeting, Abdallah assured Meir that, after the war broke out, the operations of the Arab Legion would not touch Jewish territories.

There was a third factor Abdallah wanted to stand on his side: the newly formed Arab League, the loose confederation of the Arab countries established in 1945. Its decision-making process was slow and depended on the different ambitions and the interests of the members. After long negotiations, Abdallah won the majority of the League, and in April

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<sup>20</sup> Amin al-Husseini was a Palestinian politician who became the first spokesman of the Palestinian nationalism. He was appointed as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in 1921. After the Palestinian Arab Rebellion between 1936 and 1939, he was forced to live in exile. During World War II, he collaborated with the Nazi Germany in Iraq. He was Emir Abdallah's political rival, and according to some hypothesis, he ordered Abdallah's assassination in 1951.

<sup>21</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 28-29.

<sup>22</sup> See the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission in: Lugosi, *Dokumentumok*, 158-181.

<sup>23</sup> Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 226.

<sup>24</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 36.

1948, Abdallah was appointed as namely general commander of the all-Arab expeditionary forces.<sup>25</sup>

When the first Arab-Israeli war broke out on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1948, the Arab Legion, alongside with the Iraqi army, invaded the Arab territories of Palestine as a first step toward annexation. The situation, though, was more complicated. Abdallah considered himself the only who represented the Palestinians, but his opposition, that was supported by especially Egypt, established in September 1948 the General Palestine Government. It called upon a conference in Gaza in order to gain the support of the Palestinians. However, Abdallah convened another conference in Amman at the same time and, using the military situation in Palestine, prevented and/or forced the Palestinian delegates to go to Gaza, but to Amman. The Amman conference adopted a resolution that Abdallah had “full and absolute authority to speak on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine” and he was their representative. However, it was only a prelude before the Jericho Conference on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1948. Some 2.000 Palestinian delegates participated at the conference that called for a Palestinian–Jordanian unity on its resolution and declared Abdallah as “king of all Palestine”.<sup>26</sup>

The war ended by signing Armistice Agreements between Israel and the Arab states in the spring of 1949. According to the Israeli–Transjordanian Armistice Agreement, Transjordan kept authority over the Arab areas of Palestine, also called as the West Bank. This area was smaller than determined in the UN partition plan, because Israel, using its military and political advantages, increased its territory. One year later, the Jordanian Parliament officially annexed the West Bank. The state was renamed as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan that symbolized the beginning of a new era.

### **The struggle of the three ideologies**

As a consequence of the first Arab-Israeli war and the unification of the two banks of Jordan, the population of the kingdom rose to approximately 1.270.000 people. At the end of the 1940s, Transjordan had 375.000 inhabitants, while the West Bank had 425.000. During and after the war, however, almost 360.000 refugees entered the West Bank from the areas occupied by Israel, and another 110.000 refugees arrived to Transjordan (East Bank).<sup>27</sup> This posed demographic, socio-economic, and even ideological challenges for the state.

The Palestinians received Jordanian citizenship and the right to vote which was the political-ideological basis of the unity of the two banks.<sup>28</sup> However, the seats in the Jordanian Parliament divided equally between the East and West Bank; in other words, the 375.000 Transjordanian had also 20 seats like 900.000 Palestinians.<sup>29</sup> In the mind of the state, every citizen of the Kingdom was Jordanian; it did not matter which bank they live in. In the political dialogue and the textbooks, there was no reference to Palestinians.<sup>30</sup> It was the essence of Pan-Jordanism, or Pan-Jordanian nationalism: “The state’s goal was less to impose

<sup>25</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 36-39.

<sup>26</sup> Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 226-229.; Robins, *A History of Jordan*, 71-72.

<sup>27</sup> Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 233.

<sup>28</sup> Brand, *A Crisis of Identity*, 47.

<sup>29</sup> Robins, *A History of Jordan*, 73.

<sup>30</sup> Nasser, *Palestinian Identity*, 68.



on Palestinians a Transjordanian identity than to create a hybrid Jordanian identity for both communities.”<sup>31</sup>

Through the next two decades, in the 1960s and 1970s, an ideological struggle took place between Pan-Jordanism, Palestinian nationalism, and Pan-Arabism. Jordanian identity, in practice, “meant a simultaneous cooperation and repression of an independent Palestinian identity”<sup>32</sup> that based on not only the land of Palestine but the trauma of the loss of homeland and injustice.<sup>33</sup> In the early 1950s, most of the Palestinians could accept their new status as Jordanian citizens but, of course, they were not satisfied with their situation.<sup>34</sup> They did not identify themselves as Jordanian and looked at King Abdallah as a traitor. Through the years, the sense of Palestinian identity formed, and those who identify themselves as Palestinian divide into three groups. According to this, those Arabs who stayed within the Armistice Lines after the first Arab-Israeli war and lived in Israel; those who lived in the Gaza Strip or the West Bank occupied by Israel in 1967; and those who left homes after the wars and live as refugees could be regarded as Palestinian.<sup>35</sup>

Until the early 1960s Palestinian nationalists stood by Pan-Arabism as well, so it is hard to separate these two ideologies. Pan-Arabism had risen in the 1950s and merged with the person of the Egyptian President. Gamal Abd el-Nasser became one of the most significant Middle Eastern politicians referred to as the unofficial leader of Pan-Arabism. The political struggle between Nasser and the Hashemite monarchy was a determining factor of this period called the Arab Cold War.<sup>36</sup> After the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1964, the growth of Palestinian national consciousness accelerated, and after the Six-Day War, which was another trauma for the Arab world, Palestinian identity definitely separated from Jordanianness. Even, Palestinian nationalism constituted one of the greatest threats to security, peace and the reign of the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan.

What were the main political events, main ruptures of the struggle between Jordanians and Palestinians? The first event occurred one year after the annexation of the West Bank, when King Abdallah was assassinated by a young Palestinian in 1951 in Jerusalem. This was the first symbolic sign that Palestinians were not satisfied with their situation in Jordan. Jordanian citizens (the East Bankers) could never forgive this murder to the Palestinians. It was even thought that Amin al-Husseini ordered the assassination. Nevertheless, the monarchy continued to propagate its ‘two banks, one people’ ideology.

In the mid-1950s, the young King Hussein<sup>37</sup> had to face the challenge of the rise of radical Pan-Arab nationalism. His nationalist opposition demanded to break Jordan’s relations with Britain. In March 1956, he dismissed John Glubb and all British officers from the Arab Legion, and the intelligence. The king had personal conflict with Glubb about the leadership of the army and state, and Hussein wanted to assert his personal authority in Jor-

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<sup>31</sup> Brand, *A Crisis of Identity*, 50.

<sup>32</sup> Nanes, *Hashemitism*, 163.

<sup>33</sup> Brand, *A Crisis of Identity*, 48-49.

<sup>34</sup> Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 235.

<sup>35</sup> Paragi, Beáta, *A palesztinai arabok*, 68.

<sup>36</sup> The phrase Arab Cold War was first used by Malcolm Kerr in his book. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, 1975.

<sup>37</sup> Hussein ibn Talal was King Abdallah’s grandson. Hussein was only 17 years old when the Jordanian Parliament dethroned his father because of his mental illness, and declared Hussein as king of Jordan in 1952.

dan.<sup>38</sup> Hussein thought that he could hinder to a further rise of Pan-Arab nationalism in Jordan, but even so, the radical nationalist parties won the October elections, and Suleiman Nabulsi became prime minister of Jordan. Nabulsi was the leader of the National Socialist Party in Jordan and was an admirer of President Nasser. Nabulsi followed Nasser's Pan-Arab policy, cancelled the treaty with Britain and established political relations with the Soviet Union. King Hussein realized that the Nabulsi Government constituted a threat to the Hashemite monarchy, that was the reason why he dismissed Nabulsi in April 1957 and banned all political parties in Jordan and arrested most of the radical politicians. Jordan's new Western political ally, the United States, on the basis of the Eisenhower Doctrine, helped to rebuilt political stability in the country. The events of 1956 and 1957 made Palestinians more unsatisfied that increased the gap between them and Jordanians.

In the 1960s, the Palestinian national identity developed rapidly. The PLO gained increased significance after the Six-Day War. Israel occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, which made the Palestinians disappointed in Pan-Arab nationalism and made them recognize the necessity of establishing their own Palestinian state. That strengthened the development of Palestinian nationalism. During the war, some 300.000 refugees crossed over the River Jordan, caused socio-economic and political challenges for King Hussein. Through the next years, numerous Palestinian armed branches (some of that were members of the PLO) took control over a large part of Jordan. Finally, in 1970, King Hussein decided to expel PLO from Jordan (the so-called Black September).

Ideologically, the status of Jordanians with Palestinian origin was uncertain. They were loyal to the state of Jordan and the Hashemite monarchy, and many of them served in the Jordanian army. According to some accounts, the percentage of Palestinian in the military was between 45 and 60 per cent.<sup>39</sup> Anyway, Jordan gave up propagating the hybrid ideology of Pan-Jordanism, and Transjordanian nationalism rose again. Abu-Odeh emphasizes that Transjordanian nationalists had an aggressive attitude toward the Palestinians and looked at them as strangers.<sup>40</sup> However, a good portion of the nationalists remained Jordanian nationalists, and the monarchy kept representing Jordanianism as well. In November 1971, King Hussein convened the National Union Conference inviting some 2.500 Transjordanian and Palestinian representatives. Finally, the conference did not redefine the country's national identity, which is still waiting for a new definition.<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusion

The reshaping of the Middle East after World War I, and the creation of the Emirate of Transjordan made the possibility for the development of Transjordanian national identity. The connection between the state, the Arab Legion and the residents of the country strengthened this sense. Emir Abdallah's Pan-Arab ambitions, however, were about to expand the nation well beyond the borders of Jordan. Hence, Pan-Jordanism was born by crossing Transjordanian nationalism and the Hashemite Pan-Arabism.

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<sup>38</sup> Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan*, 53.

<sup>39</sup> Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 240-241.; Nanes, Hashemitism, 186.

<sup>40</sup> Abu-Odeh, *Jordanians, Palestinians*, 257-258.

<sup>41</sup> Massad, *Colonial Effects*, 247-248., 275.

Those Palestinians, who had moved to the East Bank after the first Arab-Israeli War, became loyal to the Jordanian state and identified themselves both as Jordanian and Palestinian. Their situation, however, was unclear after the expulsion of PLO because the Jordanian governments were not interested anymore in redefining Jordanian national identity.

To conclude, Stefanie Nanes emphasises that Palestinians remain an integral part of Jordan. The debate over Jordanian national identity is still going on. East Banker Palestinians suggest using another phrase for Jordanianity: Hashemitism that “may become the most viable means for Jordan to build a political community that includes all of its citizens, regardless of origin”.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Nanes, Hashemitism, 187.

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### **Le nationalisme jordanien**

Au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, les idéologies développées en Europe ont apparu en Moyen-Orient comme une conséquence de la campagne française en Egypte. Pour la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, le nationalisme arabe est devenu l'idéologie dominante, portant les traits caractéristiques d'un mouvement anti-ottoman. Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, les Arabes s'efforçaient d'établir un Califat arabe et ont commencé la révolte arabe contre l'Empire ottoman avec le soutien des Forces de l'Entente. Cependant, le Califat ne pouvait pas se réaliser à cause des intérêts des Grandes Puissances qui ont réaménagé la carte du Moyen-Orient en établissant des nouveaux États arabes. Un des nouveaux États était justement la Transjordanie, le mandat britannique nouveau-formé avec Émir Abdallah (membre de la dynastie des Hashémites) comme dirigeant de l'État. Émir Abdallah (régnant de 1921 à 1951) a fait un compromis pendant les cinq premières années de son règne avec les leaders des tribus locales et il a commencé à créer une nouvelle identité nationale pour la Jordanie avec son ami, l'officier de l'armée britannique, John Glubb, voulant remplacer l'identité tribale par la nouvelle identité nationale de la Jordanie. A partir des années 1930, ils ont tenté de promouvoir le nationalisme jordanien parmi les arabes palestiniens. L'objectif principal d'Émir Abdallah était d'unifier les deux mandats britanniques, la Palestine et la Transjordanie qui a été partiellement réalisé après la première guerre israélo-arabe où il pouvait annexer le bord d'ouest de la rivière Jourdain. De nombreux Palestiniens ont été forcés de vivre en Jordanie dans des camps de réfugiés. Même si les Palestiniens ont reçu la citoyenneté jordanienne et les Jordaniens ont tenté de les intégrer dans la société, une lutte idéologique a éclaté entre Jordaniens et Palestiniens qui durait jusqu'aux années 1970. Dans ma communication, je répondrais à des questions comme : qu'est-ce que le nationalisme jordanien ? Comment peut-on le décrire ? Qui est Jordanien ? Quels étaient les événements majeurs de la lutte entre Jordaniens et Palestiniens pendant la période en question ?

# *A Yugoslavian show trial – The history of the Zagreb spy trial and its background*

DÁNIEL FERENC DOMJÁN  
PÁZMÁNY PÉTER CATHOLIC  
UNIVERSITY

## **Introduction**

After the second world war, the Iron Curtain had divided Europe, and the Central-East European countries came under the influence of the Soviet Union. The satellite countries' communist parties took over the power by the help of Moscow, consequently, these countries lost their independence. The relationship between the Hungarian and the Yugoslavian Communist Party gradually improved because Josip Broz Tito's<sup>1</sup> policy was regarded ideal<sup>2</sup> by the Hungarian Communist Party, led by Mátyás Rákosi<sup>3</sup>.

The relationship between the two countries had turned upside down suddenly in 1948. Stalin<sup>4</sup> reckoned the socialist countries as a monolith block and he did not tolerate any divergence from the policy of Moscow. However, Tito attempted take independent action in the Balkans. The Soviet leadership didn't allow this independence, therefore by decision of the Cominform<sup>5</sup> in June 1948, the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the Cominform by the decision of the other communist parties, and certainly, by the direct order of Stalin.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, Stalin anticipated the fall of the Tito regime, but it did not occur so.

Rákosi was one of the first communist leaders, who attacked Yugoslavia. Hungary had a long common border with the South Slavic country, therefore the conflict had a bigger impact on Hungary. After June 1948, border incidents became almost daily, and propagan-

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<sup>1</sup> Josip Broz „Tito” (7 May 1892 [officially 25 May] – 4 May 1980), Yugoslavian dictator, secretary general of the Non-Aligned Movement. During the second world war he was one of the leader of the partisan movement. Between 1945 and 1963 he was the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, until 1980 the President of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia.

<sup>2</sup> About the relations: Péter Vukman, *Barátból ellenség - ellenségből barát?*

<sup>3</sup> Mátyás Rákosi (9 March 1892 – 5 February 1971), „Stalin's best Hungarian student”. Between 1945 and 1956 the General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, later the Hungarian Working People's. Between 1952 and 1953 the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary.

<sup>4</sup> Josif Visszarionovic „Stalin” (18 December 1878 – 5 March 1953) Soviet dictator. General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

<sup>5</sup> Communist Information Bureau, international communist organisation, that worked between 1947 and 1956. It worked completely under Soviet control.

<sup>6</sup> About the conflict: József Juhász, *A Kominform és Jugoszlávia.*

da campaigns launched against each other and a serious secret agent war started in the background.<sup>7</sup>

Both Belgrade and Budapest tried to establish a wide agent network in the other country. In the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security one can find substantial amount of paper about presumed agents who came to Hungary by the order of the Yugoslavian State Security (Uprava Državne Bezbednosti, henceforth UDB). In most of the cases, it is quite hard to ascertain, which one of them was actually an agent or informant because the documents from that period are mostly conceptual, and unfortunately the state service archive documents are not researchable in the post-Yugoslavian countries yet.

### Road to the trial

Aranka Urban was a double landowner: she had lands both in Yugoslavia and Hungary. Since early 1948, she regularly travelled through the border to uphold her estates, and occasionally, she also smuggled cigarettes, and later gold and gemstones.<sup>8</sup> In 1947 she met Perl Ipoly, a former partisan, who was disappointed in the Tito regime.

In the summer of '48, Perl asked Urban to take a letter to Ferenc Kiss<sup>9</sup>, a border patrol officer. Kiss and the woman met in spring '48, and a love affair evolved between them. Kiss used Urban as an *ad hoc* informant and she eventually became a courier between the two men. In September, Urban was caught on the border when she smuggled cigarettes and the Yugoslavian authorities arrested her. She was sentenced to ten months in prison. She served three months in Szabadka (Subotica, Serbia) and five months in Rezsőháza (Kričanin, Serbia) where she worked at the labour camp.

In her cell, a UDB officer, named Nikola Kludjelović, visited her, and he promised, that he would help Urban, but she had to reveal her contacts in Hungary. Urban mentioned Ferenc Kiss, the border patrol officer. Two days later another UDB officer visited her, Stevan Čurin, who recruited her as an UDB agent. Later, during an interrogation Urban stated the followings: "*I declared, that I'm willing to come to Hungary as a UDB agent with any task*".<sup>10</sup> Earlier, she always strictly denied that the UDB roped her in.

After Urbán became a UDB agent, Kludjelović and Čurin visited her several times in her home. She had a task to go back to Hungary, and get in touch with Ferenc Kiss. They obligated her to secrecy. In case if she couldn't get in touch with the Hungarian officer, she had to stay in Kisszállás and start to work. The Yugoslavian authorities instructed her that somebody would visit her there. She also had a blank registration form, which was false. Later in the trial of Urban, the Hungarian authorities used this form as a proof that the woman worked for the UDB.

Urbán escaped to Hungary on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1949,<sup>11</sup> and she met Ferenc Kiss. He gave a task to the women to go back to Yugoslavia and give a letter to Perl Ipoly. Urban fulfilled

<sup>7</sup> About the "agent-war" between Yugoslavia and Hungary: László Ritter, *Titkos háború Magyarországon és Jugoszlávia között*.

<sup>8</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 171.

<sup>9</sup> Ferenc Kiss Ferenc (1920 Péterréve – †?) Hungarian border patrol officer. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 13.

<sup>10</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 173.

<sup>11</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 243.

the work and later she visited Perl Ipoly three more times. She got hold of the UDB on every trip and she wrote reports and signed as "A-II".<sup>12</sup> From the latter statement of Radovan Luković we know that the UDB's plan was to rope in Kiss using Urban. From this statement we also know that the connection with Urbán was hold by Josip Jakubec „Boro”<sup>13</sup> UDB colonel and Milan Milenko<sup>14</sup> UDB captain.<sup>15</sup>

In November 1949, Urban was taken to Budapest from Kiskunhalas. In Budapest, the Military Counterintelligence recruited her, and she became a Hungarian agent too. Her task was to go to Yugoslavia and get in touch with Paravina Trivo, a KOS<sup>16</sup> officer in Zagreb.<sup>17</sup> Paravina is a key character in the Zagreb trial, because the first and second defendant was indicted based upon of his statement. In the followings, I will introduce three former KOS officer's story and I attempt to point out the connection between Aranka Urbán and the Zagreb trial.

Kolundia Bosko<sup>18</sup> KOS captain, Ante Rak<sup>19</sup> KOS lieutenant and Mrđenović Rade<sup>20</sup> KOS first lieutenant escaped to Hungary on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1948. Their goal was to travel through Hungary to the Soviet Union, but to accomplish this, first they had to prove to the

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<sup>12</sup> Idem. 20. p.

<sup>13</sup> Leader of the I<sup>st</sup> Subdivision of the UDB in Újvidék (Novi Sad). In 1943 he infiltrated into the Ustaša Movement. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903.

<sup>14</sup> Deputy leader of the I<sup>st</sup> Subdivision of the UDB in Vajdaság (Vojvodina). In 1950 he became the leader of the intelligence central in Szabadka (Subotica). ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903.

<sup>15</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Kontra Obavestajna Sluzba – Yugoslavian Military Counterintelligence.

<sup>17</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 243.

<sup>18</sup> Kolundia Bosko (5 January 1923, Doljni Lapac – †?). He got in touch with the illegal communist movement in 1941. Until May 1942 he was a member of the SKOJ (youth movement), between 1942-1943 he fought as a partisan. His father was killed by the chetniks in 1945. In 1948 he committed himself to the Cominform. After this, the Yugoslavian authorities arrested him. His plan was to escape to the Soviet Union through Hungary. On 17 November 1948 he crossed the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border, and later the Hungarian authorities roped him in. His alias was D-K/2. The Hungarian state Security sent him back to Yugoslavia with task. In a document, dated 18 August 1963 it stated that he worked as a professor in Budapest. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563.

<sup>19</sup> Ante Rak (2 February 1921, Dubrava – †?), Croatian. He got in touch with the illegal communist movement in 1942. In this year he fought as a partisan. In 1943 he joined to SKOJ and become a member of the Yugoslavian Communist Party. On 17 July 1948 in a fight he committed himself to the Cominform. After this, the Yugoslavian authorities arrested him, but later they released him. He met Mrđenović during his sentence. They planned to escape to the Soviet Union through Hungary. He crossed the border on 17 December 1948. The Hungarian authorities roped him in, his alias was D-R/5. Later he became a member of the Yugoslavian emigration in Hungary. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680.

<sup>20</sup> Rade Mrđenović (24 February 1925, Zut – †?), Croatian. He got in touch with the illegal communist movement in 1942. In November 1941, he joined SKOJ, in June 1942 he started to fight as a partisan. On 10 January 1943 he joined the Yugoslavian Communist Party. Until November 1948 he worked as a KOS. After the conflict evolved between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, he planned to escape to Hungary. On 17 December 1948, he crossed the border. The Hungarian authorities roped him in, his alias was D-M/2. He travelled to Yugoslavia with a task. He became the first defendant at the Zagreb spy trial. He was sentenced to death. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-862. [“D-M/2”].

Hungarian authorities that they were true communist. They could do it, if they accept a task and go back to Yugoslavia and rope in a KOS officer in Zagreb.<sup>21</sup> Kolundia and Mrdenović accepted to do so. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1949 the two former KOS officer started their travel to the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border through Szekszárd and Pécs, as newly recruited Hungarian agents. Four Hungarian officers travelled to the border with the two Yugoslavian. Kolundia and Mrdenović crossed the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border at Old-Eperjes on 24<sup>th</sup> March.<sup>22</sup> Their task was to collect information about the Yugoslav agents who work against Hungary, their names, networks, addresses.<sup>23</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> March they arrived back to Hungary. Their only success was that they roped in Stojan Nježić<sup>24</sup>, the party secretary of the artillery school of Zagreb. They gave him the task to gather information from the KOS school of Zagreb. Kolundia and Mrdenović also wrote a detailed report about their trip. The Hungarian authorities found some strange sign about this report. For example, they moved too easily through the border. In Zagreb, they went to the officer's school and knocked on the door, without fearing to be caught. According to the reports, they visited Kolundia's wife and the Hungarian state security find it strange, that the Yugoslavian authorities didn't arrest her.<sup>25</sup>

In the whole *“about the work of Kolundia and Mrdenović, the Hungarian authorities had extreme expectations both in quality and in temporal way. The information they brought was negligible”*.<sup>26</sup>

The Hungarian state security wanted to send the two officers to Yugoslavia with a task again, but they refused to do so, but they suggested Ante Rak instead of themselves. Rak accepted the task to escape back to Yugoslavia and get in touch with Stojan Nježić, the new informant of the ÁVH in Zagreb. Rak had to take with him a letter and bring back the information that Nježić would send. He crossed the Hungarian-Yugoslav border on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1949 at Torjanc (Torjanci, Croatia). He went to the house of Mrdenović's brother and asked him to fulfil his mission because Rak was afraid of to be get caught. The brother travelled to Zagreb on 26<sup>th</sup> April and got in touch with Nježić. After he completed the task, he travelled back to Rak, who arrived back to Hungary on 29<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>27</sup> Nježić sent information about the military school of Zagreb. After Rak completed the task, he came back to Hungary, but he refused to go again to Yugoslavia.<sup>28</sup>

In summer of 1949, Stojan Nježić roped in two officers, Milan Rudić major general from Belgrade and Trivo Paravina KOS first lieutenant from Zagreb. After four month of work, Nježić quitted from the network.<sup>29</sup> After his disappearance, the Hungarian state security had to find out, how to continue the correspondence with the two newly roped-in officers, so they sent Ivan Matić political emigrant to Milan Rudić and Aranka Urbán to Trivo Paravina.

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<sup>21</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680. [“D-K/2”] 7.

<sup>22</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680. 5.

<sup>23</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-680. p.

<sup>24</sup> The life of Stojan Nježić is unknown until this point.

<sup>25</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 9-23.

<sup>26</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 8.

<sup>27</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 4.

<sup>28</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-563. 4.

<sup>29</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 296.



On 4<sup>th</sup> November 1949, the Hungarian state security sent Urbán to Paravina Trivo as a courier. With this action the Hungarian authorities sent to Zagreb a person, who was earlier roped in by the UDB. Until December 1950, she had met Paravina five times. Paravina told Urbán, that the information he sent to Hungary was false. He also told her that the whole operation was overseen by the Yugoslavian state security because the Rajk-trial was hold in Hungary at the same time. In December 1949, Urbán took a radio to Paravina. On this trip of Urban, Milan Milanko, Josip Jakubec „Boro” and Zmajić KOS officers spent one or two days with the woman. The Hungarian state security asked Paravina, what he knew about the Yugoslavian army. When she arrived to Szabadka, she always called her UDB contacts. According to Urban’s statement, in December 1950, her relationship with the UDB came to an end. After this date, the Yugoslavian state security never visited her again in Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

For the Hungarian state security it was necessary to prove the connection between Urbán and Paravina. The UDB started to investigate after Paravina, because Urbán reported to the UDB that she took information from Paravina. After the Yugoslavian state security interrogated Paravina, he spoke about Mrđenović. This is how Mrđenović became the first defendant at the Zagreb trial.<sup>31</sup>

### The Zagreb trial

On 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1950, Rade Mrđenović and Antun Kopic political emigrant went to Yugoslavia the third time to rope in counter-Titoist officers. Before their trip, Trivo Paravina and Stojan Nježić gave detailed information about Mrđenović to the UDB, so the Yugoslavian state security kept under continuous observation his friends and relatives. When Mrđenović and Kopic wanted to visit one of the relative of Mrđenović, the Yugoslavian authorities arrested them. According to the testifies, the Yugoslavian agents wanted to hide at the houses of Ignac Balikić and Tadia Prikić, but the two civilian reported it to the Yugoslavian authorities. When the military officers tried to check the identification of Kopic, he through a grenade among them, and four people were wounded.<sup>32</sup>

The proof against the agents were their weapons and the information Paravina gave to the authorities. The charge against the first defendant, Mrđenović were the followings: “*On 17<sup>th</sup> December, 1948 he escaped to Hungary [...] He got tasks from the Hungarian state security to work against the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia [...] He delivered military and state secrets. [...] According to his task, he had to come to Yugoslavia, set up a spy network, gave a radio to the network’s leader.*”<sup>33</sup>

The second defendant was Stojan Nježić. According to the Hungarian documents, the Yugoslavs didn’t charge Major General Milan Rudić because “*it wouldn’t have been political*”.<sup>34</sup> The charge against Nježić was that he fulfilled the tasks that was given to Paravina and Rudić.

The third defendant was Antun Kopic, who was in Yugoslavia three times with task. He was charged with spying and with the help he gave to Mrđenović. The fourth and fifth de-

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<sup>30</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.4. K-903. 213.

<sup>31</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 299.

<sup>32</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 271.

<sup>33</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 300.

<sup>34</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 300.

defendant were Júlia Hatvalic and Stojan Drača Yugoslavian civilians.<sup>35</sup> The Hungarian agents were hidden in their houses. Moreover, Stojan Drača was a relative of Mrđenović.<sup>36</sup>

The trial got big publicity, the Yugoslav radio reported from the trial several times a day. By contrast, during our research we didn't find a single report in the Hungarian press. However, the *Associated Press* reported from the trial and lot of article appeared about it in the newspapers in the United States.

In the „Trial of Hungarian spies” the prosecutor was lieutenant colonel Ahmed Hajrović, the defence attorney was major Tlaker. The chairman of the court was Major Djuro Polak. In the indictment the prosecutor, Ahmed Hajrović said that the Zagreb trial was fit in with the other trials was held in Nis, Skopje, Belgrade and Subotica.<sup>37</sup> These trials proof that the socialist countries want to destroy the Tito regime. Other goal of the trial was to respond to the Rajk trial in Hungary.<sup>38</sup> Hajrović said: *“the Hungarian leaders can't hide their aggressive and non-peaceful policy in front of the whole world and our people by holding an untrue and conceptual Rajk-type trials”*.<sup>39</sup>

The Rajk trial was a counter-Tito show trial, the real defendant was Tito. At the Zagreb trial, the prosecutor charged not only the former KOS officers, but the Hungarian leader, Rákosi too: *“The Hungarian authorities are those, who threat the independence and freedom of the Yugoslavian people. The fact that they do it because of the Soviet suggestions don't reduce their responsibility in front of the world, the history and their own people. The Hungarian people are enslaved and the policy of Rákosi took their freedom and independence.”*<sup>40</sup>

The defendants didn't deny their guiltiness during the trial. On the first day the court interrogated Mrđenović and Nježić, on the second day (27<sup>th</sup> March) Anton Kopic. Kopic stated that after he escaped to Hungary he lived in a safe-house where the leaders of the Yugoslavian political emigrations interrogated him. They gave him tasks. In Budapest a lot of interrogation was leaded by Žarko Ljubojev. Gojko Trbović and Milutin Velimir<sup>41</sup> evaluated the quality of the information that Kopic brought from Yugoslavia.<sup>42</sup> Because the names of the Yugoslavian emigrant leaders appeared during the trial, we have reason to think that the prosecutor wanted to charge the political emigrants in Hungary in a transferred way.

On the third day, 28<sup>th</sup> March, the prosecutor held his final speech. According to Hajrović, the trial proved that Mrđenović and Kopic were agents of the Hungarian state security services, and they accomplished various missions for them. The trial also proved that Nježić collected information for the Hungarian authorities between 4<sup>th</sup> May 1949 and 1<sup>st</sup> January 1950. The two civilians, Hatvalic and Drača hid the agents and they know that the spies work for the Hungarian authorities. On 29<sup>th</sup> March at 17.00 the judgement was de-

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<sup>35</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 300.

<sup>36</sup> *The Evening Sun*, Baltimore, 29 March 1951. 2.

<sup>37</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 280.

<sup>38</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 156.

<sup>39</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 285.

<sup>40</sup> ÁBTL 3.2.5. O-8-004. 285.

<sup>41</sup> The three persons were the collective leadership of the Yugoslavian emigration in Hungary between 8 June 1949 and 13-14 May 1950. Vukman Péter: *„Harcban Tito és Rankovics klikkje ellen.”* 271.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 276.

livered. Mrđenović was sentenced to death by firing squad. Antun Kopic̄ was sentenced to twenty,<sup>43</sup> Nježić to fifteen, Stojan Drača to four, Júlia Hatvalic to one and a half years. In the archival documents it is mentioned that Trivo Paravina was executed after the trial, but we cannot prove this statement from other sources yet.<sup>44</sup>

### The trial of Aranka Urbán

The Hungarian state security started an investigation of Aranka Urbán in May 1951. In the autumn of 1951, the authorities roped in Zoltán Farkas<sup>45</sup>, the common-law husband of her. His task was to collect information about Urbán.<sup>46</sup> He was roped in by ideological basis, but he proved to be not a trustable person for the security services. In February 1954, he was arrested, because he didn't tell the authorities that he knew that Urban worked for the Yugoslavs. Furthermore, he told Urban that his task was to investigate after her.<sup>47</sup> Urbán was arrested on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1953.<sup>48</sup> She was interrogated by János Kujalek twenty-eight times between 27<sup>th</sup> November and 11<sup>th</sup> December 1953. From the documents we can follow through her state of mind, because her cellmate was an agent and she reported about her. The interrogations had a bad impact on Urban's mood.<sup>49</sup> Kujalek was a tough and insensitive interrogator, Urban had fear of dying, she couldn't sleep and she had some serious nervous breakdowns, she cried hysterically. Kujalek once told stories to her about the procedure of the hanging. On the other hand, according to Urbán, Kujalek was simple-minded, unexperienced and sadistic. On a report, somebody wrote that "*Comrade Kujalek! Review your own technic, I believe, that in this period of the interrogation, it's pointless to stretch the strings.*"<sup>50</sup> Even in light of the archival documents it is hard to reconstruct what Urbán did exactly, and what were those things that she confessed, if any, because of the way she was interrogated.

On 11<sup>th</sup> June 1954, Urbán's closed trial was held on the military court of Budapest. According to the charge: "*Urbán was spying for the Yugoslavs between September 1949 and December 1950. Because of her actions, the Zagreb trial was held in Zagreb and the UDB arrested officers and civilians and sentenced them.*"<sup>51</sup> The evidence, which meant to proven her association with UDB, against her were the following: the blanc registration form, which she got from the Yugoslavs, a Doxa watch, which she got as a present from the

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<sup>43</sup> In other place there is 25 years. Vukman Péter: „*Harcban Tito és Rankovics klikkje ellen.*” 269.

<sup>44</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 204.

<sup>45</sup> Zoltán Győző Farkas (Zalaszántó, 31 January 1926 – ?). In 1952 he became member of the Hungarian Working People's Party. The Hungarian Military Court sentenced him to twelve years in prison. On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1957, the Supreme Court of Hungary released his sentence. His further life is unknown. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116704.

<sup>46</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116704. 4.

<sup>47</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116704. 4.

<sup>48</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 16.

<sup>49</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 200.

<sup>50</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 203.

<sup>51</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 205.

Yugoslav state security. Also, Tibor Garai,<sup>52</sup> Lajosné Bodoglári,<sup>53</sup> Zoltán Farkas and Ferencné Stocker<sup>54</sup> testified against her.<sup>55</sup>

The court found Urbán guilty in spying and sentenced her to death by hanging as the main punishment and complete confiscation of property as side-punishment.<sup>56</sup> On 31<sup>st</sup> July the Presidential Council changed her punishment from capital punishment to sentence to life. One year later, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1954 the Presidential Council released the remaining years. Unfortunately, the archival documents do not enable us to reconstruct the further life of Aranka Urbán.

### Summary

Finally, I would like to raise some issue. From the archival papers we can reconstruct the complete story about the Zagreb trial and the role of Aranka Urbán in it. However, if we take a closer look to the events, there are more questions than answers. We don't know if Aranka Urbán really committed the crimes that she was sentenced for because her final statement was the result of a long term interrogation. If we assume that she worked as a UDB spy, the question also arises that maybe Paravina Trivo was an UDB agent from the beginning and the whole action was just a provocation against Hungary. In this way Mrđenović and Nježić weren't get caught because of her and the charge against Urban was not true. We can't be sure about the story of the three KOS officers neither. There is a possibility that they arrived to Hungary as Yugoslav agents. It is possible that Mrđenović was sacrificed for sake of the trial. Furthermore, we can't find any paper that the judgement was executed. We hope that our further research will give answers for these questions.

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<sup>52</sup> Tibor Garai (Palánka, 1913 – ?).

<sup>53</sup> Lajosné Bodoglári, (born Neorsics Irén, Kishegyes, 1925 – ?). She was cousin of Aranka Urbán. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1.

<sup>54</sup> Ferencné Stocker (born Teréz Neorsics, Subotica, 6 September 1924 – ?). She was a cousin of Aranka Urbán. ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1.

<sup>55</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701/1. 243.

<sup>56</sup> ÁBTL 3.1.9. V-116701. 217.

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### **Parodies de procès de Yougoslavie – L’histoire du procès d’un espion de Zagreb et son arrière-plan**

A l’époque de la guerre froide, après que le système bipolaire a commencé à se développer, le conflit entre Josip Broz Tito et Joseph Staline a causé une rupture dans le bloc monolithique des États satellites est-européens et de l’Union soviétique. Le 28 juin 1948, les pays socialistes ont « excommunié » la Yougoslavie du Kominform. Mátyás Rákosi, « le meilleur élève hongrois de Staline » était l’un des premiers leaders communistes qui a offensé la Yougoslavie de Tito : au début, seulement par des mots, mais le conflit entre le leader hongrois et le leader yougoslave s’est aggravé rapidement en une situation quasi-guerre. Les incidents frontaliers sont devenus quotidiens et les services secrets des deux États ont fait une guerre réelle en arrière-plan. Un chapitre oublié de cette guerre des espions était le procès d’espion à Zagreb qui a eu lieu entre le 26 et le 28 mars 1951. Le premier accusé était un ancien officier du KOS, Rade Mrđenovic, qui avait déserté de l’armée yougoslave et avait fui en Hongrie avec deux autres officiers. Mais plus tard, il a retourné en Yougoslavie avec une mission complotée : les autorités yougoslaves l’ont capturé. Le procès a eu cinq accusés et tous ont été déclarés coupables avec Mrđenovic, condamné à mort.

Trois mois plus tard, l’Autorité de protection de l’État hongrois (ÁVH) a commencé à examiner l’une de ses anciennes agentes, Aranka Urbán qui semblait être une agente double. En 1954, trois ans après le procès, les examens de l’ÁVH ont découvert une relation plus profonde entre Urbán, le procès de Zagreb et l’officier du KOS yougoslave. Pendant l’auto-enquête à l’intérieur de l’ÁVH, il s’est aussi révélé que la police secrète hongroise a fait beaucoup de fautes. Dans ma communication, je voudrais présenter brièvement le procès d’espion et le réseau des agents doubles. Je voudrais aussi parler des enquêtes intérieures de l’ÁVH et de leurs résultats.



## *Une Méditerranée élargie\**

**SALVATORE BONO**  
PRESIDENT HONORAIRE DE  
LA SIHMED

Au temps du Partenariat euro-méditerranéen, entre 1995 et 2005 à peu près, les discours sur la Méditerranée se sont multipliés comme jamais auparavant, en une prolifération quasi 'pathologique'. Predrag Matvejevic dans son *Bréviaire méditerranéen* a écrit que « le discours sur la Méditerranée a pâti de la faconde méditerranéenne » ; de même, pour le sociologue italien Franco Cassano, la Méditerranée a été le « royaume des congrès, des expositions, des festivals et des salutations de présidents ». M. Cassano se référerait à l'Italie, mais même les Forums annuels de la société civile, promus par le Partenariat euro-méditerranéen (au total, une dizaine dans différents pays) pouvaient donner l'impression de Festivals mal organisés, sans programme préalable, avec des discours improvisés, sans publication d'*Actes* (après le premier et le deuxième Forum), et surtout sans aucune conséquence. Dans ce cadre-là et dans l'ensemble des occasions semblables, trop de personnes parlaient en effet de la Méditerranée sans faire l'effort de préciser au préalable la nature de l'objet considéré, comme si sa définition était évidente et partagée par tous.

Parfois, heureusement, quelqu'un posait des questions et faisait état de réserves. Par exemple : quelles limites assigner à l'espace méditerranéen ? Un autre affirmait : « toute étude ayant trait à la Méditerranée ne peut pas esquiver la question de sa démarcation » ; un troisième reconnaissait : « dire ce qu'est la Méditerranée est toujours risqué ». Mais presque personne ne se préoccupait de trouver des réponses claires, ou alors n'osait en donner.

Après avoir écouté tant de discours, j'estime indispensable de préciser des termes et des concepts. Mieux vaut avoir des doutes ou des alternatives claires plutôt que des convictions fermes mais vagues.

Des géographes ont fait observer que sur notre terre il y a d'autres mers 'entourées de terres' mais que notre mer est la Méditerranée par antonomase, par excellence ; c'est ce qu'affirme le géographe français Jacques Bethemont dans sa *Géographie de la Méditerranée* (2000) : « La Méditerranée est la Méditerranée, il n'y a qu'une Méditerranée ». Pourtant, selon Fernand Braudel, le grand historien dont nous reprendrons bien d'autres suggestions, « La grande mer intérieure n'est pas une mer, mais une large succession de plaines liquides communiquant entre elles par des portes plus ou moins larges ». Une question majeure se pose, par exemple, à propos de la mer Noire, que certains géographes considèrent comme faisant partie intégrante de la Méditerranée, et d'autres non. Selon la définition retenue, la Méditerranée s'étendrait sur presque 3 millions de km<sup>2</sup>, ou sur

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\* Conférence présentée le 6 octobre 2017 à Ajaccio lors de la session du Comité directeur de la SIHMED.

2 500 000 (dans plusieurs répertoires encyclopédiques et autres instruments de consultation on trouve l'une ou l'autre surface, sans explications).

Pour ma part, je préfère inclure la mer Noire, pour des raisons géographiques, au-delà des raisons historiques qui les renforcent : la vie même de la Méditerranée dépend de la mer Noire qui reçoit les eaux de grands fleuves, le Danube et les fleuves russo-ukrainiens, et apporte à la Méditerranée un courant d'eaux froides ; cela permet de compenser la forte évaporation méditerranéenne, car les eaux du Nil, du Rhône, du Po et autres n'y suffiraient pas ; sans la mer Noire il n'y aurait pas de Méditerranée.

Au-delà de la mer proprement dite, le terme Méditerranée dans son acception la plus commune désigne aussi la région terrestre située tout autour du périmètre côtier, région directement influencée par l'étendue marine : on pourrait la désigner comme la Méditerranée climatique ou le bassin méditerranéen. Les limites de ce territoire géographique sont discutées : vers le nord on peut faire référence à la présence des oliviers, vers le sud à la présence de grandes palmeraies, début du désert. Mais aucun choix n'est dépourvu de contradiction, et d'autres chercheurs se réfèrent plus volontiers à la culture de la vigne : dans ce cas, la Méditerranée terrestre s'élargit considérablement.

Matvejevic, homme de lettres plutôt géographe que historien, emploie des mots très suggestifs :

« Ses frontières ne sont inscrites ni dans l'espace ni dans le temps. Nous ne voyons pas comment les déterminer, ni en fonction de quoi. Elles ne sont ni historiques, ni ethniques, ni nationales, ni étatiques : cercle de craie qui sans cesse se trace et s'efface, que vagues et vents, œuvres et inspiration élargissent ou restreignent. »

Écoutons aussi d'autres mots, ceux du géographe Bethemont déjà cité :

« De toute évidence, la définition de l'espace méditerranéen implique souplesse et même subjectivité : telle région peut être totalement intégrée à l'espace méditerranéen, telle autre région ou tel pays ne le sera que dans une telle ou telle perspective économique, sociale ou politique. »

Passons donc directement à l'histoire et à la politique, puisque – j'anticipe sur ma réflexion – la Méditerranée élargie, c'est la Méditerranée de l'histoire, de Braudel (je vous lirai plusieurs citations de lui). Cette Méditerranée de l'histoire pourrait ouvrir des perspectives politiques, faciliter le passage du discours sur une Méditerranée au passé millénaire à celui sur une Méditerranée à venir. Il serait illusoire d'imaginer l'avènement de celle-ci dans un futur proche mais on peut le souhaiter, et œuvrer à sa construction.

Depuis qu'est apparue l'idée de la Méditerranée, elle a été conçue comme l'ensemble des pays ou États riverains de la grande mer intérieure ; cela semble clair, simple, indiscutable. Or l'histoire de l'idée de la Méditerranée commence il y a à peine deux siècles, l'« invention » de la Méditerranée – comme Madame Anne Ruel l'a appelée – remonte à moins de cent cinquante ans : elle est donc toute récente si on la compare à l'histoire de la Méditerranée depuis le début de la présence de communautés humaines dans cette région. (L'idée trouve son origine avec le grand Corse, Napoléon, et son expédition d'Égypte : la Méditerranée redevient alors un grand champ d'affrontement dans l'histoire mondiale,



comme deux ou trois siècles auparavant. Le monde arabo-islamique, en décadence, n'est plus personnifié par le Grand Turc, et ne menace plus l'Europe : les États européens revendiquent à nouveau leur contrôle et leur hégémonie sur la grande mer, vue désormais comme un 'ensemble'.)

Un disciple du philosophe Saint-Simon, Michel Chevalier (1806-1879), débordant comme son maître d'enthousiasme et de foi dans un progrès rationnel et universel de l'humanité, proposa le projet d'un *Système de la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1832) mais les bonnes intentions du jeune auteur étaient dépassés : la France de la Restauration avait déjà détruit le nid de pirates barbaresques en occupant Alger en juillet 1830, qui est le début du colonialisme européen en Méditerranée. (Juste après cette occupation, le philosophe allemand Hegel, dans sa *Philosophie de l'histoire*, prophétisait que l'Afrique du Nord « devrait être liée à l'Europe et le sera ».)

L'histoire marchait désormais vers une direction, on le sait : les rives méridionales et orientales de la grande mer intérieure – sauf la Turquie anatolienne – seront assujetties à l'une ou l'autre puissance européenne, à divers titres mais dans le même cadre idéologique et politique ; on en connaît les étapes entre le XIX<sup>e</sup> et le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, de l'Algérie aux pays arabes du Levant, anciennes provinces de l'Empire ottoman.

Vers la fin du siècle du colonialisme, le XIX<sup>e</sup>, le géographe Élisée Reclus dans sa *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* (Paris, 1887) 'invente' la Méditerranée : il ne considère plus la Méditerranée comme une simple réalité géographique, mais lui donne explicitement et définitivement la reconnaissance de « sa prééminence sur toutes les autres mers », en tant que lieu où se sont affirmées et rencontrées les civilisations qui ont engendré directement la civilisation européenne. La Méditerranée est donc 'consacrée' comme le berceau des civilisations et « devient une valeur ». Avant Reclus, un prêtre d'Ombrie, Giuseppe Cernicchi, presque inconnu de nos jours, publiait un livre dédié au pape Léon XIII – j'en ai récemment dirigé une réédition – au titre suggestif *Il bacino del Mediterraneo considerato nei suoi rapporti con la civiltà* (Perugia, 1882) où il exalte lui aussi la Méditerranée mais sans aucune revendication nationale, en soulignant, entre autres, que la Mer intérieure « réunit, au lieu de les séparer, toutes les grandes régions les unes aux autres ».

A partir des deux dernières décennies du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le discours sur la Méditerranée se renforce car les îles et les pays de la rive sud sont atteints par les visées expansionnistes concurrentielles des puissances européennes : France, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie. L'idée d'une Méditerranée unitaire – à l'époque on parlait d'une 'unité méditerranéenne' – est donc l'idée coloniale d'une 'Méditerranée européenne', qui en effet se réalise largement pendant les décennies suivantes. La Méditerranée est exaltée et mythifiée en tant que 'berceau' de la civilisation – au singulier, car on parle d'une seule civilisation – gréco-romaine, et en tant que chrétienne, latine et germanique aussi. Les 'autres' – et ceux-ci sont tout d'abord les Arabes – sont des 'barbares' qui détruisent. À propos de ces thèses, on pourrait composer une riche anthologie, surtout d'auteurs italiens, français, espagnols. Quant aux autres Européens qui s'intéressent à ces questions, leurs affirmations vont dans le même sens.

Deux auteurs allemands, dans un livre de 1936, partageaient la foi dans une civilisation méditerranéenne (c'est-à-dire européenne), qui assimilerait les 'autres' ; je cite, dans la traduction française, quelques lignes de l'ouvrage *Das Mittelmeerraum* de Hans Hummel et Wulf Siewert :

« Ce ne peut plus être qu'une question de temps : les autres cellules islamiques des bords de la Méditerranée, précisément à cause de leurs efforts nationalistes, qui les éloignent du panislamisme, s'associeront au moins en gros à cette volonté de civilisation méditerranéenne. »

Heureusement, il y a eu, même à cette époque, quelques voix dissidentes, appelant à reconnaître la dignité et les droits des 'autres' ; je rappelle Gabriel Audisio, d'origine italienne, et Albert Camus, qui vivait alors dans l'Algérie française.

L'idéologie euro-centrée de la civilisation ne mentionne pas un choc de civilisations, mais un primat, la survivance, l'unicité d'une seule civilisation digne de ce nom, la civilisation européenne. Cette conviction a été diffusée d'une façon si efficace qu'elle perdue chez beaucoup de monde dans nos pays. Dans un recueil de contributions sous le titre *Idéaux de la Méditerranée* (1997), le médiéviste renommé Georges Duby, qui l'a dirigé, affirme encore que la civilisation méditerranéenne a subi deux chocs : d'abord, celui des Barbares qui « apportèrent une autre culture, d'autres valeurs, et surtout, sans le vouloir, par bêtise, détruisirent, dégradèrent », puis, le choc de l'Islam « beaucoup plus brutal ». Cette vision est commune à la majorité des contributeurs du livre. Si on est optimiste, on peut qualifier ces positions de résiduelles, mais l'examen de discours publics contemporains montre que subsiste la trace de cette conception séculaire.

Revenons maintenant à la Méditerranée constituée par les pays riverains et regardons les diverses *Histoires* de la Méditerranée – elles sont peu nombreuses si on les compare aux histoires de l'Europe ou d'un seul pays européen parmi les majeurs. Chacune de ces histoires traite le thème selon le choix de l'auteur ou des auteurs en donnant plus ou moins d'espace à chaque thème et à chaque sujet particulier. Examinons la plus méditerranéenne des histoires de la Méditerranée, celle de Fernand Braudel. Au départ, il prend en compte le milieu, c'est même l'un des traits de sa vision. Eh bien, voyons le titre de certains paragraphes : *La grandeur turque : de l'Asie mineure aux Balkans* ; *Les Turcs dans les plaines de l'est balkanique*, et ainsi de suite. Si on s'arrête sur certains événements cités, on peut même rester perplexe : ainsi, il consacre plus de pages aux batailles de Mühlberg, en Saxe, et de Saint-Quentin, dans la France du Nord, qu'à celle de Lépante ! Mais quittons ces jeux arithmétiques, et venons-en aux réflexions explicites et directes, le chapitre III, sur *Les confins ou la plus grande Méditerranée* où Braudel semble exprimer des hésitations. Je cite :

« Prétendre qu'une certaine Méditerranée *globale* intéresse aussi bien, au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Açores ou les rivages du Nouveau Monde que la Mer Rouge ou le golfe Persique, aussi bien la Baltique que la boucle du Niger, c'est la voir comme un espace-mouvement trop extensible. »

Il revient aux limites géographiques traditionnelles, rappelées au début : l'olivier, les palmeraies, mais tout de suite il amorce un mouvement de repli, ce qu'on lit dans la page suivante :

« Or, selon les exigences de l'histoire, la Méditerranée ne peut être qu'une zone épaisse, prolongée régulièrement au-delà de ses rivages et dans toutes les directions à la fois [...] foyer lumineux dont l'éclairage ne cesserait de se dégrader, sans que

l'on puisse marquer sur une ligne dessinée une fois pour toutes le partage entre l'ombre et la lumière. »

Plus loin, il nous propose une autre réponse :

« La Méditerranée (et la Plus Grande Méditerranée qui l'accompagne) est telle que la font les hommes. La roue de leur destin fixe le sien, élargit ou rétrécit son domaine. »

Il l'explique et développe ainsi :

« Ces circulations d'hommes, de biens ou tangibles, ou immatériels, dessinent autour de la Méditerranée des frontières successives, des auréoles. C'est de cent frontières qu'il faut parler à la fois : celles-ci à la mesure de la politique, ces autres de l'économie ou de la civilisation. »

Aussitôt il pose des questions nouvelles, l'une après l'autre, sans apporter de réponse ; sans le dire, il avoue une incertitude ; néanmoins, il exprime avec fermeté un nouveau point d'arrivée :

« Si l'on ne met pas en cause ce large espace de vie diffusée, cette Plus Grande Méditerranée, il sera souvent malaisé de saisir l'histoire de la mer Intérieure. »

On pourrait dire que Braudel cherchait l'histoire d'une mer et qu'il a rencontré l'histoire du monde méditerranéen. Mais pourquoi cette analyse si longue ? Le titre de son livre l'annonce pourtant clairement : *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'âge de Philippe II*. Il ne s'agit pas d'une expression rhétorique ; mais lui-même a écrit :

« Étudier cet ensemble vivant, largement étendu dans l'espace, tel est l'objet de ce livre auquel, non sans réflexion, nous avons donné pour titre : la Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen. Querelles des mots ? Non, programme raisonné. »

L'avantage n'est certes pas de simplifier la tâche, en mieux orientant l'enquête, de laisser aux problèmes leur ampleur et leur vraie physionomie. A la Méditerranée des historiens, étriquée, calquée sur celle des géographes, bien barricadée du côté des terres, nous croyons qu'il faut substituer cette Méditerranée largement ouverte, telle qu'elle a été respirant sur le vaste monde. C'est même souvent en s'éloignant de la mer sur ces frontières variables poussées très loin vers l'intérieur des terres que l'histoire d'ensemble de la Méditerranée se révèle le mieux à l'observation. » (1949, p. 141)

Lorsque que, en 1953, les Italiens ont fait à l'historien alsacien l'honneur de la première traduction de cette œuvre – une superbe réalisation du point de vue éditorial, deux volumes illustrés et reliés – ils en ont changé le titre qui est devenu *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II*. Pour les Italiens, la référence à un monde méditerranéen n'était

pas nécessaire : pour eux, comme pour d'autres peuples de la grande mer intérieure, orgueilleux et jaloux, leur *Méditerranée* est déjà un monde, qui appartient à eux seuls.

Le titre de l'édition italienne, que nous avons critiqué, nous donne par ailleurs une clef décisive pour définir ce monde méditerranéen du titre braudelien. Le mot est *Civiltà* (civilisations, au pluriels comme le terme *imperi* qui suit). L'histoire du monde méditerranéen peut être justement conçue comme une histoire des civilisations et des cultures dans l'aire méditerranéenne depuis les origines les plus lointaines jusqu'à nos jours. De quelles civilisations s'agit-il ?

Une histoire à part entière ne peut ni choisir, ni privilégier. On peut utiliser la référence habituelle aux trois religions monothéistes qui caractérisent chacune une civilisation, des pays et des communautés. Mais l'histoire de la Méditerranée, de ses civilisations – et de leurs racines les plus lointaines – commence bien avant la révélation du Dieu unique. Par ailleurs, des éléments composant toutes ces civilisations sont arrivés de plus loin et ont été intégrées dans les civilisations méditerranéennes ; ils sont venus d'Afrique noire, par l'intermédiaire de l'Égypte pharaonique, ou d'Asie centrale ou de la région proche de la Mer Noire, donc de la Méditerranée. (Notre référence aux religions ne doit pas nous faire oublier le fait que dans la réalité présente du 'monde méditerranéen' – surtout de la partie européenne – existent des aspects et des valeurs indépendants d'une quelconque réalité transcendante par rapport à la présence et à l'histoire de l'humanité.)

Si les civilisations, leurs origines et leurs héritages, leurs échanges, hybridations, contaminations, 'corruptions' (de collègues ont appelé la Méditerranée *the corrupting sea*), leurs confrontations militaires et politiques, si tout cela était l'histoire du monde méditerranéen que Braudel nous a montrée, quel est donc son espace ? Quelle serait donc cette Méditerranée élargie ? Pour y arriver à le proposer, posons-nous encore quelques questions.

Quel sens cette histoire de la Méditerranée, en tant qu'histoire des civilisations de la Méditerranée, pourrait-elle avoir si on prenait en compte, par exemple, la Phénicie antique ou l'Égypte des pharaons mais non la Mésopotamie des Sumériens et des Babyloniens ? César et Arminius ne font-ils pas partie de la même histoire que Théodoric, ainsi que les évêques Saint Ambroise, arrivé à Milan en venant de Trèves, et le berbère algérien Saint Augustin ? On pourrait donner des centaines d'exemples de ce genre. Comment peut-on concevoir la composante arabo-islamique de notre histoire en excluant la péninsule d'où sont venues ces populations, englober les Omeyades de Syrie mais non le califat de Bagdad, la ville des *Mille et Une Nuits* ? Comment considérer que la Jordanie est méditerranéenne mais pas l'Iraq ? L'empire de Charlemagne ne s'étendait pas du nord de l'Allemagne jusqu'à la Provence, plus tard le Saint Empire romain-germanique des Hohenstaufen n'atteignait pas la Sicile, déjà arabo-musulmane, ainsi qu'on on pourrait définir Frédéric II *stupor mundi*, aussi comme l'empereur d'un monde méditerranéen ? Combien d'États européens n'ont-ils pas aussi été méditerranéens, du royaume de Hongrie à l'empire des Habsbourg, de la Macédoine d'Alexandre à la Bulgarie d'avant la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale ? Peut-on dire que le Portugal est méditerranéen, mais pas la Serbie actuelle ?

Si on veut tracer une histoire de la pensée philosophique de l'Europe, peut-on ignorer Averroès et les traducteurs arabes de Tolède ainsi que la *Ethica more geometrico demonstrata* du juif Baruch Spinoza exilé à Amsterdam ou la philosophie d'Immanuel Kant se promenant par les rues de Königsberg, à l'extrémité de la Prusse orientale ?

Quelle est donc cette Méditerranée élargie ou pour mieux dire ce monde méditerranéen de Braudel ? Toute l'Europe, de Lampedusa à la mer Arctique – en tout cas en étant l'Europe institutionnelle une réalité politique unitaire – après Israël et la Turquie, deux États étroitement liés à l'Europe par leur histoire, et méditerranéens de plein droit, et enfin les pays arabes, de leur péninsule originaire jusqu'à l'Atlantique ; seulement dans ce cercle des pays on peut, à mon avis, considérer l'histoire des civilisations du monde méditerranéen.

Je suis conscient par ailleurs que cet élargissement du monde méditerranéen peut susciter perplexités et objections ; nous pourrions bientôt échanger à ce sujet. Certes la mer Méditerranée et la région géographique méditerranéenne possèdent une séduction puissante pour ceux qui l'habitent et pour ceux qui y viennent en vacances, pour tous ceux qui ressentent la fascination de la nature, de la poésie, de la littérature et de toutes les expressions d'art que la Méditerranée géographique a inspirées, fascination qu'elle conserve en grande partie.

Si quelqu'un juge trop audacieux d'agrandir ainsi une Méditerranée géographique ou géopolitique traditionnellement restreinte, ajoutons que certains chercheurs sont arrivés eux aussi à élargir la Méditerranée traditionnelle.

Par exemple, un auteur faisant autorité en géopolitique, Yves Lacoste, dans *Géopolitique de la Méditerranée* (2006), écrit à la fin d'une longue introduction intitulée 'La mer Méditerranée et le grand ensemble géopolitique méditerranéen' :

« Mais on peut aussi former un ensemble en prenant non seulement en compte les États qui sont autour de la mer Méditerranée, mais aussi des États et des forces qui, sans être riverains et malgré la distance, ont une grande importance dans des situations géopolitiques situées en bordure de cette étendue marine [...] Il est utile pour y voir plus clair d'étendre à plus de 7000 km la dimension d'un grand ensemble géopolitique méditerranéen. »

Il ne s'agit en aucun cas de nier cette Méditerranée 'région', de l'oublier, de ne plus pouvoir partager avec d'autres son identité spécifique. Cela vaut comme pour tout cercle identitaire que chacun de nous partage avec d'autres à divers degrés, chacun, individu ou groupe, communauté ou peuple, conservant son appartenance à une religion, une foi, une culture, une 'patrie' locale, une histoire évidemment aussi, de dimensions plus restreintes. Mais l'histoire nous a aussi montré, et elle peut nous montrer encore plus clairement, que nous partageons des liens historiques de plus longue durée et plus forts à l'échelle des trois continents (Europe, Afrique, Asie), ce qui est bien plus large que le cercle géographique mentionné au début. Enfin, ce que nous appelons ici le monde méditerranéen, n'est à son tour qu'une partie d'un monde géographique et humain bien plus grand.

Il doit être clair aussi que l'engagement pour une histoire de la Méditerranée élargie ou du monde méditerranéen dont nous a parlé Braudel n'exclut pas les histoires à une autre échelle ou avec d'autres approches. On continuera à faire de la micro-histoire et de l'histoire nationale, d'une ville ou d'une région, de la région méditerranéenne de jadis, de l'époque de corsaires ou des rivalités coloniales des puissances européennes, riveraines ou non ; on fera de l'histoire sur des sujets plus spécifiques et restreints sans lesquels d'ailleurs on ne pourrait opérer de synthèses plus larges, au niveau du monde méditerranéen.

Avant de conclure, je voudrais rappeler que notre Société des historiens de la Méditerranée (SIHMED) a cherché à mener des actions concrètes dans cette direction, dans le cadre du Partenariat euro-méditerranéen ; celui-ci aurait dû se développer entre 1995 et 2015, mais sa vitalité a diminué au bout d'une décennie. Dans le cadre de plusieurs initiatives de dialogue et de coopération, notre SIHMED avait présenté un projet appelé *HistMed* (Histoire de la Méditerranée) dans l'ensemble du Pôle Euro-Med Sciences Humaines géré dans la Maison de la Méditerranée d'Aix-en-Provence entre 1998 et 2000, financé pour sa phase de faisabilité par l'Union européenne. Malheureusement, après la présentation d'un gros Rapport-projet collectif, tout c'est arrêté ; le projet *HistMed* a survécu quelques années dans le cadre des initiatives promues par la Fondation euro-méditerranéenne d'Alexandrie, mais cette Fondation n'a pas non plus eu le succès qui aurait été nécessaire.

Souligner cette connexion historique et/ou géopolitique d'un monde méditerranéen plus ample comporte une signification politique. Si un monde méditerranéen a partagé une histoire commune, il y a donc un héritage historique commun, même si cette histoire, à côté d'échanges et d'ententes, est faite aussi d'hostilités et de guerres, entre peuples et États qui appartenaient pourtant à des civilisations identiques ou proches, comme les guerres entre Gênes et Venise, entre Florence et Pise, entre la France et l'Angleterre, entre l'Italie et l'Autriche et ainsi de suite tout au long de siècles. Une 'meilleure' reconstruction et connaissance de l'histoire partagée du monde méditerranéen et de ses civilisations pourrait être la base d'un rapprochement et d'un dialogue, avec pour but de se confronter et d'entreprendre un chemin commun vers des formes de coopération et d'entente, comme on l'a déjà fait, dans une certaine mesure, dans des cercles plus restreints.

Si on regarde les événements tout récents, il n'y a pas de raison d'être optimiste au sujet du dialogue méditerranéen et, plus généralement, des possibilités d'une meilleure entente entre l'Europe et les autres pays du monde méditerranéen, entre nos convictions et valeurs et celles des autres. Mais c'est précisément le danger actuel qui nous impose des efforts pour aboutir à un dialogue. Sur le chemin du dialogue, l'histoire, la réflexion sur l'histoire et l'écriture d'une nouvelle histoire pourront nous aider, je dirais même qu'elles auront un rôle primordial pour proposer d'autres messages que ceux de la haine et du prétendu « choc de civilisations » et ouvrir le chemin vers la détente, la paix et à la coopération dans le cadre de notre monde méditerranéen.

## ***La testimonianza di Antal Verancsics al processo per l'assassinio di Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi***

**GIZELLA NEMETH –  
ADRIANO PAPO**  
CENTRO STUDI ADRIA–  
DANUBIA, DUINO AURISINA  
(TRIESTE)

Antal Verancsics (Antun Vrančić in serbo, Antonio Veranzio in italiano) fu uno dei principali accusatori al processo promosso dalla Santa Sede contro Ferdinando d'Asburgo e i suoi complici, imputati dell'assassinio del cardinale Giorgio Martinuzzi Utyeszenics (Frate Giorgio) perpetrato nel castello di Alvinc<sup>1</sup> all'alba del 17 dicembre 1551. In questo articolo viene trascritta e analizzata la testimonianza rilasciata da Antal Verancsics il 3 maggio 1553 presso il nunzio apostolico a Vienna Girolamo Martinengo<sup>2</sup>.

Riportiamo una breve biografia di entrambi i personaggi protagonisti di questo saggio.

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<sup>1</sup> Vințu de Jos, oggi in Romania (ted. Winzendorf).

<sup>2</sup> La deposizione di Antal Verancsics, rilasciata a Sopron il 3/5/1553, è riprodotta integralmente in: *Epistolae procerum Regni Hungariae*, parte II, a cura di Gy. Pray, Posonii 1806, pp. 383–96; A. Verancsics, *Különfélék*, in *Verancsics Antal összes munkái*, vol. XII, a cura di L. Szalay e G. Wenzel, Budapest 1875 (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica /MHH/, Scriptorum XXXII*), pp. 39–55 e, parzialmente, anche in *Martinúziának*, a cura di J. Podhradczky, in «Magyar Történelmi Tár», vol. I, 1855, pp. 235–66: 255–7 e in A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, t. II, Zagrabiae 1875, n. 57/5, pp. 39–41. Originale e copie sono conservati presso l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivum Arcis, Armaria I–XVIII, n. 1.711, ff. 232r–239v (microfilm numero 37.214/1 presso l'Archivio di Stato di Budapest / Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára) (la convocazione del 2/5/1553, ivi, f. 39v); presso l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Miscellanea, Armaria II, n. 61, ff. 152v–159v; presso l'Archivio manoscritti della Biblioteca dell'Università «Eötvös Loránd» di Budapest (ELTE, Kézirattár), nel volume manoscritto *Processus circa necem Fratris Georgii monachi, jussu Ferdinandi I. (Ex libris Julii papae III.)*, Nagyszombat 1766, t. XI della raccolta *Czeles Martini, tt. I–XI. e bibliotheca Vaticana excerptorum anno salutis 1697–98 in usum continuandorum annalium ecclesiasticorum regni Hungariae* (Ms. 50), ff. 187–98; e, in duplice copia, presso l'Archivio manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale «Széchényi» (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár /OSZK/, Kézirattár) rispettivamente con i titoli e le signature: *Processus circa necem Fratris Georgii Monachi iussu Ferdinandi I. uti praetenditur factam cum Litteris variis ad diversos Reges et Episcopos, ac Clerum*, Fol. Lat. 4397, ff. 226–41 e *Processus de morte violenta Reverendissimi Fratris condam Georgii S.R.E. Cardinalis, et Episcopi Varadiensis. Item: Reginae Isabellae Principis Ioannis Sigismundi Tutoris, Gubernatoris Regni Transylvaniae, eiusdemque Thesaurarii. Facta in arce propria Al-Vintzensi, anno MDLIII*, a cura di G. Nagy, 1821, Fol. Lat. 3171, ff. 169v (342) – 178v (360), cui faremo riferimento nel prosieguo di questo saggio.

Giorgio Martinuzzi Utyeszenics<sup>3</sup>, meglio conosciuto come Frate Giorgio (*Fráter György* o anche *György barát* in ungherese) nacque nel 1482 nel castello di Kamičac, in Croazia, da famiglia nobile ma decaduta. Trascorse l'infanzia, addetto ai lavori più umili, prima alla corte del figlio del re Mattia, Giovanni Corvino, poi presso Jadwiga Piasti, la madre del futuro re d'Ungheria Giovanni I Zápolya. Dopo un'esperienza militare al servizio dello stesso Zápolya e una monastica prima nel convento di Buda degli eremiti paolini, poi in quello polacco di Częstochowa e infine in quello ungherese di Lád (oggi Sajólád), nel 1528 passò definitivamente al servizio del re d'Ungheria, Giovanni Zápolya, allora in guerra contro Ferdinando d'Asburgo, con cui divideva il trono<sup>4</sup>. Nominato nel 1531 'provveditore regio' sotto la reggenza di Ludovico Gritti<sup>5</sup>, subentrò a Imre Czibak nella direzione dell'importante vescovado di Várad<sup>6</sup>; fu quindi nominato consigliere regio e sommo tesoriere, assumendo l'amministrazione del regno, che diresse con grande abilità<sup>7</sup>. Dopo la morte dello Zápolya (1540), l'occupazione osmanica di Buda (1541) e il trasferimento della corte regia in Transilvania, Frate Giorgio, confermato tutore del figlio dello Zápolya, Giovanni Sigismondo, nominato luogotenente della regina, giudice supremo, luogotenente del re Ferdinando in Transilvania, cardinale, nonché arcivescovo di Esztergom e conseguentemente primate d'Ungheria, concentrò tutto il potere nelle proprie mani<sup>8</sup>. Diresse in prima persona i negoziati coi rappresentanti di Ferdinando per il trasferimento alla Casa d'Austria della parte di regno rimasta sotto la giurisdizione di Isabella Jagellone<sup>9</sup>, la vedova di Giovanni Zápolya. I negoziati si conclusero a Gyulafehérvár<sup>10</sup> il 19 luglio 1551, dopo la

<sup>3</sup> Su Giorgio Martinuzzi Utyeszenics ci permettiamo di rimandare alle monografie: A. Papo (in collaborazione con G. Nemeth Papo), *Giorgio Martinuzzi. Figura e ruolo politico di un monaco-statista dalmata nella storia ungherese del Cinquecento*, presentazione di L. J. Nagy, prefazione di T. Oborni, Szombathely 2011 e A. Papo – G. Nemeth Papo, *Frate Giorgio Martinuzzi. Cardinale, soldato e statista dalmata agli albori del Principato di Transilvania*, Roma 2017, quest'ultima anche nella versione rumena *Nemăsurata ispită a puterii Gheorghe Martinuzzi, adevăratul rege al Transilvaniei în secolul al XVI-lea*, traduzione di R. Lazarovici Veres, di prossima pubblicazione per i tipi di Editura Ratio et Revelatio di Oradea.

<sup>4</sup> Si rimanda qui agli studi degli Autori, *La duplice elezione a re d'Ungheria di Giovanni Zápolya e Ferdinando d'Asburgo*, in «Ateneo Veneto», Venezia, CLXXXIX, s. III, 1/II, 2002, pp. 17–59 e *La guerra civile ungherese*, in «Clio», Roma, XLI, n. 1, gennaio–marzo 2005, pp. 115–44.

<sup>5</sup> Su Ludovico Gritti ci permettiamo di citare il libro di G. Nemeth Papo – A. Papo, *Ludovico Gritti. Un principe-mercante del Rinascimento tra Venezia, i Turchi e la Corona d'Ungheria*, Mariano del Friuli (Gorizia) 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Oradea, oggi in Romania (ted. Grosswardein).

<sup>7</sup> Sulle origini e l'inizio della carriera di Frate Giorgio cfr. in particolare l'articolo di A. Papo, *György Martinuzzi Utyeszenics. Le origini, la giovinezza, gli esordi nella carriera politica*, in «Quaderni Vergeriani», III, n. 3, 2007, pp. 19–32.

<sup>8</sup> Sugli uffici ricoperti da Martinuzzi si veda il nostro saggio *La carriera, le proprietà e i tesori di György Martinuzzi Utyeszenics*, in «Crisia», Oradea, XXXIX, 2009, pp. 173–84.

<sup>9</sup> Sui negoziati cfr. in particolare l'articolo di A. Papo, *György Martinuzzi Utyeszenics e i negoziati per la cessione della Transilvania alla Casa d'Austria*, in «Mediterrán Tanulmányok», XVII, 2008, pp. 1–29. Per un profilo di Isabella Jagellone cfr. E. Veress, *Izabella királyné*, Budapest 1901, anche nella versione ridotta italiana *Isabella Regina d'Ungheria figlia di Bona Sforza*, Roma 1903.

<sup>10</sup> Alba Iulia, oggi in Romania (ted. Weissenburg o Karlsburg).



calata in Transilvania dell'esercito asburgico del generale Giovanni Battista Castaldo<sup>11</sup>: la regina Isabella e il principe Giovanni Sigismondo trasferirono a Ferdinando d'Asburgo e ai suoi eredi i diritti sul Regno d'Ungheria e sulla Transilvania, ricevendo in cambio alcuni ducati slesiani. La Sublime Porta non riconobbe il trattato di Gyulafehérvár e mandò un suo esercito nel Banato per restaurare lo *status quo*. Durante la campagna militare contro gli ottomani Martinuzzi, divenuto personaggio scomodo nella Transilvania sotto il dominio asburgico, fu accusato di connivenza col nemico e tradimento: ciò segnò la sua condanna a morte. Su ordine dello stesso re Ferdinando, il generale Castaldo lo fece assassinare in maniera efferata nel suo castello di Alvinc il 17 dicembre 1551. Ferdinando e i suoi complici furono tutti assolti con formula piena.

Antal Verancsics nacque a Sebenico il 29 maggio 1504 da una famiglia (*Wranychych*, poi *Wranchych*, *Veranchych* e *Vrančić*, da cui l'ungherese *Verancsics*, il latino *Verancius*, *Verantius* o *Wrancius* e l'italiano Veranzio) oriunda della Bosnia, poi trasferitasi in Dalmazia, allora dominio ungherese, e assurta a nobiltà durante il regno di Luigi I il Grande (1342–82)<sup>12</sup>. Fu alto prelato, luogotenente regio, diplomatico, storico e poeta; fu una delle più insigni figure dell'Umanesimo latino. Istruitosi a Traù<sup>13</sup> e a Sebenico<sup>14</sup> nelle lettere latine e greche, nel 1514 si trasferì in Ungheria, invitato dal vescovo e bano croato Pietro Berislavich, suo zio dal lato materno. Dopo la morte di Berislavich (1520), il giovane Antal si recò a studiare Padova e quindi a Vienna e a Cracovia dove concluse gli studi. Tornò ben presto in Ungheria insieme col fratello Michele su invito d'un altro zio di parte materna, l'umanista Giovanni Statilio.

Dotato d'ingegno acuto, scioltezza nell'eloquio, buona conoscenza di diverse lingue straniere, ragguardevoli capacità diplomatiche, Verancsics fece una brillante carriera eccle-

<sup>11</sup> Giovanni Battista Castaldo, conte di Piadena e marchese di Cassano (Cassiano), era un militare molto esperto e accorto che aveva cominciato la carriera sotto il comando del vecchio marchese di Pescara, Ferrante d'Avalos. Poco si conosce della sua biografia: incerta è la sua data di nascita (1488?), come pure incerto è il suo luogo di nascita (molto probabilmente ebbe i natali a Nocera dei Pagani, nell'entroterra campano tra Napoli e Salerno); ancor più incerta è la data della sua morte (quella più accreditata è il 1562), di sicuro Milano fu il luogo del decesso. Castaldo combatté in Lombardia tra il 1522 e il 1525 (partecipò alle battaglie della Bicocca e di Pavia); partecipò a una delle due spedizioni africane di Carlo V, non si sa però se a quella vittoriosa di Tunisi o a quella sfortunata di Algeri; combatté anche in Navarra e in Germania contro l'esercito della Lega di Smalcalda. Dopo la sfortunata campagna di Transilvania, il marchese di Cassano combatterà ancora nei Paesi Bassi e in Italia al fianco del duca d'Alba. Sul generale Castaldo si può leggere la biografia di M. d'Ayala, *Vita di Giambattista Castaldo, famosissimo guerriero del sec. XVI*, in «Archivio Storico Italiano», Firenze, s. III, t. V, parte I, 1867, pp. 86–124.

<sup>12</sup> Su Antal Verancsics cfr. la biografia di P. Sörös, *Verancsics Antal élete*, Esztergom 1898, il saggio di M.D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century*, Columbus (Ohio) 1986, pp. 213–40; l'introduzione (*Előszó*) di G. Wenzel al XII volume delle opere complete dell'umanista di Sebenico (*Verancsics Antal összes munkái*), pubblicato a Budapest nel 1875 (*MHH, Scriptores XXXII*). Per quanto riguarda il Verancsics storico cfr. E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI–XVII. század magyarországi történetírás történetéből*, Budapest 1975, pp. 35–56. Per una visione completa delle opere di Verancsics si rimanda alla voce di É. Gyulai, *Verancsics Antal*, in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon. Középkor és újkor*, a cura di P. Kőszeghy, Budapest 2001, pp. 395–9.

<sup>13</sup> Trogir, oggi in Croazia.

<sup>14</sup> Šibenik, oggi in Croazia.

siastica e politica: canonico di Scardona a meno di vent'anni, nel 1530 divenne vescovo di Transilvania, preposto di Óbuda e segretario del re Giovanni I Zápolya, alla cui corte era entrato grazie alla sua parentela con Statilio. Tra il 1530 e il 1539 compì importanti missioni diplomatiche: due volte a Venezia, due volte a Roma dal papa Clemente VII (1531–1532), tre volte in Polonia, altrettante in Bosnia, poi a Parigi, a Londra e a Vienna. Fu fedele servitore di Giovanni Zápolya, poi della di lui consorte Isabella Jagellone, che seguì in Transilvania nel 1541. Fu al servizio della regina italo-polacca fino al 1549, anno in cui lasciò la corte transilvana a causa dei suoi difficili rapporti con Frate Giorgio<sup>15</sup>, che non gli aveva permesso di esprimere al meglio le proprie potenzialità. Passò quindi dalla parte di Ferdinando d'Asburgo, che nel 1550 lo nominò canonico di Eger e di Esztergom e arciprete di Szabolcs. Nel 1551 fu nominato abate cistercense di Pornó, nella contea di Vas. Fu prezioso consigliere di Ferdinando negli affari di politica estera e dal 1572 fino alla morte sarà luogotenente in Ungheria del figlio Massimiliano. Nel giugno del 1553 divenne vescovo di Pécs, nel 1557 vescovo di Eger (dove si adoperò per il consolidamento della locale fortezza), nel 1569 arcivescovo di Esztergom e primate d'Ungheria, nonché governatore della contea primaziale e gran cancelliere del regno. Tra il 1557 e il 1569 fu anche governatore delle contee ungheresi di Borsod e Heves. Qui cominciò la sua battaglia contro la Riforma, anche se in gioventù aveva simpatizzato per le nuove idee religiose. Verancsics fu anche un valente diplomatico: nel 1553 compì la prima missione presso la Porta rimanendo a Costantinopoli per ben quattro anni, durante i quali seguì il sultano nella sua campagna militare in Asia. Nell'estate del 1567 tornò sul Bosforo come ambasciatore, dove l'anno seguente promosse la stipula della pace di otto anni di Adrianopoli. Tuttavia, la sua intensa attività diplomatica, favorita soprattutto dalla sua cultura, dalla sua faconda oratoria e dalla conoscenza delle lingue, ostacolò la sua ben più importante attività di storico. Morì a Eperjes, oggi Prešov, nell'attuale Slovacchia, allora Ungheria Superiore, il 15 giugno 1573, dopo che dieci giorni prima era stato eletto cardinale (non fece però in tempo a ricevere la notizia della nomina). Sarà sepolto nella cattedrale di Nagyszombat<sup>16</sup>.

Antal Verancsics espose la propria testimonianza a Sopron il 3 maggio 1553 al cospetto del nunzio apostolico a Vienna Girolamo Martinengo, ch'era stato incaricato dal papa Giulio III di dirigere la commissione d'inchiesta onde valutare le accuse mosse dal re dei romani Ferdinando d'Asburgo contro l'operato di Frate Giorgio. Verancsics era stato iscritto nella lista dei testimoni il 25 aprile 1553<sup>17</sup>. Verancsics rispose a gran parte delle domande che gli furono poste sulla base degli *87 Articoli super caede fratris Georgii (Articuli secundi)*, che costituivano il corposo e articolato corpo d'accusa elaborato dagli avvocati difensori di Ferdinando d'Asburgo e fatto pervenire alla Curia romana nel mese di luglio del 1552<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Verancsics è peraltro autore d'una breve biografia di Frate Giorgio, *De Georgii Utissenii, Fratris appellati, vita et rebus commentarius*, che fa parte del *De rebus Hungarorum ab inclinatione regni historia*, edito da L. Szalay per conto dell'Accademia Ungherese delle Scienze nel II volume delle opere complete di Veranzio (*Verancsics Antal összes munkái*), uscito a Pest nel 1857, pp. 16–34 (*MHH, Scriptores* III).

<sup>16</sup> Trnava, oggi in Slovacchia.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. il *Diario* del notaio Lorenzo Maggio, OSzK, Kézirattár, Fol. Lat. 3171, f. 35r (69).

<sup>18</sup> Gli 87 articoli sono stati pubblicati nelle seguenti opere: Og.M. Utiešenović, *Lebensgeschichte des Cardinals Georg Utiešenović, genannt Martinusius*, Wien 1881, *Urkundenbuch*, n. 16, pp. 62–73;

Verancsics, all'epoca quarantenne, commendatario dell'abbazia di Pornó, membro del Consiglio regio, rispose alle domande preliminari del nunzio Girolamo Martinengo, coadiuvato dal notaio Lorenzo Maggio, dichiarando di esporre la propria testimonianza liberamente, senza scopo e speranza di lucro, di non esser mai stato né inquisito, né condannato per alcun crimine, né diffidato, né bandito né scomunicato. L'umanista di Sebenico ammise di conoscere Frate Giorgio da vecchia data, ovverosia dai tempi dell'assedio di Buda del 1530 condotto dal generale Wilhelm von Roggendorff, allorché era preposto di Óbuda e segretario del re. Suo zio, Giovanni Statilio, vescovo di Transilvania e consigliere del re Giovanni, osteggiava Frate Giorgio, il quale si era procurato i favori del sovrano; egli, dal canto suo, non lo aveva mai amato anche se in effetti non era mai stato ingiuriato da lui; tuttavia, una volta assunto al rango di consigliere della regina Isabella, era diventato un suo oppositore politico dal momento che aveva constatato che il frate vessava quotidianamente la vedova dello Zápolya. Frate Giorgio, invece, non sembrava lo detestasse.

Una delle principali accuse rivolte a Frate Giorgio – a parte quella molto generica d'aver commesso numerosi e vari misfatti a danno del Regno d'Ungheria e di tutta la Cristianità (Art. 1 degli *Articuli secundi*), di fronte alla quale il teste non seppe proferire alcun commento – fu quella d'aver impedito alla regina Isabella di consegnare Buda a Ferdinando, legittimamente incoronato re d'Ungheria, costringendola per contro a cederla al sultano turco insieme con la corresponsione d'un tributo annuo per il possesso della Transilvania (Art. 2). Era infatti notorio, per voce di popolo, che la regina, preferendo vivere mediocrement coi cristiani anziché con grande fortuna coi turchi (“Regina mallet mediocrem etiam fortunam cum Christianis tolerare, quam magnam cum Turcis”), aveva deciso di consegnare Buda al re dei romani servendosi della mediazione degli ambasciatori polacchi Andrzej Górka e Andrzej Czarnkowsky. Anzi era stata ordita una vera e propria macchinazione – il teste ne era stato informato dal patrizio friulano Paolo Savorgnan – in virtù della quale la regina avrebbe dovuto far entrare di nascosto nella fortezza i soldati tedeschi. Sennonché, venutone a conoscenza, Frate Giorgio riuscì a sventare il complotto per tempo facendo espellere i due ambasciatori polacchi dalla fortezza di Buda attraverso la porta *Szombat* (l'attuale *Bécsi kapu*). Quindi, lo stesso frate, disperando di preservare Buda dall'occupazione delle truppe del generale Roggendorff, d'accordo col governatore di Temes<sup>19</sup> Péter Petrovics e col giurista István Werbőczy costrinse la regina a rivolgersi al Turco.

Verancsics raccontò pure le vicende connesse con l'arrivo degli ottomani a Buda, il colloquio di Solimano coi ministri di Isabella, l'ordine del sultano che esigeva che il piccolo Giovanni Sigismondo venisse portato al suo cospetto, quello dato ai due giudici di Buda Péter Markos e Miklós Turkovics d'aprire le porte della fortezza onde permetterne l'occupazione da parte dei giannizzeri. Rimasta abbandonata a se stessa e non sapendo più che pesci pigliare, la regina accondiscese alfine a lasciare Buda e a trasferirsi a Lippa<sup>20</sup> insieme coi suoi ministri e consiglieri Frate Giorgio e Péter Petrovics. Qualche tempo dopo, il frate avrebbe confessato a Verancsics che se fosse stato al corrente delle intenzioni del

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*Lettere di Principi (Litterae Principum ad Papam. 1518–1578)*, a cura di J. Bessenyei, Roma–Budapest 2002; *Annales ecclesiastici Caesaris Baronii denuo excusi et ad nostra usque tempora perducti ab Augustino Theiner*, vol. XXXIII, a cura di C. Baronio et. al., Barri–Ducis 1864, n. 45, pp. 455–9.

<sup>19</sup> Timiș in rumeno.

<sup>20</sup> Lipova, oggi in Romania (ted. Lippa).

Turco d'appropriarsi della fortezza non sarebbe sceso né avrebbe permesso agli altri consiglieri di scendere al campo ottomano a colloquiare col padiscià; Buda infatti avrebbe potuto resistere ancora per un mese prima di capitolare (“quod, si scivisset Turcam intercepturum vel petiturum a se Budam, nunquam ad eius Castra descendisset, nec alios Consiliarios descendere permisisset; adiiciens: quod ad mensem adhuc Budam sustentare potuisset”).

Il teste aveva altresì saputo da diverse fonti che, durante i lavori d'una Dieta tenutasi a Torda<sup>21</sup>, Petrovics aveva cercato, tramite i suoi ambasciatori, di persuadere gli Ordini transilvani a diffidare del frate perché anche la Transilvania correva il rischio di diventare un pascialato ottomano come lo era diventata Buda. Raccontò, a questo proposito, che una volta, durante un pranzo, avendo Frate Giorgio ordinato che venisse percosso uno dei suoi giovani servitori, un certo Gergely Nagy, perché fannullone, si sentì ribattere da quest'ultimo: «Mi fai bastonare: forse sono io che ho perso Buda?» (“facis me percutere, num quid ego Budam prodiderim?”).

Frate Giorgio fu accusato d'essersi ingerito nell'amministrazione della Transilvania vessando la regina con molestie e oltraggi (Art. 3). Verancsics era convinto che in effetti il frate ambisse alla nomina di governatore; di fatto esercitava tale incarico senza assumerne ufficialmente il titolo, essendo stato sconsigliato di appropriarsene da Giovanni Statilio, che gli aveva ricordato come tale dignità fosse sempre stata funesta oltreché detestata in Ungheria<sup>22</sup>. Pertanto s'era fermato, nella carriera, ai titoli di *iudex generalis* e di luogotenente della regina, titoli che avrebbe tenuto fino alla morte.

Apparentemente Frate Giorgio sembrava provvedesse diligentemente al mantenimento della regina e della sua corte, tuttavia, il teste era al corrente delle lamentele e delle lacrime quotidiane versate dalla vedova dello Zápolya per gli stenti che doveva sopportare. Un giorno, a Gyalu<sup>23</sup>, la regina Isabella, stufo delle privazioni che subiva costantemente da parte del frate, dopo aver constatato che a mala pena c'era riserva di vino per una giornata, decise di desautorare il suo luogotenente e lo convocò alla Dieta di Kolozsvár<sup>24</sup> perché le rendicontasse l'amministrazione del regno: Frate Giorgio non rispose al suo appello e rimase nel convento di Kolozsmonostor<sup>25</sup> fingendosi ammalato. Ma poco tempo dopo chiese perdono alla regina, rientrata nella sua residenza di Gyalu; prostrato a terra, con parole di supplica la scongiurò che non desse retta ai suoi delatori (“plorans muliebriter, humi prostratus ipsis genibus advolutusque ad Reginam, vestis fimbriam osculabatur, supplicibus verbis”). La regina si commosse e scoppiò in lacrime (“effusa in lachrymas similiter Fratri Georgio applorabat, reducendo illi mariti beneficia, suam gratiam, et memoriam testamenti”). Il giorno dopo la riconciliazione, Frate Giorgio fece pervenire nella rocca di Gyalu 200 carri colmi di viveri. Nel frattempo, molti signori transilvani avevano aderito al partito

<sup>21</sup> Turda, oggi in Romania (ted. Thorenburg).

<sup>22</sup> Qui Verancsics fa chiaramente riferimento a Ludovico Gritti, ultimo *gubernator* del Regno d'Ungheria, e alla sua tragica fine. Cfr. Nemeth Papo – Papo, *Ludovico Gritti. Un principe-mercante del Rinascimento tra Venezia, i Turchi e la Corona d'Ungheria* cit.; G. Nemeth – A. Papo, *L'ultimo viaggio in Ungheria e la tragica fine di Ludovico Gritti nelle diverse versioni delle cronache e dei documenti coevi*, in «Transylvanian Review», IX, n. 4, 2000, pp. 73–88. e X, n. 1, 2001, pp. 83–102.

<sup>23</sup> Gilău, oggi in Romania (ted. Julmarkt).

<sup>24</sup> Cluj-Napoca, oggi in Romania (ted. Klausenburg).

<sup>25</sup> Cluj-Mănăstur, oggi in Romania (ted. Appersdorf).

del frate, il quale allora, forte del sostegno dei più, riprese a molestare la regina cercando di desautorarla e depauperarla: le sottrasse a uno a uno i castelli che avevano fatto parte della sua dote regale. La regina, per sopravvivere, dovette impegnare 10.000 ducati portoghesi che aveva portato con sé dalla Polonia, ma che nessuno era disposto a cambiarle, nemmeno l'amico Petrovics. Frate Giorgio, invece, fu pronto a soddisfare la sua richiesta speculando però su un cambio per lui molto vantaggioso.

Anche Verancsics, come del resto la maggior parte dei testimoni si esprime senza riserve sul comportamento oppressivo di Frate Giorgio nei confronti del paese e dei suoi abitanti (Art. 4). Il teste ricordò che il frate commerciava ogni sorta di mercanzie: frumento, vino, sale, angariando nell'esercizio di questa sua attività la povera gente, che frequentemente si doleva di questo suo comportamento vessatorio. Tra l'altro il frate obbligava i contadini a trasportare anche le merci che erano oggetto dei suoi commerci privati. Nonostante tutto, era però molto cauto nel biasimare o bastonare o addirittura nel colpire a morte i suoi sudditi o i suoi collaboratori perché intendeva farsi amici i propri nemici distribuendo loro elargizioni, strumento che gli aveva garantito di raggiungere l'apice della carriera ("Fratrem Georgium fuisse cautissimum in irrogandis vituperiis, aut verberandis hominibus, vel morte afficiendis, quo factum est, ut ex maximis inimicis amicos sibi reddiderit, largitione adiecta, quod potissimum Instrumentum fuit eius apicis consequendi"). A proposito delle vessazioni subite dal popolo, Verancsics raccontò pure l'episodio secondo il quale Frate Giorgio, avendo sentito dire che alcuni cittadini di Nagybánya erano stati accusati di professare la fede luterana e d'aver coniato denaro falso, s'era recato personalmente *in loco* facendo arrestare e giustiziare alcuni dei falsari coinvolti in quell'affare illegale dopo aver loro confiscato il denaro contraffatto. Tra gli arrestati probabilmente c'era il monetario István, al quale furono confiscati 6.000 fiorini, come ci raccontano i testi Gáspár Péchy e Pál Erős nel corso delle loro deposizioni al 'processo Martinuzzi'.

Più volte il frate aveva confidato a Verancsics che avrebbe dato la propria anima a Ferdinando anziché concedersi ai turchi, ma che, non avendo piena fiducia nemmeno nel re dei romani, avrebbe preferito morire anziché concedersi a lui: lo frenava nella dedizione a Ferdinando l'esempio eclatante di Péter Perényi, il quale, pur creditore del re dei romani per averne favorito l'incoronazione, aveva trascorso tristemente dieci anni della propria vita nelle carceri regie. E fece anche gli esempi di Lajos Pekry e Johann Katzianer, caduti ingiustamente in disgrazia presso lo stesso re dei romani. Per tale motivo, Verancsics s'era oltremodo stupito per l'accordo concluso tra Frate Giorgio e Ferdinando. A chi poi gli faceva notare come in Frate Giorgio fosse risorto il fervore del cristiano, l'umanista di Sebenico, indignandosi, gli rispondeva che il frate difendeva soltanto il proprio potere: aspirava al dominio della Transilvania, anelava alla dignità cardinalizia. Questo fu quanto Verancsics preferì a riguardo del contenuto dell'Art. 7 degli *Articuli secundi*. Di certo, aggiunse il teste, il re Ferdinando nominò Frate Giorgio voivoda di Transilvania raccomandando ai propri commissari e comandanti militari di seguirne i consigli: il frate avrebbe dovuto essere la pedina principale dell'operazione di annessione della Transilvania alla Casa d'Austria (Artt. 9 e 10).

In sintonia con gli altri testimoni, pure Verancsics ammise la defezione dei rasciani delle Parti inferiori d'Ungheria (Art. 37): se non fossero passati al nemico – sostenne

l'umanista dalmata – il *beylerberyi* di Rumelia, Mehmed Soqollu<sup>26</sup>, non sarebbe stato in grado d'attaccare le fortezze del *Temesköz*. Peraltro, non sarebbero passati al nemico se Frate Giorgio avesse tempestivamente mandato i rinforzi ai comandanti militari che li avevano sollecitati. Verancsics era certo che il frate, avendo in mano il controllo di tutta la Transilvania, avrebbe potuto, se lo avesse voluto, provvedere all'invio dei rinforzi a chi ne avesse avuto bisogno. A ogni modo, di Frate Giorgio non c'era da fidarsi: il teste aveva sentito dire da Ferenc Pesty che se avessero seguito i suoi consigli non avrebbero mai vinto la battaglia di Lippa (Art. 58).

L'umanista dalmata aveva anche sentito, ma per voce di popolo, che se Frate Giorgio non fosse stato eliminato, la Transilvania avrebbe corso il grave pericolo di cadere nelle mani del Turco, vista l'intelligenza che il frate teneva con gli 'infedeli'. Solo quando il *beylerberyi* aveva minacciato da vicino Temesvár<sup>27</sup> e Lippa e i rasciani si erano ribellati, Frate Giorgio fu costretto a uscire col suo esercito per affrontare il nemico (Art. 12). Era però opinione comune che se i rasciani non fossero passati al nemico, il loro territorio non avrebbe corso particolari rischi (Art. 39).

Per quanto riguarda i contatti coi turchi assediati a Lippa, Verancsics sapeva soltanto che Frate Giorgio aveva mandato a parlamentare con gli assediati il suo servitore Gáspár Perusics insieme con un uomo di Castaldo, il quale fu dunque consenziente all'incontro (Art. 60). Aveva anche sentito dire che Frate Giorgio aveva consigliato gli altri ufficiali di lasciar uscire i turchi da Lippa in stato di libertà, perché ciò avrebbe costituito un beneficio per tutti (Artt. 61 e 62). Sapeva però che il frate intendeva liberare i turchi per contraccambiare il favore resogli a suo tempo dal comandante della guarnigione di Lippa, il *bey* d'origine persiana Ulimano, il quale era intervenuto per favorire la sua liberazione allorché, nel 1541, era stato trattenuto prigioniero al campo del sultano sotto Buda (Art. 67).

Nulla sapeva invece Verancsics della fornitura di vettovaglie ai turchi asserragliati a Lippa; aveva invece sentito parlare dei doni con cui il frate aveva omaggiato Ulimano dopo aver colloquiato con lui nella propria tenda (Art. 71) o, per contro, di non aver rifornito le città di viveri, anzi d'aver sottratto viveri alle città stesse e ai castelli perché non potessero servirsene i soldati regi per il loro sostentamento (Artt. 55 e 56).

Molti tra i testimoni ungheresi accennarono alla convocazione della Dieta di Vásárhely<sup>28</sup> del 21 dicembre 1551 (Art. 80) ma altrettanti – e tra questi lo stesso Verancsics – non erano in grado di valutare la legittimità della Dieta stessa, se cioè fosse stata indetta con o senza il consenso del re: Frate Giorgio veniva quindi in parte scagionato dall'accusa d'aver abusato dei suoi poteri.

Verancsics aveva sentito per voce di popolo dei sospetti sull'operato del frate sorti in Castaldo allorché il generale napoletano, su ordine del re Ferdinando, gli aveva chiesto la consegna di alcune fortezze transilvane; a questi primi sospetti se ne aggiunsero degli altri, che poi avrebbero portato il frate alla condanna a morte, ritenuta necessaria onde evitare di mettere a rischio l'integrità del paese. Frate Giorgio – ammise l'umanista di Sebenico – era nello stesso tempo lodato da alcuni per le sue virtù, vituperato da altri per i suoi difetti; aveva palesemente ostentato fedeltà al sovrano spacciandosi, almeno esteriormente, per

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<sup>26</sup> Mehmed Soqollu (Sokolović), futuro gran visir, era un rinnegato, figlio d'un prete serbo-bosniaco.

<sup>27</sup> Timișoara, oggi in Romania (ted. Temeschwar).

<sup>28</sup> Marosvásárhely; oggi Tîrgu Mureș in Romania (ted. Neumarkt am Muresch).

difensore della fede; bene aveva agito quando s'era adoperato per la consegna della Transilvania alla Casa d'Austria, lodevole era il fatto che ascoltasse messa ogni giorno e avesse difeso la religione cattolica dai luterani (Art. 83).

Il teste aveva sentito dire che se Frate Giorgio non fosse stato eliminato per tempo la Transilvania avrebbe corso un grosso pericolo a causa della sua intesa col Turco; ma non conosceva le basi di tale intesa: lo aveva solo sentito dire dal popolo (Art. 84). Aveva anche sentito "vulgari voce" che sarebbe stato più opportuno che il frate fosse stato giustiziato dopo un regolare processo; tuttavia, ciò non sarebbe stato possibile senza che sorgessero impreviste complicazioni a tale procedura, perché – precisò – il frate era molto ricco, potente, era circondato da amici, sostenitori e partigiani; non sapeva però spiegarsi perché tali complicazioni non si fossero presentate dopo la sua morte (Art. 85). Non era neanche al corrente se tra il frate e Castaldo corresse cattivo sangue, ovvero sentimenti di odio ed emulazione; ciononostante, il teste espresse un giudizio positivo sulle qualità morali e le virtù militari del generale Castaldo, il quale – lo aveva sentito dire – era molto stimato a Vienna, anche se in effetti non lo conosceva di vista (Art. 86).

Nulla sapeva invece Verancsics a proposito delle accuse riportate negli altri articoli sopra non citati, e in particolare, tra quelle più importanti, del rifiuto di collaborare con András Báthori di Ecsed nell'amministrazione del voivodato transilvano (Art. 10); d'aver nascosto alla Porta il progetto di consegnare la Transilvania a Ferdinando (Art. 15); d'aver devoluto il tributo annuo al Turco prima che venisse confermata la tregua con gli Asburgo (Art. 18); d'aver mandato corrieri e il tributo alla Porta a nome suo e del principe ma contro la volontà di Ferdinando (Art. 20) (in particolare, Verancsics non era al corrente della corresponsione del tributo); di non aver evitato l'invasione del *beylerbeyi* di Rumelia nonostante avesse regolarmente pagato il tributo alla Porta (Art. 21); d'essersi adoperato per guadagnarsi giorno dopo giorno la clemenza dei visir e dei pascià turchi (Art. 24); d'essersi offerto di cacciare i tedeschi dal paese o eventualmente di consegnarli ai turchi (Art. 25); d'aver assicurato al *beylerbeyi* fedeltà perpetua nei confronti del sultano, al quale aveva promesso di cacciare i soldati regi dalla Transilvania, ribadendo che tale paese apparteneva al figlio del re Giovanni, il quale s'era recato a Kassa per unirsi in matrimonio con la figlia del re dei romani, e d'aver per contro accusato d'infedeltà e tradimento Péter Petrovics (Art. 26); d'essersi scusato col *beylerbeyi* per non aver evitato l'occupazione da parte dei tedeschi delle fortezze di Lippa, Solymos<sup>29</sup> e Temesvár, in quanto al di fuori della sua giurisdizione essendo sotto quella di Petrovics (Art. 27); d'aver ordinato al capitano di Csanád<sup>30</sup> la resa di fronte all'assedio del *beylerbeyi* (Art. 40); d'aver permesso al *beylerbeyi* stesso, come risulta da sue lettere e offerte di tregua, d'occupare le fortezze di Becse e Becskerek (Art. 41); d'aver impedito agli abitanti d'aggregarsi all'esercito regio ormai giunto a poche miglia da Lippa (Art. 42); di non aver soccorso Csanád con gli aiuti promessi (Art. 43); d'aver ordinato al capitano di Csanád, il quale avrebbe successivamente confermato d'aver agito su ordine del frate (Art. 45), d'evacuare la città quando il *beylerbeyi* era ancora a quattro miglia dalla stessa (Art. 44); d'aver causato, dopo l'espugnazione delle fortezze di Becse e Becskerek, il ritorno nelle proprie case dei sudditi che avevano combattuto al servizio di Báthori e che ora temevano da parte dei turchi spoliamenti dei

<sup>29</sup> Șoimus, oggi in Romania.

<sup>30</sup> Cenad, oggi in Romania (ted. Tschanad).

propri beni e vessazioni delle proprie famiglie (Art. 46); d'aver praticamente costretto il capitano di Lippa, trovatosi all'improvviso senza difensori, a evacuare la città (Art. 47); di non aver eseguito l'ordine di mobilitare la popolazione transilvana (Art. 49); d'aver organizzato la consegna dell'esercito asburgico ai turchi, com'era stato rivelato da un suo segretario al generale Castaldo (art. 50)<sup>31</sup>; d'aver inviato uno dei suoi uomini a promettere ai turchi la loro liberazione (Art. 63); d'aver infine costretto il generale Castaldo e gli altri comandanti a procedere alla liberazione dei turchi rinchiusi nel castello di Lippa a causa della mancanza di vettovaglie (Art. 70); d'aver fornito a Ulimano un carro pieno di fucili per consentire ai turchi assediati a Lippa di rientrare nelle loro linee con maggior sicurezza (Art. 72); d'aver scambiato lettere col *beylerbeyi* di Rumelia e d'aver mandato propri corrieri al *beylerbeyi* stesso e al sultano (Art. 73); d'aver a sua volta ricevuto numerosi corrieri dal sultano turco (art. 74); d'aver cercato d'impedire alle truppe regie di svernare in Transilvania (Art. 75); d'aver sostituito il castellano di Déva, Farkas Batthyány, senza il consenso del re e all'insaputa del generale Castaldo (Art. 78).

Sapeva invece – ma solo per sentito dire – che il frate mandava ambasciatori al sultano turco e ai suoi pascià (Art. 14); che aveva persuaso il sultano a ordinare agli Ordini transilvani d'impedire la partenza della regina e del figlio dalla Transilvania o di richiamarli in patria qualora fossero già partiti (Art. 22), nonché a reintegrarlo nei suoi uffici dopo che era stato deposto dalla regina in seguito a presunte calunnie e delazioni, obbligando altresì la stessa regina a non ostacolarlo nelle sue funzioni di governo (Art. 23); che non aveva collaborato con Castaldo nella fortificazione del paese e che aveva sempre rinviato la mobilitazione dell'esercito transilvano (Art. 28); che aveva indugiato nell'esecuzione delle decisioni regie dopo che il *beylerbeyi* aveva attraversato il Danubio e il Tibisco (Art. 31); che aveva interrotto l'invio d'aiuti agli ufficiali e ai capitani dell'esercito regio (Artt. 32–34); che aveva ostacolato il ricongiungimento delle truppe del marchese Sforza Pallavicini con quelle di Castaldo (Art. 57); che aveva progettato di espellere o trucidare le truppe regie (Art. 81); che aveva chiamato i turchi in Moldavia e in Valacchia perché insieme coi due voivodi rumeni eliminassero l'esercito di Castaldo (Art. 82).

Tutto sommato Antal Verancsics ci ha lasciato una testimonianza abbastanza sincera ed equilibrata sul comportamento di Frate Giorgio in occasione delle vicende che avevano preceduto la sua tragica fine; non riportò mai notizie di terza mano, né manifestò un odio oltre misura nei confronti del frate, anche se appartiene al gruppo di quei testimoni avversari di Frate Giorgio, peraltro molto importanti, che a processo concluso, fecero importanti avanzamenti di carriera.

### Appendice documentaria

Testimonianza di Antal Verancsics riprodotta in *Processus de morte violenta Reverendissimi Fratris condam Georgii S.R.E. Cardinalis, et Episcopi Varadiensis. Item: Reginae Isabellae Principis Ioannis Sigismundi Tutoris, Gubernatoris Regni Transylvaniae, eiusdemque Thesaurarii. Facta in arce propria Al-Vintzensi, anno MDLIII, a cura di G. Nagy, 1821, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Fol. Lat. 3171, ff. 169v (342)–178v (360).*

<sup>31</sup> Si tratta di Marc' Antonio Ferrari.



Actum die 3<sup>o</sup> Maii 1553 Sopronii.

Reverendus Dominus Antonius Verantius Sibenicensis, Dalmata, Commendatarius Abbatiae Pornensis, annorum 49. vel circa, habens ex proventibus Ecclesiasticis circa 600 florinos singulis annis, Aulicus Regiae Maiestatis, Testis citatus, iuratus, et de importancia iuramenti admonitus, a nemine doctus, vel instructus, vel citatus venit ad testimonium dicendum. Interrogatus, an fuerit unquam inquisitus, vel condemnatus de aliquo crimine, vel diffidatus, vel bannitus, vel excommunicatus, respondit, quod non. Interrogatus, an hoc anno confessus fuerit, et Sacram Eucharistiam sumpserit? respondit: quod sic in sua Abbatia. Interrogatus, an fuerit aliquid sibi datum vel promissum, vel aliquod lucrum speret ex sua depositione? respondit, quod non. Interrogatus a quanto tempore citra cognoverit Fratrem Georgium? respondit: anno, quo exercitus Regiae Romanorum Maiestatis duce Vilhelmo a Rogendorf<sup>32</sup> obsedit Regem Ioannem una cum Aloysio Gritto<sup>33</sup> Budae, cum ego essem Praepositus Budae Veteris<sup>34</sup>, et Secretarius Regis Ioannis, cognovi Fratrem Georgium, qui tunc Monachus familiariter versabatur cum Rege Ioanne. Interrogatus, an fuerit inimicus, vel malevolus Fratris Georgii, aut ab eodem aliquo iniuria affectus, respondit: Cum essem Secretarius Regis Ioannis, et Ioannes Statilius<sup>35</sup> Episcopus Transylvaniae, avunculus meus Consiliarius Regis Ioannis, adversaretur Fratri Georgio, quod se in gratiam Regis insinua-verat, non poteram eum amare, quamvis nulla iniuria me affecerit, et deinde, cum ego essem Consiliarius Serenissimae Reginae nunquam destiti illi adversari una cum iis, qui Reginae partium erat cum quotidianis querimoniis et lacrymis reginae molestabamur, et aperte videbamus, quibus Regina affligebatur a Fratre Georgio, et ipse Frater Georgius, quantum poterat, resistebat meis profectibus, quamvis extrinsecus ille ostenderet se non odisse me, sed ego illum profecto nunquam amavi, nec publice, nec privatim.

Super 1<sup>o</sup> articulo sibi lecto et exposito dixit: Super hoc certi nihil proferre possum. Interrogatus, an aliqua specialiter audivisset ab aliis, respondit se nihil habere, quod dicat.

Super 2<sup>o</sup> articulo dixit: Eo tempore, quo Regina mortuo Rege Ioanne Budae obvidebatur, ab exercitu Romanorum Regiae Maiestatis, ego in Transylvania eram, sed ex publica fama audivi, quod cum ipsa Regina mallet mediocrem etiam fortunam cum Christianis tolerare, quam magnam cum Turcis, demum aliis etiam rationibus persuasa induxerat animum ad deditionem faciendam Arcis Budensis Sacrae Romanorum Regiae Maiestati paternis Oratoribus mediantibus, videlicet Illustrissimo Domino Andrea a Gorka<sup>36</sup> Castellano Posoniensi, et Superioris Poloniae Capitaneo, et Reverendo Domino Andrea Cyarnochozky<sup>37</sup> Praeposito etc., idque in hunc modum, ut secreta quadam porta arcis noctu aperta, per eamque intromissis Regiae Maiestatis gentibus tam arcis, quam Civitatis Budensis, scilicet Dominium occuparetur, perlato hoc paulo ante noctem, qua res debebat peragi, ad Fratrem Georgium, idem Frater Georgius re tanta permotus, communicat periculum cum Petrovich, et summa celeritate occurrit huic ipsi rei perpetranda; increpita Regina verbis etiam minus decentibus, habita etiam ipsa Regina strictius, quam eius dignitas exigebat. Praeterea sub

<sup>32</sup> Wilhelm Roggendorff.

<sup>33</sup> Si tratta di Alvise (Ludovico) Gritti.

<sup>34</sup> Buda Vecchia (*Óbuda* in ungherese).

<sup>35</sup> Giovanni Statilio.

<sup>36</sup> Andrzej Górka.

<sup>37</sup> Andrzej Czarnkowsky.

huius rei cognitione, cum ipsi Oratores Regis Poloniae venissent ad Reginam in arcem, Monachus magno furore, et manifesto dedecore iussit illos excedere, et expelli ex arce, et Civitate Budensi, per portam, quae vocatur Zombót<sup>38</sup>, urgentibus a tergo satellitibus, quam plurimis; et haec omnia, et his etiam plura idem testis dixit se inter ceteros audivisse a Domino Paulo Savorgnano Foroiuliensi, qui tunc temporis Serenissimae Reginae Isabellae erat ab epistolis Italicis. Proinde, quod attinet ad occupationem Budae, idem Testis rem in hunc modum se accepisse dixit: Quum Buda Buda exercitu Regiae Maiestatis gravissime obsideretur, nec eius retinendae ulla spes restaret, consilio quantum dicebatur urgentis Fratris Georgii, Petrovich, Stephani Verbózi<sup>39</sup>, et quorundam aliorum ex consilio persuasum est Reginae, ut imploraretur Turcae auxilium. Regina, ut quae dudum aversa erat, quantum dicebatur Turcae, plurimum adversabatur huic consilio, evicta tamen consulentium rationibus, acquievit, ut Turca advocaretur, sic, quantum dicebatur, educto Turca, satis aegre, cum iam Budam advenisset, et Fratris Georgii, Petrovich, et aliis, de quibus supra, monitis clandestinis invasissent exercitum Regiae Maiestatis in monte Divi Gerardi<sup>40</sup>, et delevisent; tandem vocatis a se Reginae Consiliariis, Fratrem Georgio, Petrovich, et aliis, filium etiam Reginae adduci ad se fecit. Dubia Regina de salute filii diu restitit, persuasa tamen a praedictis personis, et filium dimisit, et Consiliarios. Eadem die filius Reginae dimissus est. Consiliarii vero ad octo ferme dies retenti apud Turcam fuerunt, quibus assidue Budam ab eis postulavit. Illi, quantum dicebatur, diu restitere, ne Buda in manus Turcae deveniret. Demum misso Petro Marcus<sup>41</sup> Consiliario Regio, et Nicolas Turchovich<sup>42</sup> Iudice Budensi, iussit Turca, ut irent in Civitatem, eamque statim dederent, nisi voluissent ferro et flamma excindi. Profectis iis, missi sunt aliqui Cohortes militum peditum Ianizerorum, qui in ipsa porta Civitatis assecuti vestigia Petri Markus, et Nicolai Turchovich, una cum eis irruerunt in Civitatem, eaque sunt potiti. Duobus diebus post, petierunt hostes arcem, in qua cum Regina esset sola, nec sciret, quid agere deberet in tanta rerum consternatione, postquam vidit omnia sibi et filio suo tuta fore, cum adiectione Transylvaniae, noluit contendere, et ita conditione accepta Bassae, cui tunc cura Budensis erat commissa, omnes claves arcis misit. Interim et Consiliarii alii liberati, alii in Turciam deducti, ut Valentinus Turcus<sup>43</sup> et Stephanus Verbuzy, qui Budae iuri dicendo Christianae Nationi fuerat designatus. Regina cum Eremita Fratrem Georgio et Petrovich Lippam abierunt, Turcis Buda relicta. Idem Testis dixit, quod cum Frater Georgius hospitaretur in eius Albae Iuliae Praepositurae domo, et quodam tempore super prandium varii sermones haberentur de illo excidio Budensi, meminuit se audivisse dicentem Fratrem Georgium, quod si scivisset Turcam intercepturum vel petiturum a se Budam, nunquam ad eius castra descendisset, nec alios Consiliarios descendere permisisset, adiiciens: quod ad mensem adhuc Budam sustentare potuisset. Verum cum iam cepisset consilia de deditone Transylvaniae, quam fecit Regiae Maiestati, conventus agebatur, quantum audivit, Thordae<sup>44</sup>, ad quem conventum noluit Petrovich interesse,

<sup>38</sup> Si tratta della porta *Szombat*, l'attuale Porta di Vienna (*Bécsi kapu* in ungherese).

<sup>39</sup> István Werbőczy, altrove anche Verbuzy.

<sup>40</sup> Si tratta della collina di Gellert (=Gerardo), dalla cui cima il 24 settembre 1046 fu fatto precipitare nel Danubio, legato a un carretto, san Gerardo Sagredo, vescovo di Csanád.

<sup>41</sup> Péter Markos, altrove anche Markus.

<sup>42</sup> Miklós Turkovics.

<sup>43</sup> Bálint Török.

<sup>44</sup> Torda.

sed misit suos Oratores, per quos cum regnicolis dissuaderet Fratris Georgii consilia, inter alia nunciavit: viderent, quid essent facturi, cum non ipse Budam hostibus prodidisset, sed ille, cuius illi consilia sequerentur, et caverent, ne idem Transylvania pateretur, quod Buda passa<sup>45</sup> fuit. Dicens ipse Testis se non interfuisse his rebus, sed a diversis personis accepisse, et si quod ad hanc rem faciat, illud quoque idem Testis adiecit, quod, cum quodam tempore pranderet Frater, et haberet convivas, iusserat suos adolescentes, quemdam scurram suum nomine Gregorium Naghii<sup>46</sup> vexare, et percutere, qui accedens ad Fratrem Georgium plorans, cur, inquit, facis me percutere, num quid ego Budam prodiderim? iratus ob haec verba Georgius, diu est scurram aversatus, expulso tunc a mensa scurra a furore suorum. De origine autem tributi pro Transylvania persolvendi, idem Testis dixit se nihil scire peculiariter, hoc tamen non ignorat, quod communi consensu Regina, Frater Georgius, Petrovich, et Domini Transylvanienses, Turca, uti dicebatur postulante, Tributum pendere in conventibus, quibus ipse Testis interfuit, decreverunt, idque ipsum tributum, quod fuit promissum, missum est per Ioannem Zalánzy<sup>47</sup>, quando Turca ipse expugnavit arces Valpo<sup>48</sup> et Soclos<sup>49</sup> cum Quinque Ecclesiensi Civitate. Interrogatus, an illud impedimentum factum Reginae, de quo supra dixit, ne arcem militibus Regiis aperiret, culpa vel causa Fratris Georgii proveniret? respondit: esse publicum sermonem, culpa ipsius Fratris Georgii et Petrovich, qui Superiores erant.

Super 3<sup>o</sup> articulo dixit: quod quantum ipse testis hinc inde intellexisse potuit, cum Ioannes Rex Fratrem Georgium evexisset imprimis ad ordinem Magnificorum, deinde ad Thesaurarium, post ad Episcopatum, et ad curam plurium arcium et Civitatum, et postremo moriens curam idem Ioannes ei reliquisset uxoris et filii, ac posteritatis eius reliquae, hinc incendebatur odio multorum inde ambitione propria; nam cum etiam praeterea, quantum intellexit idem Testis, plurima secreta Ioannis Regis sciret, quibus ipse agebat cum Turcis, intendit omnem animum, ut administrationem dudum per Ioannem sibi creditam sustineret, praesertim Transylvaniae, et reliquae ditionis Reginae, et filio eius traditae. Quocirca egit medio aliorum imprimis apud Reginam, ut ipse una cum Petrovich, postquam essent Ioannis Regis Testamentarii, plenam administrationem haberent, si rite tam Reginae, quam filii deberent gerere, et nisi Regina peculiarem personam huic officio praeficeret, omnium rerum confusio esset secutura. In hoc negotio imprimis usus est opera Ioannis Statilii Episcopi Transylvani, postea etiam quorundam Transylvanorum, quos in favorem suum illexerat Petrovich, et Valentinus Turcus iam in captivitate Turcica teneretur, qui aequae Gubernatorium ambire dicebatur – nam et Budae audivit testis eos mutus fuisse iurgatos, antequam Turca advenisset. Praefatam administrationem diligentius coepit appetere, et quaerere diversis mediis, cum ante hoc tempus oderant eum vel de nomine omnes Transylvani, quid interim, et quomodo factum fuerit, eidem Testi dicere difficile est. Inducta tamen Regina ad confirmandum eundem Fratrem Georgium in veteribus officiis, imprimis indicto conventu Generali, creavit Locumtenentem suum et filii sui, et paulo post, cum nescitur, quidnam vellet, optavit, ut scriberetur Locumtenens Regius, ex quo Turca puerum Regem scribebat, vel quod etiam alibi hoc titulo aliquid venaretur, consecuto hoc officio,

<sup>45</sup> Leggasi 'Bassa' (=pascià).

<sup>46</sup> Gergelj Nagy.

<sup>47</sup> János Szalánczy.

<sup>48</sup> Valpó, oggi Valpovo in Croazia.

<sup>49</sup> Siklós.

vel dignitate, coeperunt offerri litterae ab Imperatore Turcarum, quibus Frater Georgius Reginae commendabatur, ut bonus et fidelis servitor, confirmando eum in ea dignitate, et nationibus illis etiam iubendo, ut illi obedirent post Reginam, et filium eius, quod alium eis praeesse post Reginam nollet. Post non multo elapso tempore accepta ansa maioris gradus, cum iam plurimum animos sibi adiunxisset, inventus est modus, ut aliquis ex provincialibus Gubernatorem peterent, ex quo multorum ingenia Locumtenentis dignitas non posset comescere, eiusque esset plena aliqua auctoritate vacante Sede Regis, quae eam provinciam recte gubernare. Testis igitur nescit de hac re omnino dicere, tamen et ad hoc inducta Regina, inducti Transylvani a Turcarum quoque Imperatore tempestive supervenere litterae tam ad Reginam, quam ad illos Regnicolas, vel provinciales, promotionem Fratris Georgii suadentes et imperantes. Coacto itaque conventu Generali, in quo etiam Testis dicit se interfuisse, ad dignitatem et officium Gubernatoris promotus est. Verum, cum de titulo, quo uti deberet, ageretur, ipse Frater Georgius, Gubernator appellari cupiebat, sed Statilius Transylvanus tunc Episcopus, praesentis testis avunculus dehortatus est eum, ne hunc titulum ambiret, qui in Hungaria semper pene funestus fuerit, et dubio procul mirifice odiosus; sic appellavit eum Iudicem Generalem, et deinde usus est hoc titulo usque ad mortem, et Dominio de iniuriis et gravaminibus. Idem Testis dixit, quod licet ipse Frater Georgius ostenderet se diligenter officio suo satisfacere in providenda Regina, et sua Aula rebus necessariis, tamen ex quotidianis, et perpetuis eius querimoniis, ac lachrymis, quibus semper deplorabat suos defectus, et quasdam alias iniurias, quae ipsa Regina non omnibus explicabat, seu aliter se habere intelligebat. Propterea etiam aliquoties dedit operam per publicos conventus, ut privaretur officio reddita ratione suae administrationis. Nam idem Testis meminit, quod aliquando in arce sua vix habuerit vinum pro familia unius diei, et hoc contigit, cum quodam tempore Colosvarii<sup>50</sup> esset conventus Generalis in eum finem coactus, ut privaretur praedicta administratione et officio, nec ausus est ex Abbatia Kolos-Monostri<sup>51</sup> Civitatem intrare, ut interesset conventui, sed ficta aegritudine tamdiu in ipsa Abbatia decubuit, donec conventus ad Reginae Vota perficeretur; relinquere-turque ipse Frater Georgius gratiae ipsius Reginae. Conventu confecto, et dissoluto, in quo decretum erat, ut ipse Frater Georgius redderet rationem suae administrationis, habereturque cura de aliis ad sua officia subrogandis, duobus diebus post reversa Regina ad arcem suam Gyalu, venit eodem et Frater Georgius petita venia, et fere salvo conductu, ut ei tuto Reginam liceret accedere. Cum igitur obtinuisset, quae petierat, venit ad Reginam plorans muliebriter, humi prostratus ipsis genibus advolutusque ad Reginam, vestis fimbriam osculabatur, supplicibus verbis postulans, ne crederet suis delatoribus, et si quis defectus fuisset commissus, dignaretur illi parcere eam culpam in alios retorquens. Tunc Regina quoque effusa in lachrymas similiter Fratri Georgio applorabat, reducendo illi mariti beneficia, suam gratiam, et memoriam testamenti, quo erat illi credita, vel commissa cum filio, sic illic iussus assurgere et assidere post multas mutuas querimonias, fuerunt reconciliati, promittente Regina indefessam suam Gratiam, illo meliora sua servitia. Ea die laetissime vivebat in hospitio Monachus, die sequenti ex his locis, quae Monachus administrabat ferme ad 200 currus victualium invecti sunt in arcem Gyalu. Erant tunc temporis aliquot viri Transylvani praecipui partibus Reginae faventes, et qui cupiebant everti fortunam Monachi, ubi viderunt eum restitutum in

<sup>50</sup> Kolozsvár.

<sup>51</sup> Kolozsmonostor.

pristinum statum, et in Reginae gratiam, abominati Principis – ut quidam dixerunt ex eis – levitatem, recederent ab eius studiis, et deinde adhaerere ipsi Fratri Georgio, multi ex eis hoc exemplo perturbati minus postea curavere Reginam, et in dies alii atque alii Monacho adhaerebant. Sic Regina paulatim in contemptum veniebat. Monachus vero perspecto eius ingenio semper postea usus est his praxibus, quando voluit adducere Reginae voluntatem ad aliquas suas accessiones, ita, ut arces etiam eius in Transylvania dotalitias omnes ad manus suas accipere contenderit. Quo plurimum Petrovich semper est offensus, et nisi obstitisset, dum eas obtinisset, cum iam tres obtinuerat. In quem hoc finem fecerit, difficile est Iudicium, sed communis fama male interpretabatur. Ad hoc illud etiam dicendum est, quod idem Testis aliquoties viderit Reginam ipsam tanta premi pecuniarum inopia, ut modo centum, modo ducentos illos Portugallenses Ducatos, quorum decem millia attulerat ex domo paterna mariti, miserit huc illuc per Capitulum Albae Iuliae, quaerens aliquam summam ad illud pignus. Istae necessitates cum fuissent parlatae ad Monachum, et vix inveniret Regina, qui ei accomodarent, cum etiam Petrovich ad pignus negaverit mutuam, veniebat ad Reginam, aut scribebat orans, ut animadverteret, quod ipse ceteris esset melior, qui ei servirent, adducens in odium et Petrovich, et alios, quibus sciebat Reginam fidere; tunc missis ad illam aliquot millibus ducatorum, videlicet tribus, quatuor, quinque millibus, obtinebat ab ea, quidquid volebat in suis progressibus, et istis commentibus semper illam circumduxit, donec eam eduxit extra Transylvaniam.

Super 4° articulo dixit: Erat publica querela in Transylvania Colonorum et subditorum, quod multis et variis oneribus gravabantur ab ipso Fratre Georgio. Interrogatus, quae et qualia onera, et an specialiter posset narrare? respondit: Ipse Frater Georgius quamdam quasi mercaturam exercebat vini, frugum, salis, et in istis vecturis angariabat ipsos pauperes, et audiebam, quod publice conquerebantur de his. Alia magis particularia nescio. Idem Testis dixit Fratrem Georgium fuisse cautissimum in irrogandis vituperiis, aut verberandis hominibus, vel morte afficiendis, quo factum est, ut ex maximis inimicis amicos sibi reddiderit, largitione adiecta, quod potissimum Instrumentum fuit eius apicis consequendi, ad quem conscenderat. Tamen cum quidam Cives oppidi Rivuli Dominarum fuissent Lutheranismi accusati, et adulterinae Monetae, quantum idem Testis dixit se audivisse, profectus eo Frater Georgius, et cognitione ac iudicio talium rerum habito, quosdam comprehendi fecit, et pecunia mulctavit, et ut audivit, etiam capite, non enim adfuit rebus praesentibus.

Super 5° articulo dixit se nescire, quia iam exiverat ex Transylvania ante illud tempus.

Super 6° articulo dixit se nescire.

Super 7° articulo dixit: se quam saepissime audivisse annis superioribus dicentem Fratrem Georgium, cum sermo fieret, ut animum suum ad studia Serenissimi Regis Romanorum applicaret potius, quam in Turcam, spem firmam et diuturnam collocaret in his, quae ad statum tam provinciae illius, videlicet Transylvaniae, et suum, quam ad filii Ioannis Regis et Reginae, quod ipse scilicet Frater Georgius id potissimum Regi Romanorum, et in re Christiane ageret, nunquam tamen se posse credere Serenissimo Regi Romanorum, et in manus eius committere, priusquam moriturum, quam id constaret; et adducebat in exemplum Petrum Pereni<sup>52</sup> qui cum eius Maiestatis coronationis maxima pars fuerit in offerenda corona, deserto Ioanne Rege, in eius tamen mandatis carcere decessit. Hoc autem in eum finem dicere videbatur, quod cognosceret se eius Maiestati deliquisse. Afferebat et alios

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<sup>52</sup> Péter Perényi.

Servitores eius Maiestatis, ut Ludovicum Pókry<sup>53</sup>, et Ioannem Cocyaner<sup>54</sup> et aliquos alios, in quo ostendere videbatur, metuendum etiam sibi fore, ab ipsa Regia Maiestate. Tandem cum idem testis haec saepius prolata ab ipso Fratre Georgio cognovisset, audivissetque postremis temporibus eum in fidem Regiae Maiestatis Romano-rum concessurum, plurimum secum mirabatur, et eum causas tantae mutationis et fidei eius causas inquireret, et scire conaretur, dixit se ab aliis intellexisse. Quod vero zelo Christianae pietatis Transylvaniam et se ipsum in Eius fidem coniiceret, alii vero secus, scilicet, quod cum certo prospexisset Turcam in gratiam Reginae sibi capitaliter indignari, facturumque compotem Regiam voti sui de deponendo ipso Fratre ab officio, ideoque necessitate convertit studia sua in Regiam Maiestatem, quam sciebat semper summa cura ad Dominium Transylvaniae anhelasse, et eo magis, quod semper spebus eiusmodi, uti dicebatur, per nuncios et litteras tenuerit. Dicebatur etiam, quod id ipsum hac occasione nacta faciebat, ut Cardinalitiam dignitatem obtineret.

Super 8° articulo dixit: Hoc ego nescio sed vulgariter audivi.

Super 9° et 10° articulis dixit: Audivi, quod Regia Maiestas creavit eum Voyvodam Transylvaniae, et pro confidentia, quam Sua Maiestas in illo collocaverat, suis aliis Commissariis, et Capitaneis mandaverat, ut nihil sine eius consilio facerent, deferendo illi omnes primas partes.

Super 11° articulo dixit: se de hac re nihil intellexisse.

Super 12° articulo dixit: Hoc ita fuisse intellexi, et etiam audivi, cum Beglerbegus transisset Danubium, rebellarent Rasciani, et Themesvár ac Lippa perclitarentur, Fratrem Georgium coactum fuisse exire cum exercitu obviam hostibus, donec certior fieret de dignitate Cardinalitia.

Super 13° articulo dixit: De hoc audivi ita fuisse.

Super 14° articulo dixit: Audivi, quod etiam munera misit.

Super 15° 16° 17° 18° 19° 20° articulis dixit: Nescio.

Super 21° articulo dixit: Scio tantum, quod Beglerbegus venerit et palam est.

Super 22° articulo dixit: Audivi, ut in articulo ponitur, quamvis de tributo nesciam.

Super 23° articulo dixit: Ista audivi ita facta fuisse.

Super 24° 25° 26° et 27° articulis dixit se nescire.

Super 28° articulo dixit: Ista audivi.

Super 29° et 30° articulis dixit se nescire.

Super 31° articulo dixit: Ita dicebatur, ut dixi in articulo 12.

Super 32° et 33° articulis dixit: Ex vulgari sermone audivi, ita factum fuisse, et quod in eius adventu tota spes esset.

Super 34° articulo dixit: Totus mundus ita dicebat.

Super 35° et 36° articulis dixit: De his se nihil audisse.

Super 37° articulo dixit: Id quoque communi sermone audivisse, quod si ipse Frater Georgius tempestive misset auxilia illarum partium Capitaneis, populi inibi incolentes non recedebant ad hostes, prohibebaturque etiam transitus ipsis hostibus. Interrogatus, an ipse Testis sciret, vel existimaret, quod Frater Georgius potuerit subsidio venire, et tamen noluerit, respondit: Quod, cum habuerit Transylvaniam in potestate sua totam, credibile est eum

<sup>53</sup> Lajos Pekry.

<sup>54</sup> Johann Katzianer.

praestare potuisse. Sed quo animo illi populi tunc temporis ad parendum ei fuerint, se nescire, dicens Testis se hoc audivisse, quod idem Frater Georgius adhuc antea nunciasset Regiae Maiestati, ut in Transylvaniam mitteret mediocres copias tantummodo propter Regiae Maiestatis existimationem, reliqua per se ipse effecturum, cum et gentes, et pecunias esset habiturus.

Super 38° articulo dixit: Nescio.

Super 39° articulo dixit: De particularitate se loqui nescire, sed pro opinione communi fretus Beglerbegus accessione Rascianorum securius usus est suis progressibus, quia dicebatur, quod nisi Rasciani ad Beglerbegum accessissent, partes illae periclitare non fuissent.

Super 40° articulo dixit, De hoc nescio.

Super 41° articulo dixit, illas arces articulatas fuisse occupatas vi hostium, sed de literis, aut nunciis Fratris se nescire.

Super 42° 43° 44° et 45° articulis dixit se nescire.

Super 46° et 47° articulis dixit se aequae nihil scire.

Super 48° articulo dixit: Omnibus hoc esse notum.

Super 49° articulo dixit: Ista ita facta fuisse audivi, et fuit fama publica, quod Dominus Castaldus instabat plurimum, et Frater differebat.

Super 50° 51° 52° 53° et 54° articulis dixit: De istis particularitatibus ego nescio loqui.

Super 55° et 56° articulis dixit se nescire.

Super 57° articulo dixit: Ita ferebatur.

Super 58° articulo dixit: Ita factum est, ut audivi, et hoc insuper, quod si Lippha ita oppugnabatur, ut ipse Frater Georgius instituerat, nemo capiebatur, sicut ego audivi ex Francisco Literato Pestiensis<sup>55</sup>, servitore tunc Fratris.

Super 59° articulo dixit: De hac re non intellexi.

Super 60° articulo dixit: Audivi, quod miserit Gasparum Peruscitz<sup>56</sup> suum servitorem consentiente etiam Domino Castaldo una cum ipsius Castaldi homine.

Super 61° et 62° articulis dixit: Ita audivi, quod Turcae deditionem facere volebant, si salvi cum rebus suis dimitterentur, et quod Frater Georgius consulebat, ut ita fieret, asserens, hoc esse beneficium publicum, et Suae Maiestatis.

Super 63° articulo dixit: Hoc nescio.

Super 64° articulo dixit: Ego audivi ita esse factum.

Super 65° articulo dixit: Hoc etiam audivi.

Super 66° articulo dixit: De hoc nihil possum dicere.

Super 67° articulo dixit: De hac particularitate ego nescio, hoc tamen scio, quod Frater Georgius pro se procurabat liberationem Turcarum, eo diligentius, ut beneficium beneficio compensaret, quod eum ipse Ulmanbegus iuvisset opera suorum amicorum apud Turcam, quando Buda intercepta in castris ipsius Turcae Frater Georgius erat detentus.

Super 68° et 69° articulis dixit se nihil scire.

Super 70° articulo dixit: de hoc etiam nihil possum dicere, nisi quod vulgo audivissem litteras Regiae Maiestatis fuisse datas Dominis Commissariis, et aliis Capitaneis, ut quae Frater Georgius fieri vellet, acquiescerent, et quod hac ratione fuissent inducti ad subscribendum.

<sup>55</sup> Ferenc Pesty.

<sup>56</sup> Gáspár Perusics.

Super 71° articulo dixit: Audivi, quod Frater ipsum donaverit, et comites equestres ei tribuerit.

Super 72° 73° 74° et 75° articulis dixit se nescire.

Super 76° articulo dixit: Ego puto, quod intraverint.

Super 77° 78° et 79° articulis dixit se nihil scire.

Super 80° articulo dixit: Audivi, quod indictus fuerit conventus per ipsum Fratrem Georgium ad diem S. Thomae, sed inscia Maiestate Regia nec ne, non sat scio.

Super 81° et 82° articulis dixit: Ita audivi ex vulgari sermone narrari in Curia, ut in articulo ponitur.

Super 83° articulo dixit: Se intellexisse, quod cum Dominus Locumtenens Bellicus petiisset ab eo nomine Regiae Maiestatis arces quasdam, tunc primum venerit in dubium rerum suarum, et poenituerit facti, inde postea secum alia moliri incoeperit; postea ex his, quae per illum acta sunt, venerit in suspicionem de his, quae illi opponuntur, propter quae illi etiam mors fuit irrogata, eo quod sic morte intercipi debuerit, ne ea pars regni periclitaretur. Haec sunt, quae testis audivit. Interrogatus, a quibus ista audiverit? respondit: Ita vulgariter audivi. Interrogatus, an etiam eodem tempore plures essent, qui contrarium tenebant? respondit: Ipse Frater habuit etiam suas virtutes, et sua vitia, propter quas a multis laudatus fuit, et a multis improbatus, et ad hanc praesentem diem dicunt, quod melius fuisset, et maxime hi, qui pendebant ab eius auctoritate, et sentiebant commodum ex eo, ut milites et familiares eius. Interrogatus, an sit verum, quod ipse Frater Georgius quam plura opera Fidelitatis erga Suam Maiestatem, et etiam Optimi Christiani, ac defensoris fidei fecerit publice et palam, respondit: quo pacto serviverit Regiae Maiestatis, nescio, nisi hoc solum, quod bene inceperat, quando tradidit Transylvaniam Regiae Maiestati, et quod ipse Frater Georgius saepe concionabatur, et quotidie Missam audiebat, et tuebatur Religionem Catholicam contra Lutheranos iuxta ea, quae foris apparebant.

Super 84° articulo dixit: Audivi, quod nisi Frater Georgius e medio sublatus fuisset, cum iam haberet suas practicas cum Turcis, uti dicebatur, Transylvania adiisset periculum. Interrogatus: quales practicas diceretur habere? respondit se particulariter nescire, sed vulgo audivisse.

Super 85° articulo dixit: Se audivisse ex vulgari voce, quod non ita occidi debuit, sed iudicio mediante, si prius detentus exstitisset. Interrogatus an ipse Testis sciret, vel iudicaret, quod sicut interfectus fuit, ita etiam capi, et in Iudicium duci potuisset? respondit, quod res illa perfici non potuisset sine difficultatibus. Interrogatus, ut eas difficultates explicaret, et rationes redderet, respondit: quia pecuniosus erat, potens, dives, habebat amicos, fautores et Clientes. Interrogatus, quare hae difficultates non emerserunt post mortem eius, vel eum effectum mortis impediverint? respondit: Ego nescio de eventibus dicere quidquam specificice. Interrogatus: an vocatus a Rege ad Aulam venisset, et ita potuissent ei manus iniici? respondit: Nescio certe, quamvis audiverim se dicere esse venturum ad Aulam. Interrogatus, an ipse testis habeat notitiam odii, aut aemulationis inter Fratrem Georgium et Dominum Ioannem Baptistam Castaldum, et quo propterea dolose, et false fuerit delatus ad Regiam Maiestatem, et Sua Maiestas decepta talibus delationibus ipsum interfici fecerit? respondit: de hoc se aliud nescire, quam ea, quae in articulo 83° dixit.

Super 86° articulo dixit: Ego semper intellexi Dominum Castaldum in Aula Caesarum Maiestatis magno loco fuisse, et magna existimatione habitum, et virtute praeditum in re militari, et pro viro bono, religioso, et Christiano, aliquin hominem non cognosco de facie.



Super 87<sup>o</sup> articulo dixit: Nihil aliud se asserere, quam, quae iam dixit super articulis praecedentibus.

**Abbreviazioni**

ted. = tedesco



# *I prigionieri italiani nella fortezza di Szeged: i rapporti con la popolazione locale*<sup>\*</sup>

MÓNIKA KITTI FARKAS  
UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

## I. Introduzione

Da tre anni eseguo una ricerca sul tema della presenza di detenuti italiani nella fortezza di Szeged dal 1833 al 1848. Il tema non riguarda esclusivamente gli storici italiani, ma anzi è parte integrante della storia dei rapporti italo-ungheresi nell'Ottocento e si può collocarlo nel contesto europeo<sup>1</sup> dell'epoca. Se la questione principale dell'argomento e della ricerca è determinare se i prigionieri italiani della città fossero detenuti di stato o soltanto delinquenti comuni,<sup>2</sup> è importante richiamare l'attenzione anche al fatto che tramite vari documenti



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<sup>1</sup> Benché non faccia parte di questa tesi, non è tuttavia trascurabile il fatto che i ricercatori italiani hanno lo scopo principale di scoprire quanto è rilevante il legame tra i prigionieri di Szeged e i detenuti italiani che dopo i moti rivoluzionari del 1820-21 furono incarcerati nella fortezza dello Spielberg, cioè i cosiddetti membri della società segreta detta *Carboneria*. Quest'aspetto è importante perché pone la domanda: tenendo conto della politica instabile dell'Ungheria verso l'Austria nel periodo, per quale motivo furono deportati gli italiani a Szeged dopo la rivoluzione italiana del 1830-31 se gli austriaci ebbero le fortezze dello Spielberg e di Kufstein (cfr. Ráth-Végh 1956, 118.)? Sulla *carboneria*, dei moti rivoluzionari cfr. Leoncini 2012 (soprattutto gli articoli seguenti: Balčarek: *Silvio Pellico e i detenuti politici italiani allo Spielberg*; Brunelli: *Idealismo e politica nella Carboneria: aspetti culturali, organizzativi e simbolici*; Chvojka: *Tra nazionalismo e assolutismo. I Carbonari, prigionieri politici di Stato nello Spielberg*; Contegiacomo: *Spielberg. Le fonti archivistiche*; Monsagrati: *Brevi note sui Carbonari e sullo Spielberg*), Berti – Della Peruta 2004, Contegiacomo 2010, Felisati 2011.

<sup>2</sup> All'inizio della ricerca io stessa cercavo di trovare una risposta possibile a questo enigma, ma, a causa del carattere archivistico del lavoro, ho ritrovato anche delle fonti che si riferiscono all'effetto provocato dagli italiani sul popolo ungherese e sui cittadini di Szeged. Per quanto riguarda lo *status* dei detenuti italiani è stata scoperta la forte polemica tra la bibliografia italiana e quella ungherese (però neanche i ricercatori ungheresi hanno un'opinione comune), e in conseguenza di essa è diventata importante la ricerca delle fonti originali. Riassumendo brevemente i risultati del mio lavoro potrei dire che, sebbene non abbia trovato ancora la risposta definitiva, tuttavia mi ci sono avvicinata, e, in base ai documenti fino ad ora trovati, rischerei l'ipotesi che gli italiani siano stati più detenuti di stato che non delinquenti comuni. Si tratta di circa trecento scritti dal titolo "precetto politico", secondo la testimonianza dei quali con questa denominazione si intendevano probabilmente i delinquenti comuni: tutti i documenti trattano di persone che avevano commesso furti, frodi, omicidi ecc. e furono incarcerate in diversi istituti di pena italiani. Insomma, visto che nessuno di questi individui

archivistici si è rivelato un solido rapporto tra gli italiani e gli ungheresi. Questa interazione però non si limita ai ben noti fatti che, dopo la liberazione finale eseguita da Lajos Kossuth il 5 ottobre 1848, gli ex-detenuti parteciparono alla lotta d'indipendenza ungherese del 1848-1849.<sup>3</sup>

Nel corso delle mie ricerche archivistiche ho scoperto numerose fonti che ci testimoniano i vari effetti che un tale rapporto esercitò sul popolo già prima della liberazione dei prigionieri italiani. In più è apparso chiaro che conviene categorizzare i dati relativi: vi sono dei documenti che riguardano il "rapporto" con gli ungheresi durante i convogli degli italiani verso la fortezza,<sup>4</sup> mentre altri scritti ci presentano lo stesso nell'ambito della presenza italiana nella vita di Szeged dell'epoca. Nel presente lavoro ho lo scopo di analizzare il secondo aspetto tramite i documenti archivistici reperiti.

## II. Riferimenti nella bibliografia

Come punto di partenza conviene conoscere cosa dice la bibliografia riguardo alla presenza degli italiani nella fortezza di Szeged. Anche se un tale rapporto viene meno approfonditamente analizzato dagli autori, tuttavia ci sono delle brevi note nei vari studi

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fu deportato in Ungheria, sembra più possibile la presenza dei prigionieri di stato a Szeged. L'unico problema è che tra i documenti dell'Archivio di Venezia ve ne sono alcuni che ci fanno conoscere casi di italiani che davvero furono trasportati a Szeged (e le fonti rivelano che lì morirono), ma in questi casi non è registrato il motivo della deportazione. Inoltre, per la questione dello *status* cfr. Gianola 1934, XI-XII, 31-32, 50-51, 74-75, 86, 111-121, 133; Ráth-Végh 1956, 116-118; Urbán 1994, 874-876; Veress D. 1986, 142-143; Péter 1983, 23, 25; Vajna 1906-1907, 592-593; Pete 2014, 66, 98-99; Reizner 1899-1900, 109-110; Mátyás 2008, 18, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. Mátyás 2009, Pete 2014

<sup>4</sup> Le deportazioni vennero effettuate tra il 1831 e il 1847 (quella del 1831 fu ancora diretta verso la fortezza di Arad), periodo in cui 823 persone arrivarono a Szeged con dieci traduzioni (gli anni delle deportazioni: 1831, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1837, 1838, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1847). In generale, si può dire che, dopo la partenza da Venezia con le navi, arrivavano a Capodistria, a Fiume oppure a Szádrév, poi continuavano il cammino sulla terraferma (in marcia o sui carri), generalmente attraversando le città di Zággráb, Gyékényes, Szigetvár, Pécs, Szederkény, Szabadka e Horgos fino a Szeged. Il cambio della situazione politica (la morte dell'Imperatore Francesco I nel 1835) ed il numero degli incarcerati estremamente cresciuto tra il 1833 e il 1837 richiamarono la necessità urgente di liberare, in condizioni controllate, i prigionieri. Così il primo anno delle liberazioni fu il 1837, poi queste vennero attuate altre cinque volte nei seguenti anni: 1838, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1847 (con un itinerario simile a quello seguito durante le deportazioni). In totale, furono liberati in questo modo 236 italiani. Oltre alle condizioni dei trasporti ed alla composizione della scorta sono conosciuti gli effetti di tali eventi sulla popolazione ungherese della zona delle traduzioni. Infatti gli abitanti furono costretti ad aiutare i soldati tedeschi a trasportare la scorta e i prigionieri. Ed in tali occasioni, ovviamente, lasciando il loro lavoro subirono danni finanziari (preparazione forzata della fortezza di Arad: IV. A. 1003; d, 1831: 3548; alimentazione consegnata ai convogli senza pagamento: Departamentum publico-politicum 1837, n. 3. 206. e Departamentum publico-politicum 1835, n. 3. 461; ecc.), ma è ancora peggio il fatto che una volta i contadini del trasporto vennero picchiati dai soldati a causa dell'andatura lenta dei cavalli che erano così esausti da non poter più di tirare il carro stipato di prigionieri e di vari oggetti (Departamentum publico-politicum 1833, n. 3. 394). Sulle deportazioni più dettagliatamente nella bibliografia: cfr. Gianola 1934, 37-53; 59-65; 70-71; 75-77; 89-90; 97; 103; 131-132; 135; 138-139, 162-163.

che vi si riferiscono. Sono assai rilevanti soprattutto le memorie contemporanee<sup>5</sup> di alcuni cittadini,<sup>6</sup> come quelle di un commerciante, un certo János Herbich, ed altre varie descrizioni delle condizioni della prigione, le regole dei giorni ecc.<sup>7</sup> Le parole di Herbich possono essere ritenute affidabili perché il padre alloggiava un soldato della fortezza e così János Herbich aveva entrata libera nell'istituto. Il commerciante racconta che due volte alla settimana gli abitanti ebbero la possibilità di andarvi ed allora compravano oggetti artigianali fatti dagli italiani mentre gli portavano a nascosto cibi e tabacco. Nelle casematte i prigionieri recitavano temi profani (ad esempio la vita in campagna) oppure, alle feste religiose, la vita e la Passione di Gesù. Secondo Herbich i detenuti italiani cantavano benissimo: un pubblico di cittadini si riuniva le sere sotto le mure settentrionali per ascoltare il canto degli incarcerati. Inoltre, il commerciante si ricorda di una fuga, quando un italiano venne nascosto dal popolo per quattro giorni.

Praticamente, questo è tutto quel che si sa dalla bibliografia in riferimento al legame tra gli italiani e i cittadini di Szeged. Da questi dati sembra che un tale rapporto abbia avuto un effetto esclusivamente positivo sulla vita degli abitanti della città. Basandosi sulle fonti studiate, però, troviamo un'immagine molto più complessa e problematica sui rapporti interpersonali: a causa della presenza degli italiani, i cittadini anche in questo caso subirono gravi danni finanziari e si verificarono problemi sociali.

### III. Gli italiani e gli abitanti di Szeged

Tra i documenti archivistici ritrovati ci sono alcuni che trattano del funzionamento della fortezza, dell'effetto del lavoro artigianale sulla produzione delle corporazioni della città o delle lamentele di queste ultime. L'altra parte di essi testimonia che alcuni prigionieri vennero liberati dalla fortezza perché, a volte, furono gli stessi abitanti locali a chiedere la liberazione degli italiani. In certi casi le autorità accettarono le loro richieste, e i detenuti in questione spesso si unirono ai loro liberatori come garzoni artigiani. Alcune fonti però esprimono proprio le rimostranze degli abitanti di Szeged, mentre l'ultima parte degli scritti trattano di temi vari che non possono essere inclusi in nessuno di quelli sopra individuati.

#### III.1. Il lavoro artigianale degli italiani ed il suo impatto sull'economia di Szeged

Prima di tutto, è importante chiarire perché c'era il "bisogno" di far lavorare i prigionieri. La risposta sta nel fatto che, essendo la fortezza di Szeged un istituto di correzione, aveva il ruolo di rieducare<sup>8</sup> i detenuti e tale pratica venne utilizzata anche nel caso degli

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<sup>5</sup> Cfr. Vajna 1906-1907, 603-607.

<sup>6</sup> Praticamente le memorie sono citate negli studi ulteriori: cfr. Péter 1983, 24; Veress D. 1986, 142; Mátyás 2008, 23; Pete 2012, 67-68; Reizner 1899, 109.

<sup>7</sup> Un consigliere pensionato della città, Károly Vagner, racconta lo stesso nei suoi ricordi sugli italiani: cfr. Vajna 1906-1907, 606-607.

<sup>8</sup> "Il carcerato non passi il tempo in pigrizia inoperosa che non è utile né al bene comune né a sé stesso. [...] Per questo il carcerato va fatto lavorare per la sua educazione, per la prova della diligenza che quanto è più forte tanto più sarà la speranza per la liberazione, e in più non venga mantenuto gratuito." (traduzione mia, Cfr. Oláh 2000, 86.) Anche l'imperatore stesso, Francesco I, condivise l'idea del lavoro forzato degli italiani nella sua lettera del 18 febbraio 1831: "[...] Dunque

italiani, perciò loro vita fu organizzata secondo regole rigorosissime.<sup>9</sup> Ogni giorno, dopo le pulizie, lavoravano dalle cinque e mezza di mattina fino alle dodici meno un quarto. Dopo il pranzo, si rilassavano fino alle tredici e poi riprendevano il lavoro fino al crepuscolo. Da sabato pomeriggio fino a domenica sera e durante i giorni festivi i prigionieri non lavoravano, però era obbligatorio andare in chiesa due volte al giorno. Numerosi detenuti impararono l'arte della filatura e il mestiere di tessitore; ma tra loro si trovavano anche artigiani veri: sarti, calzolai, muratori, falegnami, tornitori, fabbri, pasticciere, ecc;<sup>10</sup> inoltre, e facevano tutti i lavori quotidiani: la cucina, il bucato ecc.<sup>11</sup> I vari prodotti artigianali venivano fabbricati non soltanto per il loro uso ma, come vi si è accennato sopra, anche gli abitanti di Szeged ne compravano volentieri: due volte alla settimana (dalle due di pomeriggio in estate fino alle sei, in inverno fino a buio) i cittadini potevano entrare nella fortezza, dove nel principale cortile interno c'erano dei banchi degli italiani con vari oggetti artigianali (frustini, cornici, braccialetti e anelli, statue della Vergine Maria e del crocifisso, balocchi e giocattoli vari ecc.). Per sicurezza, però, tra i prigionieri e gli ungheresi c'era un muro con una parte superiore stuccata dove potevano scambiarsi i soldi e la merce.

Nell'archivio di Szeged, però, ho ritrovato dei documenti che ci informano intorno al fatto che la popolarità delle merci prodotte dagli italiani ed acquistate dagli abitanti locali causò una grave perdita finanziaria alle corporazioni di falegnami locali dagli anni '40 dell'Ottocento: „[...] una certa lamentela della corporazione dei falegnami della città, secondo cui i prigionieri italiani della fortezza locale [...] con la produzione degli oggetti di falegnameria comandata da un giorno all'altro ci danneggia sempre di più [...]”.<sup>12</sup> Cioè, si può supporre che, in conseguenza della grande produzione italiana negli anni a partire dal 1840, la situazione delle corporazioni locali era diventata molto difficile, se non addirittura impossibile.

Il problema probabilmente non fu soltanto la quantità. In un altro documento<sup>13</sup> troviamo che „[...] i prigionieri italiani della fortezza non pagano<sup>14</sup> nulla per l'affitto, per il cibo, dunque lavorano a costo inferiore rispetto ai gastaldi locali falegnami, che sostengono un costo per retribuire gli apprendisti, per mantenere le proprie famiglie, per pagare tutte le

*la volontà altissima è che questi individui vengano corretti con il mezzo dell'insegnamento religioso diligente, dell'educazione instancabile e con rigore si vengano abituati all'ordine e al lavoro, ed è che queste persone cattive, con il passare del tempo, possono essere restituite alla loro patria, come cittadini ben e laboriosi.*” (trad. mia; cfr. Vajna 1906-1907, 599.)

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. Gianola 1934, 100-104; Vajna 1906-1907, 595-607; Ráth-Végh 1956, 118-119; Péter 1983, 24-25; Veress D. 1986, 142; Mátyás 2008, 21-23; Reizner 1899, 109; Pete 2012, 66-67.

<sup>10</sup> Cfr. Ráth-Végh 1956, 118-119; Vajna 1906-1907, 601-602.

<sup>11</sup> Così non soltanto passarono il loro tempo in modo utile, ma rimborsarono anche il costo del loro trattamento nella fortezza. Michal Chvojka nel suo studio però sottolinea: „[...] non per considerazioni economiche, ma ancora una volta quale mezzo di „distrazione” e prevenzione degli effetti dannosi derivanti dalla pigrizia.” Cfr. Chvojka 2012, 44.

<sup>12</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1842:1541. (trad. mia)

<sup>13</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1843:1087.

<sup>14</sup> Probabilmente fu questo fatto (ed inoltre il comando della corte viennese) a far proseguire l'attività artigianale agli italiani. Nello scritto, infatti, si legge il decreto dell'articolo 1741:29 che dichiara che „gli stranieri non hanno il diritto di praticare né mestiere, né commercio nel nostro paese ungherese.” (trad. mia) L'unica eccezione fu per qualcuno che si tesserò in una corporazione.

*tasse ed altre imposte della città [...]*".<sup>15</sup> Questo quadro viene completato con il seguente: „[...] non pagano le tasse del mestiere esercitato, e che non sono costretti a mantenere le loro famiglie con tutto il necessario perché non ne hanno [...]”.<sup>16</sup> Inoltre, da una parte successiva della stessa fonte veniamo a sapere che gli italiani non soltanto lavoravano a prezzo inferiore ma producevano anche vari tipi di oggetti, soddisfacendo così le diverse esigenze di “arredamento” dei cittadini: sedie brunite in paglia, sofà di legno, scrivanie, tavolette, cofani per la farina, armadi per vestiti o armadi come credenze; anzi, ebbero ordini all’ingrosso come, ad esempio, trenta sedie per una scuola (lo scritto<sup>17</sup> parla anche di 148 sedie). Per esaminare le lamentele, la Luogotenenza invitò la città a fare una lista delle merci prodotte dagli italiani, il che però non fu realizzabile, sempre secondo la fonte n° 1087, perché il lavoro eseguito nella fortezza non fu legalmente analizzabile dalle corporazioni e perché „[...] è assai inutile chiedere certificati agli acquirenti e ai committenti individuali, perché non si sa neanche chi ne ha ordinato e comprato [...]”.<sup>18</sup>

La lettera di reclamo destinata alla direzione della città dai gastaldi aveva lo scopo di ottenere la riduzione, oppure addirittura l’eliminazione totale, della produzione così intensa degli italiani. La decisione finale rinviata la troviamo per la prima volta nel documento del settembre 1845: „[...] il mestiere di falegname esercitato in modo illimitato dai prigionieri italiani è venuto in chiaro urto con la corporazione assicurata dall’amministrazione altissima e con i suoi diritti privilegiati, e così l’abolizione di una tale produzione si preveda con successo per il futuro [...]”.<sup>19</sup> A questo punto, la Luogotenenza richiamò la città di Szeged affinché provvedesse a far sì che i prodotti realizzati dai prigionieri non fossero più di quelli delle corporazioni e che i prezzi degli oggetti fatti dagli italiani non fossero superiori rispetto a quelli fissati dai gastaldi. Basandosi su un’altra fonte<sup>20</sup>, però, si può supporre che i regolamenti stabiliti dallo scritto n° 4881 non vennero applicati nella fortezza solo perché i capi dell’istituto non furono informati degli aggravii: „[...] perché sembra che la domanda della stimatissima Luogotenenza non sia stata resa nota alla Direzione degli italiani della fortezza ma, anche se le fosse stata resa nota, [...] la corporazione dei falegnami [...] non è in grado di pignorare i lavori di falegnameria fatte dagli italiani”.<sup>21</sup> Nella lettera, il gastaldo Vendel Varga, rappresentando le corporazioni locali, descrive la loro miserabile situazione.<sup>22</sup> Alla fine della lettera chiede il permesso per uno strumento giuridico che prima le corporazioni non possedevano: „[...] l’Ufficio del Capitano è raccomandato, nel caso in cui i membri della corporazione dei falegnami scoprissero i prodotti di falegnameria fatti dai prigionieri italiani della fortezza di aver allora la

<sup>15</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1843:1087. (trad. mia)

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>19</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1845:4881. (trad. mia), inoltre cfr. Gianola 1934, 134.

<sup>20</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:76.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. La citazione seguente assume quasi quasi un tono tragico: „[...] ma a cosa valgono le Istituzioni superiori perché, se non vengono resi noti alle persone in questione i divieti, se non si può agire con successo contro chi commette delle violazioni, le corporazioni sono costrette a travagliarsi di tali problemi spiacevoli!” (trad. mia)

*bontà di dare una mano alla corporazione nel pignorarli*<sup>23</sup>, cioè volevano ottenere di poter sanzionare in modo legale i prodotti degli italiani se fossero apparsi nei mercati della città.

Durante le mie ricerche, non ho trovato finora nessuna informazione in merito a come fu risolto il conflitto tra i detenuti e le corporazioni, cioè se la produzione degli italiani continuò nei due anni ancora rimasti fino alla loro liberazione oppure le due parti concordarono una soluzione di compromesso.

### III.2. La “liberazione” di alcuni prigionieri ed il suo impatto sociale

Una parte delle fonti, più o meno nell’ambito dei lavori nella fortezza, è costituita dagli scritti che si trattano, in modo particolare, della sorte dei detenuti liberati.<sup>24</sup> Con l’aiuto dei permessi rilasciati dall’autorità di Szeged, gli abitanti poterono liberare alcuni prigionieri: un tale evento dal punto di vista degli italiani fu il terzo tipo di opportunità di liberazione, oltre al trasporto decretato dalle autorità italiane e la liberazione finale eseguita da Kossuth il 5 ottobre 1848. Si può constatare che qualche volta ci fu la possibilità del rilascio per un certo numero di detenuti in seguito ai permessi richiesti dagli abitanti alle autorità di Szeged, ma sappiamo dei casi in cui queste ultime non concedevano la liberazione ai cittadini.

Da una successiva fonte<sup>25</sup> apprendiamo che nel 1845 János Branstatter, cittadino di Szeged, ricevette dal “Governo italiano” („*az olasz ország Kormányától*”) l’autorizzazione ad accogliere un detenuto della fortezza, un certo Celso Gargantini. Per quanto si ricava, però, dalla lettera destinata al Consiglio della città, il permesso del “Governo italiano” non bastava per la liberazione del prigioniero: „[...] *al Consiglio stimatissimo chiedo una certificazione, che sarei proprio io, [...] colui che ha l’intenzione di accogliere il prigioniero suddetto e che, se il Consiglio stimatissimo non ha niente in contrario, io non lascio tornare il prigioniero nella sua patria finché il Governo in riferimento non lo vuole [...]*”.<sup>26</sup> Il protocollo di riferimento testimonia che, alla fine, il Consiglio diede il permesso, ma soltanto a condizione che se, per qualsiasi motivo, Branstatter non avesse potuto badare all’italiano, allora il Consiglio avrebbe avuto il diritto di riportarlo nella fortezza o di farlo tornare in Italia.

La direzione della città non fu così arrendevole nel caso seguente.<sup>27</sup> Troviamo, infatti, che i falegnami Márton Rózsa e il figlio Imre Rózsa avrebbero voluto far liberare Giuseppe Bigotti ma, come registrato nel protocollo, non soltanto volevano accoglierlo ma anche impiegarlo nella loro bottega. La loro richiesta venne però rifiutata perché: „*Gli individui rinchiusi nell’istituto in questione [...] sono puniti per il loro cattivo comportamento e, non meritando la protezione della città, va risposto all’istituto stimato che né al supplicante Imre Rózsa né ad altri cittadini locali per il futuro è permessa la liberazione dei prigionieri italiani [...]*”.<sup>28</sup> Questo documento è importante per vari motivi. Si nota subito che, dopo un anno, in un caso più o meno simile, la decisione fu diversa in merito al rilascio dei

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>24</sup> Secondo la ricerca attuale, tali casi avvennero negli ultimi anni: almeno, le fonti di questo genere sono datate 1845 e 1846.

<sup>25</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:6015.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>27</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:1490; anche Cfr. Gianola 1934, 134.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)



detenuti in questione. Ciò che è ancora più strano è che la richiesta della famiglia Rózsa fu negata proprio da parte di Szeged perché, secondo quanto risulta dal testo, il permesso delle autorità milanesi era già arrivato, che la direzione di Szeged doveva solo mettere in atto.<sup>29</sup> È interessante anche il fatto che proprio un falegname voleva prendere Bigotti sotto protezione, il che lascia intuire che il detenuto avrebbe potuto produrre dei pezzi di bravura e che egli fosse noto per i suoi prodotti tra i cittadini e/o i gastaldi.<sup>30</sup>

La fonte seguente<sup>31</sup> tratta di un caso molto particolare che contraddice il quadro presentato in generale dalle bibliografie, nelle quali gli italiani vengono menzionati come i martiri dell'oppressione asburgica, ed anzi rafforza l'opinione espressa nel rapporto dell'alto giudice militare<sup>32</sup>: che gli italiani furono delle persone disobbedienti e senza disciplina. Il documento testimonia il comportamento (che impersonava bene il concetto del delinquente comune) dell'ex detenuto Ferenc Pirán – originariamente forse “Francesco Piràn/Piròn” – che lavorava per il tessitore Antal Haulih (oppure Haulich, si legge male). In base alla lettera del consiglio della città destinata alla Luogotenenza ed alle altre testimonianze, successe quanto segue: l'italiano in questione, per giorni, non tornò dal suo padrone, con cui aveva litigato perché era ritornato ubriaco dopo quattro giornate, dopo di ciò lasciò la casa di Haulih e si unì a qualcun altro. Però, in seguito, quasi ogni giorno andava alla casa del suo ex padrone e diceva ai domestici tali cose: „[...] il signore è a casa – questa è casa mia, gli ho dato 300 fiorini [...]”<sup>33</sup>, e poi se ne andava via. Una volta sicuramente spaventò la domestica quindicenne di Haulih e la ragazza testimoniò: „[...] mi disse: „Francesco Piràn/Piròn (?) è cattivo, ma i suoi soldi sono buoni” – il coltello con cui scavavo la terra me lo prese dalla mano e mi disse „fra due tre giorni signore maister (sic!) bum bum” e conficcò il coltello nel muro [...], mi disse [...] „baciarmi, ragazza” io gli dissi „lo vedrà la szinóre” (sic!) – chiamò così la mia padrona, [...] mi prese il coltello dalla mano di nuovo, intorno a me fece alcuni tagli, ma non capivo il motivo, e mi disse “ne csiri csáré” (sic!)”.<sup>34</sup> Alla fine, le autorità lo interrogarono per sospetto tentativo di omicidio. Nella sua testimonianza, egli cercò di spiegare le sue parole ed azioni, ma disse qualcosa di molto più interessante. Quando gli chiesero se Haulih avesse un debito con lui, l'italiano rispose di sì, all'incirca 150-160 fiorini (secondo il documento, la somma apparteneva al detenuto, probabilmente era il salario per il lavoro svolto nella fortezza, e questi soldi furono dati a Haulih dopo la liberazione dell'italiano). Si può immaginare che, tra altri motivi, anche questo debito motivò il comportamento aggressivo dell'italiano, e così si chiariscono anche le parole in riferimento ai soldi, che si leggono nella testimonianza della ragazza. Il Consiglio chiese alla Luogotenenza di scegliere tra le opzioni seguenti: „[...] il prigioniero italiano in questione e che non ha più la simpatia dalla parte dell'autorità della città va messo in quell'istituto (la fortezza di Szeged!) oppure va accompagnato nella sua patria [...]”.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.: „[...] non eseguibile la volontà della Direzione di Polizia di Mailand.” (trad. mia)

<sup>30</sup> Visto che la sua liberazione non venne effettuata, non si saprà mai quale sarebbe stata l'accoglienza di un ex detenuto italiano nella “società” delle corporazioni di falegnami della città.

<sup>31</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:2406.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. Pete 2014, 98-99.

<sup>33</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:2406. (trad. mia)

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

In un fascicolo<sup>36</sup> si tratta del caso di un certo Zanutto Angelo che „*fa parte di quei ventidue incarcerati che hanno già ottenuto l'altissima grazia e che la prossima primavera saranno rimpatriati in Italia, [...] e il prigioniero menzionato [...] vuole entrare al servizio da Sándor Tóth, tessitore gastaldo [...]*”.<sup>37</sup> Questa parte è rilevante da più punti di vista. Veniamo a sapere che il detenuto in questione ebbe la possibilità di tornare in Italia (visto che ricevette la grazia ufficiale), malgrado ciò egli decise di rimanere a Szeged (il motivo della sua decisione non è noto). L'altra questione è quella della data, secondo la quale lo scritto vide la luce nel gennaio 1845. Ma l'espressione *primavera prossima* solleva una domanda. Nella tavola di Gianola si vede infatti che, tra luglio e settembre 1845, tornò in Italia il quinto convoglio di prigionieri graziati<sup>38</sup>, e anche riguardo ai dati numerici della stessa tavola, ci sono delle differenze nel numero dei prigionieri liberati rispetto alla fonte<sup>39</sup> in questione: mentre Gianola stabilisce che 36 è il numero dei prigionieri rientrati, la fonte<sup>40</sup> invece menziona 22 persone. Per risolvere questo tipo di problemi occorrono ancora ricerche archivistiche perché non si esclude che esistano fonti diverse sul numero dei detenuti graziati.

A Sándor Tóth fu permesso di accogliere un ex-prigioniero, ma soltanto ad una condizione: limitare le uscite di Zanutto e non lasciarlo tornare in Italia senza la concessione dalle autorità italiane. Per quest'ultima, a quanto pare, si doveva aspettare molto tempo visto che in una fonte<sup>41</sup> datata gennaio 1846 troviamo che „*non è stato comunicato nessun reclamo contro il prigioniero italiano liberato, Angelo Zanutto, da Sándor Tóth, commerciante locale [...]*”<sup>42</sup>: e ciò prova che, dopo un anno, l'italiano era ancora dal commerciante. I due documenti riguardanti lo stesso prigioniero sono contrastanti, infatti, il secondo documento dice che fu proprio Sándor Tóth a chiedere il rilascio dell'italiano, mentre nel caso precedente si tratta del desiderio di Zanutto di poter essere accolto dal mercante.

Insomma, non sempre le richieste degli abitanti di Szeged vennero accettate e, con il passare del tempo, le condizioni delle liberazioni degli italiani diventarono sempre più severe. Benché sappiamo di pochi casi di liberazione dei prigionieri grazie ai permessi, l'importanza delle fonti è più che evidente, in quanto il permesso concesso agli abitanti di Szeged di accogliere prigionieri italiani fu per questi una buona opportunità di “lasciare” la fortezza.

### III.3. Casi vari in riferimento alla presenza degli italiani

Sempre in merito al rapporto tra gli italiani ed i locali, il prossimo gruppo di documenti tratta di casi concreti di danni finanziari che riguardarono i cittadini oppure la direzione della città.

<sup>36</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1845:495.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>38</sup> Non può riferirsi ad un altro convoglio visto che il trasporto seguente venne realizzato dal novembre 1847 al gennaio 1848. Cfr. Gianola 1934, 162-163.

<sup>39</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1845:495.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:53.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

Nell'ambito dei documenti riguardanti il funzionamento della fortezza, vi è uno<sup>43</sup> che contiene molte informazioni sui pagamenti saltati. Le fonti datate soprattutto al 1846, trasmettono la lamentela su una ricompensa che non venne effettuata nel periodo dal 9 giugno 1837 al 31 ottobre 1844: „[...] il pagamento dell'affitto delle case degli ufficiali della compagnia di soldati moltiplicata per il motivo di custodire i prigionieri italiani venga effettuato dalla cassa dell'esercito, visto che una somma di 5475 fiorini dall'anno 1837 non è stata ancora pagata”.<sup>44</sup> Secondo il manoscritto, il costo dell'appartamento di due capitani e sei sottufficiali poteva essere risarcito alla città di Szeged solo dopo che un intendente designato avesse stilato un elenco delle spese. Così è evidente che proprio la città di Szeged aveva delle complicazioni con la rivendicazione delle spese sostenute, e soltanto dopo anni furono prese decisioni soddisfacenti.

In un fascicolo con più documenti, troviamo la lettera di reclamo di János Pfeilschifter, rappresentante delle corporazioni delle panetterie.<sup>45</sup> Egli insorse in seguito all'ordine dal Governo riguardo ai prigionieri italiani, in quanto esso stabilisce che „[...] all'asta pubblica per il diritto del trasporto di pane ai prigionieri italiani non vada lasciato partecipare nessun altro oltre i gastaldi [...]”<sup>46</sup>, ma tale ordine non venne rispettato. Il testo dice, infatti, che i fornai volevano che il fabbro Ádám Burghard non avesse la possibilità di partecipare all'appalto. Dal reclamo, però, sappiamo che „[...] malgrado la promessa e la lettera del Governo indirizzata al Consiglio, la cottura del pane è stato aggiudicata a Burghard per 17 fiorini [...]”.<sup>47</sup> In seguito a tali eventi, i fornai raccolsero le loro repliche in diversi punti. Tra questi ce n'è uno che riconosce la possibilità di svolgere un mestiere soltanto alle persone che godono dei privilegi delle corporazioni mentre, in base alla Legge Nazionale, un gastaldo poteva svolgere soltanto una sola attività. Essi ipotizzarono che, se tutti potessero ricevere il permesso per fare il fornaio, questo potrebbe, a lungo termine, provocare il peggioramento della qualità del pane e, alla fine, enunciarono la loro opinione sui prigionieri italiani.<sup>48</sup>

Tra i vari fascicoli di documenti troviamo quelli<sup>49</sup> che contengono gli atti degli esami cui furono sottoposti o ai quali parteciparono i cittadini locali. Ho ritrovato ad esempio lo scritto del Consiglio della città, in cui troviamo le seguenti informazioni:

*„[...] per gli italiani incarcerati in questa città è mantenuto il tribunale punitivo degli individui civili [...] ed è stato incaricato con la condizione: che l'esame, secondo i delitti dei prigionieri in questione e secondo il Codice sui delitti gravi politici legittimo nel Regno Lombardo-Veneto, il procuratore della guardia della fortezza di questa città, a nome Bősek, scelga due persone di status civile [...] che*

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<sup>43</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1846:1184.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>45</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1835:1951/3163. Inoltre cfr. Gianola 1934, 73; anche Károly Vagner menziona nelle sue memorie che imprenditori portavano il pane alla fortezza, cfr. Vajna 1906-1907, 607.

<sup>46</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1835:1951/3163. (trad. mia)

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.: „[...] a favore di uno straniero non si può cambiare le leggi ed i privilegi nazionali.” (trad. mia)

<sup>49</sup> Archivio Nazionale di Budapest, Departamentum publico-politicum 1836, n. 3. 166.

*possono essere scelti tra i cittadini locali per eseguire l'esame degli individui in questione [...]”*.<sup>50</sup>

A questo caso è collegata un'altra fonte<sup>51</sup> che denomina le persone che furono scelte per l'incarico. Henrik Pillner e Ferenc Trencsényi, che “*erano presenti come delegati all'esame ufficiale eseguito nel caso dei prigionieri italiani*”<sup>52</sup>, e che per il lavoro ricevettero una diaria di 24 fiorini.<sup>53</sup> C'è un manoscritto simile in cui troviamo che Ferenc Trencsényi e József Schvarcz vennero scelti per svolgere lo stesso incarico, e che per tale lavoro ebbero lo stesso onorario di 24 fiorini. Viene menzionato inoltre in un'altra fonte<sup>54</sup> il fatto che i cittadini scelti per poter partecipare all'esame „*spesso passavano giorni interi e così dovevano lasciare indietro, con danni notevoli, il guadagno del proprio patrimonio.*”<sup>55</sup> Nella fonte troviamo quindi un ulteriore dato ai documenti, già presentati, che trattano di un qualsiasi danno contro gli abitanti.<sup>56</sup>

Nel caso del corpo misto delle fonti varie parliamo di affari particolari. Anche se qualche volta si intrecciano con casi economici e finanziari simili a quelli già presentati, i documenti si riferiscono alle situazioni in cui gli italiani ebbero una posizione molto passiva, rispetto per esempio ai danni economici causati ai falegnami, e cioè presentano problemi secondari e indiretti che sono i risultati di quasi “una industria”<sup>57</sup> che si basava sui prigionieri italiani della fortezza.

#### IV. Conclusioni

In questo lavoro volevo presentare alcuni itinerari percorsi durante la mia ricerca, sottolineando la particolare importanza che i documenti ritrovati possano acquistare per la storia locale, visto che finora nella bibliografia questo aspetto non era molto indagato. Spero di essere riuscita a dimostrare che il tema non ha esclusivamente l'aspetto storico, bensì sia fortemente contaminato da quello socio-culturale, economico e giuridico ecc.

Penso che le fonti qui presentate possano meglio illuminare il vero carattere del rapporto tra i prigionieri italiani della fortezza e i cittadini di Szeged, evidenziandone le sfumature che vanno al di là dell'aspetto esclusivamente positivo. Naturalmente tutto ciò non

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia); cfr. Vajna 1906-1907, 592-593. Vajna indica il documento con il numero 8719.

<sup>51</sup> Archivio Nazionale di Budapest, Departamentum publico-politicum 1837, n. 3. 349.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>53</sup> Vajna si riferisce ad un altro scritto in cui si trova l'informazione sui cittadini scelti. Cfr. Vajna 1906-1907, 593.

<sup>54</sup> Archivio di Szeged, IV. A. 1003; d, 1838:1348.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. (trad. mia)

<sup>56</sup> Riguardo a questi due documenti cfr. Gianola 1934, 79.

<sup>57</sup> Non è un'esagerazione dire “industria”. Una pagina della fonte IV. A. 1003; d, 1833:1994. (Archivio di Szeged) tratta del caso in cui un certo János Tregelle, macellaio, nonostante non facesse parte della corporazione dei macellai e senza aver quindi il diritto di macellare e di portare delle carni alla fortezza, lo fece lo stesso: (“[...] *macellava senza permesso carne per i deportati della fortezza e si permetteva così, da mascalzone, di possedere i privilegi della città [...]*”, traduzione mia). Di conseguenza, la pena comminatagli fu l'arresto per 48 ore e la confisca della carne per l'ospedale. Inoltre, fu richiamata l'attenzione a che “[...] *per il futuro la carne per i deportati va comprata dai macelleria della città [...]*.” (trad. mia)

vuol dire che non siano vere le informazioni sulla simpatia che gli abitanti di Szeged manifestavano in varie situazioni verso gli italiani incarcerati. Anzi, io credo che, nonostante le reazioni ostili di certi gruppi dell'amministrazione della città, in fondo ci sia stato un forte interesse, curiosità e persino benevolenza, da parte dei cittadini nei loro confronti.

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## ***Rapporti letterari tra Malta e la Sicilia Prospettive veriste nella narrativa maltese***

**OLIVER FRIGGIERI**  
UNIVERSITÀ DI MALTA

L'indagine sulla continuità culturale tra Malta e la Sicilia assume di necessità un carattere multiforme e può essere condotta su vari livelli. Qui si cercherà soltanto di delineare in quale modo la letteratura 'italiana' emanata dalla Sicilia ha condotto lo spirito creativo maltese ad approdare a nuove aperture, o meglio a prendere coscienza di un altro filone entro la scoperta fondamentale del romanticismo storico inteso sostanzialmente come autocoscienza etnica, politica, linguistica e culturale.

### **La nazionalità tradotta in coscienza sociale**

Già il romanticismo di Manzoni, di Foscolo e di Mazzini aveva proposto alla ribalta maltese l'interpretazione del paese come nazione, come comunione di affetti e di ideali che si realizzano solamente attraverso la strategia del confronto tra il dominatore e il dominato. Il nazionalismo man mano che procedeva su diversi binari che hanno auspicato la riflessione sull'origine etnica, culturale e storica, e sulla efficacia della coltivazione dell'antica lingua popolare, esigeva la formazione di gruppi ribelli che si mettevano a confronto con le forze coloniali britanniche. Anche se pacato e spesso troppo rassegnato, l'esame di coscienza nazionale abbracciava le idealità radicali che con il progresso dell'emancipazione costituzionale dovevano per forza condurre all'affermazione dell'io collettivo inteso come patria autonoma. Maturandosi questa consapevolezza l'isola era destinata ad arrivare ad un'altra tappa del pensiero e della prassi proposta dalla cultura della regione.

Il romanticismo si presentava innanzitutto come movimento di altezza e di dignità. La sua matrice nordica era abbastanza evidente, come dimostra ampiamente la vasta fortuna del Manzoni a Malta, sia nel campo della narrativa storico-epica sia nel settore della poesia patriottica, civile e religiosa. L'innologia, politica e cristiana, che si è sviluppata a livello letterario deve molto alla sua influenza tematica e formale. Ma c'era già in questo quadro l'insinuarsi di un'altra analisi, più immediata e pratica, meno lontana dalle piccole idealità della gente comune. La nuova apertura proposta dal verismo viene subito riconosciuta anch'essa, anche se le condizioni politiche dell'isola esigevano ancora un concentrarsi sulla causa eminentemente nazionale, cioè l'acquisto di nuovi diritti riguardanti la nazione come tale nei confronti del governo inglese.

Ma l'insoddisfazione politica, quella che doveva esprimersi alla luce dei contenuti e delle forme del romanticismo, era difficilmente distinguibile dall'insoddisfazione sociale delle classi subalterne. Romanticismo e realismo, dunque, si intrecciano già sul livello sociale, forse ancora prima che gli scrittori maltesi s'accorgessero della necessità di dare

rilievo ad una tematica basata sull'osservazione dei cosiddetti 'documenti umani'. Come in altri momenti, la cosa nasceva prima dell'idea della cosa.

Analizzando la sostanza del fenomeno italo-maltese, si deve partire dalla premessa conclusiva che "la vera poetica verista [...] ha esclusivo territorio di espansione e di approfondimento artistico nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia".<sup>1</sup> Lo scrittore maltese medio della tradizione si riconosceva subito nell'identità letteraria della regione, mentre il fenomeno dell'esistenza insulare di Malta è più identificabile attraverso un procedimento verista che romantico. Si può dunque arrivare alla conclusione che qui si profila con decisione un nuovo rapporto a vari livelli tra la letteratura italiana che proviene dalla Sicilia e l'esperienza analoga della piccola comunità maltese. Alla supremazia di un Manzoni e di un Foscolo, considerati soprattutto come modelli di assoluta dignità stilistica, subentra quella di un Verga e di un Capuana, intesa come l'espressione di un contenuto efficace. Il bozzettismo di tipo toscano, spesso assai borghese ed equilibrato, presente nella lirica di Guze' Muscat Azzopardi (1853-1927) e Dun Karm (1871-1961), si unisce spesso ad una indagine sociale di stampo classicista che dalla dicotomia tra dominatore straniero e dominato indigeno passa a quella tra lo sfruttatore e lo sfruttato. Tirando le somme con una ardita semplificazione si potrebbe constatare che dopo la scoperta della forma (romantica) avanza tranquillamente quella della materia (verista). Dalla presa di coscienza nazionale si avvia alla consapevolezza sociale.

Questa fusione di senso nazionale e senso sociale si fa presente già nella poesia 'politica' di Gian Antonio Vassallo (1817-1868), poeta di carattere lirico, satirico e patriottico che, pur essendosi ispirato alle idealità romantiche, dà ampio rilievo, in sede teorica e in sede pratica, alla problematica della gente umile. Nei limiti del presente discorso, va ricordata la sua amicizia con il poeta siracusano Emanuele Giaracà (1825-1861) che alla notizia della morte del maltese, oltre ad una lunga ode saffica *In morte dell'egregio professore G. A. Vassallo*,<sup>2</sup> scrisse anche una lettera esprimendo il suo dispiacere.<sup>3</sup> La meridionalità di

<sup>1</sup> G. Petrocchi - P.G. Ricci, *Letteratura italiana*, Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1963, p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. P. Cesario, *Vita ed opere del fu professore Dr Gio Antonio Vassallo*, Malta, Tip. Strada Federico, 1868, pp. 3942.

<sup>3</sup> Giaracà scrisse: "Riposa in pace, o infelice amico, e ricevi in cielo il premio delle tue virtù e dei tuoi meriti" e ancora: "gli onori funebri resi alla sua spoglia mostrano che veramente godeva egli la pubblica stima tanto rara a conseguirsi nel proprio paese dove ordinariamente le invidie e le basse rivalità sogliono essere più violente e implacabili" (*ibid* p 29). Paolo de Bono, *Breve compendio della Storia di Malta*, Malta, Stamperia del Governo, 1899, pp. 46-47, cita la seguente ode saffica di Giaracà, ispirata al grande assedio di Malta del 1565 e indirizzata ai giovani maltesi:

Colma di gloria che non teme oblio  
E' pur tua patria; a un immortal cimento  
Sfolgorò grande, e le diè spirti Iddio,  
Dielle ardimento.

Vedi incontro a la torva oste bendata  
Del turrito Sant'Ermio in su la vetta  
Lampeggia ancor la grande ombra adirata  
Di La Valletta.

Vè de' suoi prodi cavalieri ardenti



Vassallo, il primo letterato maltese di rilievo a dedicarsi con decisione alla poesia nell'idioma incolto, è certamente degna di essere approfondita.

### Il dibattito maltese sul verismo

Seguendo sempre la linea che riconosce il verismo come movimento di nascita e di espansione nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, si può capire perché anche una rivista letteraria di carattere ancora romantico risorgimentale come "Malta Letteraria", iniziata nel 1904, stabilisce subito un saldo rapporto con diversi scrittori siciliani. Le sue pagine si alternano spesso tra opere di scrittori maltesi e scrittori siciliani. Le due visioni, romantica e verista, si mescolano e danno rilievo ad una sintesi che può mettere in luce la duplice sfida: riconoscere i diritti storici della cultura maltese e indagare le esigenze più immediate del popolo. Accanto alle riflessioni sulle opere dei protagonisti del romanticismo italiano e all'assimilazione di temi e di stili degli stessi, si faceva presente sempre di più il bisogno di scoprire meglio la situazione sociale e di tradurla in un motivo di massima importanza.<sup>4</sup>

Una schiera di autori minori siciliani hanno dato il loro contributo a questo nuovo comportamento. Basterebbe ricordare le opere di Giorgio Occhipinti (Ragusa)<sup>5</sup>, Pietro Sancio

Terribilmente fiammeggiar le spade,  
E le spume del mar sanguinolenti  
D'orrida clade,

E la rabbia ottomana in van feroce  
Morder la polve de' tuoi lidi, e in alto  
Ne' tuoi vessilli trionfar la croce  
Del truce assalto,

Gloria fu quella in cui ricordo è santo,  
ch'empie ancor tue gentili alme di foco.  
Oh grande è ben se di tal glorie ha vanto  
Il natio loco.

Oh vi raccenda il glorioso tema  
De le patrie memorie, alto, fecondo  
Di forti esempi: un immortal poema  
Lo canti al mondo.

Queste strofe furono tradotte in inglese da D. Fallon (P. de Bono, *A Brief Compendium of the History of Malta*, Malta, Daily Malta Chronicle Office, 1903, p. 39) e in maltese da G. Muscat Azzopardi (P. de Bono, *L-Istorja ta' Malta Migjuba fil-Qasir*, Malta, Stamperija tal-Malta, 1903, pp. 51-52).

<sup>4</sup> G. Petrocchi - P.G. Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 596.s

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. *In villa*, M.L., I, 6, ott. 1904, pp. 169-171; *Le avventure di Aristonoo*, M.L., I, 8, dic. 1904, pp. 230-242; *Un povero attore*, M.L., III, 23, marzo 1906, pp. 78-82; *Sopra il monumento*, M.L., 111, 24-25, aprile-maggio 1906, pp. 122-123; recensione a *Liriche siciliane* di G. Marini, III, 30, ott. 1906, pp. 289-294; *Perdita dolorosa* e *Adios*, M.L., III, 31, nov. 1906, pp. 336-337; *Messina* M.L., V, 4748, marzo-aprile 1908, pp. 74-76; *Sopra tre tele di Pietro Novelli*, M.L., V, 49, maggio 1908, pp. 144-146.

(Messina)<sup>6</sup>, dei catanesi G. Villaroel<sup>7</sup> Ludovico Florio<sup>8</sup>, Francesco Falcone<sup>9</sup>, Antonio Deni<sup>10</sup> e Adriano Colocci<sup>11</sup>, e particolarmente di Emilio M. Di Natale (Siracusa)<sup>12</sup> e Cecilia Deni (Catania)<sup>13</sup>. Questa presenza merita uno studio a parte perché indica un altro aspetto della collaborazione tra due gruppi di scrittori, accomunati da un unico interesse di andare oltre gli stretti confini del proprio paese. Merita una riflessione anche la collaborazione a livello editoriale che almeno dalla pubblicazione dell'opera di Domenico Magri (1604-1672) a Messina nel 1644<sup>14</sup> fino ai nostri tempi costituisce una scelta indicativa da parte degli scrittori maltesi.<sup>15</sup>

Il rapporto è veramente sostanziale, comunque, in sede teorica. Negli ultimi decenni dell'Ottocento anche la sensibilità maltese comincia a prendere coscienza di un modo diverso di concepire il mondo e di fare letteratura. Mentre a livello linguistico continua il grosso dibattito sulla scelta tra l'italiano (la lingua dell'alta cultura tradizionale) e il maltese (l'idioma antico e incolto delle masse), in sé la scelta costituisce un confronto tra un idealismo e un realismo, o meglio uno scontro tra dignità latina e una eredità subalterna dipirato origine semitica – e man mano che si avvia verso un realismo linguistico, cioè mentre cresce l'appoggio alla coltivazione del maltese, si aprono gli spazi concessi alla sua presenza giornalistica e letteraria, nel campo del pensiero letterario continua di necessità la

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. *L'asino vittorioso e L'anello*, M.L., III, 26, giugno 1906, pp. 188, 189; *L'ovido e il pendolo e L'eterno sfruttato*, M.L., III, 29, sett. 1906, p. 272.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. *Il ritorno delle partenze e Attimo*, M.L., VII, 75-76, luglio-agosto 1910, pp. 238-239.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. *Rapporto tra posta e privati*, M.L., VI, 65-66, sett.-ott. 1909, pp. 257-263.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. *Partecipazione*, M.L., III, 26, giugno 1906, pp. 182-186.

<sup>10</sup> Cfr. *Fantasia ionica*, M.L., III, 7, luglio 1906, pp. 223-224; *Verso l'ignoto*, M.L., V, 49, maggio 1908, pp. 136-143; *Una visùta all'on. Angelo Majorana*, M.L., V, 50-51, giugno-luglio 1908, pp. 274-281; *L'onorevole Vasario*, M.L., V, 54, ott.-nov. 1908, pp. 328-333; *Messina non e' morta*, M.L., V, 54, ott.-nov. 1908, pp. 342-344; *Amori fugaci*, VI, 75-76, maggio-giugno 1910, pp. 134-138.

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. *Stratagemme*, VI, 61-62, maggio-giugno 1909, pp. 127-147.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. *Noblesse obblige*, M.L., I, 5, sett. 1904, pp. 157-160; I, 6, ott. 1904, pp. 185-192; I, 7, nov. 1904, pp. 217-224; I, 8, dic. 1904, pp. 248-258; *In corte d'assise*, M.L., III, 21, genn. 1906, pp. 25-26; *La neve a Siracusa*, M.L., III, 22, febb. 1906, pp. 40-42; *Laura Breitherzlich*, M.L., VIII, 85-86, maggio-giugno 1911, pp. 169-185; VIII, 87-88, luglio-agosto 1911, pp. 241-254; VIII, 89-92, sett.-dic. 1911, pp. 370-378; IX, 93-94, genn.-febb. 1912, pp. 51-60; IX, 95-96, marzo-aprile 1912, pp. 119-126; IX, 97-98, maggio-giugno 1912, pp. 178-186; IX, 99-100, luglio-agosto 1912, pp. 245-252; IX, 101-102, sett.-ott. 1912, pp. 316-321; IX, 103-104, nov.-dic. 1912, pp. 379-382; X, 105-106, genn.-febb. 1913, pp. 59-64; X, 107-110, marzo-giugno 1913, pp. 173-180; X, 111-114, luglio-ott. 1913, pp. 286-311.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. *Idilli autunnali*, M.L., I, 1, maggio 1904, pp. 13-15; *I sonetti di Vittorio Alfieri*, M.L., I, 3, luglio 1904, pp. 65-74; I, 4, agosto 1904, pp. 97-107; I, 5, sett. 1904, pp. 130-138; *Io vedo*, III, 28, agosto 1906, p. 225; *Funere mersit acerbo*, M.L., VII, 69-70, genn.-febb. 1910, pp. 5-27; *Per un numero mariano*, M.L., IX, 99-100, luglio-agosto 1912, pp. 253-254; recensione a *Vittorie inutili* di G. Simili, M.L., IX, 101-102, sett.-ott. 1912, pp. 322-325.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. D. Magri, *Notitia de' vocaboli ecclesiastici con la dichiarazione delle cerimonie e origine de' riti sacri*, Messina, Pietro Brea, 1644.

<sup>15</sup> Basterebbe citare alcuni titoli pubblicati nel periodo che si sta discutendo: A. Giglio, *Adonais di Percy Bysshe Shelley, traduzione ed altri versi*, Ragusa, Piccitto & Antoci, 1899; A. Cesareo, *Risveglio*, Palermo, Remo Sandron, 1931.

supremazia dei letterati maltesi in lingua italiana, cioè di quelli che erano in grado di nutrirsi delle impostazioni, conservatrici e rinnovatrici, venute dall'estero.

Fino a questo momento gli autori si ispiravano maggiormente ai classici italiani per quanto riguardava sia forma, sia il contenuto. Con l'arrivo della mentalità positivista la fonte di ispirazione doveva segnalare una novità, cioè la scoperta del meridione, anche esso dignitoso. Si può intravedere un parallelismo spirituale e psicologico tra la meridionalità letteraria e la condizione di inferiorità in cui si trovavano sia il maltese sia la tematica direttamente ispirata al popolo e diretta verso il popolo. Ecco perché anche nel santuario degli scrittori che si opponevano alla coltivazione dell'idioma popolare, l'eredità verista doveva almeno condurre all'intuizione di un profondo paradosso.

Il dibattito intorno alle varie idee di quei decenni risale alla superficie nelle opere di diversi scrittori. Nicola Zammit (1815-1899), filosofo, saggista e narratore, cerca di capire come le nuove scoperte scientifiche potevano aiutare la creazione artistica, qui concepita come la fedele interpretazione dell'esperienza umana più diretta. Secondo Zammit la scienza, l'arte e la società arrivate ad un momento di revisione radicale, si dichiarano illuminate e produttive. Il problema dell'arte è la vita stessa, e il suo soggetto è la materia. Quale sarebbe la letteratura più confacente a questa concezione? Contro una letteratura distaccata dalle tensioni delle masse popolari, Zammit auspica la nascita di un'arte radicata nella realtà stessa: "Seguendo il corso della civiltà del tempo nel tortuoso cammino del suo progresso, si può dire la letteratura moderna, nell'ultima fase del suo svolgimento, l'espressione della coscienza del secolo e delle sue sociali aspirazioni; è la scuola del popolo, è suo compito illuminare la sua miseria, i suoi travagli ed educare le sue passioni [...] Uscita dalle tempeste d'un immane dramma di sociali perturbazioni essa si ricompone a più serio atteggiamento [...] La letteratura attuale scende fra le masse e professa un ministero profondamente civile".<sup>16</sup>

Zammit afferma che il senso del bello è ora meglio capito e integrato con il senso dell'utilità. Ora la letteratura studia meglio l'uomo che il libro, interroga più la natura che le dottrine, e sceglie l'impostazione positiva di un empirismo che è in grado di raffrenare le stravaganze della speculazione e dell'astrattismo.<sup>17</sup> Polemizzando contro un romanticismo estremo, Zammit conclude che ora il romanzo è diventato veramente un panorama sociale.<sup>18</sup> La scelta che si propone davanti all'artista è quella tra la ricerca del vero e la fuga in un mondo di fantasticherie: "Il falso non educa la mente; non riesce nel vero chi cammina colla menzogna, ne è mai letterato chi ha coltivato solamente una fantasia".<sup>19</sup>

Dall'altro canto la rigidità della posizione conservatrice doveva, per vari motivi storici e culturali, continuare ancora. Il giudizio di Salvatore Castaldi (1856-1904) è del tutto a favore dei valori tradizionali, particolarmente quelli incorporati in Parini e in Manzoni, idealizzati e valorizzati nel loro senso di correttezza morale, e contro "le falsità delle moderne scuole letterarie d'Italia" capeggiate da Carducci, Rapisardi, Stecchetti e D'Annunzio.<sup>20</sup> Castaldi osserva con sdegno che "l'ufficio dello scrittore è ridotto a ritrarre anzi a fotografare la società in mezzo a cui egli vive; null'altro; avrete letteratura immorale se il popolo

<sup>16</sup> N. Zammit, *Pensieri d'un retrogrado*, Malta, Giovanni Muscat, 1888, p. 474.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 475.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 480.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 481.

<sup>20</sup> S. Castaldi, *Della letteratura educatrice*, Malta, Tipografia del Malta, 1897, p. 5.

è corrotto, austera e pura se è virtuoso, frivola se è raffinato e molle... L'arte, che dovrebbe essere intelletto che ammaestra, luce che illumina, stella che guida, non ha a far altro che riflettere, quasi specchio terso, le bassezze e le ingordigie, e le viltà, e le poche gioie, e i molti dolori del giorno, anzi dell'ora presente".<sup>21</sup> I versi di Rapisardi:

Non vogliam pane, ma sangue, ma sangue,  
Ma un giorno solo d'allegra vendetta

sono una evidenza della falsità e della malvagità della scuola realista, un'arte in cui il Castaldi vede soltanto "la meschina vacuità, la frivolezza, la turpitudine".<sup>22</sup>

Indicando il programma educativo che "Malta Letteraria" intendeva seguire, Anastasio Cuschieri (1876-1962), filosofo e poeta, riconosce l'efficacia delle conquiste scientifiche dell'epoca, nuova fonte di conoscenza umana e campo di ispirazione artistica. La sua posizione resta lontana da ogni estremismo. Il pensiero moderno deve attirare sempre e mai incatenare: "Le superbe conquiste sul terreno dei fatti fisici e naturali, l'analisi acuta minutissima dei fenomeni psichici e sociali basterebbero a rendere simpatica la scienza moderna... se, viceversa, non fosse qua e là inquinata di spiegazioni eccessivamente positiviste. Nè è da tacere il contributo benefico e largo che gli studi recenti hanno recato alle scienze storiche, rendendone più serii, più positivi, più fecondi i metodi."<sup>23</sup>

### Esempi di partecipazione maltese al verismo

Nei primi quattro decenni di questo secolo alcuni romanzieri maltesi, pur non impegnandosi in una consapevole polemica, avevano respinto le idealità nazionalistiche ed epiche di altri autori precedenti e contemporanei e si rivolgevano alle povere condizioni di una sezione della popolazione. La dimensione dello spazio, finora inteso in termini di completezza territoriale, si andava traducendo in una consapevolezza del limite, o meglio delle parti che costituiscono l'insieme. Invece della nazione subentra il luogo chiuso, l'ambiente abietto. La ricerca della realtà ambientale, la riflessione amara sul condizionamento in cui si svolgeva la vita della classe operaia, l'osservazione dei fatti, la fedele rappresentazione dei costumi e delle attività più comuni e la formazione di una inchiesta sociale sono alcuni degli spunti che gradualmente trovano ampio rilievo nella narrativa in lingua maltese e che si confrontano, pacificamente ma con deciso distacco, con la narrativa di stampo sostanzialmente patriottico. È giusto aggiungere, comunque, che in quest'ultima il filone realistico si intravede sottilmente e alla celebrazione degli eventi storici di un passato lontano si mescola una riflessione sociale appena suggerita e una osservazione sofferta anche se di vaghe implicazioni, dell'ambiente immediato. L'eredità manzoniana, ampiamente assimilata da Guzè Muscat Azzopardi in *Toni Bajada* (1878), *Viku Mason* (1881), *Susanna* (1883), *Cejlu*

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. pp. 8-9.

<sup>23</sup> A. Cuschieri, *Ancora un po' di programma*, M.L., I, 2, giugno 1904, p. 35. Per un approfondito trattamento della presenza e dello svolgimento di questa prospettiva esistenziale e letteraria a Malta cfr. il saggio fondamentale di Joseph M. Brincat, *Il-verizmu f' Malta: mill-buzzett ghall-ewwel rumanz socjali*, J.M.S., 21-22, 1991-1992, pp. 91-113.

*Tonna* (1886), *Censu Barbara* (1893) e *Nazju Ellul* (1909), da Anton Manwel Caruana (1839-1907) in *Inez Farrug* (1889), da Salvatore Frendo de Mannarino (1845-1918) in *Barunissa Maltija* (1893), e da Guzè Aquilina (1911-1997) in *Taht Tliet Saltmiet* (1938), non manca di concedere uno spazio all'indagine sulla condizione reale della gente.

I romanzi ispirati a quelli che Verga chiama 'i vinti' si liberano completamente dei residui dell'idealismo e scoprono il vero di una classe sociale, additando le cause della sua sfortuna. Per Gwann Mamo (1886-1941), l'autore di *Uljed in-nanna Venut fl-Amerka* (1930), il romanzo deve tradursi in un panorama dell'esperienza popolare; lui stesso dichiara di aver cercato di scoprire al massimo i costumi degli umili e di utilizzare "quel mare di espressioni dette dalle masse incolte". Mamo, un realista paradossale che riesce a sciogliere il dramma contemporaneo in uno spettacolo divertente, e Temi Zammit (1864-1935), un narratore che prende lo spunto dalle limitatezze e dai piccoli interessi della classe rurale, si sforzano di produrre con fedeltà la teatralità dell'esperienza comune, di protagonisti senza nome e privi di identità distintiva, sfruttando addirittura le sfumature del dialetto. La loro osservazione è intenzionalmente oggettiva ma suggerisce subito un processo di innamoramento tra l'autore e il documento umano.

Sono numerosi gli spunti ritrattistici nei racconti di Dun Xand Cortis (1856-1916), che non si allontana mai dal piccolo mondo dei suoi umili personaggi. Le novelle di Ninu Cremona (1880-1972), particolarmente *Bejn Zewgt Iqlub* (1925), *Sedina f'Rahal* (1929) e *Zjara lil Habib f'Rahal* (1936), si traducono spesso in quadretti dell'ambiente paesano, intrecciando il contenuto folkloristico con una riflessione di tipo psicologico. *Is-Salib tal-Fidda* (1939) di Wistìn Born (1910-1986) parte dalla premessa che sia i personaggi sia il linguaggio si adeguano pienamente ad una realtà vissuta o osservata, e manifesta l'impegno diretto del narratore ad arrivare ad una rappresentazione oggettiva, anche se mai priva di emozione.

Nella stessa direzione camminano Guzè Ellul Mercer (1897-1961) di *Leli ta' Haz-Zghir* (1938), un racconto che scopre il limite del villaggio e s'accorge subito del bisogno di andare oltre, per arrivare con difficoltà ad un ambiguo realismo che in ultima analisi è insito nella privatezza di una coscienza turbata, e Guzè Orlando (1898-1962) che in *L-Ibleh* (1948) scopre la sofferenza di una classe sociale, insieme all'indifferenza collettiva causata da uno dei maggiori problemi dell'ambiente: la mancanza di istruzione popolare. Riconoscendo il grave bisogno di educare il lettore, John F. Marks (1894-1954) di *Tejbilhom Hajjithom* (1937-38) integra la forma narrativa con un contenuto positivo e trasforma il racconto in parabola delle esigenze più immediate della classe operaia, a cui si indirizza. Guze' Bonnici (1907-1940), un romantico aperto alle sfide imposte dalla poetica verista, affronta in *Il-Qawwa ta' l-Imhabba* (1938) la minaccia della morte per tisi come il Verga di *Eva* e di *Tigre reale*, e mescola il sentimento con la sofferenza. Bonnici partecipa più direttamente a questa poetica nelle novelle *La pazza* (1927) e *Genn* (1928).

Un'analisi dettagliata di alcuni spunti tematici della caratterizzazione, delle strutture sintattiche preferite, del frasario elementare più insistente, e dell'ambientazione metterebbe in rilievo l'assimilazione, da parte di questi narratori maltesi, dei maggiori principi dell'estetica verista. Rimangono sempre lontani dalle posizioni assolute di un certo positivismo che voglia rendere del tutto scientifico e spersonalizzato l'esercizio narrativo. Limitandosi alla descrizione dei fatti, delle persone e delle situazioni, capite nella loro scarna concretezza, questi scrittori continuano a innamorarsi dell'oggetto osservato, e a subire la tentazione di

tradurre in lirica il tormento e la miseria. Ma abbandonando gli arcaismi e i frasari troppo ricercati – il deposito più evidente e logico del movimento purista che intendeva far ritornare l'idioma maltese alla sua primordiale integrità lessicale – i nuovi romanzieri aderiscono sempre di più alle forme espressive che si adeguano ai loro personaggi mescolando l'intento letterario di chi desidera far risalire la lingua al livello dell'arte con l'intento pratico di chi vuole scoprire nella sua sostanza quella che Cantù, citato da Gwann Mamo nella sua introduzione al romanzo, chiama "l'eterna poesia del popolo".

Forse è soltanto Guzè Chetcuti (1914-2006), l'autore di *Id-Dawl tal-Hajja* (1958), *Im-habba u Mewt* (1961), *L-Isqaq* (1962), *It-Tnalja* (1964), *Nirien ta' Mhabba* (1967) e *Il-Mandruggara* (1980) che partecipa pienamente alla poetica verista proposta dalla narrativa meridionale italiana, particolarmente quella di Verga. Questi romanzi, costituendo tutti insieme un unico panorama ispirato ai 'vinti', sono il documento letterario maltese più autenticamente vicino a quelli che, come affermò Verga, "restano per via, i fiacchi che si lasciano sorpassare dall'onda per finire più presto, i vinti che levano le braccia disperate, e piegano il capo sotto il piede brutale dei vincitori". Le sue affermazioni in proposito, il linguaggio scarno, la vicenda secca, l'insistenza sul dialogo spezzato che spesso rischia di sciogliere il racconto in evento teatrale, le descrizioni quasi giornalistiche, il senso elegiaco con cui racconta i fatti e analizza i personaggi, lo sforzo di denudare le persone psicologicamente e di trasformatle in intelletti tormentati, il ribadimento del tema del destino implacabile e della rassegnazione angosciosa, il rapporto stabilito fra protagonista, azione, famiglia e casa: questi ed altri aspetti pongono in rilievo una consapevole coscienza verista mai lontana dalla definizione del movimento meridionale, specialmente da quella illustrata dai *Malavoglia*.

### La visita di Luigi Capuana

La prima edizione della rivista "Malta Letteraria", pubblicata in settembre 1904, aveva già dato spazio a *Sorrisino*, una novella di Luigi Capuana.<sup>24</sup> Nel 1910 Antonio Deni, uno dei siciliani che collaboravano alla rivista, pubblicò un ampio resoconto della festa celebrata all'Università di Catania nell'occasione del giubileo letterario dello scrittore.<sup>25</sup> Quasi a consolidare sempre di più questo inevitabile avvicinamento tra le due coscienze letterarie che superando la visuale astratta del romanticismo dovevano affrontare la problematica socio-economica e che accanto alla visione risorgimentale sentivano anche esigenze molto pratiche, nel 12 dicembre 1910 Capuana visitò l'isola come ospite dello scrittore e giornalista maltese Agostino Levanzin (1872-1955), che così descrisse l'evento:

"Lunedì scorso arrivò il famoso romanziere italiano Luigi Capuana, professore di letteratura italiana presso l'Università di Catania. Mi scriveva da lungo tempo esprimendo il grande desiderio di fare una visita alla nostra isola e ora è arrivato. E' l'autore di numerosi bei romanzi [...] Spero che ci conceda una conferenza degna delle sue capacità."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. M.L., I, 5, sett. 1904, pp. 139-144.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. A. Deni, *Per il giubileo letterario di Luigi Capuana*, M.L., VII, 71-72, marzo-aprile 1910, pp. 74-77.

<sup>26</sup> A. Levanzin, *Frak*, N., III, 120, 17/12/1910, p. 954.

Fu “L’Avvenire” a divulgare la notizia: “Porgiamo un ossequioso e reverente saluto all’illustre letterato, scrittore e poeta Luigi Capuana, professore dello Ateneo catanese, il quale ha onorato la nostra isola di una sua visita che, ci è grato sapere, durerà per vari giorni [...] Parecchi nostri giovani studiosi si sono recati ad ossequiare il rinomato scrittore all’Hotel d’Angleterre dove egli alloggia. Possa il nostro distinto ospite godere un soggiorno piacevole tra noi. Ed ora un voto. Non potrebbe egli regalarci una delle sue applaudite conferenze che tanto entusiasmarono in Italia? Lo speriamo.”<sup>27</sup> Due giorni dopo lo stesso giornale diede ampia informazione biografica e letteraria sul romanziere e continuò: “Noi siamo certi che l’illustre letterato italiano è talmente noto al nostro pubblico intelligente da non aver bisogno di presentazione anzi sappiamo che già parecchie persone, tra le più colte del paese, si onorano a tenergli compagnia durante la sua breve permanenza tra noi.”<sup>28</sup>

Agostino Levanzin scrisse anche sul giornale “Malta” per meglio pubblicizzare questa visita presso i letterati. Nel suo articolo, oltre ad un profilo biografico, letterario e critico, Levanzin dà evidenza della sua amicizia con il siciliano: “Il nostro gradito ospite è una delle più fulgide figure della letteratura italiana contemporanea. Il suo ingegno policromo è di una versatilità meravigliosa: critico da’ più autorevoli, romanziere de’ più ricercati, novelliere per bambini de’ più spontanei e simpatici, drammaturgo de’ più applauditi, conferenziere dalla parola calda ed affascinante, è pure un profondo psicologo ed ha pubblicato lavori interessantissimi sulla scottante questione dello spiritismo [...] Figli non ha; è astemio, feroce, fotografo, spiritista convinto, modestissimo all’eccesso, amico sincero, ama i giovani e procura sempre di incoraggiarli, parlatore arguto e piacevole, ed uno di quelli che trattano con squisita gentilezza e cordiale ospitalità con tutti quelli che, fortunati, vengono in contatto loro. Io non dimenticherò mai la grata accoglienza che mi fece a Catania, quando, sentendo del mio arrivo colà, venne all’Hotel per condurmi a casa sua in carrozza dove mi trattò con una espansione e familiarità eccezionali in un uomo del suo valore [...] Abbia intanto l’augurio affettuoso di tutti gli ammiratori del genio latino per una lunga e felice permanenza fra noi.”<sup>29</sup>

Durante il suo soggiorno Capuana visitò il Collegio Flores, uno dei centri educativi più importanti del periodo, “dove si trattenne per oltre due ore, accompagnato in giro pel nuovo e grandioso locale, dal direttore Flores [...] e si compiacque che per opera sua anche Malta possa gareggiare, se non sorpassare in fatto d’istituto d’Educazione, con le città più importanti del continente.”<sup>30</sup>

Il governatore britannico di Malta tenne un pranzo in suo onore. Fu anche in-trattenuto a colazione al Casinò Maltese della Valletta durante il quale gli intervenuti chiesero il suo autografo; tra questi c’erano diversi scrittori maltesi, ad esempio Luigi Randon, Arturo Mercieca, Giovanni Roncalli ed Enrico Magro. Fu intrattenuto anche dagli studenti e da G.F. Inglott, uno dei collaboratori di “Malta Letteraria”. Agostino Levanzin lo invitò a casa sua e lo presentò a vari intellettuali maltesi. “Fu anche accolto dal rettore dell’Università e nei pochi giorni del suo soggiorno non passò neanche un’ora senza essere accompagnato da

<sup>27</sup> A., I, 155, 13/12/1910, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> A., I, 157, 15/12/1910, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> A. Levanzin, *Luigi Capuana*, M., XXVIII, 8136, 17/12/1910, p. 2. L’autore maltese racconta lo stesso episodio a Catania anche in N., III, 121, 24/12/1910, p. 963.

<sup>30</sup> A., I, 158, 16/12/1910, p. 2.

qualcuno che gli voleva bene”<sup>31</sup>. Il 25 dicembre al Collegio Flores, si organizzò una funzione religiosa per la notte di Natale e alle ore 10,30 Capuana lesse due dei suoi bozzetti per quella festa<sup>32</sup>. Capuana ritornò in Sicilia a bordo della nave Enna il martedì 27 dicembre 1910<sup>33</sup>. Poco dopo la sua partenza due giornali pubblicarono due suoi lavori, la novella *Un anniversario*<sup>34</sup> e un lungo studio sul novellista francese Alfonso Daudet.<sup>35</sup>

Il breve soggiorno di Capuana a Malta è significativo per la conferenza che lesse il lunedì 26 dicembre “nella gran sala del Collegio Flores innanzi ad una scelta accolta di signore e signori, ammiratori del grande romanziere italiano”<sup>36</sup>. Due giorni prima della conferenza Levanzin scrisse un lungo articolo sul proprio giornale “In-Nahla” dichiarandosi contento dell’onore che lo scrittore aveva fatto all’isola con la sua visita, invitando il pubblico a dargli una meritata accoglienza che metta in luce la capacità dei maltesi di stimare le persone che valgono. Tale comportamento è un passo positivo perché smentisce l’accusa di aretratezza spesso rivolta contro i maltesi. Levanzin auspica che Capuana “si ricorderà della nostra cara isola nelle sue valide opere future” e conclude augurandosi che “con tale accoglienza mostriamo di essere capaci di apprezzare i grandi uomini e particolarmente quelli legati alla lingua italiana che è la lingua della nostra civiltà”.<sup>37</sup>

La pubblica presenza di un noto scrittore italiano a Malta, una colonia britannica, agli inizi del secolo rischiava di essere interpretata e sfruttata anche politicamente. La questione della lingua metteva in dubbio il ruolo concesso tradizionalmente all’italiano nella vita ufficiale e culturale dell’isola, indicando l’avanzata dell’inglese come alternativa di comunicazione culturale e internazionale. Tale situazione chiedeva al maltese, l’idioma popolare di origine semitica, una sua giustificazione culturale e politica, mentre serviva come presa di coscienza a favore della tesi della latinità del paese e come decisa presa di posizione contro la minaccia di una cosiddetta ‘devastante anglicizzazione’ della cultura maltese.

“Risorgimento” prese subito lo spunto da questa complessa problematica, citando il nome di Capuana come sostenitore della tesi più antica dell’italianità di Malta. Asserendo che la sua visita riuscì graditissima, ricordò pure l’amicizia del siciliano con il romanziere maltese Levanzin: “Egli ha sempre, come ci ha detto l’egregio amico signor Levanzin Agostino editore dell’“In-Nahla”, cercato di festeggiare ogni maltese letterato che si portò mai a Catania”. Affermò anche che Capuana si interessò molto “della malaugurata questione della lingua” che, secondo il giornale, “stupidamente si era sollevata qui da un governo spensierato che [...] ben la sollevò senza badare alle ripercussioni, all’eco, ai riverberi che avrebbe potuto avere (come in fatti ebbe) lontano e nella diplomazia europea”. Comunque, continua lo scrittore anonimo, “il grande siciliano ha poi saputo colle sue maniere

<sup>31</sup> N., III, 121, 24/12/1910, p. 963; A., I, 162, 21/12/1910, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> A., I, 164, 23/12/1910, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> N., III, 122, 31/12/1910, p. 971.

<sup>34</sup> Cfr. M., XXVIII, 8145, 28/12/1910, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. R., XXXV, 7921, 29/12/1910, p. 2; XXXVI, 7922, 2/1/1911, p. 1; XXXVI, 7924, 9/1/1911, p. 3; XXXVI, 7925, 12/1/1911, p. 3; XXXVI, 7926, 16/1/1911, p. 3; XXXVI, 7927, 19/1/1911, p. 3; XXXVI, 7928, 23/1/1911, p. 3. “Risorgimento” aveva già concesso ampio spazio alla visita di Capuana, dando un sommario delle sue attività letterarie e mostrando la propria stima nei suoi confronti (cfr. R., XXXV, 7918, 19/12/1910, p. 3).

<sup>36</sup> A., I, 167, 27/12/1910, p. 2; cfr. anche M., XXVIII, 8140, 22/12/1910, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> N., III, 121, 24/12/1910, p. 963.



affabili, e squisitamente gentili, e col suo fare espansivo che rammentava [...] ‘il gentil sangue latino’ accattivarsi l’amore, la simpatia, l’amicizia di tutti anche di coloro che in politica o nelle sue idee letterarie non ne condividono le opinioni”. Il giornale ritiene che anche se Capuana riuscì a evitare la politica, la sua visita ha dato luogo spesso e forse sempre a manifestazione schietta dell’italianità di Malta.<sup>38</sup>

È facile sospettare che Capuana fosse consapevole del rischio che correva se si fosse pronunciato pubblicamente in qualche modo su temi altrimenti neutrali come la storia e l’identità di Malta e il rapporto culturale tra l’isola e l’Italia. Arturo Mercieca, poeta e politico, ricorda che durante una adunanza tenuta al Casinò Maltese, una organizzazione che sosteneva l’italianità dell’isola, Capuana “venne richiesto di presiedere e pronunciare il brindisi d’onore [...] eravamo ansiosi di ascoltare un forbito discorso del Capuana. Ci toccò rimanere però a bocca asciutta quando egli levatosi a rispondere disse: ‘Signori, io sono uno scrittore, non un oratore; dunque, grazie, grazie, grazie’”.<sup>39</sup>

La conferenza, pubblicata interamente su “L’Avvenire”<sup>40</sup>, prende le mosse da alcuni dei principi più noti del pensiero letterario dell’epoca ed è tutt’una con le idee caratteristiche dello scrittore. Capuana parla del contegno con cui la Scienza si comporta verso l’Arte e viceversa. Di fronte alle scoperte che hanno rivelato forze fisiche mai prima sospettate, si capisce perché la creazione d’arte è stimata cosa primitiva e infantile. L’Arte non poteva dunque rimanere estranea allo svolgimento con cui veniva radicalmente rinnovato il sapere umano. Siccome nell’Arte non agisce la facoltà superiore dell’intelligenza ma l’immaginazione, gli artisti sono stati costretti a domandarsi fino a che punto l’Arte possa assimilarsi le dottrine scientifiche. Non volevano vedersi tagliati fuori dalla società, sentirsi accusare di agire in un mondo fittizio.

Così Capuana riassume l’accusa rivolta dalla Scienza contro gli artisti: “Se volete che l’Arte sia qualcosa di vitale e che eserciti una funzione efficace nell’organismo della società, scendete dalle nuvole [...] Siate apostoli, profeti o poeti [...] ogni vostra pagina sia un’eco dei nostri dolori, delle nostre aspirazioni, delle nostre lotte... Gridate, urlate con noi, piangete, esaltatevi con noi [...] Noi non troviamo quasi nessun riflesso, nessun accenno di tutto questo nei vostri lavori d’arte e perciò buttiamo via il volume”. Gli artisti avrebbero potuto rispondere che avevano sempre aderito a questi propositi, ma entro i confini della letteratura stessa c’era già la coscienza del rinnovamento. Capuana si sofferma su quella che lui definisce “la forma d’arte più specialmente moderna, il romanzo”, che fino a Balzac era “una specie di fiaba per adulti” in cui “la fantasia [...] regnava da sovrana assoluta”. Con Balzac penetrava nel romanzo l’idea dell’osservazione immediata del luogo e dell’ambiente e nessun angolo della vita rimaneva escluso dalla rappresentazione narrativa. Purtroppo Zola passò il confine oltre cui l’Arte rischia di non riuscire opera d’arte. È giusto trasportare il metodo positivo nello studio del soggetto e inserire nella forma una severità scientifica. Ma pretendere che l’opera d’arte potesse assumere valore scientifico, cioè “far servire la concezione artistica al preconcetto di una teoria scientifica”, è una assurdità. Capuana ritiene che concetti scientifici, filosofici, religiosi, mistici, estetici hanno inquinato l’opera d’arte e insiste sul tema centrale del suo discorso: “il carattere precipuo dell’opera

<sup>38</sup> *Spectator, Il prof. commend. Capuana a Malta*, R., XXXV, 7921, 29/12/1910, pp. 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> A. Mercieca, *Le mie vicende*, Malta, Tipografia San Giuseppe, 1946, p. 92.

<sup>40</sup> Cfr. *Arte e scienza – conferenza del prof. Luigi Capuana letta ieri nel Collegio Flores*, A., I, 167, 27/12/1910, pp. 1-2.

d'arte consiste unicamente nella forma che ogni concetto vi prende". Prosegue polemizzando contro l'abuso di "dare al concetto una eccessiva preponderanza sulla forma" e arriva alla sua conclusione più determinante: "compito dell'Arte è creare, fare... concorrenza allo stato civile mettendo al mondo creature superiori alle creature ordinarie pel fatto che sono creature immortali". Il loro valore sostanziale non consiste nel concetto ma nella forma e la loro dimensione didattica è incidentale.

Capuana cita due esempi estremi che mettono in risalto la perdita dell'equilibrio richiesto dall'atto creativo. L'Arte non deve essere strumento di mistica e sociale propaganda come vuole Tolstoj e neanche una produttrice di bellezza come vuole D'Annunzio. Queste posizioni sottomettono la forma al contenuto, la letteratura al concetto. "La risposta più ovvia sarebbe l'Arte sia l'Arte e nient'altro che l'Arte [...] ha una essenza sua propria, un organismo spirituale da non essere confuso con altri organismi spirituali". Capuana conclude il suo discorso auspicando che l'Arte riprenda la coscienza del suo precipuo valore consistente esclusivamente nella forma, riconoscendo che la sua funzione è veramente diversa da quella della Scienza, della morale e della religione. Il suo invito finale è rivolto agli scrittori maltesi: "che, tra i giovani studiosi qui cortesemente convenuti si trovi già un perfettissimo degenerato cioè un genio capace di produrre tale opera d'Arte da onorare fino alla fine dei secoli questa nobilissima isola alla quale esprimo davanti a voi il mio affettuoso e rispettoso saluto".

## Due conclusioni

È evidente quanto sia la riflessione sia la prassi degli scrittori maltesi sono vicine alla posizione teorica di Capuana. (Si noti, ad esempio, che Cuschieri e Capuana, adoperando addirittura lo stesso participio, parlano di un'arte inquinata). Il messaggio del catanese alla sensibilità letteraria maltese parte anch'esso da una scelta di contenuti efficaci, si distingue nettamente da ogni estremismo che voglia ridurre l'arte ad un esercizio spersonalizzato e scientifico, e arriva all'affermazione della supremazia della forma. Si può dedurre che tale partecipazione ad una sola visione estetica è il risultato inevitabile di una sola condizione meridionale nata e svolta in un dato momento della storia, come si può pure intuire la supremazia di una identica visuale determinata da forze atemporali, superiori alla moda delle epoche, insita nel carattere di una unica geografia spirituale.

Un discorso approfondito condotto alla luce di queste proposte potrebbe giungere, dunque, all'accertamento di almeno due strade di continuità tra le due esperienze. La prima sarebbe quella che accerti, da parte della sensibilità maltese, la disponibilità storica a non rompere il legame tradizionale tra l'isola e la cultura proveniente da maggiori centri di irradiazione, che nel caso specifico dell'esperienza verista sembra avere una matrice meridionale, particolarmente siciliana. La seconda sarebbe quella che metta in rilievo la necessità naturale di un analogo o addirittura identico comportamento dovuto ad una regionalità, una dinamica più determinante della nazionalità, che dalle caratteristiche di una unica geografia fisica arriva per forza alla crescita di una spiritualità unica, pur essendo complessa e multiforme all'interno. Sarebbe poi il compito di tale ricerca stabilire fino a che punto, entro questa orbita geografica, storica e culturale, si riscontrino sfumature e variazioni di tipo locale.

Forse in nessun altro momento dell'itinerario letterario sono state messe meglio in risalto, meglio integrate e più seriamente sentite le due categorie entro cui sia la Sicilia sia

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Malta sono destinate a riconoscersi: la meridionalità e l'insularità'. La fortuna della poetica del verismo, dunque, non segnala soltanto un dato momento storico; esprime anche un motivo a cui tale coscienza deve, per esigenze naturali e a causa di limiti insuperabili, di tempo in tempo ritornare. Come la sicilianità di fronte all'italianità continentale, così lo stesso sviluppo culturale della lingua maltese nei confronti dell'italiano ieri e dell'inglese oggi è, in senso lato, già un fenomeno romantico-verista, la condizione perenne di un popolo che si sforza sempre a prendersi coscienza e a sopravvivere. Entro il quadro formato dalla distanza dai grandi centri i due temi tendono a configurarsi in ramificazioni di uno solo.

Abbreviazioni dei titoli di giornali e di riviste maltesi: A. "L'Avvenire"; J.M.S. "Journal of Maltese Studies"; M. "Malta"; M.L. "Malta Letteraria"; N. "In-Nahla"; R. "Risorgimento".