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From Comparative to Global History:
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Foreword

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In 1928, Marc Bloch made what proved to be an influential statement when he said that the practice of comparing societies distant in space and time, described rather disparagingly as 'comparative method in the grand manner,' may serve some ends but is too imprecise to be of any great use 'from the scientific point of view.' Decades later William H. Sewell, Jr. objected that 'mere temporal and spatial proximity does not assure similarity, and some societies which are very remote from one another are surely more alike, at least in ways that are crucial for some explanatory problems, than some neighboring societies.'

Themes such as 'global history,' 'Transfergeschichte,' 'circulation,' and 'connection' all hold an undoubted appeal in the present age. It has been pointed out though that all too often the history of the world, especially when it is based to a large degree on (mostly English) secondary literature, has ended up being fashioned into a flat narrative of 'the rise of the West and the Westernization of the rest.' For Sanjay Subrahmanyam, an alternative to the 'grand narrative of modernization' would be for historians not simply to adopt a different scale, but to take a step sideways, finding a different vantage point and employing a decentring technique to identify previously hidden or unseen connections among places and cultures.

More recent comparative endeavours have seen scholars engaging more and more with what Serge Gruzinski has described as the 'alchemy of hybridization,' and the 'intensity of circulation … that reveals mixed landscapes.' Entangled histories (Espagne, Kocka, Werner, Zimmermann) have explored 'mutual influencing,' 'reciprocal or asymmetric perceptions,' and the intertwined 'processes of constituting one another.' Further efforts to restore cultural comparison to the centre of scholarship have included the 'cognitive science of religion,' 'World Literature,' and 'World Philology'. Finally, but no less importantly, historians of emotions have begun to investigate and to problematize the transcultural translatability of emotions.

The contributors to this issue of CROMOHS (21/2017-2018) offer a critical historiographical survey and discussion, accompanied by exemplary case studies, of the

various approaches to comparative early modern history that have been theorized and practiced over the past two decades. These range from transcultural and translation studies to global and connected histories. The aim is to unravel, review, and compare the possibilities and limitations of this plurality of relational approaches and methods. Has a change of scale been taking place, or a shift in perspective instead? What are the consequences of pursuing a practice of synchronic or diachronic comparison? How can researchers working with languages, concepts, and categories that are not part of their sphere of socialization deal with the inescapable challenges of reflexivity that these pose?

The issue opens with two stimulating theoretical essays, respectively by Margrit Pernau & Luc Wodzicki and by Henning Trüper. It also includes a themed section, edited by Giulia Calvi, focussing on the circulation of people and objects across South Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire between the 17th and the 19th century. Finally, it features Daniel Barbu's compelling interview with Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Ann Thomson's reflections on recent publications in Global Intellectual History.

The publication of issue 21/2017-2018 of CROMOHS marks the start of a new season in the life of the journal, under the joint editorship of Daniel Barbu (Historiography of Religious Studies, CNRS Paris), Caterina Bori (History of Pre-Modern Islam and Muslim Civilisation), Giovanni Tarantino (Early Modern Intellectual History, University of Florence) and Paola von Wyss-Giacosa (Visual Anthropology and Material Culture Studies, University of Zurich). As of the next issue, CROMOHS will resume its customary annual publication.

Entanglements, Political Communication, and Shared Temporal Layers

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Encounters and entanglements are at the core of global historians' work at three levels. Firstly, unlike specialists of regional or national histories, global historians are dependent on collaborative investigations that bring together scholars from different fields, who are likely to have different regional and linguistic skills, often coming from different academic traditions. This requires organizing communication in a way that overcomes historical power cleavages between regions, or at the very least refuses to reinforce them. Secondly, encounters and entanglements are at the core of the problems that interest global historians and which they endeavor to understand and endow with meaning, whether explicitly or implicitly through the analytical concepts and categories they use. If goods and ideas move and actors encounter one another, this raises the question of how such entities communicate across linguistic and regional differences. Thirdly, therefore, global historians need to attend to the ways in which historical actors simultaneously provide the raw material of encounters and related communication—and furnish their own interpretation, which structures the encounter. All three levels come together in the writing of global history. In this article we aim to show how historical actors referred to an earlier textual tradition, and thereby interpreted and created possibilities for transcultural political communication. We argue that these strategies and interpretations form part of the historical encounter, and need to be acknowledged by historians in order to understand how communication works.

How is this approach related to present debates in global history, and contributing to them? Global history writing has been a self-reflexive endeavor from its inception; historians have been well aware of the influence of their own life experiences on the way they have sought to transcend national boundaries in their research. Right from the beginning, global historians have been engaged in writing the history of their own discipline. They traced their genealogy to the foundational texts of Marc Bloch, who underlined the value of a comparative approach both in order to test causalities and to allow for the defamiliarization of known facts and developments.[1] While the first aspect led to large sociological projects that sought to trace universal historical laws—relating, for instance, economic development and revolutions—the second was at the origin of the wave of comparative historical studies from 1970s onwards, which researched two or more cases with the aim of highlighting

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[1] MARC BLOCH, "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes," *Revue de synthèse historique* 46, 20 Nouvelle Série (1928): 15-50.

similarities and differences and thus allowing for a more sophisticated gaze at each of them. Although it broadened the horizon of the historians beyond their own country, comparative approach hardly challenged the traditional predominance of the national state as the basic entity for history writing. Comparison was a historiographic endeavor, which permitted new interpretations of the past, but which did not claim the existence of interdependencies at the historical level.

In the long run, however, it was the practice of comparative history writing which brought out the degree to which nations did and do not exist in isolation from each other. Much of the theoretical and methodological groundwork for the history of transfers has been developed with reference to the interactions between France and Germany, but has rapidly been taken up for other regions as well.[2] Movements and transfers of goods, ideas, and people across borders were not exceptional instances, but stood at the origin of many developments which had hitherto been interpreted in a national context. If this approach undermined the idea of the nation as the most important analytical frame, the nation still preceded the transfers, chronologically as well as ontologically. In a different historiographical tradition, much of the older colonial history, too, has been written as a history of (unilateral) transfer.

This idea was challenged from two sides. The sophisticated methodology of *histoire croisée* pointed out that transfers were not an add-on, but constitutive for the process of nation building itself. This approach combines attention to the crossovers that occurred between countries in the past—between their historiographic and archival traditions, which prefigured the way present-day historians can approach this past—and the crossing of the gaze of these historians, who approach their subject from their respective geographical and intellectual locations.[3] Such a methodology works best when limited to two, or at most three entities, without too much of a power difference between them.

Entangled history, on the other hand, has been developed for the analysis of colonial history. Again, the central endeavor has been to overcome a history of transfers (in which each transfer had a clear beginning and an end, and proceeded only in one direction at a time) and to replace it with attention to the many multidirectional and entangled transfers, which were central for the constitution of the colonies and of the colonizing societies. Developments were not initiated in Europe and then diffused to the rest of the world, but co-created—a co-creation which could only be shown through a common frame of reference. European history cannot be understood by looking only at European nations and the transfers between them. This claim does not rest on the assumption that the impacts of these entanglements need to be equally

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[2] MICHEL ESPAGNE and MICHAEL WERNER, eds, *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Édition recherches sur les civilisations, 1988).
[3] MICHAEL WERNER and BÉNÉDICTE ZIMMERMANN, "Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, 1 (2006): 30-50.

intense for all the actors involved. Power certainly played a crucial role, but the questions of who influenced whom, in which fields, to which degree and with which effects can only be answered empirically once colonies and colonizers are no longer analyzed in isolation.[4]

Many of these reflections were developed for the nineteenth century and (with the exception of the history of entanglement) for a Western European context. Scholars of Mediterranean history were aware of the problems of transcultural encounters already before the current drive towards global history. Concepts like cultural hybridity aided the development of a sensibility towards the questions of intercultural transfer and the meanings with which the authors endowed these encounters. Simultaneously, this led to diversification in the academic use of analytical concepts and heuristic devices, a process fostered by the diffusion of global history into multiple academic language contexts.[5] Nonetheless, this has not yet led to the displacement of terminology generally regarded as problematic but nevertheless omnipresent—terminology such as 'East and West', or 'Europe and Islam.'[6] The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the Mediterranean region was a melting pot, and, simultaneously, continuously referred beyond itself: heterogeneity and entanglement need to be considered together. Both are premised upon points of reference common to the actors involved in the encounters.[7] Shared references can involve different temporalities—traditions can be lost, discovered, and rediscovered, and these processes need not happen at the same time everywhere.[8]

A look at Ottoman history exemplifies these points. The mobility of actors and the exchanges on the social and cultural level have long been acknowledged,[9] as has the position of the Ottoman Empire as both situated in the Mediterranean and beyond

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[4] FREDERIK COOPER and ANN LAURA STOLER, eds, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[5] GEORG CHRIST et al., *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen: Mediävistische Perspektiven. Kollaborativ verfasst von Netzwerk Transkulturelle Verflechtungen* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2016).

[6] PALMIRA BRUMMET, "The Lepanto Paradigm Revisited: Knowing the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. by ANNE CONTADINI and CLAIRE NORTON (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 63-96.

[7] WOLFRAM DREWS and CHRISTIAN SCHOLL, eds, *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); ANTJE FLÜCHTER and JIVANTA SCHÖTTLI, eds, *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion* (Cham: Springer, 2015); see also the new DFG priority program, "Transottomanica", accessed 15 May 2017, https://www.uni-giessen.de/fbz/fb04/institute/geschichte/osteuropa/forschung_neu/Transottomanica.

[8] For this argument in the context of art history see SYLVIA AULD, "Exploring Links Between East and West in the 13th Century: Circles of Coincidence," in *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World Trade: Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer*, ed. by CATARINA SCHMIDT ARCANGELI and GERHARD WOLF (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), 131-146.

[9] DANIEL GOFFMAN, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); ERIC R. DURSTELER, "On Bazaars and Battlefields: Recent Scholarship on Mediterranean Cultural Contacts," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, 5 (2011): 413-434.

it.[10] Studies have focused on the question how Ottoman and Italian actors made sense of one another on an intellectual level,[11] and how these processes were embedded in political strategies.[12] Taking up Claire Norton's suggestion that the prevalence of shared cultural references in early modern representational culture called for a new analytic framework,[13] we submit that this overlapping of references was, at least partially, the result of a dynamic process drawing on resources that were common to both sides. To show how this process can be conceptualized is the central aim of our article.

In the following we suggest two arguments. First, a common frame of reference is needed for those historians who aim to trace entanglements. Yet, as suggested above, such historians are not the first to engage in this attempt: before them the historical actors already strove to communicate within the space of entangled history, and created means to do so. Rather than assuming the success of this communication to be a matter of course, the actors' creation of a frame of reference needs to be investigated. Second, Reinhart Koselleck's concept of temporal layers allows us to trace one (but not the only) communicative strategy that the actors used—namely their recourse to an earlier common history, or, more often, to historical references they shared or claimed to share. These arguments will be elaborated through two examples of exchanges that used the discussion of virtues in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The first example has as its context the relation between the early Ottoman Empire and the Italian city states in the fifteenth century; the second has as its context the relation between the British colonizers and the North Indian Muslims in the nineteenth century.

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[10] KAREN BARKEY, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); COLIN IMBER, "Ideals and Legitimation in Early Ottoman History," in *Suleyman the Magnificent and His Age*, ed. by METIN KUNT and CHRISTINE WOODHEAD (London: Routledge, 1997), 138-154.

[11] NANCY BISAHA, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); MARGARET MESERVE, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

[12] GÜLRÜ NECIPOĞLU, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29, 1 (2012): 1-81.

[13] CLAIRE NORTON, "Blurring the Boundaries: Intellectual and Cultural Interactions between the Eastern and Western; Christian and Muslim Worlds," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. by ANNE CONTADINI and CLAIRE NORTON (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 3-22.

The Creation of a Communicative Space[14]

Entangled history creates a common frame of reference for the interpretation of the past. This common frame is an interpretive device. However, it is not created *ex nihilo* by historians, but draws on entanglements that already took place in history and which cannot omitted at will from historical analyses. What has been underplayed so far is the question of how entanglement across societies and cultures becomes possible at all. This question gains relevance through cultural history's interest in the meaning that actors bring to their actions, a meaning which is not given, but socially created and transmitted.

Entanglements, we suggest, are brought into existence by everyday actions, which are repeated over a certain time and follow specific regularities. These actions are essentially communicative in nature—they are not random, but goal-oriented and endowed with meaning. Movements of actors, ideas, and goods create a need for communication; in turn, communication is a basic precondition for these movements. They are different from *interactions within* a society because the actors are not socialized into the shared meanings and interpretation of the actions right from the beginning, but must develop or create them, either implicitly through their actions, or as a result of conscious strategic thinking.

This concept of communication involves more than the scope encompassed in the narrow definition of the term as 'the successful transmission of information.' Actions are endowed with meaning by the different actors involved in the transaction—the problem is how actors, while pursuing their interests, develop a common horizon of interpretation (or a range of overlapping horizons), which allows them to correctly read the meaning of each other's actions, and to anticipate future moves.[15] This development can be intentional, involving anything from the employment of translators, to making an effort to learn about the others' manners and customs. In most cases, however, it will constitute a constant modification of previous knowledge and assumptions (the pre-mediation that actors bring into an encounter, and which shapes the form of the encounter) through the ongoing integration of new experiences.[16] Historians tend to privilege communication through language, and, so

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[14] For the concept of communicative space see the summary of the work of the Bielefeld research cluster: WILLIBALD STEINMETZ and HEINZ-GERHARD HAUPT, "The Political as a Communicative Space in History: The Bielefeld Approach," in *Writing Political History Today*, ed. by WILLIBALD STEINMETZ, INGRID GILCHER-HOLTEY, and HEINZ-GERHARD HAUPT (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013), 1-11; TOBIAS WEIDNER, *Die Geschichte des Politischen in der Diskussion* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012).
[15] Here the history of concepts and temporalities draws on the phenomenological tradition, notably the works of Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer.
[16] Inspired by Paul Ricœur's concepts of pre-figuration and re-figuration (PAUL RICŒUR, *Time and Narrative*, 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984)), the concepts of pre-mediation and re-mediation are prominent in ASTRID ERLL, *Prämediation – Remediation: Repräsentationen des indischen Aufstands in imperialen und post-kolonialen Medienkulturen (von 1857 bis zur Gegenwart)* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2007). For the interpretation of face-to-face encounters see PHILIPP

far, studies in entangled history have been no exception. It makes sense, however, to explore the possibilities for integrating other sign systems and other media into analysis of how groups of actors develop a shared horizon and interpret one another's meanings.[17]

The development and diffusion of colonial knowledge, which has held such a prominent place in historical analysis of the last decades,[18] can be viewed as part of this creation of a communicative space. In a Foucauldian tradition, this exploration emphasizes the relation between knowledge and the exercise of power. However, it tends to revert to a model in which all agency is concentrated in the hands of the colonials.[19] Our emphasis on communication, we suggest, takes up the emphasis on power. Power is crucial in contestations of meaning and in the enforcement of one interpretation over another. Yet even a very unequal dialogue includes more than one voice. The second voice might not always speak back directly and in the same social space, but at times it will provide its own interpretation of the encounter at different venues and in a different language; hence discovering the second voice might involve different historiographical tools. Moreover, a common horizon of interpretation does not necessarily imply agreement. A correct reading of the meaning that an actor pursues through his or her action does not necessarily lead to consent to the action itself, nor does it prevent the interpreter from continuing to assign a different meaning to the same action. Therefore, the merging of horizons of meaning is both necessary for the development of a communicative space in which entanglements can take place in a regular manner, and always contentious—fraught with tensions and incomplete. Communication involves misunderstanding, whether productive or less so; incommensurability is more often the starting point rather than the endpoint.[20]

NIELSEN, BENNO GAMMERL, and MARGRIT PERNAU, eds, *Encounters with Emotions* (forthcoming), with further references.

[17] The history of concepts, which traditionally was focused on language in order to understand political and social concepts, is currently expanding its scope of interest. This concerns not only the investigation of new categories of concepts, for instance referring to aesthetics or to natural sciences, but also concepts in non-verbal sign systems (for details see MARGRIT PERNAU and IMKE RAJAMANI, "Emotional Translations: Conceptual History Beyond Language," *History & Theory* 55, 1 (2016): 46-65. The possibility of moving even further by opening up the dialogue with anthropology and with other disciplines bringing the body into the picture is currently being debated and will hopefully lead to publications in the near future.

[18] BERNARD COHN, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[19] GAURI VISWANATHAN, *Mask of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

[20] ANTONY PAGDEN, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Entanglements and Temporal Layers

Koselleck's theoretical reflections on history are currently gaining new international attention; he pointed out that every present was coexistent with layers from different pasts.[21] The resources that historical actors needed so as to endow their experiences and actions with meaning were never drawn only from the present—be it their language and its concepts, which already prefigured certain interpretations and which could not be invented, or even profoundly re-semantized at the spur of a moment; be it the multitude of texts from different centuries, which embodied past experiences and their interpretation. These texts could be read as historical documents. More often, however, their historicity would be forgotten (or lack interest for the reader) and they were deemed to speak directly to the present. This certainly holds true for canonical religious texts—in most cases the Bible or the Quran has been read for what it tells not about the time in which it was written down, but about the interpretation and guidance it can provide for the present. The same is also possible for philosophical texts and, of course, literature, to which actors can refer or from which they have been habituated to draw their orientation for the present. Again, this response need not be restricted to texts, but works also for other sign systems like art and music.

Like geological layers, temporal layers can be the result of a process of sedimentation: layers that were once at the surface are overlaid with new layers, and slowly move downward, without disappearing. The present therefore coexists with many pasts; this is one of the meanings for which Koselleck used the concept of the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous.[22] (The second meaning, referring not to an image of sedimentation but to one of tectonic plates, is omitted in the present article).

Two questions need to be addressed in order to use this figure for investigating the creation of a communicative space for entanglement in more detail. First: how precisely does the drawing on past resources happen? Jacques Derrida discursively developed the figure of the palimpsest—a manuscript that has been erased and overwritten, but still shows traces of the former text—and Sara Ahmed has used this

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[21] For an excellent introduction see NIKLAS OLSEN, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck* (New York: Berghahn, 2012); REINHART KOSELLECK, *Zeitschichten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003); specially the chapters: "Über die Theoriebedürftigkeit der Geschichtswissenschaft," 298-316 (English translation: REINHART KOSELLECK, "On the Need of Theory in the Discipline of History," in *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 1-20) and "Stetigkeit und Wandel aller Zeitgeschichten," 246-265. For recent interventions see JAVIER FERNÁNDEZ SEBASTIÁN, ed., *Political Concepts and Time. New Approaches to Conceptual History* (Santander: Cantabria University Press, 2011); HELGE JORDHEIM et al., "Forum: Multiple Temporalities," *History & Theory* 53, 4 (2014): 498-591.

[22] REINHART KOSELLECK, "Zeitschichten," in *Zeitschichten*, 19-27; WOLF SCHÄFER, *Ungleichzeitigkeit als Ideologie: Beiträge zur historischen Aufklärung* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verl., 1994); ELKE UHL, "Gebrochene Zeit? Ungleichzeitigkeit als geschichtsphilosophisches Problem," in *Geschichtsphilosophie und Kulturkritik: Historische und systematische Studien*, ed. by JOHANNES ROHBECK and HERTA NAGL-DOCEKAL (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 50-74.

figure to show how past hurts continue to mark the present without requiring active recalling or conscious memory.[23] Indeed, thinking along the figure of the palimpsest suggests that deeper layers continue to mark the present. This would mean that texts, for instance, continue to exert an influence on present creations of meaning even if no one reads them, or even if no one knows of their existence, because they influenced texts which in turn influenced texts, and so on, until we finally arrive at texts which are still being read. Thus a particular concept acquires a layer of meaning, and one that actors need no longer be aware of. Alternatively, the texts at some time created an effect in the world which is part of the world as it exists in the present. For instance, certain Neoplatonic debates strongly influenced the way the Greek desert monks thought about virtues and vices. This, in turn, was a formative influence on the concept of the seven deadly sins, which still, it might be argued, shapes some present-day debates. Such influence should not be discarded at a theoretical level. In practice it will be so diluted that it will not always prove worthwhile to trace the chain of influences through the centuries.

This idea of the palimpsest makes it possible to consider earlier texts as actors in their own right that no longer need human agency to produce effects. More important for the problems we are discussing here, however, is the excavation of former layers (to continue in the geological metaphor). Here, too, the past is seen as always co-present, but as a potentiality, which needs activation in order to exert an influence. As long as an old book is kept in a library somewhere, even if no one is reading it or is even able to understand its language, this old book can still be brought to the surface: it can be re-discovered, re-published, and become a shared resource for the interpretation of present experiences. Likewise, a language can be learned, a script deciphered. Without this actualization in the present, however, the influence of the book or the language will be negligible, as will the degree of its presence in the present. To recognize this already significantly reduces the material to be taken into consideration: it is the not the entire past, but the past that the historical actors are actually using, and the interpretation they are giving to it. Contrasting this 'actualized' past to the interpretation the original authors intended might be useful if the historicity of interpretation needs underlining; it does not add to the meaning the texts had in the horizon of the presence of the historical actors. As such, if we wish to trace the influence of an Aristotelian ethics of virtue on debates between Italians and Ottomans in the fifteenth century, what matters is *how they understood* Aristotle, rather than the message Aristotle had originally wanted to convey.

The second question refers more directly to entanglements. The metaphor of the temporal layers was devised within the imaginary of a stable and contained geographical unity: the present is supposed to happen in the same space as the past,

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[23] JACQUES DERRIDA, *Dissemination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); SARA AHMED, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

and it is 'their own' sedimentations that people continue to refer to or excavate. However, even in traditional historiography, this seems more an exception than the rule. The history of Germany or Britain regularly begins in Greece and Asia Minor for that matter (or even in Egypt); the history of Muslims in very different parts of the world is written from a common starting point in Medina; Latin American history posits (or posited) its origin in the Iberian Peninsula. Such narratives can reflect actual migrations (mostly of a numerically small but powerful section of the population). More often these pasts are claimed as part of the historical inheritance without actual continuities. In turn, voicing these claims can be a conscious strategy, based on appreciating that the resources of the past can be used for in the present. Yet this is not a necessary condition: often the link of the past to the present—and the possibility to refer back to that past—will be perceived as naturally and unquestionably given.

The excavation of temporal layers, therefore, can happen in a frame much broader than that suggested by 'the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous.' Specifically, geographical spaces as well as temporal spaces are integrated and brought into co-presence. The fact that experiences, their interpretations, and the creation of meaning in a more abstract context, have been committed to media preserves them; further (but not suggested by the figure of the palimpsest), the same fact allows us to account for their transportation from one place and one society to another. Excavations and the reclaiming of past layers happen not only at the location at which the actor is standing in the present, but can involve traveling, both actual and mental. Temporal layers challenge the temporal coherence of any one period across space. Yet such a challenge leads to a denial of contemporaneity once difference is organized along a uniform timeline, on which certain phenomena correspond to a universal definition of 'stone age,' others to an equally universal 'middle age' or 'early modernity.' Although such temporalization has been the hegemonic interpretation of difference since the Enlightenment, maintaining it is unnecessary—there can be difference without the idea that it implies a lagging behind or an avant-garde.

The possibility of accessing past temporal layers at different places also implies that the same heritage can be activated and claimed as part of one's own by more than one actor. Thus even societies that lack a shared history of previous encounter can share a common horizon of meaning by referring back to and claiming as their own texts, or other media, from a past temporal layer. This claim can be brought about through the encounter as an intentional strategy through which to create or enlarge possibilities for communication; it can also already have a long history of being considered a canonical reference in one or both of the societies. In this case, again, the claim can lead to an explicit recognition that a specific heritage is shared, or the role of this heritage can be downplayed in favor of a more or less explicit universalism.

The Multiple Layers of Reading Aristotle's *Ethics*

We are not interested in the meanings given to Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* in its time and place, nor are we proposing (yet another) history of the reception of Aristotle's work over the last two millennia. Rather, we aim to offer a first glimpse of how the re-reading of the text at different moments and in different places drew on different layers of interpretation, and added to these layers. These newer layers, in turn, constituted a potentiality from which actors at different places could draw, irrespective of whether the text 'belonged' to their history. Layers of entanglement could be constituted by past entanglements; they could also be created in the historical actors' present by referencing and appropriating different pasts. These entanglements constituted an important resource (but certainly not the only resource—there were other texts and other strategies) for the creation of a shared horizon of meaning in later encounters.

As is well known, the epoch of the Abbasid Empire was pivotal for the translation and reception of Greek knowledge—philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy—into Arabic. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* was first adapted into Arabic by Ibn Miskawayh (932-1030 CE),[24] and then rewritten in Persian by Nasir ud Din Tusi (1201-1274 CE).[25] The *Akhlaq-e Nasiri* formed the model for many of the medieval and early modern texts written about ethics, both in Persia and in India. These texts have rightly been read as treatises of political philosophy.[26] However, the title of Miskawayh's translation, *Tahzib ul Akhlaq*, or 'the polishing of the habitus/disposition' (*khulq*, pl. *akhlaq*), already pointed to an understanding of politics which was deeply grounded in the creation of a particular ethical self, in which virtues and emotions converge.[27] Many of the *akhlaq* treatises followed a tripartite structure, dealing with the *nafs*, or the soul (corresponding to the Greek *psyche*) in the first part; the *manzil*, or the household (the Greek *oikos*) in the second; and finally with the *madina*, or the polity (the Greek *polis*) in the third. Thus the polity was based on an ethical male subject, who was at the head of his household and managed it competently. This qualified him to take part in 'political' activities in the narrower sense. At the same time, the Arabic and even more the Persian translation also adapted the text from this

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earlier participatory context to a monarchical setting. Here the text provided guidelines for the virtuous ruler and therby contributed to the legitimation of his rule. Both interpretations continued to exist side by side, and could be drawn upon at different occasions.

Medieval Western scholasticism could draw on a broad range of translations, transmissions, and traditions of reading Aristotle, many of them originating from Sicily—only recently Christianized—and from culturally heterogeneous Spain.[28] Equally important were translations as well as commentaries produced in Constantinople, from where Thomas Aquinas eventually received them.[29] Aquinas among others played an important role for the integration of Aristotelian ethics of virtue-emotions as a central paradigm in Western European Ethics.[30]

In early fifteenth-century Italy, Aristotelianism was taught through scholastic commentaries and was accessible only through translations of minor quality. Aristotelian ethics was ubiquitous, but increasingly came to be criticized as doctrinal.[31] Dissatisfaction with this state of affairs led the Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) to engage in a thoughtful retranslation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* from Greek into Latin, bringing the work back into focus for humanist moral discussion and political thought.[32] Instead of approaching Aristotelian virtue ethics in terms of a static Greek philosophical model, humanists such as Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), began seeking to discover the practical relevance of such ethics for their own times. This 'new' Aristotle then became accessible at universities, but also at courts, the houses of the nobility, and in merchant cities. And while notions such as 'virtue' remained contested, they 'shaped political, social, and intellectual practices, while they were themselves strongly affected by these same practices.'[33]

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[28] CHARLES BURNETT, "Arabic into Latin: the Reception of Arabic Philosophy into Western Europe," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. by PETER ADAMSON and RICHARD C. TAYLOR (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 370-404; DAG N. HASSE, "The Social Conditions of the Arabic-(Hebrew-)Latin Translation Movements in Medieval Spain and in the Renaissance," in *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. by ANDREAS SPEER and LYDIA WEGENER (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 68-88.

[29] PETER FRANKOPAN, "The Literary, Cultural and Political Context for the Twelfth-Century Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics," in *Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. by CHARLES BARBER and DAVID JENKINS (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 101-145.

[30] SIGRID MÜLLER, "From Virtue Ethics to Normative Ethics? Tracing Paradigm Shifts in Fifteenth-Century Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics," in *Between Creativity and Norm-Making*, ed. by SIGRID MÜLLER and CORNELIA SCHWEIGER (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9-30.

[31] JAMES HANKINS, "The Ethics Controversy," in *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol.1 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003), 193-239.

[32] *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni. Selected Texts*, trans. and ed. by DAVID THOMPSON, GORDON GRIFFITHS and JAMES HANKINS (Binghamton: The Renaissance Society of America, 1987).

[33] MATTHIAS ROICK, *Pontano's Virtues: Aristotelian Moral and Political Thought in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 121; see also: JAMES HANKINS, "The Virtue Politics of Italian Humanists," in *Beyond Reception: Renaissance Humanism and the Transformation of Classical Antiquity*, ed. by PATRICK BAKER, JOHANNES HELMRATH, and CRAIG KALLENDORF (forthcoming), available via:

Aristotle in Political Communication between the Italian Courts and Mehmet II

After Mehmet II had conquered Constantinople in 1453, he created an imperial household that would resemble the heterogeneous nature of his emerging empire. Ottoman rule had always been marked by the ability to function as a central hub, creating transcultural dependencies through permeability and mediation.[34] Mehmet II's court needs to be understood with reference to Islamicate traditions, within which patronage of philosophy and art were crucial.[35] So sources for knowledge of Aristotle went beyond Ibn Sina and al-Farabi—a discussion of the virtue ethics took place through Ahmed Amasi, who translated Tusi and al-Ghazzali as early as 1406.[36] But the court must also be understood in terms of a continuous accumulation of cultural layers. Newly integrated Greek scholars were not the first to introduce Aristotle, but they participated in bringing different traditions together.

The Fall of Constantinople shook the politically fragmented Italian peninsula, but calls for military intervention were soon given up. Some saw the economy in the Mediterranean as reliant on Constantinople's pivotal position; for others the Ottomans presented a chance to shift the fragile political balance in their own favor. As a consequence, ways of engaging in successful communication needed to be found, a process which was as concerned about being heard as it was about being understood. These entanglements happened on three levels.

First, Aristotelian notions of virtue ethics were known to both sides. The same four cardinal virtues can be found in fifteenth-century Italian and Ottoman political or ethical works: prudence (*prudentia*/*hikmet*), courage (*fortitudo*/*şecâ'at*), honesty (*sinceritas*/*'iffet*), and justice (*iustitia*/*'adâlet*).[37] Tursun Beğ (1420-1499), the chronicler of Mehmet II's rule, introduced his *Tarih* by including a theory of State and rulership, referring to the concept of emotion-virtue derived from Miskawayh and Tusi: to Beğ a virtue is achieved when the forces of the self are paired with temper, habit, and education, and are subjugated to the human will.[38] On the Italian side, Pontano

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https://www.academia.edu/30007286/The_Virtue_Politics_of_the_Italian_Humanists (accessed May 15, 2017).

[34] BARKEY, *Empire of Difference*.

[35] ANNA AKASOY, "Die Adaptation byzantinischen Wissens am Osmanenhof nach der Eroberung Konstantinopels," in *Wissen in der Krise: Institutionen des Wissens im gesellschaftlichen Wandel*, ed. by CARSTEN KRETSCHMANN et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 43–56.

[36] MARINOS SARIYANNIS, *Ottoman Political Thought up to the Tanzimat: A Concise History* (Rethymno: Foundation for Research and Technology – Hellas, 2015), 30-32.

[37] MARINOS SARIYANNIS, "The Princely Virtues as Presented in Ottoman Political and Moral Literature," *Turcica* 43 (2011): 121-144.

[38] TURSUN BEĞ, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. by HALIL INALCIK and RHOADS MURPHY (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978); KENAN INAN, "On the Sources of Tursun Bey's Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth," in *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and 'Black Holes': Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, ed. by EUGENIA KERMELI and OKTAY ÖZEL (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2006), 75-109.

employed the same idea of the tripartite human soul, and virtue as a habit and a median while linking these to the notion of the importance of being virtuous *and appearing* virtuous.[39]

Second, the actors became increasingly aware of the fact that they shared these notions. Already early eyewitnesses arriving from the Ottoman court reported on a Sultan who employed teachers (*medicos*) in Latin and Greek, listened to recitations of classic epics, and engaged in philosophical discussions.[40] Humanists engaged attentively with these reports; the same descriptions also seemed validated by accounts—like that of the travelling Greek scholar Georg Amiroutzes—of personal conversations with the ruler, who appeared well-versed in Aristotelian thought.[41] When Amiroutzes's compatriot George of Trebizond sought employment at the court of Mehmet II, the Italians intercepted his letters. They found a description of Mehmet II as possessing *prudentia* and *iustitia*, together with a treatise on 'The Difference between Plato and Aristotle,' showing that this was indeed the discursive tradition to which discussion of these virtues belonged.[42]

Finally, these shared references provided the language for political communication. This could happen through the transmission of texts, as was the case when the Florentines, choosing an appropriate gift for the Sultan, decided on the works of the aforementioned Leonardo Bruni.[43] In addition, Aristotelian concepts could be used to build political arguments: when Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, argued for an alliance with the Sultan, he structured his letter through the Aristotelian notions of *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*.[44] And such serviceable invocations of Aristotle could happen in the visual realm: portrait medals, important media of diplomacy, depicted the Sultan embodying virtues—as seen, for instance, on a medal linking the image of Mehmet II with Pegasus, the sign for the victory of virtue over vice, and the symbol for prudence.[45]

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[39] ROICK, "Virtue, Inside Out," part 3 of *Pontano's Virtues*, 121-178.

[40] Account of Nikolaos Sekundinos, the text can be found in VIKENTI V. MAKUŠEV, *Monumenta Historica Slavorum Meridionalium Vicinorumque Populorum*, vol.1 (Warsaw: s.n., 1874), 295-306.

[41] ASTERIOS ARGYRIOU and GEORGES LAGARRIGUE, "Georges Amiroutzes et son *Dialogue sur la Foi au Christ tenu avec les Sultan des Turcs*," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 11 (1987): 29-221.

[42] ANGELO MERCATI, "Le due lettere di Giorgio da Trebisonda a Maometto II," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 9 (1943): 65-99.

[43] BENEDETTO DEI, *La cronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. by ROBERTO BARDUCCI (Florence: Francesco Papafava Editore, 1974), fol. 53r.

[44] The letter can be found in transcription in GIOVANNI SORANZO, "Una Missione di Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta a Maometto II nel 1461-documenti," *La Romagna* 6 (1909): 93-95.

[45] The analysis of this hitherto unresearched medal forms part of Luc Wodzicki's dissertation-in-progress. The medal can be found in G. F. HILL, *A Corpus of the Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, 2 vols (London: British Museum, 1930), no. 1203. Julian Raby suspects the medal to have been manufactured at Mehmet's court. See: JULIAN RABY, "Pride and Prejudice: Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal," *Studies in the History of Art* 21 (1987): 171-194.

Aristotle in the Colonial Encounter in India

Delhi had been one of the most important centers of the Mughal Empire since the seventeenth century. After the British had conquered the city and the last emperor in 1803, they continued to use the Persian language and symbolic universe, while attempting to stabilize their power in what was still an undecided struggle with the French and the Marathas. By the 1830s, however, a new generation of colonial administrators had arrived; they intended to use their new power to effect changes in the administration of the country, and in education. Their aim was the creation of a new generation of Indians who were familiar with British culture, with its literature as well as its values, and who were able to translate these to their compatriots. While in Bengal this had led to a harsh cultural policy, aimed at discarding the Indian heritage that the British despised, in North India and especially in Delhi, these efforts were more dialogical in nature. From 1840 Delhi College became a symbol for this policy—according to which British knowledge was to be taught, but through the Urdu language, and parallel to a continued emphasis on Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. Teachers and soon also former students engaged in translations, edited journals and newspapers, and were at the center of the traditional and the colonial forms of sociability. The British strategy paid off: in the Revolt of 1857 the professors and students of Delhi College sided with the colonial power, and in the following decades they worked in the colonial administration, and took up major educational projects that gave an important place to British knowledge.[46]

Delhi College has often been hailed as a symbol for a creative cultural encounter, yet it was hardly a power-free zone. All of the important decisions—from the allocation of funds for the Oriental and English branches to the curricula for both—were taken by the colonial power. The list of books taught included scientific and literary works, those of history, and a broad introduction to Enlightenment philosophy: from Thomas Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind* and Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, to John Abercrombie's *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth*. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, too, was taught, while his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* formed part of the program of the Translation Society.[47] It is notable that Smith drew extensively on the Aristotelian tradition, but the same tradition was present in the other texts as well, though often unmarked The officers creating the curriculum were less interested in the political message of the Enlightenment (the creation of a civil society), and more interested in the texts that concerned the workings of the human mind, the emotions, and virtues. These matters were central to the creation of a political subject, which, in this context, was also a colonial subject.

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[46] For more detail see MARGRIT PERNAU, ed., *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State and Education before 1857* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[47] ABDUL HAQQ, *Marhum Delhi College* (Delhi: Anjuman-e taraqqi-e Urdu, 1989), 98-104, 149-155.

The Delhi College makes a fascinating case study for our argument because the students who were introduced to this tradition—which was designated as Western knowledge—were already familiar with the Persianate tradition starting from Nasir ud Din Tusi's thirteenth-century rendition of the *Tahzib ul Akhlaq*. This text was widely circulated among the North Indian elites, but even those who had not read it had at least read more popular versions that drew from it. Since the Mughal period such versions had been part of the upbringing of young men of respectable Muslims households (and of the Persianized Hindu communities).[48] Unlike the Ottoman-Italian case from the fifteenth century, in this instance the process of drawing on a common reference was not flagged, nor was it part of a strategic move to facilitate communication. Both the books of the Delhi College curriculum and the Persian ethical literature drew on Aristotle. Yet each referred to markedly different temporal and spatial layers of the transmission and interpretation of Aristotle's work.

Students may or may not have been aware that the Aristotelian tradition formed the common strand between what they were taught at home and at Delhi College. That this did not preclude the efficacy of the ideas is shown in the work of Maulawi Zakaullah, a prominent alumnus of Delhi College, who worked as a professor, translator, and writer after 1857. He produced a monumental history of India in ten volumes, and also a massive concordance of philosophic and theological approaches to ethical thinking in Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism.[49] Zakaullah sought to prove that the values promulgated by the colonial power were not alien to Muslims, but corresponded with aspects of their own heritage. In Zakaullah's view, the universality of ethical teaching fostered the encounter in which he had enthusiastically participated since his student days. This universality was less an invented category, as has been claimed at times, than the result of a shared appropriation of different strands of the Aristotelian heritage.

Conclusion

As pointed out at the beginning of this article, actors moving in space and involved in cross-cultural entanglements are faced with problems of communication. The solutions they develop are an important topic for historians who are interested in the fact that connections transcending cultural borders existed in the past, and in how and why these connections worked. To study these topics implies neither seeing cultures

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[48] RAJEEV KINRA, *Writing Self, Writing Empire. Chandar Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

[49] MARGRIT PERNAU, "Maulawi Muhammad Zaka Ullah. Reflections of a Muslim Moralist on the Compatibility of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity," in *Convictions religieuses et engagement en Asie du Sud depuis 1850 (Études Thématiques No. 25)*, ed. by CATHERINE CLÉMENTIN-OJHA (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2011), 31-47, with further references.

as incommensurable and exoticizing their differences,[50] nor glossing over the differences. Historical actors certainly developed strategies for successful political communication (if only because the alternative was too costly), but this involved a process drawn out over time, which could be more or less consciously devised.

The creation of common horizons of meaning through referencing shared textual traditions has long been an important strategy of communication. The two examples discussed above—of the interactions between Mehmet II and the Italian courts, and between North Indian intellectuals and the colonial power—show Aristotelian ethics as the shared textual tradition. Using Koselleck's concept of temporal layers, we have identified these references to Aristotle's thought as belonging to earlier strata of meaning, which was part of the intellectual inheritance of all the groups, whose political communication we investigated: Aristotle was as important a tradition in the Islamicate world as in Europe.

However, the powerful image of temporal layers, derived from geology, should not lead us to ascribe immovability and an unchanging nature to the deeper layers. The examples reveal that the meanings of emotions and virtues, and the ways these could be applied in everyday ethics, were constantly negotiated and reconfigured. Nevertheless, the ethics still preserved a sufficient family resemblance to be recognizable across borders, and thus to allow for communication and the possibility of understanding. This encompassed not only the selection of emotions and virtues relevant to political activity (or, more generally, to activity in the sphere of the *polis*, the *civitas* or the *madina*), but also what it meant to be courageous or compassionate, to take just two examples. Although not identical, the understandings of these emotion-virtues were similar enough to contribute to the creation of shared horizons. (Even so, this does not yet say anything about the use that these shared horizons would be put to.)

Such an approach allows us to bring together the three entanglements mentioned in the introduction: entanglement at the level of the historians of different regions; entanglement at the level of the actors, and the entanglement between these two levels which arises once we take into consideration the actors' interpretation. The concepts and temporalities that historians draw on reflect their own present-day questions and positionality, and global historians have achieved a high degree of self-reflexivity in this respect. But they are not the first to endow political communication between actors with meaning—the historical actors themselves have already provided multiple interpretations of their own experiences, and these interpretations inform their practices, communicative and otherwise. Accordingly global historians are involved in a twofold communication process: with one another, across the borders of regional studies; with the interpretations of the historical actors (who in turn needed to transcend borders of their own in order to communicate). As pointed out by Dipesh

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[50] SEBASTIAN CONRAD, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Chakrabarty and others following him, the extent to which the experience and interpretation of historical actors can enter the present-day debate depends very much on past and present power relations: while European experiences easily enter the supposedly universal language of present-day social sciences, the same is much more difficult, if not impossible, for concepts and languages from other regions of the world. Global history needs the provincializing of European concepts and the provincializing of entanglements. And this asks that global historian actively engage with historical concepts and with interpreting communication by all the actors involved in the encounter and entanglement under consideration.[51]

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[51] DIPESH CHAKRABARTY, *Provincializing Europe* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001); MARGRIT PERNAU, "Provincializing Concepts. The Language of Transnational History," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36, 3 (2016): 483-499.

Disciplinarity and Forgetfulness:
On the Older Historiography of Global Connections

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Introduction: a History of Forgetting

It is probably fair to say that the (re-)turn towards the writing of global connected histories in recent years has not prompted exceptional curiosity for earlier cognate approaches. So far, historiographical ambitions in this field have rarely strayed, it would seem, beyond an interest in disciplinary canons, and within these, national traditions have often garnered the focus. Arguably, this is not a result of accidental neglect, but rather the consequence of various obstacles that beset a more fully fledged historiography of global connections.

First, in a field oriented towards chronologically and geographically far-flung materials, such historiographical ambitions can easily appear narrow and secondary—regardless of the fact that a sustained effort of such research would also generate improved prospects for a globally connected historiography of global connections. Second, in no small measure, recent global history has developed as a radical critique of western historical writing, and this has not been conducive to raising interest in the past of historical writing. Third, a significant portion of the older tradition in question unfolded outside the discipline of history, and an interdisciplinary understanding of historiography poses difficulties of its own. And fourth, the shortcomings of the older tradition had been met with an earlier critical response from what is known under the label of 'structuralism'. This interdisciplinary array of more or less interrelated research programs gained comparatively little hold over historical writing on account of its own critical stance towards history. So in a sense the current critique of historical writing is *competing* with an earlier critique: 'the enemy of my enemy is also my enemy.' The result is a situation of unacknowledged intractability. At the core of this intractability one reliably encounters disciplinarity—that is, a tangle of institutional structures, symbolic territorial claims, and imaginary contests. I argue that this strange beast is a force of historiographical forgetfulness. Its ruminations deserve greater attention.

A Sketch of a Historiography of Transfer and Hybridization

Already almost a decade ago, an imposing set of books appeared that revisited the history of scholarly orientalism in various guises and contexts. In 2008 Tuška Beneš traced major genealogical lines between contemporary social and literary theory, and

especially the development of comparative linguistics in nineteenth-century Germany.[1] Since this development was driven by Indo-European studies, it assigned a place to Sanskrit orientalism at the heart of modern humanities discourse. Twentieth-century structuralist and post-structuralist theories built on nineteenth-century foundations.

In 2009 Suzanne Marchand published an even wider-ranging synthesis of German-language orientalism in the 'long' nineteenth century.[2] She highlighted the field's neglected interrelations with biblical studies and Classics, and also its inseparable entanglement with the history of German and European anti-Semitism. Marchand's overarching argument, however, made a contribution to the historiography of global connections; she claimed that this type of historical writing flourished in Germany, but 'failed' to develop into a 'mature' multicultural pluralism, due to ideological and political limitations—a precarious argument *ex negativo*.[3]

In 2010 Karla Mallette published a study of southern European orientalisms that brought together Italian and Spanish case studies.[4] She argued that, in both countries, nation-building discourses integrated positive interpretations of cultural hybridity in the medieval Mediterranean among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities. These interpretations stood in marked contrast to the British-French model of orientalism described by Edward Said that was low on hybridity and high on alterity and superiority claims.

In 2011 Vera Tolz published her account of orientalist scholarship in late imperial and early Soviet Russia.[5] Tolz, too, uncovered an alternative model of orientalism: within the Russian inland empire, scholars contributed to an inclusive minority politics that sought to integrate ethnic groups into the greater political frame. Russian orientalists were critical of the superiority fantasies of their western colleagues, and, according to Tolz, this critique travelled via Soviet trained-scholars from post-colonial Lebanon into the educational environment of Edward Said himself, before he even moved to the United States.

In this collection of important contributions, certain shifts within the overall field became salient. There was a shared interest in identifying traditions of scholarship that did not fit into those familiar models outlined by Said and then contested in decades-long confrontations and polemics. These deviant traditions of scholarship tended to be based on notions of transfer and hybridization. They also tended to be

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[1] TUŠKA BENEŠ, *In Babel's Shadow: Language, Philology and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2008).

[2] SUZANNE MARCHAND, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[3] MARCHAND, *German Orientalism*, 495-98.

[4] KARLA MALLETTE, *European Modernity and the Arab Mediterranean: Towards a New Philology and a Counter-Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[5] VERA TOLZ, *Russia's Own Orient: The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

understood as genealogically related to present-day humanities thinking and practice. Moreover, they tended to be placed in national containers that belonged to non-western Europe. As such, they played into a very familiar organization of centre and periphery in modern European history, a configuration epitomised by Said's exclusive coverage of British and French cases. In general, historical discourse remains ready to regard national frames as particular on the basis of their divergence from the central model alone, without much recourse to other peripheral cases. The mere juxtaposition of the four abovementioned books indicates that the authors overstate their cases when they assert that the tendency of orientalist scholarship to focus on transfers and hybridizations between Asia and Europe resulted from particularities of national scholarly discourses. Instead, it would seem to have been the case that Beneš, Marchand, Mallette, and Tolz, each within their chosen framework, happened upon a transnational European phenomenon.

Other work suggests as much, for instance a small study by the literary scholar Andrea Celli about three interrelated cases of Dante philology in the first half of the twentieth century.[6] Celli examines readings of Dante that highlighted, in the wake of the Spanish scholar Miguel Asín Palacios (who had pioneered this line of research in 1919), the supposed Arabic sources of the *Divine Comedy*. This approach may not have been as philologically sound as its followers then believed, but it disrupted established frameworks of European literary history. Focusing on the Italian specialist of Abyssinian philology Enrico Cerulli—also a deeply compromised Fascist-era colonial administrator—Celli shows how the perspective on a 'connected' Dante engendered also other research projects on early modern cultural transfers between Europe and Ethiopia. In other work, Cerulli for instance pursued a particular interest in transfers of the legends of the Virgin Mary from Europe to Ethiopia, thus reversing the usual direction of transfer investigations at the time. Celli's other cases indicate that such patterns of argument were not limited to southern European scholarship. The basic template recurred in the work of various German scholars: the Romanist Leo Spitzer, for instance, and the medieval historian and trained Ottomanist Ernst Kantorowicz. In the latter's case it is striking that the idea of an 'orientalized' Dante opened a perspective on kingship within a seamless Eurasian space of cultural transfers. Conceivably the potential of this perspective for the history of political thought is only beginning to be explored.[7]

Perhaps, however, this line of argument is tainted from the start, since it mistakes parallel development of structure for a genealogical relation. This basic, often undecidable alternative was already only too familiar at the end of the nineteenth century. Transfers of legends of the Virgin Mary can be philologically documented;

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[6] ANDREA CELLI, *Dante e l'Oriente: Le fonti islamiche nella storiografia novecentesca* (Rome: Carocci, 2013).
[7] See, for example, A. AZFAR MOIN, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

transfer of political thought is much harder to evince. The beginnings of what later came to be labelled structuralism, both in France and in north eastern Europe, have much to do with Saussurean linguistics—its appreciation of the prevalence of synchronic over diachronic approaches, and its rebellion against the evolutionist views of the neo-grammarians dominant in the 1880s and 1890s. The same beginnings also have much to do with ethnography, psychology, folklore, and the study of popular literature.[8] The indefatigable collectors of fairy-tales and folksong were arguably the first to abandon genealogical arguments about the transfer of their material from there to here, and to embrace structural analysis and typological classification instead. Around 1910, the Finnish folklorist Antti Aarne, as a pioneer of this line of research, began assembling an index of fairy-tale plot types that, in later incarnations, remained a foundational tool in folklore studies.[9] Both the question of origins and the question of genealogies receded to the background. Arguably, Marchand's conundrum about the 'failure' of German scholarship to 'fully' develop its lines of research into genealogical transfer and hybridization perspectives is less puzzling if one takes into account that German scholarship, partly because of its insulation during and after the First World War, was particularly slow to take on the challenge of early structuralism. Although Aarne had published his work in German, its reception in Germany appears to have remained very hesitant. Instead, German scholars continued with an older research program although its international traction had suddenly collapsed. This research program then also dwindled and disappeared as orientalist studies in general declined in Weimar Germany and after.

Anglophone pioneers of what today is regarded as a more important prototype of global history pursued research programs that appear quite compatible with nineteenth-century concerns about cultural 'borrowings' (in Germany, the dominant concept for what today is called 'transfer' was *Entlehnung*, which interestingly conceded property rights to the source culture). Yet, these scholars—for instance, George Sarton and Joseph Needham and his collaborator Wang Ling in the history of science, or Marshall Hodgson in Islamic history—also already took the structuralist problem of parallels and genealogical agnosticism into account.[10] The notorious 'Needham

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[8] The question of the early history of structuralism is arguably even more confusing than its later development, especially on account of the transnational character of this tendency in research. The rather assertive insistence in François Dosse's standard historical account, according to which structuralism was simply dominated by Francophone scholarship, is certainly wrong for the decades before the Second World War, which Dosse does not cover, see his *History of Structuralism* [1991], 2 vols (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[9] ANTTI AARNE, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, mit Hülfe von Fachgenossen ausgearbeitet* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1910); STITH THOMPSON, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography – Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen, translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1961).

[10] GEORGE SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 5 vols (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1927-48); JOSEPH NEEDHAM, WANG LING, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 1: Introductory Orientations*

question,' namely 'Why Europe, why not China?,' is arguably an indirect expression of this structuralist problematic. Hodgson, by contrast, was more interested in challenging centre-periphery clichés within a civilizational account of the Islamic world, for which he accorded a greater prominence to Persianate culture than was common. Although the discarding of straightforward stipulations of centre-periphery relations was a concern common to at least some structuralist research programs—thinking of Lévi-Strauss, for instance—Hodgson's work was arguably more in line with earlier philological models. The most prominent of these may have been that of his teacher, the orientalist Louis Massignon. The latter was known as a scholar of peculiar forms of Islamic mysticism that had developed far beyond the theological mainstream. Edward Said decried this interest as one that distorted the picture of Islam; he thereby continued a long tradition of Islamic theological criticism of western scholarship.[11]

The example of Hodgson suggests that perhaps, in fields where both history and philology were concerned, the lingering force of the transfer and hybridity traditions warped the presence of structuralism. Michel Foucault argued that early-nineteenth-century comparative grammar—from which modern linguistics emerged—was underpinned by a tendency to assume that the individual units of comparison were unified by processes of self-enclosed, organicist historical evolution, and less by interrelations between them.[12] This was the 'episteme' of the 'human sciences' in general, informing also other, seemingly distant fields such as anatomy or economics. The force of this episteme was also still on display in the emerging social sciences in the late nineteenth century. The often structural, typological approach to civilizational history, as exemplified especially by Max Weber, may justly appear similar to what one finds in some branches of philology: the older comparative grammar rather than emerging structuralism. No doubt, by the mid-twentieth century, the social science tradition was highly important to authors engaged in world historical work. Nonetheless there were limits to this importance: another philological lineage, which did not follow the Foucaultian pattern but stressed connections between the putative units of comparison, continued to assert itself. The attention previously given to the hybridization of apparent civilizational units rendered these philological notions distinct and exercised a certain influence on historical writing as well. In the context of this field, embracing structure, then, did not imply positing the independence of developments, but simply abstention from judgment on exact lineages of transfer. Such an approach to writing history continued to demarcate a distinction towards the development of the social sciences. An interdisciplinary zone of ambiguity around global transfers and connections had emerged in the first half of the twentieth century.

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); MARSHALL HODGSON, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

[11] The most extensive study of Arab responses to European orientalism I have seen is the unpublished dissertation of RONEN RAZ, *The Transparent Mirror: Arab Intellectuals and Orientalism, 1798-1950*, Princeton University, 1997.

[12] MICHEL FOUCAULT, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).

Older Disciplinarities and Interdisciplinarities

This historiographical sketch is highly inadequate, but it suffices to indicate some major lines of contestation and confusion that traversed the complex interdisciplinary terrain of the history of global connections. The difficulties of calibrating relations, in the nineteenth century, between established, emerging, fragmented, or stagnant disciplines ought not to be underestimated. Divergence among the institutional statuses of, say, history, sociology, ethnology, folklore, and orientalism around 1900 was considerable. The incompatibility, even the antagonism, of disciplinary developments further helps explaining Marchand's conundrum. The 'multicultural' perspective on transfers and hybridization was lost in an indeterminate place between philology, parts of which gradually moved towards structure whilst other retained the transfer model; and history, to which the lure of structure, for years to come, appeared negligible. Within the discipline of history, topics of cultural transfer had successfully been relegated to the subfield of cultural history, which remained in the margins.

For an example of the fortunes of interdisciplinarity in the nineteenth century, one can turn to an 1887 study of the history of paper production conducted by two Austrian scholars, the orientalist Joseph von Karabacek and the botanist Julius Wiesner.[13] This rare collaboration between a humanist and a scientist yielded a set of rather solid judgments about the history of paper as a technological product. The basic invention had occurred in China; the technology of producing paper from rags had been invented in Samarkand after its inclusion into the Islamic world, and not only at the time when paper was adopted in late medieval Europe, as had previously been assumed. Paper made directly from cotton fibre, as postulated by some researchers as a step in the evolution of the technology, had never existed in the past. The authors reached their findings by microscopically examining samples—the process included burning scraps and similarly destructive interventions—and by carefully juxtaposing references to paper in old Arabic and Persian manuscripts. A history emerged; competition with disciplinary accounts such as Wilhelm Wattenbach's history of medieval writing materials, was palpable.[14] The authors were less explicit about another competing publication, the non-academic work of the French-Swiss paper producer and antiquarian scholar Charles-Moïse Briquet, even though or perhaps because, a mere year earlier, Briquet had published results that pointed to similar conclusions with regard to cotton paper. Admittedly, these results were far less amply documented with non-European sources.[15] Karabacek and Wiesner were able to work on archaeological

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[13] JOSEPH KARABACEK, *Das arabische Papier: Eine historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Vienna: K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1887); JULIUS WIESNER, *Die mikroskopische Untersuchung des Papiers mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ältesten orientalischen und europäischen Papiere* (Vienna: K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1887).

[14] WILHELM WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* [1871] (2nd edition, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1875).

[15] CHARLES-MOÏSE BRIQUET, *Recherches sur les premiers papiers employés en Occident et en Orient du Xe au XIVe siècle*, (Paris: Offprint of *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 46 [1886]).

discoveries of paper in the collection from the Fayum Oasis that had been acquired for Vienna, materials that had not been available to Briquet.

In the study of paper, an interdisciplinary Asian-European approach to history appeared attainable.[16] Certainly readers would have been obliged to tolerate some level of untenable speculation. Karabacek was a frequently debunked author, as indeed were many orientalists (but his account of paper appears to have remained intact). Nonetheless, such debunking could have been, and often was, regarded as corrective work that did not undermine the notion that history should address intercontinental connections, and acknowledge the 'oriental' presence in the 'Occident.' And yet, in the long run, this once well-established line of research produced little intellectual offspring.

This lack of fertility followed from a number of impedimental circumstances, among which especially the different levels of the establishment of disciplinary ventures. The one-sidedness of transfer histories, always into Europe, was one of the markers of this situation. For, the widespread failure to consider European impact on non-European cultures and societies was partly induced by political context, as a consequence of the marginalized institutional and symbolic position of orientalist philologies. Scholars interested in the reality of contemporary European imperialisms usually serviced imperial apparatuses. Even when they sought to formulate critical perspectives, selective blindness for the contemporary realities of European impact on colonized societies was virtually *de rigueur* for orientalists. For instance, this was the case with Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje during his sojourn in Indonesia and his subsequent tenure in Leiden, when he conspicuously sought to formulate the tenets of an 'ethical' reform of colonial policy, but without offering much of an honest assessment of changes imposed by, for instance, his own work as a colonial administrator.[17]

The political reality of empire pervaded academic institutions. Snouck might never have developed an interest in things Indonesian if a position had been attainable in his chosen field, the study of Arabic and Islam. Yet by the 1880s, when he had to take decisions about his career, all the professorships in Arabic and Islam were occupied for decades to come. The exigencies and disengagements of empire also shaped the early career of Johan Huizinga, certainly one of the most famous historians of the twentieth century, who was initially trained as a scholar of Sanskrit. For Dutch Sanskritists career options were even more limited than for Arabists: the Dutch empire had even less use for Indology. Huizinga's interests were in literary history, and corresponded with themes then popular in the transfer-oriented wing of orientalist

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[16] It even prompted Wattenbach, one of the then-famous lights involved in the critical publication of primary sources through the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, to revisit his account: WILHELM WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (3rd edition, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896), 140.

[17] See still WILLEM OTTERSPEER, "The Ethical Imperative," in *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, ed. by WILLEM OTTERSPEER (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 204-29.

philology. Yet in response to the pressure of imperial and/or national utility he opted for a change of disciplines. In order to qualify as a schoolteacher he became a medievalist, for whom an earlier education in ancient Indian literature mattered only in subterranean ways.[18] Historians, on account of their role as preceptors of the meaning of nationhood, had carved out a far more secure institutional position within European university systems. Huizinga regarded his surprising appointment as a professor of history at Groningen University as a fluke.[19] In many regards this assessment may have been correct, because a scholar with his background and cultural historical interests was indeed something of a bird of paradise among the sparrows.

So *fin de siècle* interdisciplinarity floundered institutionally when it involved disciplines at very divergent levels of institutionalization. Early structuralism, in its confusing alignment of seemingly far-apart disciplinary endeavours, can be said to have represented a novel alliance of the weak and disadvantaged. It almost entirely omitted those disciplines within the broader array of philologies that were well established due to their significance for projects of nation-building or empire, such as classicism, the more successful variants of modern vernacular philology, and those variants of orientalism that were useful in the respective imperial contexts. Similarly, structuralism bypassed history. Indeed, some of the most famous representatives of this patchwork of approaches (whether or not they accepted the label 'structuralist')—most notably, perhaps, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault—published trenchant critiques of historical thought as such. Under the label of structuralism, linguistics, sociology, marginal philologies, psychoanalysis, and cultural anthropology came together and flourished. Yet the alliance was uneven since the historicizing questions of transfer and hybridization continued to matter, but only to some of these fields. Lévi-Strauss was hard at work on a disciplinary edifice that avoided the conceptual infrastructure of modern European historical writing, especially with regard to historical time as a symbolic order that could not properly function without an over-appreciation of change and progress. Ironically, he also produced some original thought on cultural transfer that current global history might perhaps still find useful.[20] Yet a threshold of reception continues to remain in place that still suffices for keeping the disciplines apart.

Lévi-Straus's intuition that renouncing the genealogical perspective of hybridization and transfer as an approach to writing history also entailed further-

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[18] His dissertation on the figure of the *vidushaka* in Sanskrit puppet drama, a distant forebear of the harlequin in European theater traditions, was a significant contribution to a tiny field, exemplified by works of German orientalists such as Richard Pischel, Georg Jacob, and Paul E. Kahle; see JOHAN HUIZINGA, *De Vidushaka in het indisch toneel* [1897], in *Verzamelde Werken* 1 (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1948).

[19] See the account in JOHAN HUIZINGA, "Mijn weg tot de historie," in *Verzamelde Werken* 1 (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1948), 11-42.

[20] Namely on the interdependent differentiation of tribal cultures, see, for example, CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS, *La voie des masques* [1975] (2nd edition, Paris: Plon, 1979).

reaching shifts in the conceptual framework of historical temporality, was hard to contest—not least because this nexus had been around in humanities discourse for more than a century. Marchand has written about one of the clearest and earliest instantiations of this problematic: the so-called 'Creuzerstreit' (Creuzer controversy) among German classicists of the Romantic era.[21] Friedrich Creuzer had launched a plethora of mostly speculative arguments about 'oriental' origins of the decisive features of Greek antiquity. The ensuing polemic was foundational for the *esprit de corps* of Classics as a discipline in Germany. Throughout the nineteenth century, scholars who echoed Creuzer's line of argument were excluded from the disciplinary community. Friedrich Nietzsche's ostracism from Classics was codetermined by this deep-seated resentment, as his study of tragedy had posited 'oriental' origins. The modern German ideological template that Marchand labels 'philhellenism' presupposed the sharp distinction between Classics and orientalism. This distinction was an echo of the even older commonplace of the opposition between Athens and Jersualem, the confrontation of normatively charged antiquities, classical *versus* biblical, that in some way or other accompanied all formation of humanities disciplines. In the nineteenth century, this confrontation was translated into one of classical and oriental antiquities on large scale. It became a model for setting in motion a competition of validity among ancient 'civilizations' (or 'high cultures') that was one of the most significant meaning-giving features of the study of antiquity well into the twentieth century. Vestiges of this model mark many disciplines even today.

Nonetheless, by the last third of the nineteenth century, the overall tendency of those concerned with historical thought to study genealogical connections began to vindicate a notion of an all-connected Mediterranean ancient world. Or perhaps this notion took hold even earlier, if one counts Johann Gustav Droysen's Greek-Persian synthesis argument for 'Hellenism' as a precursor of, say, Eduard Meyer's integrated view of ancient history. As is well known, unlike Droysen who had been a trained Grecist, Meyer made great efforts to acquire knowledge in orientalist fields such as Egyptian and Semitics. The study of antiquity was a field shared between philology and history, and thus interdisciplinary. On account of this interdisciplinarity, the field was also comfortably contradictory. Comfortably, since Classics embraced notions of hybridization as well as the idea of civilizational self-sufficiency. The contradiction fully emerged only on a remote plane of theoretical convictions that scholars mostly avoided making explicit. The notion of an implicit competition among civilizations required dispensing with questions of chronology. For if, say, the Ancient Egyptians and the Ancient Greeks were to be measured by the same measure, it could not matter that the former had existed at an earlier time and for a longer period. Further, the question of 'influences' or 'borrowings' could really only be avoided if the norm, in historical writing, to insert everything into a unified frame of historical time was suspended. Hybridization, by contrast, required a unified historical temporality. No wonder that a

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[21] MARCHAND, *German Orientalism*, especially 66-72.

matter so abstract did not appear at the forefront of debate, even though it was part of the tacit knowledge that steered scholars' work. Orientalists were hard pressed to stake out a territory of their own in the overall field of theory and methodology; mostly, at least in Germany, they ceded authority over the theorization of their discipline(s) to the classicists. This further cemented the orientalists' marginality. So it is unsurprising that many orientalists hitched their fortunes to the promises of 'structure' when the latter came forward: this offered a way out from the comfort zone of contradiction all nineteenth-century philologies had managed to inhabit, but unequally, on different levels of institutional power and recognition.

Questions of disciplinary territory and priority can only exist in a symbolic domain where knowledge and institutions are combined to become chimeric beasts that roam the imaginary of scholarship. It is hardly unexpected that this domain was constantly evoked in the explanatory approaches, in the kinds of claims that appeared plausible and legitimate, and in the knowledge that was produced in humanities disciplines. Less obviously, though, symbolic disciplinarity was also a necessary condition for the production of scholarly knowledge in the humanities. Without a symbolic imagination of the intimated kind, scholarship in the humanities would have been bereft of a critical mass of those discursive and practical resources that provided structure and guidance.

In addition to this merely counterfactual consideration, one might argue that the symbolic character of disciplinarity served as a resource for establishing what Gaston Bachelard called 'epistemological rupture.'[22] Bachelard was referring to the rupture with quotidian knowledge that, in his view, was consistently driving the production of scientific knowledge—which justifies itself by being better (more reliable, more predictive, more precise, further-reaching, and so on) than ordinary manifestations of knowledge. More precisely, mere difference already suffices: distinct vocabularies, shifts into the formal language of mathematics, or the sheer territoriality of disciplinarity constitute the particularity of scientific knowledge. In the humanities, as elsewhere, the territorial structure of knowledge was, and remains, opaque to those who have not undergone elaborate training in the respective disciplines. Bachelard was also the philosopher of the unconscious of scientific knowledge. The contemporary forgetting of the older tradition of transfer and hybridization perspectives in global history can be explained through the processes of filtering and rupture that shaped the twentieth-century history of the humanities.

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[22] GASTON BACHELARD, *La formation de l'esprit scientifique: Contribution à une psychanalyse de la connaissance objective* (Paris: Vrin, 1938).

Disciplinarity and the History of the Humanities

The history of the humanities appears to have become a thriving domain in recent years.[23] Its vitality is surprising because of the widespread sense of crisis in the overall field, and the common notion that more reflexivity merely amounts to carving new ornaments onto the ivory tower. Yet the sense that the history of science—as a successful discipline in its own right—will never accommodate the history of the humanities more than peripherally appears to outweigh the fear of self-referentiality.[24] Perhaps the process of the formation of an autonomous field is irreversible, even if present-day efforts to address the history of the humanities hardly appear to be driven by a unified research program. Under the pressure of developments in philosophy and history of science, theoretically it seems inevitable that older conceptual tools are dropped. Such tools are exemplified by the supposed distinction between *Verstehen* (understanding) and *Erklären* (explanation) argued by Wilhelm Dilthey and the neo-Kantians, or C. P. Snow's 'two cultures.' If these have proved under-complex in the analysis of knowledge in the natural sciences, it seems unlikely that they fare better with reference to the humanities.

As a result, the supposed particularity of knowledge production in the humanities—traditionally important as a rationale for not including the humanities in the general history of science—becomes only more elusive. The sense of context, supposedly a strength of humanities thought, often remains somewhat feeble, especially where notions of a universal scientific method come to inform debate. James Turner's synthesis of the history of philology, for instance, seems to retain faith in the stability of philological method as a universal tool for the reading of texts, regardless of whichever contextual conditions have shaped reading practices in the past.[25] Pressure to be apologetic about the humanities as a whole appears to outweigh the pressure to be critical. Meanwhile, some scholars, often for good pragmatic reasons, achieve global scope mainly by producing additive accounts that often remain rather short on questions of transfer and hybridity.[26] The threshold of modernity around 1800

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[23] See, for instance, RENS BOD, *A New History of the Humanities: The Search for Principles and Patterns from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), and the new journal *History of Humanities* (University of Chicago Press, 2016ff.).

[24] Even current stock-taking endeavors, such as the admirable three volumes DOMINIQUE PESTRE et al., eds, *Histoire des sciences et des savoirs* (Paris: Seuil, 2015) indicate that history of science will offer no more than a peripheral role to the history of the humanities.

[25] JAMES TURNER, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[26] For philology, see, for instance, SHELDON POLLOCK, BENJAMIN A. ELMAN, KU-MING KEVIN CHANG, eds, *World Philology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). For historiography, see DANIEL WOOLF, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), and GEORG G. IGGERS, Q. EDWARD WANG, SUPRIYA MUKHERJEE, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (2nd edition, London: Routledge, 2017).

remains accepted even by those who emphasize the importance of achievements in older times.[27]

While potentially a tedious and even annoying topic, the history of interdisciplinary collaboration and contention among scholars from different fields in the humanities conceivably provides a solution to some of these problems. In the humanities, disciplinary territoriality and interdisciplinarity arguably bear greater weight in achieving epistemological rupture than in the sciences. Whereas in the sciences, interdisciplinary connections often seem to emerge mainly for pragmatic reasons, in the humanities, the determination of what is 'useful' even in terms of mere knowledge is often more difficult to achieve, just as, for lack of mathematization, 'results' are harder to define. Alliances tend to be more fleeting in the humanities, while contrasts between successful and questionable formations of disciplines appear starker. This diagnosis, if plausible, forces analysis in the history of the humanities into a small-scale labour of contextualization that reaches beyond accounting for research programs and methodologies. Emphasis on the symbolic features of disciplines and their conflicts over territories and priorities opens novel perspectives. A deeper investigation of the earlier historiography of global connectedness can, and ought to, contribute to establishing such openings.

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[27] As is evident in ANTHONY GRAFTON, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997); something similar holds for the early modernities approach pioneered, for instance, in VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO, DAVID SHULMAN, SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India 1600-1800* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).

Circulation of People Circulation of Objects across South Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire 17th-19th centuries

Introduction

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In 1718 the first edition of Anton Maria del Chiaro's, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia, con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti* was printed in Venice. [1] Born in Florence in the 1660s, Del Chiaro moved to Venice where he was part of a small community of literary scholars gathered around Apostolo Zeno that encouraged him to leave for Walachia to collect information about this largely unknown region. Travelling to Sarajevo and Belgrade, he arrived in Wallachia where he became the secretary of three princes: Costantin Brincoveanu, Stefan Cantacuzino and Nicholas Mavrocordatos. Teaching Italian and Latin, translating and writing official letters, Del Chiaro was also employed as private tutor of the sons of Brincoveanu whose tragic fate he witnessed and extensively wrote about in his work. In 1714, accused of betraying the Sublime Porte and of secretly siding with the Habsburgs, the prince and his four sons were summoned to Constantinople where they were beheaded.

In the preface of the *Istoria*, which he completed after returning to Venice, Del Chiaro tells his audience that he wrote from the point of view of a 'foreigner' and this subject position – so he argues- grants readers that he is totally free from any 'passion' despite the honors he received from his three noble patrons. Unburdened of any local interest, the book addresses a scholarly readership in Italy, and fulfills the lack of information on these unknown lands. A rare and little-known book, the *Istoria* is, in the opinion of Nicolae Iorga, 'one of the most precious sources for the history of the Romanians'.[2]

Del Chiaro's sharp gaze points to the structural weakness of the land, owing to its geo-political position between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires:

> Walachia is situated between two Empires. These form a balance that a Prince must keep in a perfect equilibrium. If the balance bends on the side of the Turks, he runs the risk of losing his state and freedom in the hands of the Germans […] if, on the other

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[1] Antonmaria Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia, con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti* (Venezia,1708). Nicolae Iorga edited a second edition (Bucarest, 1914) and a Romanian partial translation was published by S. Cris-Cristian, *Revolutiile Valaliei* (Jasi, 1929). On Del Chiaro see Gino Benzoni, *ad vocem,* in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 36 (Rome, 1988)

[2] Del Chiaro, *Istoria* (1914), 222

hand, the balance bends towards the Germans, or other Christian powers, this will suffice for the Turks to deprive him of his principality, wealth and eventually of his life.[3]

The experience of the foreigner; the fragile and changing balance between the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian Empires; processes of identity construction molded by a condition of in-betweenness are the connecting features between Del Chiaro's interpretive perspective and the following five articles.

Using a wealth of sources in multiple languages, the essays focus on the Danubian principalities and the Ottoman Empire between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries focusing on the different ways in which foreigners moved across imperial boundaries, trying to integrate into the local elites. These complex procedures shed light on the the hybrid cultural and socio-political world in the Ottoman periphery. The contributions analyse multiple processes of identification that individuals could use to traverse and adapt to empires. The distinction between locals and outsiders outlines a network of identities in which the boundaries appear somewhat fluid, constructed and deconstructed according to personal and contextual interests. Foreigners in the Romanian lands were largely merchants and tradesmen, doctors, men of letters and diplomats, monks and mercenaries; for each of them, integration and social recognition followed a converging series of stages. Patronage, marriage, language and gift-giving constitute the main echelons granting status, influence and power. Through some relevant case studies, these practices of integration acquire concrete visibility within narratives of circulation, voyage and migration across Mediterranean Europe, the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian Empires.

Maria Pakucs studies Balkan-Levantine merchants in Transylvania. By the middle of the sixteenth century they gradually replaced the former main agents of the trade, the local Saxon merchants. In her case study, she reconstructs the commercial and social network of a Transylvanian Greek merchant at the end of the seventeenth century: Kozma/Kosta, Boczi/Buczi/Potsis or Kis. His changing onomastics match the complexity of his social relationships and commercial operations, spanning a large territory, from the core of the Ottoman Empire to Poland, and crossing social boundaries by building a varied clientele, ranging from barons to servants of villages and priests in rural Transylvania. The exceptional archive of Kozma's business letters shows that he had good connections and travelled personally to markets in Central and East-Central Europe: Vienna, Nuremberg, Prešov, Wroclaw, Jaroslav. Pakucs' article relies on documents preserved in the archives of Sibiu, such as unpublished political and private correspondence, letters of debt, loan contracts, town protocols and judicial inquests written in Hungarian, Latin and German.

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[3] Del Chiaro, *Istoria, parte seconda*, 155.

The enduring circulation of European physicians mostly trained at the University of Padua between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, as well as the transfer of knowledge, drugs and technology they promoted shaped the making of a professional elite that reinforced the long-lasting connections between Italy and the Ottoman Empire. Based in the Venetian ambassador's residence in Constantinople, Alexandria and Damascus, this polyglot European professional elite settled in the Ottoman Empire, married into families of dragomans, physicians, and the local elite, moving across ethnic, religious and linguistic borders and often building successful careers.

Giulia Calvi's article focuses on a physician travelling from the Granduchy of Tuscany. Michelangelo Tilli (1655-1750) a twenty-seven-year-old physician graduated from the university of Pisa, between 1683 and 1685 travelled to the Ottoman Empire with the official charge of treating Mustafa pasha "Mussaip", son in law of Sultan Mehmed IV, having married his daughter Hatice Sultan. It was a relevant diplomatic and political move to send a promising young physician to treat the Pasha during the crucial military campaign of the Turks in Central Europe against the Holy League while Christian armies were confronting the last Ottoman attack to Vienna and Eastern Europe. When Tilli arrived in Istanbul, the Ottomans were at war with the Hapsburg Empire and the catastrophic consequences of the siege of Vienna in September 1683 resonate in his letters and reports, to date unpublished among the abundant literature on these events. Indeed, the doctor's letters intersect political and diplomatic information with medical therapy, botanical observation and the search for antiquities and show the plurality of functions performed by early modern medical practitioners. Tilli traveled from Constantinople to reach the Pasha's court in Belgrade, and then, once the news of the military defeat in Vienna reached the Ottomans, back across the Balkans following the Pasha and his retinue from Belgrade to Adrianople (today Edirne) Filippopolis (today Plovdiv) and Constantinople. Reports on health and medical therapies followed by the regular attempts at sending medicaments directly from Florence, overlap highly emotional descriptions of the collapse of the Ottoman armies in Vienna and around Buda in Hungary.

Michal Wasiucionek investigates the spreading of the Greek language, which came to be regarded as the language of culture among Moldavian–Wallachian elites and a conduit of cultural models at the interface between the Ottoman center and the Christian periphery of the empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While previous historiography dismissed the ascendancy of Greek as a reactionary shift among the boyar class anxious to retain cultural hegemony, the article analyses the winding evolution of language and literacy in Moldavia and Wallachia from a different perspective. Starting from the early seventeenth century, the Danubian principalities had witnessed a massive influx of 'Greco-Levantines' from core Ottoman provinces, who found their way into the local elite and formed alliances with local lineages. This shift was not only crucial for promoting literacy in Greek, but also served as a conduit

by which Moldavian-Wallachian boyars negotiated their new relationship with the Ottoman imperial center. Thus, rather than a boyar reaction against the spread of vernacular literacy, the popularity of Greek-Ottoman models was an exercise in connectivity, although one transcending the limits of the Danubian principalities. Thus, the proliferation of Greek can be read as a reflection of the growing integration of Moldavian and Wallachian elites into the fabric of the Ottoman Empire and not as a reflection of western culture as the natural point of reference for the Christian Orthodox elites, opposing the idiom of the Ottoman space. The adoption of the Greek language therefore formed an integral part of the dynamic cultural environment of Ottoman early modernity, with parallels to the cultural developments among Muslim population of the empire.

In her contribution, Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu analyses the criteria of definition and identification applied to a *foreigner* in the Danubian Principalities. Who were the foreigners who arrived in the Danubian Principalities at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? How were they qualified and classified in the social hierarchy? How were they received and how did they manage to integrate? The first essential criterion in the definition of the 'foreigner' concerns geographical belonging to a given territory. But the documents operate with great ambiguity when they speak of the others, the *foreigners*, who may originate from beyond the imaginary frontiers of various sorts of communities, whether delimited in confessional, social, or geographical terms. The article investigates the identity and status of foreigners within the political elite and the princely court and concentrates on the case study of François-Thomas Linchou, the first member of the Linchou family that went through a series of metamorphoses in the course of a little over a century (between 1740 and 1850): from Linchou to Lenş and Linche de Moissac, between Marseilles, Istanbul, Bucharest, and Paris, from Moorish converts to *true* Frenchmen, from Levantine merchants to Wallachian office-holders, ending up as the French comtes de Moissac.

Arriving in Istanbul around 1739, François-Thomas was involved there in trade and later in diplomacy on behalf of the French embassy. From this position, he managed to become integrated in the Phanariot network. As diplomatic agent of the Greek Constantine Racovitza (1699–1764), who ruled as Prince several times in Moldavia (1749–1753, 1756–1757) and Wallachia (1753–1756, 1763–1764), François-Thomas Linchou carried out intense diplomatic and commercial activity, which is recorded in a rich correspondence. According to his interests, he fashioned his identity on 'the honour of the French nation', or on that of a Moldavin boyar in pursuit of Moldavian offices, wishing to come closer to the local elite through a marriage of convenience. During a century, the Linchou family, who managed to integrate by way of commerce, would never manage to penetrate the social fabric of the community because, as Catholics, they bore the marks of a different confessional identity.

Nicoleta Roman investigates the Danubian Principalities after the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), under Russian protectorate, when the Moldavian and Wallachian elites adopted French language and culture and the first Romanian Constitution (1831) as vehicles of Westernisation. In this framework, the article focuses on the Filipescu family whose members gained power, privileges and high ranks, aiming for the highest position, that of the prince.

The transition from the old to the new raises the question of whether elites could suddenly give up being Oriental (Turkish) to become Western and highlights the notion of *loyalty* which was for these political actors multi-layered and in continuous change, depending on political events and their regional and local implications. Roman's study uses diplomatic objects, more precisely decorations, to examine the practices and significations associated with them in the display of one's political loyalty and aspiration to Wallachia's throne. In the 1830s and 1840s, such objects were the interface of the political loyalties of the Wallachian elite, and at the same time symbolic of the conflictual relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The new custom that the tsar and the sultan should offer symbolic gifts to each other's envoys in the territory to mark a political understanding, opened a field of symbolic negotiation in this ever-changing diplomatic world. Iordache Filipescu was good at this game and played along with both the Russians and the Turks because the experience of living at the Ottoman border had taught him about the uncertain, volatile nature of political alliances and the continuous shifts in terms of loyalties and aspirations. Always in Oriental clothes, he appeared in public and in portraits wearing the insignia of both powers. However, these objects took on a double significance, different for the those awarding them and those receiving them, making the political message variously interpretable at the public level. The confusion was perpetuated because it served the interests of the two empires, which acted through individuals and families with contrary political sympathies. Pride in exhibiting decorations took hold of the entire elite, who had themselves painted wearing them with either Oriental or Western clothes. But times had changed and so had the role of such gifts. The decoration no longer symbolized the legitimation of local power, but merely the recognition of some current merit or the attenuation of a conflict. It was the end of a process, not the beginning of another, and this is what the great boyars had to learn.

The five essays uncover a wealth of little known sources in different languages: correspondences, judicial records, inventories, travelogues, marriage contracts and wills, legislation, press reports, local chronicles, histories, medical dictionaries and tracts in Latin, Ottoman Turkish, Greek, French, Italian, German, Romanian and Hungarian. Material culture such as jewelry, furniture, decorations, portraits and clothing preserved in private and public collections add to the abundance of the archive that each author has brought to light.

The circulation of people and objects is the *fil rouge* that binds all articles together. It outlines the importance of trans-imperial practices of knowledge,

translation, self- fashioning and hybridism that become visible adopting connectedness as an analytical perspective. Diplomats, doctors, merchants, mercenaries, men of letters, renegades, slaves and missionaries were crucial components in the construction of translocal elites in the early modern globalized world. As many of the case studies show through a micro historical approach, in-betweenness was a crucial dimension of historical experience within the geopolitical areas we have focused upon. As Del Chiaro acknowledged in his *Istoria*, a fragile and ever-changing balance between two or more contending imperial powers shaped loyalties, appearances and languages. The micro scale adopted in the contributions insists on the importance of primary sources that disclose networks and institutions shaping the wider circulation of people and objects, avoiding the risk of easy generalizations that sometimes narratives of mobility imply.

'This is their profession'
Greek merchants in Transylvania
and their Networks at the End of the 17th century

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Abstract

This article explores the commercial network of a Greek merchant from Transylvania at the end of the seventeenth century. Based on various archival material, it unfolds the extent of business interests and contacts of a trading network, spanning a wide territory in the Balkans and Central Europe as well, extending our prior knowledge of how the early Greek diaspora communities operated. Established in the Transylvanian juridical system with the specific role of providers of Ottoman products, Greek merchants swiftly extended their commercial activities as intermediaries of trade with Central European markets as well. The article also touches upon the difficulties of identifying individual merchants in different sources and languages.

Keywords: Greek merchants, trade, business networks, debts

Sometime in early 1694, the Greek merchant Kozma Kis (i.e. 'Small' in Hungarian) was lying on his deathbed in Sibiu, Transylvania, while his creditors, not waiting for his last breath, were opening up his shop and taking away bundles of English cloth. We know these details from the testimonies of sixty Greek merchants of Sibiu, when Kozma's creditors requested the settlement of outstanding debts. Principally, the town judges of Sibiu acted as executors and administrators of deceased merchants, under great pressure coming from István Apor, a baron of the realm, and György Bánffy, the governor of Transylvania. The inquest papers are a goldmine of information on the commercial web of local and international trade connections created by the Greek merchants of Sibiu.[1] The

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[1] The case is mentioned by Olga Cicanci, *Companiile greceşti din Transilvania şi comerţul european în anii 1636–1746* [The Greek companies in Transylvania and their European trade, 1636–1746] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1981), 58. Abstracts of the entries in the town protocols of Sibiu published in *Inventarul protocoalelor primăriei Sibiu, 1521–1700* [The protocols of the Sibiu town council, 1521–1700], eds Gheorghe Duzinchevici, Evghenia Buta, and Herta Gündisch (Sibiu: Arhivele Statutului, 1958), 181–3. A digital edition of these protocols in *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen. Die Protokolle des Hermannstädter Rates und der Sächsischen Nationsuniversität (1391–1705)*, ed. Käthe Hienz, Thomas Şindilariu, Bernard Heigl , DVD, vol. 13 (Sibiu: Honterus, 2007). Greek merchant networks in various European polities in the early modern period have attracted more attention in recent years: Izabella Papp, *Görög kereskedők a Jászkunságban* [Greek merchants in the Jászkun region] (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár Közleményei, 6) (Szolnok: Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár, 2004); David do Paço, "Le marchand grec existe-t-il? Remarques sur les

Transylvanian case of the legacy of a foreign merchant, an extraordinary occurrence in our region for this period. The surviving primary sources on the lives of the Ottoman Greeks in Central Europe before the eighteenth century are scarce, therefore the documentation created in the wake of Kozma's death in 1694 gives us a welcome insight into realities of this professional group of merchants specialised in the trade with the Ottoman Empire.

In this article I aim to recreate the commercial and social network of a Transylvanian Greek merchant at the end of the seventeenth century in order to understand how it spanned a large territory, from the core of the Ottoman Empire to Poland, and how it crossed social boundaries by building a varied clientele, ranging from barons to servants of villages priests in rural Transylvania. I shall introduce briefly the political and economic setting of Transylvania in this period; then I shall discuss in more detail the local community of these Balkan-Ottoman merchants settled here from the sixteenth century onwards. The largest part of the analysis will be dedicated to the events of 1694 in Sibiu and their implications.

For this study I am relying on documents preserved in the archives of Sibiu, such as unpublished political and private correspondence, letters of debt, loan contracts, town protocols and judicial inquests written in Hungarian, Latin or German. I do not have linguistic access to any historical sources related to the particular situation of Kozma Kis written in Greek and possibly preserved in the archives of the Sibiu Greek 'company,' which could enrich the details of my analysis. This material reveals the extent of the business undertakings of the Greeks in the second half of the seventeenth century, which excedeed the limitations of their legal status in Transylvania. Moreover, Kozma's commercial activity in Central Europe enhances our understanding of the Greek commercial networks in Hungary and Transylvania. To date, scholarsip focused exclusively on the juridical status of the Greeks in these polities, and a lack of diverse primary sources prompted a unilateral perspective, informed by the official legislation. For instance, Olga Katsiardi-Hering asserted that they "extended either within those regions themselves, as part of the bi-directional commerce between rural and urban areas, or

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représentations collectives et les identités sociales viennoises dans le *Kaufruf* de Johann Christian Brand de 1775," in *Images en capitale: Vienne, fin XVIIe–début XIXe siècles* (Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhundert, 26) ed. Christine Lebeau, Wolfgang Schmale (Bochum: Dieter Winkler, 2011), 53–72; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Greek merchant colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Viktor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis, Olga Katsiardi-Hering (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 127–140; Mathieu Grenet, *La fabrique communautaire. Les Grecs à Venise, Livourne et Marseille, 1770–1840* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2016); Hasan Çolak, 'Amsterdam's Greek Merchants: Protégés of the Dutch, Beneficiaries of the Russians, Subjects of the Ottomans and Supporters of Greece,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 42, no. 1 (2018): 115–133; Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, "«Als Kaufleute mit solchen Wahren umbzugehn jhrer profession ist». Negustori greci la Sibiu în 1694" [Greek merchants in Sibiu in 1694] *Revista Istorică* XXIII, nos. 1–2 (2012): 85–94.

within the Ottoman-ruled Balkans."[2] While it is a fact that all Greeks travelled regularly into their home territories for financial and personal reasons, Kozma's letters of debt and the testimonies of his fellow Greek merchants uncover his ambitious network of business partners and agents placed in the great commercial hubs of Central Europe, such as Nuremberg and Vienna.

The timing of this unprecedented trial in Transylvania could not have been worse: these were times of upheaval and insecurity, when the fragile balance of economic and political stability of the Transylvanian principality was changing. Until 1690, it had been under Ottoman suzerainty, paying tribute and offering gifts to Ottoman high officials;[3] in other respects, the political system of the principality was autonomous, based on three estates and an elected prince (albeit confirmed by the Porte).[4] The Ottoman defeat in 1683 in the battle of Vienna snowballed into the loss of Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs, officially acknowledged in the treaty of Karlowitz of 1699.[5]

With this brief sketch of the political setting, a more detailed presentation of the situation of the Greeks in the principality of Transylvania is necessary for a better grasp of all the implications of the 1694 events in Sibiu. The presence of the Balkan-Levantine merchants in Transylvania became more evident beginning with the middle of the sixteenth century, when they gradually replaced the former main agents of the trade, the local Saxon merchants from Sibiu and Braşov and the Wallachian traders from the neighbouring Romanian principality.[6] Thriving and profitable long-distance trade along

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[2] Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Greeks in the Habsburg Lands (17th— 19th Centuries): Expectations, Realities, Nostalgias," in *Austrian-Greek Encounters Over the Centuries: History, Diplomacy, Politics, Arts, Economics*, ed. Herbert Kröll (Vienna: Studien Verlag, 2007), 153.

[3] Georg Müller, *Die Türkenherrschaft in Siebenbürgen. Verfassungsrechtliches Verhältnis Siebenbürgens zur Pforte, 1541–1688* (Sibiu: Institutul pentru Studiul Europei sud-orientale, 1923), 12–13; Ernst D. Petrich, "Das Osmanische Reich und Siebenbürgen im Reformazionszeitalter," in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Volker Leppin and Ulrich A. Wien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005), 21–22; Gerald Volkmer, *Siebenbürgen zwischen Habsburger-monarchie und Osmanischem Reich. Völkerrechtliche Stellung und Völkerrechtspraxis eines ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums (1541–1699)* (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 498–99.

[4] See most recently Felicia Roşu, *Elective Monarchy in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania, 1569–1587* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 23–4. Also Sándor Papp, *Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 34–6.

[5] Volkmer, *Siebenbürgen*, 575–76; *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania], vol. II, ed. László Makkai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 883.

[6] Mihail Dan, Samuil Goldenberg, "Le commerce balkano-levantin de la Transylvanie au cours de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe siècle," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* V, nos. 1–2 (1967): 93–4; Vassiliki Seirinidou, "Grocers and Wholesalers, Ottomans and Habsburgs, Foreigners and "Our Own": the Greek Trade Diasporas in Central Europe, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries," in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Collection Turcica XV) (Paris: Peeters, 2008), 85, stating that these merchants were a 'purely Central and East European diaspora'; Cristian Luca, "The Rise of the Greek "Conquering Merchant" in the Trade between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Romanian Principalities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010): 311–12.

the land routes via the Balkan Peninsula into Transylvania and East-Central Europe had been established in the second half of the fourteenth century, with merchants from Braşov and Sibiu enjoying generous trading privileges in their respective home towns and abroad. Of these, the most prized was the staple right (*ius stapuli, Stapelrecht*), fiercely defended and confirmed repeatedly over the centuries. The staple right of Sibiu stipulated that foreign merchants could only sell wholesale to the locals and could only enter the town during the annual fairs; it was the single most powerful obstacle the Greeks had to overcome to trade unhindered in Transylvania. The Diet, where the Saxons were represented and the Prince could not overlook the staple right, gradually allowed Greeks only limited freedom of movement.[7] A turning point was reached in 1636, when Prince George I Rákóczi (1630–1648) granted the Greeks in Transylvania their own administration of justice under a principal and the right to sell freely at fairs, although strictly wholesale and only three days before and after the actual fair days.[8] This grant resulted in the Greek merchants setting up their first guild or association (which they confusingly called *kompania*) in Sibiu in the following years.[9] Their good relationships with the princes, most probably built on services rendered but also on gifts, secured their position even if their official juridical status was quite restrictive.[10] Clearly, the staple right of the Saxons was surpassed by the new commercial realities where Greeks controlled the lucrative transit trade with the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, faced with the juridical gains of the Greeks by the mid-seventeenth century, the authorities of Sibiu had to concede and come to an agreement with the Greek merchants. In 1656, the town council issued its own regulation for them: a set (and quite high) rent for their town shops, sale of their goods only two weeks before and after the

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[7] Zsolt Trócsányi, "Gesetzgebung der fürstlichen Epoche und die Rechtstellung der Balkan Griechen," *Etudes balkaniques* VII, no. 1 (1971): 94–104; Lidia Deményi, "Le régime des douanes et des commerçants grecs en Transylvanie au cours de la période de la principauté autonome (1541–1691)," *Makedonika* 15 (1975): 62–113.

[8] T. Bodogae, "Le privilège commercial accordé en 1636 par G. Rákócz aux marchands grecs de Sibiu," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* XI, no. 4 (1972): 647–653; Olga Cicanci, *Companiile greceşti din Transilvania şi comerţul european în anii 1636–1746* [The Greek companies in Transylvania and European trade between 1636–1746] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1981), 25; Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, "Between "Faithful Subjects" and "Pernicious Nation": Greek Merchants in the Principality of Transylvania in the Seventeenth Century," *Hungarian Historical Review* 6, no. 1 (2017): 118–9.

[9] Despoina Tsourka Papastathi, "A propos des compagnies grecques de Transylvanie à Sibiu et Braşov," *Balkan Studies* 23, no. 2 (1982): 423. This association was not a joint commercial undertaking; its main goals were autonomous administration of justice and access to better business opportunities. It was different from the companies of Ottoman merchants in Vienna discussed by David do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 137–9.

[10] There is plenty of evidence of Greek merchants acting as agents for Prince Bethlen and, later, Michael I Apafi. Pakucs, "Between Faithful Subjects," 118. Miklós Bethlen, *Önéletírása* [Autobiography], ed. László Szalay (Budapest: 1858), 431 wrote how Greeks offered presents to influential persons in the Diet: 'he [a Greek] gave my father a few carpets, to others he gave 100 gold florins.'

annual fairs, curfew at 8 o'clock, no festive gatherings, and strictly no churches or schools in town.[11]

Greeks had become indispensable for supplying the Transylvanian market with oriental products, brought from the Ottoman Empire, and they assumed this formal role without hesitation. While Greek merchants definitely had broader trading interests, they adhered to the confines of their official status, for example in 1648, when they complained about Jewish traders buying stock from other merchants for resale, which was not allowed.[12] Nevertheless, the services rendered by Greeks to the Transylvanian princes ranged from being their personal agents to exchanging coins into good money for the tribute sent to Istanbul.[13] Over the course of the seventeenth century, the distinction and opposition between the settled Greeks, members of the recognised associations of Sibiu and Braşov (founded in 1678), and the unaffiliated Greek traders from the Ottoman empire became more evident. Both categories owed tax to the Transylvanian treasury, collected by the associations and by customs officers.

In the seventeenth century, Greeks had become a recognised professional and juridical category in the social fabric of Transylvania, a 'nation' defined by specific acquired 'rights and obligations' – to follow Tamar Herzog's apt definition.[14] Ultimately, in Transylvania and Hungary alike, 'Greek' meant 'merchant'.[15] Nicolae Iorga, as early as 1906, used the phrase 'Greeks by origin or by trade' ('greci de neam sau negoţ') to capture the multivalent nature of this group, acknowledging that Vlachs, Serbs, Bulgarians and even Wallachians were represented among them.[16] Part of the greater migratory movement from the Balkans toward East-Central Europe,[17] the Transylvanian Greeks forged a place

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[11] Ioan Moga, "Politica economică austriacă şi comerţul Transilvaniei în veacul XVIII" [The Austrian economic policy and Transylvanian trade in the eighteenth century] *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională,* no. 7 (1936–1938): 156–7, note 1; National Archives of Sibiu (hereinafter: NAS), Acte fasciculare C 15.

[12] "Erdélyi görög kereskedők szabadalomlevelei" [The privileges of Transylvanian Greek merchants] *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle*, no. 5 (1898): 403.

[13] As in 1670 for instance: *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek. Monumenta Comitialia Regni Transylvaniae* [hereinafter EOE] ed. Sándor Szilágyi, vol. XV (Budapest: 1892), 179.

[14] Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations. Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 3–4.

[15] Dumitru Limona, "Catastihurile casei comerciale „Ioan Marcu" din Sibiu," [The accounts of the Ioan Marcu trading house in Sibiu], in Dumitru Limona, *Negustorii 'greci' şi arhivele lor comerciale*, ed. Loredana Dascăl (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii „Alexandru Ioan Cuza Iaşi", 2006), 77; Márta Búr, "The "Greek Company" in Hungary," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora, from Antiquity to Modern Times,* vol. II, *From 1453 to Modern Times*, ed. John M. Fossey (Amsterdam: Brill, 1991), 155.

[16] Nicolae Iorga, *Studii şi documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Studies and documents on the history of Romanians] (Bucharest: 1906), VI.

[17] Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "Commerce and Merchants in Southeastern Europe, 17th–18th Centuries: "Micro-Districts" and Regions," *Etudes Balkaniques* LI, no. 1 (2015): 19–20; Ikaros Mantouvalos, "Greek Immigrants in Central Europe: A Concise Study of Migration Routes from the Balkans to the Territories of the Hungarian Kingdom (From the late 17th to the early 19th Centuries)," in *Across the Danube. South-East*

for themselves in all echelons of local society. The more ambitious among them became nobles of the land, endowed by the princes with coats of arms for 'faithful services', such as money exchange, specifically noted in the charter issued for Thomas of Ostanitsa in 1671.[18] The Greeks in Transylvania had a well defined juridical and professional role. At some point in the juridical proceedings of 1694, the judges suggested the solution that the debts of the dead Greek merchant be paid off in goods, to which the burghers of Sibiu replied:

> It was decided that the payment should take place in wares and not in money, but we do not know how to sell them, and we would be stuck with them and suffer great loss […] On the contrary, the accused knows how to sell, so we ask that the goods assigned to us be given to him, as is the practice in other countries, too, and that after a certain time he turn the goods into money.

The head of the Greek association in Sibiu protested, saying that merchants did their own business and they could neither trade nor pay in anyone else's name. The Sibiu citizens insisted: 'as merchants they handle such merchandise; precisely this is their profession.'[19] Their lack of understanding of how the Greeks organised themselves is evident. In turn, the Greeks rejected a solidarity that the host community expected of them, albeit it was never part of their rights and obligations. The nature of the Greek 'compagnie' in Sibiu also becomes apparent from this exchange: it was merely a guild, entirely different from the actual trading companies that were emerging in the same period elsewhere in Europe.[20]

The documents that reveal the events in the wake of the Greek Kozma's death in Sibiu at the end of the seventeenth century touch upon the juridical situation of foreign merchants in Transylvania while exposing the dichotomy between the norm and the financial and commercial realities of business and money making. The Kozma Kis case was a legal novelty that revealed the ambiguity of legislation for contemporaries, as juridical authority over the local Greeks proved to be a concern of the Sibiu town fathers in 1694. However, many aspects of the lives of the Transylvanian Greeks cannot be thoroughly discerned and elude the gaze of the historian.

Europeans and their Travelling Identities (17th –19th C.) ed. Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopol (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 26–7.

[18] NAS, Medieval Documents, U VI 2402.

[19] *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen*, DVD, vol. 13, 239.

[20] Guillaume Calafat, "Familie, réseaux et confiance dans l'économie de l'époque moderne," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 66, no. 2 (2011): 517, https://www.cairn.info/revue-annales-2011-2-page-513.htm (accessed 30 July 2018).

Who was Kozma Kis? His names in Transylvanian documents are as diverse as his enterprises: while the inquest of 1694 and his fellow Greek merchants identify him as 'Kis', the first mention of his death comes from the decisions of the Transylvanian Diet from the spring of 1694. Here he is named as 'Kozma Buczi', and this identification opens up even more connections and information on his trading activity than previously thought. A batch of twenty-one bills of debts and loan contracts (*Schuldschein*, *chyrographum*) from the 1670s and 1680s of a 'Kozma Boczi', found in the archives of Sibiu, can therefore be attributed to him, extending our knowledge of the temporal and geographical scope of his trading activities.[21] However, in the Greek lines on German or Hungarian bills of credit,

he wrote his own name as 'Kosta, son of the late Poulou' and 'Kosta Potsis', as in fig. 1.[22] The accounts of Princess Anna Bornemisza, wife of Prince Michael I Apafi (1661-1690) of Transylvania, show the close contacts that Kozma Buczi, as he is named by the princess, had with the princely household. From the same account books it is clear that Kozma Kis was the head of the Sibiu Greek company in 1689, a fact which reinforces his status and his connection with the Transylvanian political elites.[23]

Kozma/Kosta, Boczi/Buczi/Potsis or Kis: his complex onomastics match the complexity of this merchant's social relationships and commercial operations.
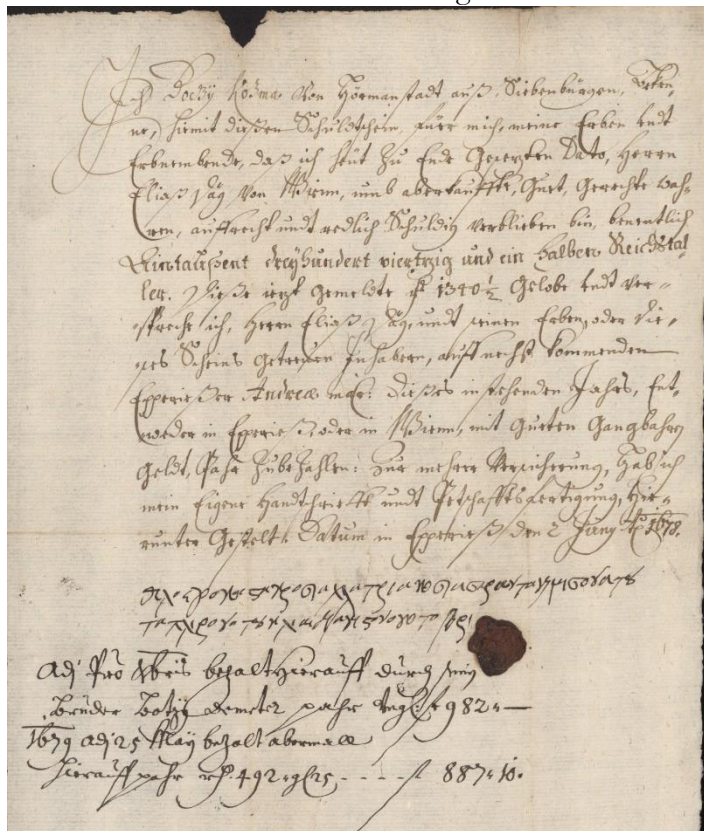
Fig. 1: Letter of debt signed by Kozma/Kosta in 1678.
Source: NAS, Medieval Documents U V 180.
Courtesy of the National Archives of Romania, Sibiu.

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[21] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1800–1821.

[22] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1806 and U V 1808. My gratitude goes to my colleague Dr. Lidia Cotovanu for transcribing and translating the 'Greek' and for stimulating discussions on Greeks and their identities.

[23] Béla Szádeczky ed., *Bornemisza Anna gazdasági naplói (1667-1690)* [The financial accounts of Anna Bornemisza] (Budapest: 1911), 603, 619.

Kozma's was one of the earliest traceable merchant networks in our region. Similarly to his fellow merchants, Kozma Kis (I shall use this name for the sake of continuity with the first part of the study) was engaged in a variety of commercial undertakings: he imported oriental products from the Ottoman Empire into Transylvania; he had a shop in Sibiu; and he acted as purchasing agent for Transylvanian business partners. However, more than his other fellow merchants, he had business ties in many East-Central European towns, borrowing money and selling his and his commercial partners' merchandise at various fairs.

Kozma Kis's first appearance in the Transylvanian documents is in the 1672 customs accounts from Turnu Roşu, the entry point into Transylvania closest to Sibiu. He was recorded there, under both names of Kis and Boczi, until 1691 (see table 1). His place of departure or town of origin was never mentioned; based on his business connections I can infer that he probably came from the town of Târnovo, a hub of the trading routes in the Balkan Peninsula.[24]

From one of the bills of debt we learn that his brother's name was Demeter; a Demeter Boczi is recorded in the customs registers between 1683 and 1686. He might be identical with Demeter of Târnovo from the years 1690–1692. The customs accounts of Turnu Roşu reveal that Kozma travelled to the Ottoman Empire regularly, as many of his fellow Greek merchants did at the time, having their families and homes there.[25] Nevertheless, the exceptional archive of Kozma's business letters shows that he had good connections and also travelled personally to markets in Central and East-Central Europe: Vienna, Nuremberg, Prešov, Wroclaw, Jaroslav. Between 1673 and 1682, there is a gap in the series of Transylvanian customs accounts; thus, any travel Kozma might have undertaken to the south of the Danube and back cannot be traced. However, the bills of debt and his commercial correspondence indicate that between 1675 and 1680 Kozma was busy borrowing money, placing orders for merchandise (e.g. knives in Nuremberg in 1679)[26] and taking orders from his customers in East-Central Europe. He worked through agents, such as a certain 'Mr. Smetan' who represented him in Nuremberg, but he also travelled himself to these places. In 1675, Kozma spent eight months in Vienna, between

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[24] It is unclear which of the many places named Târnovo in the Balkans is the actual place of departure of the Transylvanian Greek merchants. The most convincing research identifies it with Veliko Târnovo, nowadays in Bulgaria, where a large community of merchants lived, as well as in the neighbouring town of Arbanassi (Arvanitohori). Lidia Cotovanu, "L'émigration sud-danubienne vers la Valachie et la Moldavie et sa géographie (XVe–XVIIe siècles): la potentialité heuristique d'un sujet peu connu," *Cahiers balkaniques* 42 (2014): 3.

[25] Cicanci, *Companiile*, 47, stating that generally Greeks spent half a year in Transylvania and half in their homelands. The Greeks who settled in towns in Hungary in the second part of the seventeenth century were similarly moving back and forth to their homes: Márta Búr, "Handelsgesellschaften – organisationen der Kaufleute der Balkanländer in Ungarn im 17.–18. Jh.," *Balkan Studies* 25, no. 2 (1984): 289–291.

[26] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1814.

January 24 and September 7: the dates of his departure from Transylvania and return are recorded in the accounts of count Mihály Teleki, councillor to the Transylvanian prince.[27] In the following year, Prince Michael I Apafi sent Kozma and a certain István Markó, whom he named 'our Greek merchants from our realm' (*birodalmunkbéli kereskedö görögink*), to buy goods for him in Vienna.[28] I cannot say precisely whether the two traders were in fact business partners or just running errands for the prince.

Signed and sealed letters of credit in Prešov and Wroclaw document Kozma's presence in these towns in 1679. Furthermore, this is what a snubbed partner and relation (?), Jakab Vásárhelyi, wrote from Mukachevo, on 13 January 1680:

> Happy New Year! I hear about your passing through Mukachevo, and I am surprised that you didn't as much as send word to your old benefactor, now fallen into misery [...] I do not hold it against you. I would have given you some golden this and that, but it will be for another occasion. You should bring me some silk [...][29]

Kozma was not alone in his ventures. His brother, Demeter Boczi, paid off some of his debts in Vienna in 1678; three year earlier, in Eperjes, a Marcus Demeter, possibly the same brother, signed a letter of credit together with Kozma for eight sacks of pepper, to the amount of 180 florins and 48 pence to be paid at a later time.[30] A letter of credit, undated but presumably signed before 1681, when the debt was settled, [31] shows that Kozma became involved with the Wiener Orientalische Kompagnie, the trading company set up in Vienna to compete with the Greeks in the lucrative trade with the Ottoman Empire.[32] Overtures had already been made from Vienna to the Transylvanian prince and magnates for obtaining freedom to trade in Transylvania. In 1672, the Diet issued a decision to this end, setting the requirement that the Orientalische Kompagnie sell the same Turkish goods as the Greeks.[33] There were even plans to banish the Greeks from the country, but the new war between the Habsburgs and the Turks in 1683 as well as the efforts of the Transylvanian Greeks to keep some of the nobility on their side thwarted

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[27] *Teleki Mihály udvartartási naplója (1673-1681)* [The household account book of Mihály Teleki, 1673-1681], ed. János Fehér (Cluj-Napoca: Entz Géza Művelődéstörténeti Alapítvány, 2007), 170, 208.
[28] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1801.
[29] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1815.
[30] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1803.
[31] NAS, Medieval Documents, U V 1805.
[32] Herbert Hassinger, "Die erste Wiener Orientalische Handelskompagnie, 1667–1683," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 35 (1942): 14–18.
[33] EOE, XV, 314.

this initiative.[34] Kozma seems to have been involved with figures of power and influence all across Central Europe!

The last record of a trip to the Ottoman Empire , according to the customs accounts, dates from 1691, when Kozma returned to Transylvania with large amounts of *aba* (heavy woollen cloth) (see table 1).

It is not certain when Kozma Kis died, but it was probably in early 1694; the large debts and unsolved business he left behind started a rush of his former partners and investors to recover their money. Among these investors was Baron István Apor, and his pressure at the highest level of political command in Transylvania set in motion the wheels of the legal system to settle the accounts and Kozma's legacy. In 1694, Apor was administering on lease the customs of Transylvania, the salt and gold mines, and also the tax owed by the Greeks to the treasury.[35] István Apor had also loaned money to Kozma, so he pushed for a quick and favourable solution to the issue of Kozma's creditors. Thus, the article of the resolution reached by the Transylvanian Diet in April l694 mandated that Apor and a few other delegates go to Sibiu on 10 May 1694 and make a record of Kozma's affairs:

> X. About the debts of Kozma Buczi. Because the merchant named Kozma Buczi, of the Greek company, has died and there are many honest people who make a claim for their loans […] The Greeks are obliged to exonerate themselves from the suspicion of hiding Kozma Buczi's goods, otherwise they should be responsible for paying off all the creditors.[36]

Correspondingly, the governor of Transylvania ordered the judges of Sibiu to start official inquiries. This created the expected agitation and confusion with the city council, witnessed by the entries in the town protocols. Suddenly, the issue of the Greek merchants and their company based in Sibiu revealed all the unpleasantness that the town had faced because of them. Despite their privileges and the business they provided for the town, with renting shops and providing the much sought-after oriental products, the Greeks had remained a thorn in the side of the Sibiu officials. The Greek company had a principal who acted as a judge for the non-affiliated Greeks, but any case involving a Greek and a local was tried by the Transylvanian, local or central authorities. The Sibiu judges nevertheless hesitated: they wanted to claim their jurisdiction over the inquest without upsetting the governor of Transylvania.[37] The suspicion of stolen goods was not

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[34] Hassinger, "Die erste," 52; EOE, XV, 317–318.

[35] Vencel Bíró, *Altorjai gróf Apor István és kora* [Baron István Apor of Turia and his times] (Alba-Iulia: 1935), 25–7.

[36] EOE, vol. XXI (Budapest: 1898), 197–8.

[37] *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen. Die Protokolle des Hermannstädter Rates und der Sächsischen Nationsuniversität (1391–1705)*, ed. Käthe Hienz, Thomas Şindilariu, Bernard Heigl , DVD, vol. 13 (Sibiu: Honterus, 2007), 225. See the excellent article on the interplay between jurisdiction over foreign merchants and balance of

unfounded: the first witness in the inquest, a servant of Kozma Kis, gave away the fact that the dying Kozma's shop had been broken into, and cloth had been taken away by locals and Greeks.

After an exchange of letters with governor György Bánffy, the judges of Sibiu carried out the task of resolving the unsettled debts of the late Kozma Kis. Baron István Apor came to Sibiu in person and took matters into his own hand, seizing cloth and goods from Kozma's shop and even placing them under military guardianship. Eventually, all the goods were taken by royal judge of Sibiu into his own custody. All the Greeks present at the time in Sibiu were called to testify, first the assistants and servants of the late Kozma, then sixty merchants with varying degrees of useful information. The main question and the aim of the interrogation was to find associates and partners who could be held reliable to pay off the outstanding debts. The long-term business associate of Kozma was a Nika Mucza, who was in Târnovo at the time and could not travel due to his old age. In his absence from Transylvania, the affairs were run by Nika's son, Kozma Mucza, who was treated as a scapegoat for Kozma Kis's debts and thrown into prison. [38] In table 2, I have compiled the information on Nika Mucza aka Miklos Kis from the customs accounts of Turnu Roşu.

The frequency of Nika's travels back and forth, with Poland as a final destination, is consistent with the description given by the Greek witnesses about him. He settled many of his business accounts and loans at the fair in Jaroslav, and he traded in large amounts of cordovan leather. There are contradictions, too: according to the Greeks, Nika had been stuck for a number of years in the Ottoman Empire due to his issues with the Ottoman authorities and because of old age; therefore, he could not have travelled to Sibiu or Jaroslav in 1692. In fact, it is very likely that merchandise was cleared through the customs in his name by his sons or his business associates; the Greek merchants mention this practice in their testimonies.

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powers: Maria Fusaro, "Politics of Justice/Politics of Trade: Foreign Merchants and the Administration of Justice from the Records of Venice's *Giudici del Forestier*," *Les Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* online, 126, no. 1 (2014), http://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/1665 (accessed 30 July 2018).

[38] The testimonies from the inquest of 1694 were instrumental in identifying Nika Mucza, Kozma Boczi's partner, with Miklos Kis, Miklos being the Hungarian for Nicholas (Nika) and Kis being probably a nickname. Because Kozma and Nika share the same nickname, we can infer that they were related spiritually, if not by blood. Furthermore, Nika's 'good son', Kozma Mucza, is identical with the Kozma Thamas from other legal documents in the follow-up to the 1694 turmoil. Nika Mucza's 'bad son' is referred to as Demeter by some Greek witnesses and as Kosztandin by others! The multiple names of the Greeks cannot be attributed exclusively to translation and third parties, such as the scribes and officials; it is a research question that would be worth exploring into more depth.

The dealings between the Greeks were based on written contracts: the witnesses refer to written agreements, most probably letters obligatory. Nika, because of his immobility, relied on his network to make money for him: he had a joint enterprise with Kozma Kis, whereby both put together liquidity and goods, sharing the losses and the cost of the salaries of any other future agents. Nika received an annual interest of roughly 30%, and a periodical reckoning was usual practice. Such partnerships, described often by the Greeks during the inquest, could involve more merchants and could run on a short- or long-term basis. The sums involved were quite impressive, too: Nika and Kozma had a joint capital of 23,000 florins (I am not sure what money of account they were using), with the largest share of the money and goods, 16,000 florins, belonging to Nika. Figure 2 presents the business network of Kozma Kis during his partnership with Nika, which included associates related to him or who were part of his household.
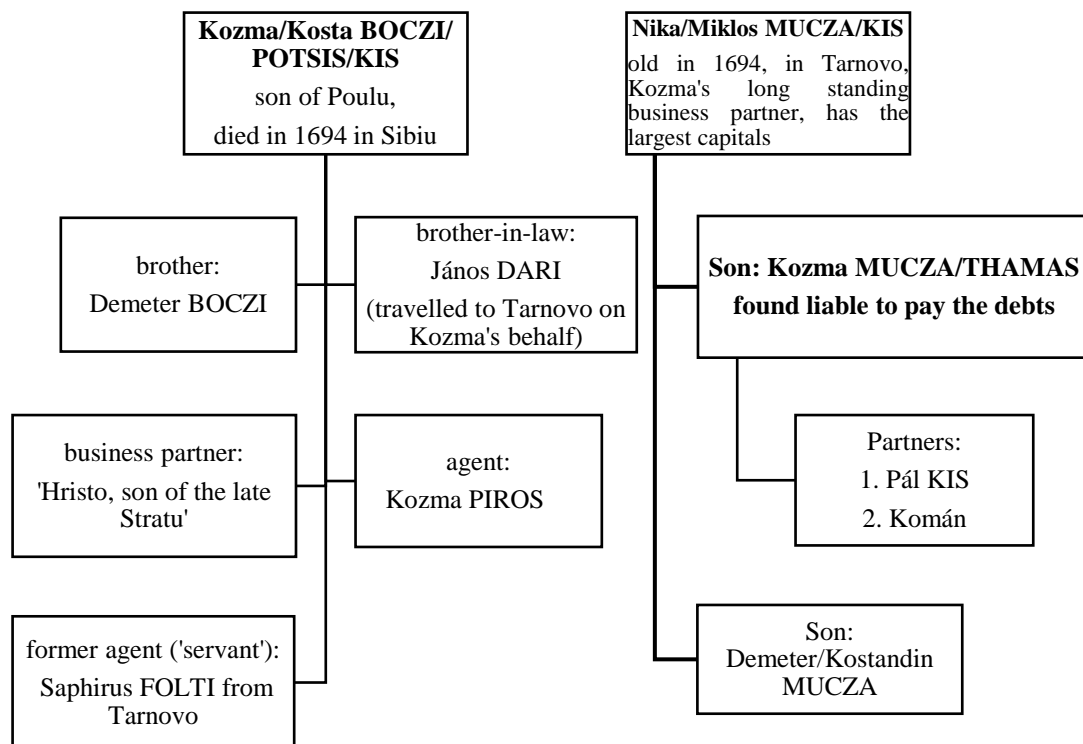

Fig. 2 The 'Greek connection': the personal and business network of Kozma Boczi according to the testimonies of Greek merchants from Sibiu, 1694
Source: National Archives of Sibiu, Acte Fasciculate C 36.

All testimonies pointed to the merchant who would take the fall: Kozma Mucza aka Kozma Thamas, who was even thrown in jail under the instructions of Baron Apor. After deliberations, Kozma Thamas was freed and Boczi's debt was paid off from the dead merchant's estate.[39] The litigations and claims were finally laid to rest in 1696, when the Diet decreed:

> Articulus 7-imus. About the satisfaction of the creditors to Kozma Buczi. Many countrymen have suffered losses because of Greek merchants. Among others, the death of Kozma Buczi was such an occasion, because he was in debt to many people, and after his goods were inspected, they did not cover all his debts. According to his ledger, many [of our] countrymen owed him money, too […][40]

Considering that the deadlines for putting forward claims for repayment of outstanding debts had passed, the case was thus officially closed.

A fortunate overlapping of sources enables us to have a multifaceted view on the life and activity of a Greek merchant, but it also reveals the shortcomings of our insights. Moreover, I use the word 'network' cautiously and in a restrictive way: there was not a 'Greek' merchant network in South-Eastern Europe, but partnerships and business connections, based on blood and spiritual relations, to which a number of servants and agents were attached. Diasporas or networks? These are all-encompassing notions that are composed of a variety of connections, personal or commercial, that break and reconfigure constantly.[41] I am not convinced by the notion of one Greek network or diaspora in South-Eastern Europe however mobile and dynamic we might imagine it.[42] The connection between Kozma and Nika shows that the two merchants had an enduring association, but they ran separate business partnerships as well, suggesting that overlying circles and groups of interests could capture better the essence of interactions and cooperation between these Balkan merchants. Their activity spanned a wide territory, from the Ottoman Balkans to Nuremberg and Jaroslav, the merchants covering in person distances of 800–1,000 km (such as from Târnovo to Jaroslav or from Sibiu to Nuremberg). Kozma seems to have been one of the more ambitious Greek merchants, who engaged with the local princely court and the high nobility of the realm,[43] but he was also closely involved with the communities of the places where he lived: he sold on credit to wives of guildsmen, to

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[39] Cicanci, *Companiile*, 58; *Protocoalele primăriei*, 181.

[40] EOE, XXI, 248.

[41] Antonho Molho, Diogo Ramado Curto, "Les réseaux merchands à l'epoque moderne," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 3 (2003): 15; Violeta Barbu, "Les arbanassi: un réseau marchand aux frontières de l'Empire ottoman au début du XVIIe siècle," *Etudes Balkaniques* XLVI, nos. 1–2 (2010): 221.

[42] do Paço, *L'Orient,* 86.

[43] This was not a novel strategy; cases of grand merchants taking high offices in neighbouring Wallachia and Moldavia did not always end well: Cristian-Nicolae Apetrei, "Marele negustor grec din Moldova (cca 1570–1620). Un profil colectiv din perspectivă braudeliană" [The grand Greek merchant in Moldavia (c. 1570–1620). A collective portrait from a Braudelian perspective] *Revista istorică* XXIII, nos. 1–2 (2012): 65–84.

servants, to sons and daughters of citizens, to priests and their families. Sometimes he did not even know the names of his customers: he wrote in his ledger identifications such as 'the red-bearded tailor who lives next to the clock-maker'. They each owed him petty sums of money but mostly the price of fabrics and spices bought in retail.[44] Kozma Kis's case cannot be extrapolated and generalised. We have information on the business network of another Greek merchant based in Sibiu, Siguli Stratu, who was active in the 1690s. From the details of his affairs published by Olga Cicanci, we discover a way of doing business different from Kozma's. Siguli carried out most of his selling and credit transactions at fairs and in the main urban centres of Transylvania exclusively. He also had good contacts with Armenian merchants established in Transylvania.[45]

Personal and group identities have not been discussed in depth here, as they deserve an investigation of their own. A diverse array of primary sources is required for more definitive conclusions on how individual and shared identities were presented in different settings. The various names of the Greek merchants discussed presents the possibility that many identifications go amiss. The Greek merchants paid taxes in Transylvania, but they were liable for taxes in the Ottoman Empire as well: Nika Mucza had needed money at home in Târnovo to pay his dues to the Ottoman authorities. Their mobility served the Greeks in times of trouble. When Kosma Thamas had to face his creditors, his associates escaped to the Ottoman Empire.[46] Subjecthood in the tributary state of Transylvania is a crucial topic that has escaped closer scholarly scrutiny.[47] Albeit they had obtained the right to reside and trade in Transylvania, Greeks remained subjects of the Ottoman Empire until the middle of the eighteenth century.[48] However, evidence suggests that Greeks never articulated or capitalized on this subjecthood in their relationship to central or local authorities in Transylvania. On the contrary, Kozma presented himself as a merchant from Sibiu, from Transylvania ("von Hörmanstadt auß Siebenbürgen) in the loan contract signed by him in Vienna in 1678 (see fig. 1).

Kozma Kis displayed a remarkable mobility across borders, empires and linguistic barriers. His bills of debt from 1675 to 1681 reveal a network of local agents and of monetary loans, of commercial practices and transactions at the main fairs of Central

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[44] NAS, Acte Fasciculate C 36, 10r–16v.

[45] Cicanci, *Companiile*, 124–5; Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viața economică a Țărilor Române în sec. XVII–XVIII* [The catalogue of documents regarding the economic life of the Romanian Principalities in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Arhivele Statului, 1966), 19–21.

[46] Pakucs-Willcocks, "Als Kaufleute," 88.

[47] Recent secondary literature approaches this question globally: Teréz Oborni, "Between Vienna and Constantinople: Notes on the Legal Status of the Principality of Transylvania," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 67-88, or Sándor Papp, "The System of Autonomous Muslim and Christian Communities, Churches, and States in the Ottoman Empire," in *The European Tributary States*, 404-409.

[48] Moga, "Politica," 161.

Europe. Turning goods into money was indeed the profession of the Greeks. In previous articles I have tried to give an estimate of how many Balkan Greeks were based in Transylvania, in the two companies of Sibiu and Braşov or outside them, and the figures are rather modest. Greeks were elusive and escaped the attempt to count them: in 1678, the Diet ordered a census of the Greeks, which was still pending in 1682.[49] In 1694, there were sixty Greeks summoned by the Sibiu town council to the inquest, a figure consistent with other estimates from that period.[50] All in all, there were around two hundred Greek merchants in Transylvania at the turn of the eighteenth century.[51] Until they settled with their families in Transylvania in the eighteenth century,[52] Balkan 'Greeks' were a migratory group[53] who left their home localities for better economic opportunities but used the gains to support the families they had left behind. I have shown that the Transylvanian Greeks were not a homogenous group, either socially or economically; however, they had arrived there from the same places over the centuries, having established their routes, their supplies and their customer base.

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[49] Demény, "Le régime," 110.

[50] Cicanci, *Companiile*, 65.

[51] Daniel Dumitran, "Comercianţii greci din Transilvania în surse statistice din prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea" [Greek merchants in Transylvania in Austrian statistical sources from the first half of the eighteenth century] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 17, no. 1 (2013): 241.

[52] The edict of 1741 of Maria Theresia made permanent settlement in Sibiu a condition for membership of the Greek company: Cicanci, *Companiile*, 83.

[53] See Leo Lucassen, Towards a Comparative History of Migration and Membership in Southeast Europe (1500–1900)," *Ethnologia Balkanica* 13 (2009): 17; Holm Sundhaussen, "Southeastern Europe," in *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th Century to the Present*, ed. Klaus J. Bade, Leo Lucassen, Pieter C. Emmer, and Jochen Oltmer (Cambridge NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 169.

Tables

Table 1: Occurences of Kozma Boczi/Kis in the customs registers of Turnu Roşu (Sibiu), 1672-1691; Source: National Archives of Sibiu, Customs Accounts, Inventory 197, no. 52, 59, 66, 67.

Recorded name	Date	Merchandise	Value of transport (in gold florins)
Kozma Boczi	1 November 1672	115 *littra* silk	
		10 *littra* silk yarn	
		1 *matol* turkish thread	
		10 *oka* cotton yarns	
		20 *pc.* cotton batiste	
		10 *pc* mohair	
		40 carpets (to Poland)	
		50 kilims (to Poland)	250 fl. Au
Kozma Kis	28 March 1683	2 horses	10 fl. Au
	22 October 1683	100 *pc* aba	80 fl. Au
	6 December 1683	112 horse blankets (to Poland)	40 fl. Au
Kozma Kis	3 April 1684	Venetian merchandise	80 fl. Au
		52 horses sent to Turkey	10 fl. Au
	25 September 1684	100 pc aba (to Poland)	80 fl. Au
Kozma Kis	2 April 1686	210 *pc* aba	
		9.5 horseloads of tobacco	260 fl. Au
Kozma Kis	25 April 1689	2 horseloads Istanbul merchandise	115 fl. Au
Kozma Kis	27 March 1691	7.5 horseloads aba	230 fl. Au

Table 2: Occurences of Kozma Boczi/Kis's business partner **Nika Mucza aka Miklos Kis** from Târnovo in the customs registers of Turnu Roşu (Sibiu), 1672-1691; Source: National Archives of Sibiu, Customs Accounts, Inventory 197, no. 52, 53, 59, 67.

Recorded name	Date	Merchandise	Value of transport (in gold florins)
Nika of Târnovo	10 April 1672	50 *massa* wax	400 fl.A u
Miklos Kis	7 July 1672 (to Poland)	870 pc. of cotton textiles	800 fl. Au
		525 *littra* silk	
		450 cordovan leather	
		10 pc. Turkish taffeta	
		20 leopard skins	
Miklos Kis	31 July 1672 (to Poland)	380 kilims	408 fl. Au
		70 scarlet carpets	
		180 *littra* silk	
Miklos Kis	12 Dec. 1672 (to Poland)	700 pc. cotton textiles	508 fl. Au
		700 carmine leather	
		7 pc. satin (*halbatlas*)	
Miklos Kis	18 April 1673	400 *littra* silk	
		10 kilims	335 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	15 June 1673 (to Poland)	160 pc. cotton textiles	
		60 *littra* silk	125 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	11 July 1673 (to Poland)	1380 pc. cotton textiles	615 fl. Au
		26 pc. silk textiles	
	11 July 1673 (to Transylv.)	103 pc. cotton textiles	
		1 pc. velvet	
Miklos Kis	6 July 1682	1 bale Persian merchandise	275 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	3 Aug. 1682 (to Poland)	2.5 bale carmine leather 1 bale muslin	270 fl. Au

		2 horseloads Edirne merchandise	
Miklos Kis	4 Dec. 1682 (to Poland)	1.5 horseloads cotton yarns	46 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	15 March 1683 (to Poland)	6 horseloads cotton yarns 3 horseloads cordovan 1 horseload Edirne merchandise	315 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	30 April 1683 (to Poland)	2 horseloads silk 1 horseload Bursa merchandise 6 horseloads muslin 2 horseloads cordovan	650 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	12 Aug. 1683 (to Poland)	Lynx furs	50 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	11 April 1684 (to Poland)	2 horseloads cordovan 375 pc. muslin 1 horseload Istanbul merchandise 400 oka cotton yarns	410 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	20 April 1684 (to Poland)	1.5 horseloads Rumeli merchandise 500 oka cotton yarns	100 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	26 June 1684	2 bales mohair 200 oka cotton yarns 4 bales cordovan 4 bales mohair	430 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	4 July 1684	1.5 horseloads Rumeli merchandise 150 oka cotton yarns	115 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	11 July 1684 (to Poland)	2 horseloads cordovan	55 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	12 Aug. 1683 (to Poland)	2 bales carpets 2 horseloads silk 3 horseloads bogasia (twill)	500 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	3 Oct. 1684	2.5 horseloads Rumeli merchandise 150 okka cotton yarns	190 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	19 Oct. 1684 (to Poland)	2 horseloads Edirne merchandise 1 horseload muslin	230 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	30 Nov. 1684	2 horseloads Bursa Merchandise	385 fl. Au

		1.25 horseloads silk	
		1 horseload bogasia	
Miklos Kis	10 Jan. 1685	8 horseloads cordovan	275 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	1 May 1685 (to Poland)	3.5 horseloads Edirne merchandise	231 fl. Au
Miklos Kis	22 July 1685 (to Poland)	200 oka cotton yarns 2 horseloads bogasia	150 fl. Au
Miklos Kis (?)	2 March 1692	1.5 horseloads cordovan 1.5 horseloads bogasia	70 fl. Au
Miklos Kis (?)	25 March 1692	2 horseloads Edirne merchandise 1 horseload incense	70 fl. Au

Healing, Translating, Collecting.
Doctor Michelangelo Tilli
across the Ottoman Empire (1683–85)

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Abstract

The article is based on the correspondence between doctor Michelangelo Tilli, the secretary of Granduke Cosimo III de'Medici in Florence and doctor Francesco Redi head physician at the Medici Court and a leading scientist in Europe. Michelangelo Tilli (1655-1750) a young physician graduated from the university of Pisa, between 1683 and 1685 travelled to the Ottoman Empire with the official charge of treating Mustafa pasha "Mussaip", grand admiral of the Turkish fleet and son in law of Sultan Mehmed IV. It was a relevant diplomatic and political move to send a promising physician to treat the Pasha during the crucial military campaign of the Turks in Central Europe against the Holy League while Christian armies were confronting the last Ottoman attack to Vienna and Hungary. From Istanbul Tilli travelled to Belgrade and back, while the Ottomans were at war with the Hapsburg Empire. The catastrophic consequences of the siege of Vienna in September 1683 resonate in his letters and reports, to date unpublished among the literature on these events. Tilli's letters intersect political and diplomatic information with medical therapy, botanical observation and the search for antiquities, showing the plurality of functions performed by early modern medical practitioners across imperial boundaries.

Keywords: Medici court, Ottoman Empire, Siege of Vienna, Circulation of knowledge, Medical therapy.

Have you begun to stammer the Turkish language? I hope so. Please concentrate and make all possible efforts: try to learn it at all costs. The Grand Duke has asked me repeatedly if you are learning it so that you will be fluent in Turkish when you come back. I have always replied that I have unfailing trust in your capacities.[1]

The author of this letter sent from Florence to Constantinople on 19 November 1683 is doctor Francesco Redi (1626–1698), head physician at the Medici court in Florence and one of Europe's leading scientists in Galileo's tradition. The letter is addressed to one of his closest pupils, doctor Michelangelo Tilli in Constantinople. Reading on, we understand why learning Turkish was crucially important:

How are you going to observe animals, plants, soil and all that is part of natural history? How will you understand the medical treatments currently used by doctors in that

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[1] Francesco Redi, *Lettere* (Firenze: stamperia Magheri, 1825), 73.

country? What method do they follow? And what about food? Do the courtiers and high-standing officials have sumptuous and delicious banquets? I would appreciate if you could send me a few recipes of some especially popular dishes in Turkey, as well as some recipes of cakes and other delicacies.[2]

Healing, observing, tasting, communicating and possibly collecting both *naturalia* and antiquities required translating between languages and across cultures. These practices are at the core of the dense correspondence between Apollonio Bassetti, the secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo III in Florence, doctor Francesco Redi, and Michelangelo Tilli (1655–1750) a twenty-seven-year-old physician, graduate of the university of Pisa, who between 1683 and 1685 travelled to the Ottoman Empire with the official charge of treating Musahib Mustafa Paşa, son in law of Sultan Mehmed IV having married his daughter Hatice Sultan in 1675. He was a son of a Süleyman Agha and had received his education in the Inner Palace before becoming Sultan Mehmed IV's companion and favourite (*musahib* – hence the nickname). In 1666 he was named a second vizier and in 1673 the Deputy of the Imperial Stirrup. In 1683–1684 he acted as the Grand Admiral of the Fleet, as well as the commander in Morea.[3] It was a relevant diplomatic and political move to send a promising young physician to treat the Paşa during the crucial military campaign of the Turks in Central Europe against the Holy League. When Tilli arrived in Istanbul, the Ottomans were at war with the Habsburg Empire, and the catastrophic consequences of the failed siege of Vienna in September 1683 resonate in his letters and reports to date unpublished among the abundant literature on these events. Indeed, the doctor's letters interspersing political and diplomatic information with medical therapy, botanical observation and the search for antiquities show 'the plurality of functions performed by early modern medical practitioners'.[4] Tilli's letters and reports contribute to the cultural and linguistic mediation that characterizes the multilingual textual production of 'trans imperial subjects'. Nathalie Rothman among others posits this dialogical practice of translation involving Ottoman and European interlocutors at the origin of an emerging pre-Enlightment Orientalism.[5] Indeed, Tilli's frequent conversations with Ottoman teachers and learned men, scrutinizing their libraries and manuscripts; his profound interest for the training of

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[2] Francesco Redi, *Lettere*, 73–4.

[3] *Mehmed Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmani,* vol. 4, ed. Nuri Akbayar*,* translated by Seyit Ali Kahraman (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 1203. He died in 1686, at the age of around 40. He composed poems in Arabic and Persian and apparently was a talented musician.

[4] A comment on apothecaries' shops as centres of information and sociability is in Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti, *Atti e memorie inedite dell'Accademia del Cimento* (Firenze, 1780), t. III, 109 "giacché in que' tempi, non vi essendo i caffè, né tanti ridoti, i crocchi de' galantuomini, e de' nobili ancora, si facevano nelle spezierie e nelle botteghe de' librai"; Filippo De Vivo, 'Pharmacies as centres of communication in early modern Venice', *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 506.

[5] E. Nathalie Rothman, 'Dragomans and 'Turkish Literature': The Making of a Field of Inquiry', *Oriente Moderno,* Nuova Serie, 93 (2013): 390-421; John Paul Ghobrial, 'The Archive of Orientalism and its Keepers: Re-imagining the Histories of Arabic Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present* (2016) Supplement 11: 90-111.

local physicians and the circulation of knowledge across the Mediterranean highlight this shared dialogic approach in his correspondence. Recent research is shedding light on traditions of knowledge moving across the Mediterranean and on the transnational construction of an Oriental library in Europe in which the role of linguistic and diplomatic agents is crucial.[6] In this perspective, this paper focuses on the work of scientists and physicians that needs to receive a broader scholarly attention. European doctors were in high demand in the Ottoman Empire: Tilli's mission was part of a long-standing tradition of physicians trained in Padua or Pisa moving to the Ottoman lands. A few years before Tilli's arrival in Constantinople, Giovanni Mascellini was the European diplomats' doctor before being employed by the Grand Mufti 'whose disease', Mascellini wrote to Florence, 'has degenerated owing to the ill treatments of some barbarous Turkish surgeon.'[7] Having a European doctor was a mark of status, and some travellers mention, with a note of irony, that an easy way of getting around in Ottoman society was pretending to be a doctor, as there was a widespread belief in the excellent medical knowledge of all Europeans.[8]

Three contexts on different scales shape Tilli's activity. Letters and correspondents travelling from Tuscany to the Ottoman Empire; Venetian and European diplomatic, political and academic networks and institutions; the making of a pre-Enlightment Oriental archive between Florence, Paris, Venice and Constantinople. The war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans and the second siege of Vienna provide the crucial and dramatic backdrop for the story, marking a turning point in the history of the early modern world. Within these overlapping

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[6] Emrah Safa Gurkan, 'Mediating Boundaries: Mediterranean Go-Betweens and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560-1600', *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no.2/3 (2015): 107-28; Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Islamic Letters* (Cambridge- London: Harvard University Press, 2018); Pier Mattia Tommasino, 'Lire et traduire le Coran dans le Grand-Duché de Toscane', *Dix-septième siècle*, 268, no.3 (2015): 459-80; Anastasia Stouraiti, 'Printing Empire: Visual Culture and the Imperial Archive in Seventeenth Century Venice', *The Historical Journal* 59, no.3 (2016): 635-68; Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of the Enlightment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Ghobrial, 'The Archive of Orientalism'; .

[7] Nicolae Vatamanu, 'Contribution à l'étude de la vie et l'oevre de Giovanni Mascellini médécin et sécrétaire princier', *Revue des Etudes Sud Est Européennes*, XVI, no.2 (1978): 269-87.

[8] For more information on Italian doctors in the Ottoman Empire, see Cristian Luca, 'Contributi alla biografia dei medici Jacopo Pylarino (1659–1718) e Bartolomeo Ferrati (?–1738)', in *Vocația istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*, eds Ovidiu Cristea and Gheorghe Lazăr (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2008), 635–52; Francesca Lucchetta, 'Il medico del Bailaggio di Costantinopoli: fra terapie e politica (secc.XV-XVI),' *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 15, Supplemento al n.15 *Veneziani in Levante, Musulmani a Venezia,* (1997): 5-50; on some European doctors see Cristian Luca, 'The professional élite in mid-seventeenth century Constantinople: the Danish physician Hans Andersen Skovgaard (1604-1656) in the last decade of his life and career', in *Social and Political Elites in Eastern and Central Europe (15th-18th centuries)*, eds Cristian Luca, Laurentiu Ravdan and Alexandru Simon (UCL, Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe No.12, 2015), 147-56.

contexts, the narrative of one correspondent – Michelangelo Tilli – provides the analytical angle, the *micro*[9] as it were, from which we now begin.

From Livorno to Constantinople

Leaving from Livorno on a Dutch vessel on 2 February 1683 accompanied by surgeon Pasquali, Tilli arrived in Smyrna on 1 April. The secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo III had given him precise information concerning credit to be paid by local merchants and adequate clothing for both men 'according to local custom as well as that of the Franks, so that they can look good in Constantinople.'[10] Informal instructions were also given, and they highlight the overlapping aims of the charge, as well as a broader transfer of objects, animals and slaves through the gift-giving that the mission entailed. 'His Highness told me to let you know,' writes the secretary, 'that were the Paşa willing to offer gifts, a nice antique Greek or Latin marble or bronze statue would be highly appreciated, or Greek and Latin coins, as we know that there are many such antiquities especially in Asia where they are found daily, and the Turks do not care about them.'[11] But the desired gifts were not only classical antiquities but also 'positional goods' in present-day Ottoman society: 'What the Grand Duke would value immensely,' continues the Florentine secretary, 'are some handsome Turkish horses or a young, good looking and good natured Circassian slave to be trained in the service of His Highness. I insist that he must be a native of Circassia and of no other nation, as those who sell them often disguise them as Circassians, when they are actually Greeks, Albanians and Slavs, whom we do not want, as they do not train well.'[12]

A diplomatic network is organised to help the doctor travel from Smyrna to Constantinople. He does not know where his patient, Paşa Mussaip, resides, as the war might have moved him away from the capital city to Adrianople (Edirne) or Belgrade. Tuscany did not have a consul in Constantinople and therefore had to rely on an extensive web of protections granted by the Venetian Bailo Giambattista Donà[13] and by Dutch, British and French diplomats. In Smyrna the French consul grants protection to merchants from Livorno and, with some regret, Tilli notes that 'consuls in this city are considered highly, more than in Italian ports, and I think they occupy an eminent position, between that of ambassador and consul. Even Capuchins and Jesuits that live here abide by his decisions and serve him with great respect.'[14] In Smyrna the physician and surgeon change their attire: clothes are being made to fit in with Turkish fashion, while not completely hiding their European identity. Jewish

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[9] Christian G. De Vito, 'Verso una microstoria translocale (micro-spatial history)' *Quaderni Storici*, 150, no. 3 (2015): 815-833; Francesca Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?' *California Studies*, 2, no.1(2011) https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq.

[10] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato (hereafter* ASF, MdP) 1605, c. 243v.

[11] ASF, MdP 1605, c. 242.

[12] ASF, MdP 1605, cc. 245 r–v.

[13] Giuseppe Gullino, *Donà, Giovanni Battista*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, v.40 (Rome, 1991).

[14] ASF, MdP 1605, c. 249.

tailors sew the clothing for both travellers, using textiles, colours and accessories that highlight their social and professional standing:

> One rust-coloured satin robe with gilded silver buttons. Another one of bright red silk from Chios with silver buttons and two of simple red Turkish cotton cloth [*boccaccino* from the Turkish *boğası*], two Venetian damask doublets, a robe with a sable lining and one of Dutch cloth with a leather lining, a robe of English cloth, one of camel hair lined with bright red satin, two sable kalpaks and four pairs of babouches [*pabuç*, slippers], two linen shirts and two [pairs of] breeches. [15]

The luxury textiles and fur fit with the cosmopolitan liveliness of Smyrna, which enchants Michelangelo Tilli with its extraordinary freedom, allowing Franks to walk around without a dragoman and to 'dress in the French fashion as we do in Livorno, or to dress as Turks or wear a wig and a hat, and what is admirable is to see the Franks living in the best houses on the road facing the harbour where, if some Turk tried to provoke them, he would be soon chastised by the foreign merchants. Smyrna is the only place in the whole of the Levant where such freedom is allowed.'[16]

Eventually, the two travellers board a Turkish vessel sailing to Constantinople and a French doctor on board instructs Tilli on how to behave with the Ottoman admiral: 'I took my shoes off before entering the room, and then we were seated on a sofa covered with carpets and with lots of big cushions around it. I immediately realised that this Turk was jovial and wished to please me in all possible ways because of the patient I was about to treat.'[17] They arrive in Constantinople on 26 May, but Paşa Mussaip has already moved north to Belgrade with the army. The Venetian bailo oversees the gathering of information among his connections at court and in the European community and offers food and lodging. In his residence he has a staff of seven dragomans and six *giovani di lingua* (apprentice dragomans) learning Turkish and translating Ottoman literary texts to be printed in Venice. With the help of dragoman Gian Rinaldo Carli, Donà was planning a truly innovative book, *Della letteratura de' Turchi* (Venice 1688), where, eschewing the dominant tradition focused on the Turk's military power and religion, he offered readers an overview of Turkish academic *curricula* and literary culture in the framework of the European learned tradition of *genres* acknowledging a few editions and translations into some European languages and Latin. A wealth of unknown texts were discovered, translated, edited and printed in Italian for the first time.[18]

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[15]ASF, MdP 1605, c. 250.

[16] ASF, MdP 1605, c. 250v.

[17]ASF, MdP 1605, c. 247v.

[18] *Della Letteratura de' Turchi. Osservationi fatte da Gio.Battista Donado senator Veneto, fu Bailo in Costantinopoli,* (Venezia: Andrea Poletti, 1688); E.Nathalie Rothman, 'Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no.4 (2009): 771-800; E.Nathalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire, Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2012); Rothman, 'Dragomans and 'Turkish Literature'; Eric Dursteler, 'Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Past and Present,* 217, no.3 (2012):47-77.

'The city appears almost empty and without any luxury, as the ministers and high ranking officers who with their courts and horses adorn the streets have all gone to the battlefield,' Tilli writes to Florence. There is widespread opposition to the war even among the military, as many think that the army is not well enough trained and that its strength is only due to numbers, not skill.

Constantinople is perfectly healthy, he observes 'and I can say that, visiting many houses and touching many pulses, I have not found a feverish one.' As a carrier in Smyrna clumsily broke the three thermometers he had brought from Florence, he asks Redi to send him two as 'I wish to use them on the Paşa, who is looking forward to this.'[19] On the 3d of June 1683 a messenger from the Paşa Mussaip court arrives in Constantinople with letters for the Venetian Bailo and summons Tilli and Pasquali to Belgrade. He needs the doctor to start treating his knee as soon as possible, as he has been unsuccessfully treated by local doctors and surgeons for 18 years.

'I was summoned to the house of Asil, Mussaip's brother in law, Tilli writes to Redi, where other relatives and Turks of high standing gathered. Asil read a medical report on the Paşa's condition chapter after chapter while the dragoman translated it for me into Italian; they wanted me to enter a formal agreement' and as they understood that I wanted to avoid it […] they finally accepted my position and granted me a couple of weeks to prepare for the trip to Belgrade. They will give us three carriages, one for our luggage and pavilion and the other two for four people: doctor Benetti, a capable and bright *giovane di lingua* (apprentice dragoman) on the payroll of the Venetian Republic that will assist me with the language and the connections at the Paşa's court, two servants and an Albanian postman who speaks Italian and is accustomed to these roads. We will also have a horse so that we can ride and not only sit in the carriage. Paşa Mussaip has charged a Turk to take care of all our expenses, and he has a retinue of 15 people all travelling with us to Mussaip's court in Belgrade.'[20]

The Empire is getting ready for war. Paşas from Egypt and Syria gather with their troops, horses, camels and colorful pavilions in the valleys around Constantinople. While the journey to Belgrade is being organized, Tilli meets high ranking officials and effendis, visits the city and sails along the Bosporus. His medical skills attract attention, and he is summoned with Benetti, his *giovane di lingua*, to visit Mussaip's sister 'who does not menstruate':

> Visiting a sick woman here is very different from the Italian style. When I was introduced into her apartment, two black eunuchs in total silence lifted one side of the silk curtain behind which she was hiding. The Lady put out her hand so that I could touch her pulse. I told her husband what I thought, and we went back to my living quarters.

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[19] Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana (hereafter: BML), *Redi 212*, c. 264v.
[20] BML, *Redi* 212, c. 283.

Tilli and Pasquali also treat and heal the first gentleman of the court, and this gives them 'some reputation'. In this city 'there are many apothecary's shops, writes Tilli, well furnished with the most common and simple remedies. There are also five or six doctors that graduated in Italy, and they earn very little because the Turks pay very badly, and to make a living every doctor must open an apothecary'.[21]

Talking to learned men and teachers, looking at European books in their libraries and reflecting on the outrageous costs of manuscripts owing to the lack of print and a printing business, Tilli comments on the lack of scientific training among the Ottomans. In Constantinople Academies are decreasing in number and offer no training in the sciences:

> The Turks waste their youth studying languages, and after having learned to read and write Turkish they concentrate on learning Arabic which is a more elegant language and crucial for interpreting the Koran. Eventually they learn Persian for poetry, as their songs and prayers have many Persian words. After such a long training in languages, they reach maturity and have lost the energy of youth and do not want to engage with science, because they fear (as a Turk told me) that, being enlightened by science, they might convert to another religion.[22]

The Bailo shared more medical information and quickly got it translated from Italian into Turkish. The report revealed that the tissues in his knee ("scirro") might be plagued with cancer, or a very large tumor may have dislocated his knee, a severe condition only exacerbated by the Paşa's fall from his horse. The report concluded that the Paşa was eagerly waiting for the Tuscan physician who treated successfully the Granduke of Tuscany, as a letter sent to him from Cosimo III confirmed.

Belgrade

After two more months of travel, on 24 July the physician and the surgeon reached Belgrade and received a warm welcome at the court of Mussaip Paşa, son-in-law of the Sultan. Tilli wrote to Redi:

> I started giving the Paşa some light purgative medicament. He was very pleased with the definition of his illness which I took from the Greek Latin Lexicon and had translated into Turkish; he hoped that the same dictionary would prognose proper therapy. But I insisted that it will be extremely difficult to find this in a book, as the inflammation of the popliteus stemming from his condition cannot be treated with medicaments.[23]

The Greek Latin Lexicon was most probably The *Clavis sanationis* written in the XIII century by Simon of Genoa, a physician to pope Nicolas IV. It is a multilingual dictionary that covers medical terminology in Latin, Greek and Arabic still in use at the end of the seventeenth century everywhere in the world. Mussaip Paşa was a

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[21] BML, *Redi* 212, c. 271v, from Pera in Constantinople, 16 May1683.
[22] BML, *Redi* 212, c. 279.
[23] BML, *Redi* 212, c.285.

learned man and a musician who also wrote poetry: Tilli approached him on the grounds of learning, using his training and competence in the field of medicine and philology. This approach probably established a lasting personal confidence between the physician and the patient.

> He has been suffering from a painful discomfort in the knee for eighteen years. The same medicaments have been applied over and over. I think I shall choose those that will not make things worse, even if they have already been employed.[24]

Tilli decides to be prudent in the treatment of his patient, with the approval of his mentor Redi, who advises him to treat the pain with ointments and to avoid cutting, as this is always risky. For the next two months he is stationed in Belgrade. He observes the city, its beautiful streets and its multiethnic population speaking a variety of idioms:

> In addition to the Turkish language, from Sofia onwards one hears the Slavic one, so that at Mass, after the priest has finished reading the gospel in Latin, the cleric sings in the Slavic language, and the priest replies accordingly, as he has a missal translated from Latin into the Illyrian idiom.[25]

According to Tilli, different lifestyles and religious practices coexist in Belgrade:

> People here live partly in the German custom and partly in the Turkish: rooms have a stove to provide warmth in the freezing winters. People from different religions live together: the majority are Greek Orthodox Christians; then come the Turks, the Jews and the Roman Catholics. There are very many mosques and only two churches, a Greek and a Latin one. In the latter, three friars care for over 1,000 Catholics. When they leave the convent, they take off their tunics or cover them with Bulgarian-style clothes, especially when a simple friar with a servant visits the sick holding a lamp under his fur coat.[26]

Such religious healing practices that the doctor observes in town were popular not only among the Catholic minority. The Ottoman medical system comprised three different etiological and therapeutic traditions: humoralism filled the niche of learned medicine as it did in Europe. It enjoyed supremacy in urban communities, in the sultan's palaces and among the wider Ottoman élite, and its legitimacy rested in the Galenic textual tradition inherited from Greek antiquity.[27] In contrast to the other two traditions, folkloric and Prophetic medicine, Muslim humoralism was theologically neutral in its attitude towards illness and health. However, as in other early modern Western medical systems, lay and religious healers and therapies were not perceived as incompatible alternatives, but rather as being in competition with one another. Should one tradition fail, the patient could resort to the other two. Therefore, healers could rarely justify

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[24] ASF, MdP.1605, c.252
[25] BML, *Redi* 212, c. 234v.
[26] BML, *Redi* 212, c 234v.
[27] Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine. Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500–1700* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009) 23, 24.

the high level of financial rewards they expected, and humoral doctors could not necessarily demand the financial premium they believed befitted their long process of training and their theoretical knowledge.[28] Being embedded in the hierarchical Ottoman society, the realm of medicine acknowledged social and financial differences. Ottoman medicines offered multiple methods for getting better, but they were not available to all. For many Ottoman subjects, medical options were limited, and medicine was also a means of social demarcation that in turn helped to reinforce status distinctions. In early modern Italy, having a personal doctor, who often supervised an apothecary to make medicaments especially targeted to a private patient, was a luxury, as most of the population was treated in hospitals. This was also the case between doctor Tilli and Paşa Mussaip, whose social standing and political position entitled him to a privileged treatment.

In October the doctor sends some encouraging news to Florence: the knee tumour is getting smaller and the pain is no longer continuous, but intermittent. The Paşa feels great relief and believes that by applying the new medicaments by early Spring he will improve considerably and, therefore, he has not allowed doctor Michelangelo to leave.

His letters from Belgrade are also full of political information about the 'confusion and trouble' caused by the catastrophic defeat of the Ottoman army before Vienna in 1683. The Grand Vizier's escaped to Buda, and the great number of casualties 'caused by the Christian armies':

> However, we do not have any reliable information, as no one of considerable standing has appeared to inform us. In the last four days, we have begun to see some scattered groups of ragged soldiers, some looking wild, some with no weapons, barefoot, with their skin barely covering their bones. They pass by, and each one tries to get home as quickly as possible to forget about the war. They refuse to obey their commanders, who try to slow them down.[29]

A few days later, doctor Tilli writes to his mentor Redi with more information on his patient's state of health and on the therapies:

> I am now applying on his knee sheep entrails as well as a plaster made of broad-bean flour with some large boiled cabbage leaves, and on top of it butter and ointment. I go on applying light things every day according to the need to soften or to expel what has been softened. When I touch the tumour, it recedes slightly, but when I remove my finger it goes back to its original shape, as sponge-shaped tumours do. When he puts his foot on the ground, he feels a strong pain in the joints of the bone.[30]

Tilli asks Redi to send him 'a pot of rose ointment, a small quantity of human fat and a small pot of oil for the nerves from the Medici Fonderia [i.e., the chemical and

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[28] Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine*, 26.
[29] ASF, MdP 1605, c.235.
[30] ASF, MdP 1605, c.255.

alchemic foundry in Florence where medicaments were distilled and prepared]; a very small quantity of perfumed quintessence to dilute in water would also be useful.'[31]

These were the new medicaments that the Paşa was waiting for. Medicines were not only needed for Mussaip himself but for the court as well. Surgeon Pasquali, sick with malaria, was taking quinine, so 'I am now working as physician, surgeon and apothecary not only for the Paşa's court but also for those who have cunningly smuggled themselves into his retinue to enjoy these privileged treatments,' he tells his mentor, asking him to send more quinine and 'one hundred of your pills, but smaller than usual, so that instead of swallowing two of them, it is better to swallow three.'[32]

Because of the war, doctor Tilli hardly ever received what he asked for. The Paşa's court kept moving and this made things even more difficult. The routes through which medicaments were sent from Florence to Belgrade and later on to Adrianople (Edirne) went through Venice and Split or Ragusa. Painstaking instructions followed these precious small coffers through networks of kin, merchants and diplomatic agents. In January, the coffer that Tilli had requested in October arrived via Venice in Split, but there it was stopped and sent back to Venice as the Morlachs' rebellion against the Turks had blocked all inland roads around Split. And yet, because Paşa Mussaip seemed to be getting better with the ointment for the nerves, two coffers were prepared and shipped along two different routes: the first one with more medicines through Venice, and the second one, very small and containing only the oil, smuggled in the official correspondence of the Republic with the Sublime Porte via Ragusa. The medical equipment contained in the coffers was prepared in the Medici foundry (Fonderia) in Florence under Redi's supervision, and shipped all over the world: the letters mention the arrival of one of them in Goa and two in Transylvania, and Redi himself had them shipped to Mexico. Generally, they were gifts to rulers and courts, and also to convents and missionaries, so we can consider them 'positional goods' as they were meant to legitimise hierarchy and status rather than being sold on the market. The coffers were of different sizes and contained a varying number of medicaments, mainly oils, ointments and waters that could be swallowed and smeared over the ailing parts of the body. The twelve standard ingredients were: oil against poisoning, oil for the stomach, oil for wounds, oil against worms, oil against spasms, candied julep, water against colic, water for skin rash, ointment for burning, ointment for nerves, and clay. The box contained twelve recipes to make the necessary compounds, suited to the condition of the patient, to the climate and to the season. This 'recipe-book approach to pharmacy' rested on a synthesis of Greek and Arab science received through Medieval Latin editions.[33] In Florence, hospitals, doctors, consumers and apothecaries

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[31] ASF, MdP 1605, c.255.

[32] ASF, MdP 1605, cc.255-56.

[33] On the Fonderia medicea see Valentina Conticelli (a cura di), *L'Alchimia e le Arti. La Fonderia degli Uffizi da laboratorio a stanza delle meraviglie* (Firenze: Sillabe, 2012); James Shaw and Evelyne Welsh, *Making and Marketing Medicine in Renaissance Florence*, (Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi, 2011), 233–35.

assembled their own collection of recipes, and ingredients were also used for cheaper and popular medicaments.

Doctor Redi sent his pupil a recipe to make drinking water with jasmine, musk and citrus, hoping that he would not have to bear for too long the increased charge of treating the Paşa and all his court. But the effort was producing some positive results and Tilli writes: 'Paşa Mussaip is getting better and he now walks with a stick for eight or ten steps, something that he was never able to do in the past when he was in the hands of other physicians.'[34] Doctors at court 'hate me' he writes , especially those that come from the Porte and have unsuccessfully treated the Paşa in the past.[35]

The Court retreats

On the 20 of September 1684 news of the defeat of the Ottoman army in Vienna reach Belgrade. The apprentice dragoman Benetti leaves a powerful description of how the news affected the city, the court and the Sultan himself. An astonished silence reigned everywhere, and slowly all the decorations that had been prepared for the expected victory were destroyed. 'Orders were given to doctor Tilli to prepare large amounts of almond and lettuce juice and other remedies that could help people to sleep'.[36] This public charge in times of calamity outlines the prestige Tilli had acquired. His medicaments had proved effective and the Paşa's appreciation for the doctor consolidated the *strettissima* (very close) friendship between Mussaip and the Bailo.[37]

At the end of October, following news from the battlefield, the courts of the Sultan and of the Paşa left Belgrade. Tilli wrote a long and detailed report to Florence describing what he saw and experienced: the colourful procession of soldiers, camels, and horses with rich decorations, followed by musicians playing their flutes, drums, trumpets and castanets in a 'confused harmony'.

> I had to enjoy it - he comments with some irony - to benefit from the light of the torches more than from the uproar, and most of all I had to abide by the Paşa's wish that I travel safely, protected from the violence that can burst out in these narrow roads.[38]

He admires the carriages and the litters 'more for their luxury than for mechanical parts, as they are covered with solid silver.' The daughter of the Sultan, that had unusually followed her husband on the battlefield, has a retinue of ten carriages. At every stop, beautifully coloured pavilions are mounted and guarded by soldiers and eunuchs. But news from the battlefield, reporting two tragic defeats with the deaths of all but two of the Paşas, infuses a feeling of gloom in the narrative, as the court retreats:

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[34] BML, *Redi* 212, c. 257.
[35] BML, *Redi* 212, c.291.
[36] Antonio Benetti, *Viaggio a Costantinopoli di Gio. Battista Donado senator veneto spedito Bailo alla Porta Ottomana l'anno 1680. Sua permanenza, e ritorno in patria nel 1684. Osseruati colla raccolta delle piu curiose notitie dal fu dottor Antonio Benetti, e dati in luce dal dottor Francesco Maria Pazzaglia.* Parte terza. (Venezia, per Andrea Poletti 1688), 107
[37] Ivi, p. 132
[38] ASF, MdP 1605, c.259

> Passing again through Serbia and Bulgaria and entering Romania, we found that villages and towns were less populated and lacking fodder. In Bulgaria, soldiers burnt and destroyed those poor straw huts that happened to be along the roads. Others have been spontaneously abandoned by their poor inhabitants trying to find shelter from the troops and to hide in some lonely and fertile places, away from the immense and open fields.[39]

On 4 November, they arrive in Philippopolis (Plovdiv), a city full of nice houses where wealthy Turks and well-to-do Greeks live outside the walls of the old city. The Turks are more numerous than the Greeks and the Greeks are more numerous than the Jews. After a few days, Mussaip Paşa and a small group of courtiers start moving in the direction of Edirne. At this stage, the court with its rituals, hierarchy and ostentation vanishes from Tilli's narrative. The doctor's gaze meets poor peasant families fighting for survival, as he looks for shelter every night in villages where huts are in deep snow:

> The first night we stopped in Papalic, where I found shelter in the small hut of a Bulgarian widow, who lived miserably with her three children, whom she is bringing up in the true faith. Her poverty did not allow her to have oil or candles, but she had a supply of resinous bark that made enough light. The second night we stopped in Semischie, a village like the others, and we were hosted in a more comfortable hut where a Bulgarian woman lived with four small children, and they were also taught the Christian religion by their simple and illiterate parents. I admired their devotion: when my servant gave one of the children a piece of cheese, his mother did not allow him to eat it so as not to break the ritual fasting of one of their Greek Easters. This group of huts is 40 miles from Philippopolis and 60 from Adrianople; it has no Latin or Greek churches, and their poor inhabitants are compelled to travel together with all their children to one of these two cities to visit those poor monasteries, as in a pilgrimage. What rough education those poor people get, in these depopulated lands! The third night, our lodgings were better still, and our host was a Turk who had a good supply of wood. The fourth night another Turk hosted us in a house, and the fifth night we got to [Mustafa Paşa Cioprisi] a comfortable place with plenty of lodgings where a Turk tried his best not to let us in, as we were Christians. He had travelled to a Christian town, Split, on some business and saw that the Franks there threw holy water over the beds; therefore, he asked us with great emphasis not to throw anything mysterious in his home or to profane his belongings.[40]

At the beginning of November Paşa Mussaip and his small group of courtiers reached Sofia and then Philippopolis. Tilli writes:

> The woods around Sofia are full of corpses and among them are some poor German slaves who died of exhaustion, stuck in ice and snow, or killed each other for a piece of bread […] the few Muslims that survived and made it back to their countries are telling

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[39]ASF, MdP 1605, from Edirne 8 December 1683
[40] ASF, MdP 1605, cc. 259-62.

so many miserable stories that they discourage all those that are destined to leave for the next military campaign.[41]

During the retreat, the Paşa's condition gets slightly worse, as he has to ride all day in deep snow, but after some rest he recovers.[42] At the beginning of December they reach Edirne.

'He can now pray bending down on his knees'

Tilli's reports are extremely well received in Florence where the Grand Duke immensely appreciates the wealth of information. More medicines have been shipped via Ragusa and a small box of ointment for the nerves has been mailed directly to the Venetian Bailo in Constantinople. A third small case has been shipped to Smyrna to a Tuscan agent. Paşa Mussaip is appointed Captain of the Imperial fleet in charge of all policies concerning the sea, the islands and the coastline. He will soon move to Istanbul and Tilli is looking forward to seeing many Franks again. Because of the war, all the coffers with the medicaments have been sent back to Venice and they are being shipped once more, this time to Smyrna on a Dutch Vessel. In February, they are back in Constantinople and doctor Tilli tries to get hold of the antiquities that the Grand Duke is longing for:

> It is an extremely difficult task, as every ambassador here collects antiquities. On my way up to Belgrade, I asked in every village and every town and I was told that the Pope's *internuncio* had collected all ancient coins, good or bad. So I am left with a few rusty ones of little value.[43]

Paşa Mussaip is again about to leave, as his new charge of Captain of the Imperial fleet takes him to Chios, Negroponte and Smyrna. In April, Tilli starts making plans for his return to Tuscany:

> His excellence Mussaip has enjoyed good health and feels very well. The constant pain he felt in his knee has left him, and he can use his leg a little, while until now it was paralysed. …I left the Paşa at the beginning of July; he is free from all pain in the knee, and he can now pray bending down with his knees and head on the ground without the help of all the people that had to hold him on both sides. I am giving him no medication. He is now holding in his hands a small box with the ointment for nerves that was sent to me via Ragusa, and he immediately had the recipe that was inside it translated into Turkish.[44]

The Paşa writes a letter to Cosimo de' Medici, thanking him and acknowledging Tilli's medical skill. He pays the doctor 200 and surgeon Pasquali 100 *reali*. In April 1685 both are in Malta. The Paşa has given Tilli a box containing three Persian books: his network of informants told him that if

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[41]ASF, MdP 1605, c.262.
[42] ASF, MdP 1605, c. 258.
[43]ASF, MdP 1605, c.267
[44] ASF, MdP 1605, c.271.

> They are history books […] they must be important. I have indeed heard that before the siege of Crete a Turkish effendi, a jurist, made a catalogue of all the books he happened to use in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, and they are approximately thirty or forty thousand; another learned man who read the catalogue estimated that the best books are the history books, and there are approximately 1,520 in Turkish, and all the other history books are in Arabic or Persian.[45]

In May the physician and the surgeon arrive in Messina, whence continuing on an English vessel, they landed in Livorno in June. The court in Florence is expecting them to appear in their Turkish clothes, but:

> I regret not being able to satisfy everybody's curiosity, as I have taken off my Levantine garb. In Malta I had already shaved my beard: it was so hot, and I could not stand the large trousers, leather kalpak and all that one wears in the summer in Constantinople where a fresh wind blows all the time. Had I known you were expecting to see me in my foreign clothing, I would have stood all the discomfort in order to appear with a beard and in the fashion of the Levant, where I disguised myself as a Turk, or a Frank or a Tartar or possibly as an Italian, adapting myself to the most honourable and good looking style.[46]

Doctor Tilli's work in his multiple roles as political informant, physician and acute observer was highly rewarded. In 1685 he was appointed director of the Botanical Gardens of the University of Pisa replete with a considerable salary. He also became a member of the Royal Society in London. Going to the Ottoman Empire gave him a good chance of upward mobility. News of his success in treating Paşa Mussaip spread across the Empire, and a couple of years later, he sailed from Livorno to Tunis, to cure yet another powerful pasa.

Concluding remarks

The story of Michelangelo Tilli is shaped by a brief (1683–85) but nevertheless macro-spatial scale and an exceptional political and military context. As the title of this paper suggests, the young physician was expected to fulfil multiple roles: that of a healer, political informant, observer of naturalia and collector of antiquities. He was also expected to come back speaking fluent Turkish.

Going through his correspondence with Francesco Redi, I discovered that the head physician at the Medici Court was also overseeing two other Tuscan scientists – Giovanni Pagni and Alessandro Pini – travelling in Tunis, Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Aleppo. This rare constellation of little-known figures and exchanges resonates with current historiographical discussions on connected histories, a rethinking of Orientalism as linked to modern imperial power, and on the circulation of people and

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[45] ASF, MdP 1606, c. 166.
[46] ASF, MdP 1606, c.170

goods in a globalising world.[47] The correspondences shed light on fields and practices of knowledge and on little-known travelling Italian scientists who were part of diplomatic, scientific and political networks. Focusing on their lives and letters addresses research strategies that investigate ways to integrate microhistorical approaches and case studies into transnational/translocal history. This encourages us, as Francesca Trivellato writes, 'to think creatively outside the "box" of civilisations […] juxtapose[ing] micro- and macro-units of analysis.'[48]

Tilli's correspondence offers a rare insight into medical practice. As in many early modern Western societies, pluralism characterised the Ottoman medical system, in which folk, religious and medical healers competed for clients. However, we need a nuanced approach in applying notions of medical marketplace and consumption to early modern societies. Medical pluralism did not mean free competition where consumers could choose from a range of different products and suppliers, offering competitive prices. Studies of early modern health professionals and medical cures point to the crucial importance of social relations, credit and cooperation.[49] On the part of the patients, being able to obtain medicines and care meant being well-connected. Gift-giving shaped Tilli's medical practice in the Ottoman Empire: the 300 *reali* the physician and surgeon received for what seemed to be a satisfactory therapy were more a gift than a salary, and so were the medicines, travelling incessantly and hopelessly from Florence to Venice to Split or Ragusa. The coffer from the Medici foundry was a gift sent to rulers and missionaries in distant parts of the world. In this perspective, European doctors were important agents in transnational networks of information and in the circulation of scientific practice and knowledge. They were also members of the République des Lettres embedded in court societies where medicines, naturalia and antiquities shaped exchanges between the Europeans and the Ottomans, bringing to light shared knowledge while enhancing status and prestige.

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[47] Sonja Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Savafid Empires, 16th-17th centuries: seeking, transforming, discarding knowledge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Alistair Hamilton, Jan Loop and Charles Burnett eds, The *Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Boston: Brill 2017); Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Islamic Letters.*

[48] De Vito, 'Verso una microstoria translocale (micro-spatial history)'; Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?'.

[49] Sandra Cavallo, *Artisans of the Body in Early Modern Italy: Identities, Families, Masculinities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey (eds), *Conserving health in Early Modern Culture: Bodies and Environments in Italy and England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

Greek as Ottoman?
Language, identity and mediation of Ottoman culture
in the early modern period[1]

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Abstract

The scope of the paper is to examine the role of Greek as a conduit for the flow of cultural models between the Ottoman centre and the Christian periphery of the empire. The Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia witnessed throughout the early modern period a number of linguistic shifts, including the replacement of Slavonic literature with the one written in vernacular. Modern Romanian historiography has portrayed cultural change was a teleological one, triggered by the monetization of economy and the rise of new social classes. What this model fails to explain, though, is the partial retrenchment of vernacular as a literary medium in the eighteenth century, as it faced the stiff competition of Greek. The aim of this paper is to look at the ascendancy of Greek in the Danubian principalities and corresponding socio-economic and political changes through Ottoman lens. Rather than a departure from the developments that facilitated the victory of Romanian over Slavonic, the proliferation of Greek can be interpreted as their continuation, reflecting the growing integration of Moldavian and Wallachian elites into the fabric of the Ottoman Empire at the time when a new socio-political consensus was reaching its maturity. By its association with Ottoman-Orthodox Phanariot elites, the Greek language became an important conduit by which the provincial elites were able to integrate themselves within the larger social fabric, while also importing new models from the imperial centre.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire; Danubian principalities; Greek language; Identity; Early Modern Period

In 1965, a prominent Romanian medievalist Petre P. Panaitescu produced what would eventually become his most lasting contribution to historiography. In a study suggestively

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entitled *The Beginnings and Victory of Writing in Romanian Language²*, he reconstructed a process by which literature in Romanian vernacular emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and replaced Slavonic literary tradition, associated with the voyvodal chancellery and the Orthodox Church. Panaitescu interpreted this linguistic shift as a product of social and economic transformations that swept through Moldavia and Wallachia throughout the early modern period.³ The principalities' gradual integration into the Ottoman Empire brought about a rapid monetisation of local economy and breakdown of large landed estates of the previous period. These changes weakened traditional centres and allowed new groups – most notably merchants and a new type of 'market-oriented' boyars – to step into the spotlight.⁴ From the point of view of these new groups, the prestigious tradition of Slavonic letters failed to meet their more pragmatic needs. As a result, it began to lose ground and – despite some attempts to salvage it – was replaced by vernacular by the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵

Panaitescu concluded his argument in the second half of the seventeenth century, at the point when Romanian effectively replaced the Slavonic tradition of yore. However, already by the beginning of the following century, the position of Romanian as the main medium of literary expression suffered a partial reversal due to the ascendancy of Greek as the language of culture. While the latter shift was by no means all-encompassing, and Romanian-language literature grew exponentially in absolute terms, the reversal was noticeable enough as to demand explanation. Aware of this fact, Panaitescu framed this trend as Moldavian-Wallachian elites' reactionary response to the cultural emancipation of lower social orders:

> [T]hroughout the whole feudal period – as well as the capitalist one – there was a strong conviction among the ruling class of Romanian countries that popular masses should be kept away from culture. Once the boyars and state institutions were forced to renounce Church Slavonic for transactions and lay literary works, they turned to Greek. For boyars, the knowledge of Greek was a sign of distinction against the people; when, during the period of Phanariots' decline, neither Greek could retain its role as a sign of authority, it was

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² Petre P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1965).
³ The notion of 'early modernity' is somewhat controversial in the case of Moldavia and Wallachia. It has been generally absent from periodization employed by Romanian historiography, which usually employed the term 'late medieval period' to cover the seventeenth and eighteenth century. For the utility of the term in Romanian context, see Bogdan Murgescu, 'O alternativă la periodizarea tradițională: epoca modernă timpurie', *Studii și Articole de Istorie* 66 (2001): 5–18.
⁴ Panaitescu, *Începuturile*, 53–54.
⁵ The best-known attempt to salvage Slavonic tradition was that of Udriște Năsturel in the 1640s and 1650s, see ibid., 182–95; Virgil Cândea, 'L'humanisme d'Udriște Năsturel et l'agonie des lettres slavones en Valachie', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 6 (1968): 329–87.

replaced with French [...] used by Romanian boyars as a cultural screen against popular masses.[6]

The quote lays bare an implicit assumption that underpins much of Panaitescu's argument. At its core, the master narrative the author adopts is one of a teleological process, which inevitably leads to national modernity. From this standpoint, the ascendancy of any literary language other than Romanian cannot be anything but a regressive hurdle that needs to be overcome on the path to the emergence of modern national culture.

However, Panaitescu's conflation of Church Slavonic, Greek and French as 'reactionary' responses to 'progressive' vernacular flies in the face of his own argument. For, if it were the expansion of monetised economy in the seventeenth century that drove the ascendancy of vernacular, why would the following period bring a cultural reversal? After all, by the end of the eighteenth century, market relations in the Danubian principalities were far more widespread than they had been a century earlier, and commercial activity increased by order of magnitudes.[7] Thus, one may ask, if the ascendant social and economic forces were strong enough to displace the Slavonic idiom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, why would they face a backlash under even more favourable circumstances?

The prominence of Grecophone culture in this period was not limited to the Danubian principalities. Across the Ottoman domains the stature of the language grew considerably throughout the eighteenth century and was widely adopted by non-native speakers. By the second decade of the nineteenth century 'most of the middle-class Balkan Orthodox Christians were either ethnic Greeks, or largely acculturated into the Greek *ethnie*, or under heavy Grecophone influences.'[8] However, the interpretation of this process by modern national historiographies – with the obvious exception of Greece – has been often marred by prejudices dating back to their foundational years. In Bulgaria, the ecclesiastical struggle against the Grecophone Ecumenical Patriarchate over the establishment of the national exarchate cast Grecophone culture as an imminent danger to Bulgarian national identity.[9] In the Danubian principalities, a distinct 'black legend' was forged during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, whereby Grecophone 'Phanariot' rulers were blamed for all ills that befell the Moldavia and Wallachia and

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[6] Panaitescu, *Începuturile*, 191.

[7] Bogdan Murgescu, *România și Europa: acumularea decalajelor economice, 1500–2000* (Iași: Polirom, 2010), 50–59.

[8] Victor Roudometof, 'From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453–1821', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16, no. 1 (1998): 14.

[9] As a result, the ideological currents of the early national Revival (*Văzrazhdenie*), particularly those of Paisii Hilandarski, were sometimes described in historiography as 'defensive nationalism', directed against Greek influences. On this topic, see Roumen Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival* (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2004), 23.

accused of causing their subsequent social and economic underdevelopment.[10] Still, an important undercurrent in historiography – initiated in Romania by Nicolae Iorga – sought to rehabilitate the memory of the Phanariots within the framework of post-Byzantine cultural ecumene.[11]

What most of those studies have in common is the underlying assumption that the Orthodox community within the Ottoman Empire was self-contained and can be understood with only a passing reference to the empire itself. In this sense, they reproduce –explicitly or implicitly – the vision of discreet religious *millet*s, that enjoyed internal autonomy and remained insulated from the world around. It is only relatively recently that this perception has changed, with a new wave of scholarship analysing the ways in which Orthodox subjects of the sultan participated in and interacted with imperial structures and their counterparts on the other side of the religious divide.[12] As the long-standing paradigms of the 'Turkish yoke' and alleged Ottoman decline were rejected[13], the revisionist wave opened new perspectives on how non-Muslim elites perceived, engaged, and – in some instances – were themselves the very product of the Ottoman polity. In the words of Antonis Anastasopoulos:

> despite the existence of significant rifts within, [non-Muslims] shared certain basic common experiences and values, and above all what might be called its 'Ottomannness.' There is plenty of evidence which suggests that non-Muslim elites largely aspired to inclusion in the Ottoman elite and not the separation from it.[14]

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[10] On the constitutive elements of this discourse, see Matei Cazacu, 'La "Légende noire des derniers Phanariotes": un problème grec ou roumain?' in Gelina Harlaftis and Radu G. Păun eds, *Greeks in Romania in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Alpha Bank, 2014), 98–102; Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, trans. James Christian Brown (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2001), 158–59.

[11] A foundational study in this respect is Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest: Institut d'Études Byzantines, 1935). See also Andrei Pippidi, 'Phanar, phanariotes, phanariotisme', *Revues des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 13, no. 2 (1975): 231–39.

[12] Radu G. Păun, 'Some Observations on the Historical Origins of the "Phanariot Phenomenon" in Moldavia and Wallachia', in Gelina Harlaftis and Radu G. Păun, *Greeks in Romania in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Alpha Bank, 2013), 43–90; Christine M. Philliou, 'The Paradox of Perceptions: Interpreting the Ottoman Past through the National Present', *Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 5 (2005): 661–75; Christine M. Philliou, 'Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 151–81; Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

[13] On the 'Turkish yoke' model, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, 'The "Turkish Yoke" Revisited: The Ottoman Non-Muslim Subjects between Loyalty, Alienation and Riot', *Acta Poloniae Historica* 93 (2006): 80; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, updated ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 163–64. For the discussion of 'decline thesis' and its impact on the cultural history of the empire, see Dana Sajdi, 'Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction', in Dana Sajdi ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 1–40.

[14] Antonis Anastasopoulos, 'Introduction', in Antonis Anastasopoulos ed, *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005): xvi.

In this context, the proliferation of Grecophone culture should be seen as an Ottoman phenomenon *par excellence* and not one restricted to the Orthodox communities of the empire. In the present study, I would like to touch upon a single aspect of this phenomenon as seen through an Ottomanist key, namely the role of Greek language allowing Moldavian and Wallachian boyars to partake in Ottoman imperial culture as an Orthodox 'Ottoman-local elite.'

Early modern elites of the Danubian principalities were going through a process that shows striking similarities to the 'Ottomanization' of their Muslim counterparts throughout the empire.[15] The changes in the imperial system of governance that took place since the late sixteenth century provided local notables with new opportunities of gaining wealth, political influence and social prestige. As their fortunes became increasingly intertwined with those of the Porte, these notables increasingly embraced not only their position within the imperial system of governance, but also a new facet of identity tied to the imperial centre. This newfound identity resulted in the emergence of what Ehud Toledano called 'Ottoman-local elites,' proliferation of cultural production that combined local traditions with distinctly Ottoman motifs, and material culture heavily influenced by that of the Porte.[16] Although with some peculiarities of its own – given their position within the imperial system and religious difference – Moldavian and Wallachian boyars followed a similar path, adoption and adaptation of Ottoman material culture making considerable inroads in this period.[17] As I will argue in the present study, Greek language provided a crucial cultural link in this process, acting as a conduit that allowed boyars to tap into Ottoman models even without the knowledge of Ottoman Turkish itself.

Given limited space and the enormous scope of the topic, in the present paper I will focus on few selected aspects of Moldavian-Wallachian and imperial socio-cultural developments, outlining the areas in which such transfers occurred. In the first section, I provide a short account of socio-political and cultural changes in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Danubian principalities and the Ottoman Empire, drawing attention

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[15] See Michal Wasiucionek, 'Conceptualizing Moldavian Ottomanness: elite culture and Ottomanization of the seventeenth-century Moldavian boyars', *Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe* 8 (2016): 39–78.

[16] Ehud R. Toledano, 'The emergence of Ottoman-local elites (1700–1900): a framework for research', in Moshe Ma'oz and Ilan Pappé, *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 145–62. On specific cases of such hybrid material culture, Ayda Arel, 'Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-Classical Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Muqarnas* 10, no. 1 (1992): 212–8; Tülay Artan, 'Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History', in Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya eds, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London – New York: Routledge, 2006): 85–109; Filiz Yenişehiroğlu, 'Architectural Patronage of *Ayan* Families in Anatolia', in Antonis Anastasopoulos ed., *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005): 321–341.

[17] For this topic, see Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *From Işlic to Top Hat: Fashion and Luxury at the Gates of Orient* (Boecillo: Iniciativa Mercurio, 2011).

to parallels and ties between the two. Subsequently, I move to discuss the ways in which Greek language provided a link binding the imperial centre to the Orthodox periphery. In the third part, I identify the ways new forms of literacy that emerged in late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in terms of genres and points of contact between literary cultures. At the same time, I discuss shifts in mental topography that occurred in historiographical works of the period, as Moldavian and Wallachian authors increasingly ventured beyond the limits of the Danubian principalities and adopted the 'Well-Protected Domains' of the sultans as a more fitting framework for both the course of events they described and their own identity.

Societies in flux

Beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was undergoing tremendous changes that thoroughly reshaped its political institutions and society at large. While long regarded as a sign of decline, these upheavals have been reappraised as a sign of adaptability that allowed the empire to weather the crises and extend its lifespan. The demise of 'classical' Ottoman institutions, such as prebendal *timar* system and the expansion of tax-farming are no longer cited as evidence that the empire lost its vitality, but rather as a pragmatic response to the expansion of market economy. Still, the changing conditions and blurring social boundaries caused considerable anxiety among the military-administrative class of *askeri*, leading many of its members to rail against the influx of 'outsiders' (*ecnebi*) from among the tax-paying population (*re'aya*).[18] Voices of discontent and nostalgia for an idealised past that permeated the works of advice literature (*nasihatname*), which – taken at face value by modern scholars – contributed to the image of post-Süleymanic period as a political and cultural formation past its prime.

With new waves of scholarship and the rejection of the 'decline paradigm,' such blanket statements are no longer tenable. In its place a more complex and nuanced landscape presents itself, characterised by shifting patterns of everyday life, burgeoning intellectual debates[19], and new forms of literacy.[20] Moreover, as has been repeatedly pointed out in recent contributions, the dissolution and reconstruction of established social boundaries involved numerous previously marginal groups into the matters of the empire and provided fertile ground for constant renegotiation and redefinition of

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[18] Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, second ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 21–2; Linda T. Darling, 'The Sultan's Advisors and Their Opinions on the Identity of the Ottoman Elite, 1580–1653', in Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull eds, *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016): 171–81.

[19] See, for instance, Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[20] Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Noveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013).

communal and individual identities, as well as their ties with the imperial centre.[21] Thus, instead of a stagnant and moribund shadow of its former self, the Ottoman society of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appears to us as a dynamic society in constant flux.

Although the phasing out of *devşirme* as a recruitment tool meant that Ottoman administrative apparatus was increasingly staffed by free-born Muslims, non-Muslims found numerous opportunities within the changing environment. Tax-farming, one of the main vehicles that drove socio-economic developments, involved Christian notables in a variety of ways, as contractors, revenue collectors and creditors. Prominent Orthodox families, such as the Benakis, took advantage of the changing revenue system, gaining wealth and social power in their areas of activity[22]; in the words of Ali Yaycıoğlu, 'they were, so to speak, Christian ayans.'[23] The economic recovery of the empire following a series of political, demographic and environmental upheavals of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reinvigorated commerce, and Orthodox merchants often found patrons among local power-holders. Contrary to the established notions, the *zimmi* population was willing to grant the Ottoman polity at least passive legitimacy, and on numerous occasions lent their active support and celebrated military exploits of the Porte.[24] Although this did not remove the confessional boundaries, both Christian and Muslim elites mingled and socialised with each other, creating mixed elites with a shared material culture.[25]

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[21] The scholarship on this topic is vast, see Cemal Kafadar, 'Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature', *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121–50; Rhoads Murphey, 'Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society', *Turcica* 34 (2002): 135–70; Derin Terzioğlu, 'Man in the Image of God in the Image of Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618-94)', *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 139–65; Baki Tezcan, 'Ethnicity, Race, Religion and Social Class: Ottoman Markers of Difference', in Christine Woodhead ed., *The Ottoman World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012): 159–70; Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı kimliği: 14.–17. yüzyıllarda Rûm/Rûmi aidiyet ve imgeleri* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004).

[22] See for instance, Dimitrios Papastamatiou, 'Tax-Farming (*İltizam*) and Collective Fiscal Responsibility (*Maktu'*) in the Ottoman Southern Peloponnesus in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in Elias Kolovos, Phokion Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou and Marinos Sariyannis eds, *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Towards a Social and Economic History* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2007): 289–306.

[23] Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 149.

[24] Nuh Arslantaş and Yaron Ben Naeh eds, *Anonim bir ibranice kroniğe göre 1622–1624 yıllarında Osmanlı devleti ve İstanbul* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013); Olga Todorova, 'The Ottoman State and Its Orthodox Christian Subjects: The Legitimistic Discourse in the Seventeenth-Century "Chronicle of Serres" in a New Perspective', *Turkish Historical Review* 1 (2010): 108–10; E. Schütz, 'Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 29 (1975): 161.

[25] Josip Matasović, 'Fojnička regesta', *Spomenik* 68, no. 53 (1930): 171–2; Ljiljana, Beljkašić-Hadžidedić, 'Oriental (and Turkish) Influences on the Folk Costumes of Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Etnološki Pregled* 26 (1990): 104–5. This, however, did not necessarily translate to intellectual debates between Orthodox clergy and the *ulema*, see Aleksandar Fotić, 'Belgrade: A Muslim and Non-Muslim Cultural Centre (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)', in Antonis Anastasopoulos ed., *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005): 74–75.

In parallel to this process, the Orthodox elite of the imperial capital enjoyed gradual ascendancy starting from the mid-sixteenth century. As Radu Păun has pointed out, the two processes – at the imperial centre and on the Moldavian-Wallachian periphery – were interactive and frequently involved same actors operating in both arenas.[26] In Istanbul, the Phanariot circle established their position within the Ottoman system of governance and factional environment of the Porte, consolidating their power base around the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the positions of dragomans of the Porte.[27] Although its 'core' consisted of a relatively restricted number of lineages, the structure of their households –similar to that of Muslim grandees – provided opportunities for recruitment of outsiders. Career opportunities and upward mobility they enabled served as a magnet for ambitious individuals from across the imperial domains, much in the same way as Muslim grandee households did.[28] At the same time, they served as sites not only of recruitment, but also of acculturation into the cultural idiom of this social group, which took place primarily through informal apprenticeship. Within this in-house training, a particular emphasis was put on linguistic skills, required for the offices of dragomans, which constituted the central node within the 'Phanariot' network. As a result, the culture of the Ottoman-Orthodox 'Phanariot' elite took shape around those central lineages (*hanedan*).

The social and economic developments in the Danubian principalities were in lockstep with those across wider Ottoman space, albeit with certain differences. The expansion of Moldavian-Wallachian market economy, a process driven by Ottoman influence[29], upended traditional hierarchies and forced established lineages into stiff competition with new rivals. From the second half of the sixteenth century, the Danubian principalities witnessed a massive influx of newcomers from the territories south of the Danube.[30] Despite considerable amount of vitriol against these newcomers (in a discourse

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[26] See Păun, 'Some observations', 46–47.

[27] Damien Janos, 'Panaiotis Nikoussios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005): 177–96.

[28] Philliou, *Biography of an empire*, 27. The parallelism between the two is put on display in a story narrated by an eighteenth-century Moldavian boyar and historian, Ion Neculce. Neculce recounts a story of two young boys from an Albanian village – a Christian and a Muslim – who set out for Istanbul in search for a patron. Upon arrival to Istanbul, they part ways, with the Muslim boy – future Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha – joining a household of an Ottoman grandee, while his Christian friend Gheorghe Ghica, who would eventually become the ruler of Moldavia and Wallachia, joining a Christian one. While the story is clearly invented, it nonetheless reflects the similarity between patterns of household recruitment, Ion Neculce, *Opere: Letopisețul Țării Moldovei și O samă de cuvinte*, ed. Gabriel Ștrempel (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1982), 187–88. See also, Palmira Brummett, 'Placing the Ottomans in the Mediterranean world: the question of notables and households', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 36 (2010): 77–96.

[29] Bogdan Murgescu, *România și Europa: acumularea decalajelor economice, 1500–2000* (Iași: Polirom, 2010), 50–59.

[30] For recent studies of this topic, see Lidia Cotovanu, '"Chasing away the Greeks": the Prince-State and the undesired foreigners (Wallachia and Moldavia between the 16th and 18th centuries)', in Olga Katsiardi-

in many respects similar to the anti-*ecnebi* rhetoric of the Ottoman authors), a process of integration (*Verflechtung*) of the two groups gradually took place, bringing about a new social and cultural synthesis. Cultural and social capital of the 'Greco-Levantines' – including their linguistic skills and access to the sources of credit in Istanbul – became crucial resources within the principalities and a link between the political arenas of the periphery and that of the imperial centre.[31] The result was the emergence of a new political consensus among the elite at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This social rearrangement brought about both vertical integration and horizontal divergence within the ranks of the boyar class, with its upper echelons – more integrated into the Ottoman social and political system – consolidating their hold on power against the lower ranks. This process was subsequently formalised in the reforms of Constantin Mavrocordat, which divided the order into boyars and *mazili*.[32]

Although these developments occurred within the context of the Orthodox community, they were nonetheless enabled and conditioned by the socio-economic and political context of the Ottoman Empire. The 'bridging capital' – to use the definition of Ronald Burt – that this process of convergence provided, further integrated the peripheral elites into the realm of imperial governance.[33] These developments remained in lockstep with parallel transformations in other parts of Ottoman domains, where the integration of Ottoman-local elites resulted in what Ariel Salzmann called 'governance in vernacular.'[34] Taking it into consideration, nothing indicates a retrenchment postulated by Panaitescu, but rather a further step in the developments he identified as key factors in the rise of Romanian vernacular. However, this evolution occurred within a different geographical framework – one of the Ottoman Empire and not of the Danubian principalities.

Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou eds *Across the Danube: Southeastern Europeans and their travelling identities (17th–19th centuries)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 215–53; Lidia Cotovanu, 'L'émigration sud-danubienne vers la Valachie et la Moldavie et sa géographie (XVe–XVIIe siècles): la potentialité heuristique d'un sujet peu connu', *Cahiers Balkaniques* 42 (2014): 2–19; Radu G. Păun, 'Pouvoirs, offices et patronage dans la Principaute de Moldavie au XVIIe siècle', unpublished PhD dissertation, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2003.

[31] Radu G. Păun, 'Les grands officiers d'origine gréco-levantine en Moldavie au XVIIe siècle: offices, carrièrs et strategies de pouvoir', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 45, nos 1–4 (2007): 166.

[32] Dan Pleşia, 'Statutul boierimii şi evoluţia boierilor de la reforma lui Constantin Mavrocordat până la desfiinţarea rangurilor şi privilegiilor (1859)', *Arhiva Genealogică* 6, no. 3–4 (1998): 169–83; Paul Cernovodeanu, 'Mobility and Traditionalism: The Evolution of the Boyar Class in the Romanian Principalities in the 18th Century', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 24, no. 3 (1986): 249.

[33] On the concept of bridging capital, see Ronald S. Burt, *Brokerage and Closure: An Introduction to Social Capital* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 54–55.

[34] Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 150–63.

Language as a conduit

If the socio-economic developments of the early modern period provided incentives for Moldavian-Wallachian boyars to partake in the imperial culture, in what language were they able to engage it? Seemingly, Ottoman Turkish would seem the most obvious choice, given its status as the language of the chancellery and its status as a *lingua franca* of the empire's heterogeneous elite.[35]

Just how widespread was the knowledge of Ottoman Turkish in the Danubian principalities is extremely difficult to establish and would require profound research effort.[36] There is no doubt that some boyars and rulers – especially those who resided in Istanbul for extended periods of time, such as Mihnea III (ruler of Wallachia, 1658-9) or famous literate Dimitrie Cantemir – had acquired proficiency. However, their linguistic skills cannot be generalised. There are indications that some member of the elite actively sought to learn Turkish, and, in some cases, we are able to establish the names of their tutors. Many of them were not only native speakers, but also members of the Ottoman bureaucracy, particularly in the eighteenth century.[37] This comes as no surprise since many positions, and particularly those of voivodes' agents at the Porte (Rom. *capuchehaia*s, Tur. *kapı kethüda*s), required familiarity not only with the language itself, but also with the conventions of the Ottoman administrative format and political discourse.[38]

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[35] On this topic, see Linda T. Darling, 'Ottoman Turkish: written language and scribal practice, 13th to 20th centuries', in Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway, *Literacy in the Persianate world: writing and social order* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 171–95. It is important to note at the same time that diverse ethnic-regional background of Ottoman officials meant that many were polyglots, retaining their mother tongues following their entry into the ranks of officialdom, see İ. Metin Kunt, 'Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 3 (1974): 233–39; Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 72–73. Moreover, the palace education of the elite promoted knowledge of Persian and Arabic along with Ottoman Turkish, see Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 49–57. It should be kept in mind at the same time that the cultural parameters of the group identified as *Rumi*s or a narrower circle of *Osmanlı*s changed throughout the early modern period.

[36] On this topic, see Ion Matei, 'Notes concernants l'enseignement des langues orientales dans les Pays roumains', *Studia et Acta Orientalia* 5–6 (1967): 93–116; Lia Brad Chisacof, 'Turkish: Known or Unknown during the 18th Century in the Romanian Principalities?', in Florentina Niţu et al. eds, *Turkey and Romania: A History of Partnership and Collaboration in the Balkans* (Istanbul: TDBB, 2016).

[37] See for instance, Ion Matei, Ion Matei, 'Notes concernants l'enseignement', 97; Ion Matei, 'Le maître de langue turque de Dimitrie Cantemir: Es'ad Efendi', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 10, no. 2 (1972): 281–88.

[38] On the *kapu kethüda* of Moldavian–Wallachian voivodes, see Ioan D. Condurachi, *Soli şi agenţi ai domnilor Moldovei la Poartă în secolul al XVII-lea* (Bucharest: Cultura, 1920); Aurel H. Golimas, *Despre capuchehăile Moldovei şi poruncile Porţii către Moldova până la 1829* (Iaşi: Tipografia 'Ligii Culturale', 1943); Viorel Panaite, 'Reprezentanţa politică a Ţării Romîneşti la Poarta Otomană în epoca lui Constantin Brâncoveanu', *Revista de istorie* 42, no. 6 (1988): 877–94; Ion Matei, *Reprezentanţii diplomatici (capuchehăi) a Ţării Româneşti la Poarta Otomană*, eds Nagy Pienaru and Tudor Teotoi (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2008). On the institution of *kapu kethüda*s within a wider Ottoman context, see Michael Nizri, 'Rethinking Center-Periphery

However, although part of Moldavian-Wallachian elites clearly knew Ottoman Turkish, there are also indications that it was by no means a rule, particularly in the seventeenth century. This holds true even in the case of boyars, whose official duties required them to maintain frequent contacts with Ottoman officials. A case in point is Miron Costin, one of the most influential political and literary figures in late seventeenth-century Moldavia. Although he had received an education in the Jesuit college in Bar far more thorough than most of his peers and on numerous occasions conversed with high-ranking officials of the Porte, his knowledge of Turkish did not extend beyond a couple of basic phrases. In general, the survey of extant dictionaries and phrase book suggests 'a poor knowledge of Turkish, a preference for the basics.'[39] This general conclusion stands in contrast with some outstanding cases of language skill by individual members of the elite, which – like Constantin Mavrocordat – felt comfortable code-switching between Romanian, Greek and Ottoman within a single text.[40] This suggests that the knowledge of Ottoman Turkish was unevenly distributed within among the boyars and was by no means a prerequisite for membership in the elite.[41]

Against his background, a late-eighteenth century remark by Demetrios Katardzis (Rom. Dumitru Catargiu) is particularly interesting, as he argued that Greek students should learn Turkish as their first foreign language, while Romanian ones should acquire the knowledge of Greek.[42] Tellingly, despite his being a high-ranking Wallachian official, Katardzis did not consider it necessary for Greek speakers to master Romanian, the language of administration and the vast majority of population in the principalities. Instead, what he seems to have encouraged was the promotion of Greek as a central medium of communication, operating at the interface between Romanian and Ottoman Turkish and connecting the two disparate linguistic spheres. That this was not only Katardzis' programmatic postulate but mirrored the linguistic realities of many members

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Communication in the Ottoman Empire: The *Kapı-Kethüdası*', *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, no. 3 (2016): 473–98.

[39] Chisacof, 'Turkish: known or unknown', 267.

[40] See, for instance, the *capuchehaia*s' reports from the reign of Constantin Mavrocordat, which abundantly employ untranslated quotations in Turkish, rendered in Greek script, see Ariadna Camariano-Cioran ed., *Reprezentanța diplomatică a Moldovei la Constantinopol (30 august 1741 – decembrie 1742)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1985).

[41] Indicative in this respect is Voievode Nicolae Mavroyeni's complaint from 1789 that none of the boyars knew Turkish, see Ion Matei, 'Notes concernants l'enseignement', 104; Johann Strauss, 'The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography in the Eighteenth Century', *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 1 (1999): 219. Mavroyeni was at the same time one of the rulers most embedded in Ottoman institutions, even establishing his own *vakf*, see Sophia Laiou, 'Between Pious Generosity and Faithful Service to the Ottoman State: The *Vakf* of Nicholas Mavrogenis, End of the Eighteenth Century', *Turkish Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (2015): 151–74.

[42] Demetrios Katardzis, *Ta dokimia*, ed. C. Th. Dimaras (Athens: Hermes–OMED, 1974). See also, Jean Caravolas, *Histoire de la didactique des langues au siècle des Lumières: précis et anthologie thematique* (Montréal and Tübingen: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Gunter Narr Verlag, 1994), 234.

of the elite. A considerable share of eighteenth-century boyars fully embraced bilingualism, including in their private papers.[43]

Interestingly, it seems that members of the elite generally followed a pattern similar to the one outlined by Katardzis. Although we find some Romanian-Turkish dictionaries and phrasebooks, the clear majority of those trying to learn Turkish used materials in Greek. This holds true for boyars of local origin, such as Ienachiță Văcărescu, whose learning aids were composed in Greek, despite his being a Romanian native speaker.[44] The preference for Greek as a primary language of expression in both works intended for a wider public and private papers cannot be attributed solely to the insistence of some voievodes, such as Constantin Mavrocordat[45], but rather confirms that the Moldavian-Wallachian elite internalised a cultural identity defined by effective bilingualism. What is important, however, is that its emergence was deeply entangled with the boyars' status as an 'Ottoman-local elite,' which retained Orthodox religious identity, but nonetheless was deeply involved in the fortunes of imperial governance. Moreover, just as for many members of this class Greek constituted a stepping stone between Romanian and Ottoman Turkish, it also constituted a conduit through which they could access the cultural production of the imperial centre.

Fountains and chronicles: new modes of literacy in the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian principalities

Just as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought major changes to the socio-political landscape of the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian principalities, they also ushered important changes in the realm of culture. These included new ways of interacting with the written word. Within the field of Ottoman studies, the issue that attracted the most attention has been the introduction of printing and the establishment of the first printing press by İbrahim Müteferrika (himself a convert from the Transylvanian town of Kolozsvár) in the 1720s.[46] Printed books have also been at the centre of the debate within Romanian historiography, given that Wallachia and – to a lesser extent – Moldavia, had been important centres of printing in South-eastern Europe throughout the early modern period that included not only publications in Cyrillic script, but also ones in Greek, Arabic

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[43] See, for instance, Constantin Caragea, 'Ephemerides idiocheiroi Konstantinou Karadza', in *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. xiii/1, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Bucharest: Socec, 1909): 77–158. I would like to thank Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu for drawing my attention to this source.

[44] I would like to thank Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu for bringing this to my attention.

[45] V.A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Imprimerea Statului, 1892), 14. I would like to thank Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu for drawing my attention to this document. It is important to note, however, that the same voivode also insisted on conducting administrative matters in Romanian, see Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor*, vol. 7 (Bucharest: n.p., 1938), 142.

[46] For a full account of İbrahim Müteferrika's activity and his printing venture, see Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ilk Osmanlı matbaa serüveni 1726–1746* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2006).

and Georgian.[47] Although the overall condition of the industry slumped in the first decades of the eighteenth century, it soon bounced back with more printing shops' being established. Thus, it would seem, the region was undergoing a crucial moment in the alleged 'print revolution', a similar process that had swept through Western Europe.

However, for all the allure that the introduction (or re-invigoration) of printing brought, its impact on the literary landscape should not be overstated. Both in the Danubian principalities and in the Ottoman Empire, the literary culture remained an overwhelmingly scribal one. As Orlin Sabev pointed out, although İbrahim Müteferrika's venture was by no means a failure, it also put on display the small size of potential customers.[48] Technical challenges likely discouraged the publication of crucial religious texts, and the prices of printed copies were comparable with those of manuscript ones.[49] Finally, we cannot rule out that the pressure of scribes, whose livelihood was threatened by the introduction of printing press, played a role in slowing the process.[50] In the Danubian principalities, the institutional framework in which printing developed was very different, but ultimately produced similar results. The ecclesiastical control over the presses defined their output, which consisted almost entirely of liturgical books and theological treatises.[51] By their very nature, such publications were limited with regard to the potential readership, catering predominantly to the needs of churchmen. Moreover, as in the Ottoman case, book prices remained high.[52] Although some voivodes and boyars – such as Nicolae Mavrocordat and the Cantacuzinos – were avid bibliophiles and amassed large collections of printed books (along with manuscripts)[53], most Moldavian-Wallachian

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[47] On this topic, see Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu and Lidia Demény, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană (secolele XVII–XIX)* (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1985); Daniela Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea din Țara Românească în epoca domniilor fanariote*, revised ed. (Bucharest: Muzeul Municipiului București, 2014).

[48] Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih), 'The First Ottoman Turkish Print Enterprise: Success or Failure?' in Dana Sajdi ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 80–81; idem, 'Waiting for Godot: The Formation of Ottoman Print Culture', in Geoffrey Roper ed., *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 108.

[49] Orhan Ersoy, 'İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatlari', in *Basım ve Yayıncılığımızın 250. Yılı Bilimsel Toplantısı* (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1980), 37; Sabev, 'Waiting for Godot', 109.

[50] Although scribal and religious opposition to printing has been often cited as the main factor contributing to the slow development of Ottoman printing press, the evidence in this respect is contradictory. For a comprehensive discussion of this issue, see Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih), 'Formation of Ottoman Print Culture (1726–1746): Some General Remarks,' in Irina Vainovski-Mihai ed., *New Europe College Research Program 2003-2004, 2004-2005* (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2007), 311–315.

[51] Apart from controlling majority of presses, church authorities also exercised censorship of printed books, see Lupu, *Tiparul și cartea*, 61–65.

[52] Papacostea-Danielopolu and Demény, *Carte și tipar*, 116–20.

[53] On the topic of the libraries of Moldavian and Wallachian boyars, see Radu G. Păun, 'Lectures et bibliothèques de la noblesse dans les Principautés roumaines (XVIIIᵉ siècle): bilan et perspective de recherche', in Frédéric Barbie ed., *Actes des symposium internationale La livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe*, (Bucharest: Biblioteca Metropolitană, 2012): 140–68.

boyars continued to operate within a more flexible scribal medium, better suited for the cultural context of the time. The continued predominance of scribal over print culture meant that most readers engaged with the text either via manuscripts or epigraphy, and it is primarily within these types of media that we should treat as *loci* of change and transfer of Ottoman imperial idiom mediated by Grecophone culture. From this perspective, I will in the remainder of the section I will touch upon one sphere that exhibits parallel developments in both arenas: historiography.

The end of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century saw two major developments in the Ottoman and Moldavian-Wallachian historiographic traditions, which can be summarised as a consolidation at the centre and an expansion of their peripheries. By the latter I mean the emergences of new, previously marginal voices, which engaged in history writing, resulting in what Dana Sajdi has called 'noveau literacy.'[54] These new authors came from social strata that had not been previously associated with the genre (or literary production altogether) and relatively distant – either socially or geographically – from traditional cultural milieus. These included artisans, townsfolk and religious minorities, for whom the socio-economic reconfiguration of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provided new opportunities.

On the other side of the spectrum, the end of the seventeenth century witnessed the resurgence of the court and central power as a patron of historiographic works after almost over a century of absence. In the Ottoman case, the period of imperial consolidation and formation of an imperial cultural idiom in the sixteenth century witnessed the establishment of the post of court historian, known as *şehnameci*.[55] However, by the 1600s the position became effectively defunct, and the weakening of sultanic power and the rise of political households resulted in the latter taking effective control over historiographic discourse.[56] As a result, the Ottoman historiography of the seventeenth century is highly partisan in nature, as chroniclers attached to grandee *kapı*s tailored their narratives according to the political interests of their patrons.[57] In this respect, the appointment of

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[54] Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus*, 7–10. See also See Bruce Masters, 'The View from the Province: Syrian Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 3 (1994): 353–62; Percy Kemp, 'History and Historiography in Jalili Mosul', *Middle Eastern Studies* 19, no. 3 (1983): 345–76.

[55] Christine Woodhead, 'An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of *Şehnameci* in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555–1605', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1983), 157–82.

[56] For a fascinating discussion over the *şehname* genre and its ultimate disappearance, see Baki Tezcan, 'Politics of Early Modern Ottoman Historiography', in Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman eds, *The Early Modern Ottomans: Mapping the Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 183; Christine Woodhead, 'Reading Ottoman *Şehnames*: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Studia Islamica* 104–105 (2007): 67–80.

[57] On this topic see Gabriel Piterberg, *The Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003); Tezcan, 'Politics', *passim*.

Mustafa Na'ima to the new post of *vakanüvis* constituted a turning point.[58] Although his attachment to the Köprülü faction certainly coloured Na'ima's narrative, the scope of his work was significantly broader; it constituted an attempt at remoulding the chronicles of the previous century and casting their conflicting narratives into a coherent canon. This attempt by the imperial centre at reasserting its place proved a success and Na'ima's work and that of his successors at the *vakanüvislik* became the central point of reference for subsequent generations of Ottoman historians. As Baki Tezcan pointed out, the positive reception of Na'ima's work reflects its compatibility with a new political consensus that emerged among the Ottoman elite in the early eighteenth century after a century of tumultuous change.[59]

A similar process of centre's resurgence as the arbiter within historiographic field took place in the Danubian principalities and was largely inspired by the Ottoman model. First steps in this respect come during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (Wallachia, 1688-1714), whose patronage over historians resulted in a few minor chronicles[60], as well as the official account of his reign produced by Radu Greceanu.[61] Already at this early stage, this new wave of historiography displays a close connection with Ottoman sources and models, with Greek operating at the interface of Romanian-speaking and Turkish-speaking audience. Another short Greek language narrative regarding a military campaign led by Voivode Mihai Racoviță in 1717 against the Habsburg was clearly appreciated by both sides of the linguistic divide, being translated both into Romanian and Ottoman Turkish.[62]

However, by far the most ambitious historiographical project of this period was launched in Moldavia by Nicolae Mavrocordat (who occupied the thrones of Moldavia on multiple occasions between 1709 and 1730). As a son of influential Grand Dragoman Alexandros Mavrocordatos, whom he succeeded at the post, had intimate acquaintance with Ottoman officials and the developments at the court, and numerous friends among Ottoman political and intellectual elite. As such, he was certainly aware of the historical endeavour that Mustafa Na'ima was engaged in at this time. His own patronage seems to

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[58] The most comprehensive account of Na'ima's biography and work remains Lewis V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, ed. Norman Itzkowitz (New York: New York University Press, 1972).

[59] Tezcan, 'Politics', 191.

[60] On the Greek presence at Brâncoveanu's court, see Athanassios E. Karathanassis, 'Des grecs à la cour du Constantin Brâncoveanu, voévod de Valachie (1688–1714)', *Balkan Studies* 16, no. 1 (1975): 56–69.

[61] Radu logofătul Greceanu, *Istoria domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu Voievod (1688–1714)*, ed. Aurora Ilieș (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1970).

[62] Nicolae Chiparissa, 'Diegesis ton symvaton en Moldavnia kata to 1716 etos…', in Constantin Erbiceanu, *Cronicarii greci care au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă* (Bucharest, 1888), 65–86. The Turkish version of this account, preserved in the National Library in Ankara, has been recently published, Merve Karaçay Türkal, '18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Eflak ve Boğdan üzerinde Osmanlı–Avusturya mücadelesine dair anonim bir eser: *Vakâyi'-i Eflak*', *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 9 (2017): 34–53. See also Johann Strauss, 'The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography', 220.

follow a similar logic with the scope of creating a Moldavian historiographical canon. The task ultimately befell on scribe (*uricarul*) Axinte, who eventually produced a compilation of Moldavian and Wallachian chronicles known as *The Parallel Chronicle of Moldavia and Wallachia*.[63] Although it drew solely on local historical production, the Ottoman inspiration behind its creation seems clear and emulated Na'ima's project. While Axinte's original input was more modest than that of Na'ima, the two ventures served a similar purpose: providing a hegemonic historical narrative controlled by the political centre.

The Moldavian-Wallachian attempt to mould a coherent historiographic canon was never as successful as that of Ottoman *vakanüvislik*, largely due to fierce competition between 'Phanariot' dynasties (*hanedan*). The political rivalry spilled over to history-writing as each household sought to impose its interpretation of the events. What is crucial from our point of view is that this battle over history unfolded largely in Greek-language works. Although Axinte's compilation was never translated, most of the court-sponsored chronicles were either translated or composed entirely in Greek. This is the case for other chronicles sponsored by the Mavrocordatos[64], as well as a whole corpus of chronicles associated with the rival Ghica family.[65] This language option was not dictated by ethnic origin of the authors, who in some instances were native speakers of Romanian[66], and in other instances produced both versions themselves.[67] The choice of producing chronicles in both languages or even opting for Greek suggests that their content aimed at two different audiences, and projected their patrons' belonging to two different communities. On the one hand, the Romanian versions were accessible for (relatively) wider public in

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[63] Axinte Uricarul, *Cronica paralelă Ţării Româneşti şi a Moldovei (1290–1724)*, ed. Gabriel Ştrempel, 2 vols (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1993–94).

[64] Vasile Buhăescu, 'Istoriele Ţării Romîneşti şi ale Moldovei' in *Calendar istoric şi popular pe anul 1857* (Bucharest, 1857): 1–71. On the author, see Andrei Pippidi, 'In jurul cronicarului Vasile Buhăescu', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie din Iaşi* 23, no. 2 (1986): 835–41; Petru Depasta, 'Konstantinos voevodas etoi dakikon apomnemoneumaton xyngraphe', in Erbiceanu ed., *Cronicarii greci*, 295–335.

[65] Dan Simonescu ed. *Cronica anonimă a Moldovei, 1661–1729 (Pseudo-Amiras)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1975); Nestor Camariano and Ariadna Camariano-Cioran eds, *Cronica Ghiculeştilor* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1965).

[66] Nestor Camariano and Adriana Camariano-Cioran, 'Introducere', in Nestor Camariano and Adriana Camariano-Cioran eds, *Cronica Ghiculeştilor: istoria Moldovei între anii 1695–1754* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR), ix–x.

[67] An example in this respect is the chronicle authored by Alexandru Amiras and covering the period 1661–1729. The authorship of the chronicle has been an object of controversy, with its editor attributing to him only the translation into Greek, see Dan Simonescu, 'Introducere' in Dan Simonescu ed. *Cronica anonimă a Moldovei, 1661–1729 (Pseudo-Amiras)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1975), 18–23. However, in a later contribution, N.A. Ursu provided convincing arguments in favor of Amiras' authorship, see N.A. Ursu providing convincing arguments that identify the Moldavian official as the author of both versions of the chronicle, see N.A. Ursu, 'Paternitatea lui Alexandru Amiras asupra "Cronicii anonime" a Moldovei de la 1661 până la 1729', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol"* 33 (1996): 159–74. On Alexandru Amiras himself, see Athanassios E. Karathanassis, 'L'exemple d'un érudit grec en Moldovlachie: Alexandre Amiras (1679–1740 ci.)', *Balkan Studies* 23, no. 2 (1982): 321–40.

the Danubian principalities, which was not literate in Greek, while the translations appealed to Greek-speaking boyars, but also a wider 'Orthodox-Ottoman communication space' of the sultans' domains.[68]

However, the chronicles of this period differed in more than just the language chosen by their authors but showed a much deeper engagement with the Ottoman world as a whole. In the seventeenth century, the geographical scope of Moldavian and Wallachian historians was generally limited to the principalities themselves, rarely venturing beyond the confines of a single polity. In the case of Moldavian tradition, this was mediated given that its two authors – Grigore Ureche and Miron Costin – had attended colleges in Poland-Lithuania, which deeply influenced their work.[69] A more encompassing account of universal history was provided by another genre – that of chronographs (*cronografe*) – rooted in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine tradition.[70] However, close contacts with the imperial centre did not result in works devoted to the Ottoman Empire as a standalone subject.

This began to change at the dawn of the eighteenth century, as chroniclers of the period began to increasingly frame their narratives – and the history of the Danubian principalities as a whole – within a larger Ottoman context. In eighteenth-century works, the stage on which the events unfold becomes larger and more focused on the events in other parts of the 'Well-Protected Domains.'[71] This shift is most noticeable when we compare seventeenth-century narratives with their later retellings. A particularly instructive example in this respect is the account of the rise to power of the Ghica family, as rendered by Miron Costin and Ion Neculce. For the former, the career of Gheorghe Ghica – the first member of the family to come to the Danubian principalities and subsequently ascend the throne – unfolded almost exclusively within Moldavia.[72] Ion Neculce knew Costin's account and borrowed large parts of his text into his own account of Ghica's ascendancy. However, what was the focal point of Costin's interpretation of events, is relegated to the background in favour of the future voivode's youth in Rumelia

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[68] On this term, see Konrad Petrovszky, *Geschichte schreiben im osmanischen Südosteuropa: eine Kulturgeschichte orthodoxer Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 14.

[69] On Polish influence on seventeenth-century Moldavian historiography, see Petre P. Panaitescu, *Influența polonă în opera și personalitatea cronicarilor Grigore Ureche și Miron Costin* (Bucharest: Academia Română, 1925). On the issue of universal history in early modern Moldavian and Wallachian historiography, see Paul Cernovodeanu, 'Préoccupations en matière d'histoire universelle dans l'historiographie roumaine aux XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècle', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 9, no. 4 (1970): 677–97; 10, no. 2 (1971): 293–312; 10, no. 4 (1971): 705–28; 11, no. 1 (1972): 53–77; 13, no. 1 (1974): 73–94.

[70] On chronographs, see Demostene Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române* (Bucharest, 1939); *Cronograf tradus din grecește de Pătrașco Danovici*, ed. Gabriel Ștrempel, 2 vols (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1998–99).

[71] Ion Matei, 'Contributions aux débuts des études de turcologie en Roumanie, XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècles', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 26, no. 2 (1988): 102.

[72] Miron Costin *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei dela Aron Vodă încoace*, ed. Petre P. Panaitescu (Bucharest: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1943), 191–92.

and his term as the *capuchehaia* in Istanbul, most notably his ties with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha.[73] For the eighteenth-century chronicler, these periods, rather than his service on the Moldavian court, constituted the deciding factor in Ghica's career. As the entanglement between the imperial centre and Moldavian-Wallachian periphery deepened, eighteenth-century historians increasingly considered the Ottoman domains as their 'decision space' as well as – I would argue – 'identity space.'[74]

To a considerable extent, this process culminated in the appearance of Moldavian and Wallachian works devoted specifically to the Ottoman Empire and its rulers.[75] Although the genre of works depicting successive Ottoman rulers had been popular both in the western Europe and in the Ottoman Empire, it seems to have been absent from the written tradition of the Danubian principalities.[76] However, from the second half of the seventeenth century, such works begin to appear.[77] The first reference to such work – commissioned by Constantin Brâncoveanu – puts into display both the link to Ottoman cultural idiom and the mediating role of Greek language. The production of the text was a three-step process, with the text composed by in Ottoman Turkish, and subsequently translated into Greek and, finally, subject to stylistic revision.[78] This was by no means the only work of this type to be produced in the Danubian principalities, and the growing popularity of such texts suggests the growing relevance of the Ottoman imperial space as a point of reference for the Moldavian and Wallachian authors.[79] At the same time, in composing historiographic texts, the authors make ample use of Ottoman sources, both documentary and narrative. The eagerness to include that these authors increasingly

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[73] Neculce, *Opere*, 187–88. See also Michał Wasiucionek, 'Ethnic Solidarity in the Wider Ottoman Empire Revisited: *Cins* and Local Political Elites in the 17th-century Moldavia and Wallachia', in Marinos Sariyannis et al. eds, *New Trends in Ottoman Studies: Papers Presented at the 20th CIÉPO Symposium Rethymno, 27 June – 1 July 2012* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2014), 232–46.

[74] On these notions and the relationship between them, see Charles S. Maier, 'Transformations of Territoriality, 1600–2000', in Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad and Oliver Jan eds, *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 35.

[75] I deliberately leave out Dimitrie Cantemir, Moldavian voivode and the author of well-known works on the Ottoman Empire. This dictated both by the fact that the massive amount of scholarship on his oeuvre makes it impossible to address his work within the limits of this paper, and by the fact that his writings took final shape during his exile in Russia and were not intended for Moldavian and Wallachian audience.

[76] On these genres, see E. Natalie Rothman, 'Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman–Venetian Miniature Album', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 40 (2012): 47–49; Bronwen Wilson, 'Reflecting on the Face of the Turk in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Portrait Books', *Word and Image* 19, nos 1–2 (2003): 38–58.

[77] The first known work of this kind was produced in 1655 and held in the Caşin monastery, with its text published by Nicolae Iorga, see Nicolae Iorga ed., *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. 9 (Bucharest, 1905), 190–213; Matei, 'Contributions', 104; Stefan Lemny, 'Approches roumaines de l'histoire ottomane', *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 28 (1996): 24.

[78] Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library MS Grec 970; Matei, 'Contributions', 105; Strauss, 'The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography', 220.

[79] For the list of these works, with relevant bibliography, see Matei, 'Contributions', 107.

considered the Ottoman discourse and the imperial space relevant for interpreting the events they participated in as well as for defining their own identity on the historical stage.

In many respects, these trends coalesced in the life and oeuvre of Ienachiță Văcărescu. This fascinating source, extant in a single manuscript bears the title *The History of the Most Powerful Ottoman Emperors*; however, the title only partly reflects its contents.[80] In fact, while the first part of the text provides a historical account of the Ottoman Empire (with ample use of Ottoman sources), the following part is *de facto* an autobiography of Văcărescu himself, who depicts himself as a loyal servant of the Porte, particularly in fulfilling diplomatic duties. On occasions, he declares himself 'a Turk,' not in the religious sense of being a Muslim, but rather as an expression of his political association with the Sublime Porte.[81] In many respects, the trajectory of Văcărescu, a scion of Wallachian boyar family, who had learned Ottoman Turkish while keeping his personal notes in Greek, and weaved himself discursively into the fabric of the Ottoman polity, is the perfect illustration of the cultural and political identity of the Orthodox 'Ottoman-local' elite of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Preliminary conclusions: Ottomanization and Hellenization

In modern historiography, the proliferation of Grecophone culture among Orthodox population of the Ottoman domains has been interpreted in a variety of ways. For Panaitescu, whom I quoted at the beginning of the present study, it constituted a hurdle on the path towards Romanian national culture and reactionary response of the elite. Others interpreted these developments in a more positive light, claiming it to correspond with the advent of humanism, Enlightenment or nationalism to South-eastern Europe. Underpinning these arguments is a tacit assumption that western Europe and its culture constituted the natural point of reference for Christian elites, as opposed to the cultural idiom of the Ottoman space, which they happened to inhabit. Either consciously or not, this approach runs the risk of perpetuating a refurbished variant of the 'Turkish yoke' narrative.

However, as I have tried to demonstrate throughout the present study, the proliferation of Grecophone culture in the Balkans, including the Danubian principalities, cannot be disentangled from the Ottoman context and its cultural production. Nor did it represent a reversal of modernizing trends that had brought about vernacular literature among non-Muslim subjects of the sultan; instead, it formed an integral part of the

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[80] Ianache Văcărescu, *Istoria Othomanicească*, ed. Gabriel Ştrempel, (Bucharest: Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 2001). For Văcărescu's life, see Cornel Cârstoiu, *Ianache Văcărescu: viața şi opera* (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1974).
[81] For an interpretation of Ianache Văcărescu's strategies of self-fashioning and his multiple identities, see Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, 'Using Luxury and Fashion for Constructing a Social Status: Ianache Văcărescu's Case', *Journal of Early Modern History* (forthcoming).

dynamic cultural environment of Ottoman early modernity, with clear parallels to the cultural developments among Muslim population of the empire.

Within the Ottoman social, political and cultural landscape, the boyar elites of the Danubian principalities occupied a position that was in many ways doubly marginal: confessionally, as an Orthodox community within a Muslim empire, and due to their position on the imperial periphery. The adoption of Grecophone culture allowed them to mediate this double marginality, integrating them not only with the Grecophone cosmopolitan culture of the Phanar, but with the Ottoman culture at large. While the Hellenization of the Moldavian-Wallachian elites put them into contact with some cultural currents of European thought of this time, it also triggered a deeper engagement with the cultural tradition of the imperial centre. As a result, it serves as a word of caution against a mechanical application of the notions derived entirely from the European tradition, as the ongoing debate over 'Ottoman Enlightenment' shows.

Inevitably, the present study cannot but touch the surface of the relationship between Ottoman socio-political system, the proliferation of Greek language and the culture and identity of the Moldavian-Wallachian boyars in the early modern period. However, as I have tried to argue, in approaching this topic, we should follow the cue inscribed in the fountains Moldavian Voivode Grigore Alexandru Ghica founded in Jassy in 1766. The *çeşme*s, built and decorated in style very much in vogue in the Ottoman capital at that time, contain a total of four inscriptions, in Romanian, Greek, and Ottoman Turkish. However, even a Romanian inscription does not resemble those of the earlier period, instead containing a poem clearly modelled after Ottoman chronogram *genre*. By employing all three languages, Ghica put on display three crucial aspects of his identity: that of Moldavian voivode, member of the Grecophone Orthodox community, and an Ottoman servant. As I would argue, the second of those identities played a crucial role in binding the other two together and bringing out the hybrid cultural and socio-political world in the Ottoman periphery.

'Le Coquin Grec' *vs.* 'le Véritable François'
Being a foreigner in the Danubian Principalities
in Eighteenth Century

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Abstract

Being foreign in the Romanian lands in the eighteenth century is the subject of this investigation. The article starts from the particular case of the Linchou family, who, through their diplomatic activities in the Levant and the Romanian Lands, open up an entire dossier regarding the process of identification staged by a foreigner. With the help of diplomatic correspondence and commercial archives, we observe how François-Thomas Linchou engages in a series of social and political games aimed at attracting advantages and privileges to uphold the commercial activities he had developed in Wallachia and Moldavia. However Linchou's attempt to remain in the sphere of social representations, claiming privileges, without accepting the staus of re'aya was to lead to the failure of his integration into a social network and consequently his decapitation.

Keywords: Social Status, Wallachia, Moldavia, Foreigner, Self-Fashioning

> My Lord, please, secure a counter-*firmân* from the Porte to summon that Greek, who is *truly a rascal*, urgently to Constantinople, as he tries to slander my brother, who is a *true Frenchman*. My brother will without any doubt come to the trial to prove that his cause is just.[1]

The words are those of François-Thomas Linchou, secretary to Constantine Racovitza, Prince of Wallachia[2], and they are addressed to the French ambassador to the Porte, Charles Gravier comte de Vergennes. In 1752, Joseph Linchou, through the Linchou Company, entered into an association with the Greek candle-maker

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[1]'Je vous prie, Monseigneur, que, puisque ce Grec est un *véritable coquin* et qui cherche de faire une avanie à mon frère qui est *véritable françois* d'obtenir de la Porte un contre-firmanat qui ordonne de ramener ce Grec à Constantinople, où mon frère se rendra sans faute pour faire connoître la justice de sa cause.' in Ioan C. Filitti, *Lettres et extraits concernant les relations des Principautés roumaines avec la France (1728-1810)* (Bucharest: Imprimerie Professionnelle Demètre C. Ionesco, 1915), 153: 23 September/4 October 1755.

[2] Constantine Racovitza ruled as Prince several times in Moldavia (1749–1753, 1756–1757) and Wallachia (1753–1756, 1763–1764).

Sterio to set up a candle factory in Iaşi. The Linchou Company brought capital to this venture, while Sterio contributed with his experience as a master candle-maker and with his connections in the network of Moldavian guilds and in political circles. The venture never came to fruition, but it unleashed a major political, economic and diplomatic scandal which would spread beyond the borders of Moldavia, involving, in addition to the Linchou family, the Phanariot rulers of Whallachia and Moldavia, the Ottoman Empire and France. Considerable correspondence was generated around this diplomatic dispute[3], correspondence that will help us to understand not only the status of foreigners in the Ottoman Principalities but also the manner in which an individual fashioned themselves and others according to their surroundings and immediate interests. Moreover, these insights allow us to see how symbolic or material resources (such as honour, prestige, gifts, and social networks) were handled on multiple social and political fronts in order to negotiate social status or membership within a specific social group.

In my paper, I propose to analyse the criteria of definition and identification applied to a foreigner in the Danubian Principalities. Who were the foreigners who arrived in the Danubian Principalities at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? How were they qualified and classified in the social hierarchy? How were they received and how did they manage to integrate?

The definition of the term foreigner (i.e. *străin* in Romanian) is somewhat difficult to contextualise. The first essential criterion in the definition of the 'foreigner' concerns geographical belonging to a given territory.[4] Might this be sufficient to define the status of a person? The historical sources speak of 'native-born' (i.e. *pământeni* in Romanian) and 'foreigners', those 'from here' and those come 'from other lands'. But the documents operate with great ambiguity when they speak of the others, the foreigners, who may originate from beyond the imaginary frontiers of various sorts of community, whether delimited in confessional, social or geographical terms. Thus, at a certain moment someone may be considered foreign in relation to someone else.[5] But in relation to whom can a foreigner be defined? The question might equally be raised, what is a Moldavian/Wallachian? Do the

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[3] For earlier comparative studies on transregional dispute/ scandal see Tolga U. Esmer, "Notes on a Scandal: Transregional Networks of Violence, Gossip, and Imperial Sovereignty in the Late Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 58 no. 1, (2016): 99-128.

[4] See Edhem Eldem, 'Foreigners on the Threshold of Felicity: The Reception of Foreigners in Ottoman Istanbul', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, II. Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700,* ed. Donatella Calabi and Stephan Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 114–131; Rossitsa Gradeva, 'Turks and Bulgarians, Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1995): 173–187.

[5] See also Simona Cerutti, *Étrangers. Étude d'une condition d'incertitude dans une société d'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Bayard, 2012); Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

documents operate with the notion of Moldavian/Wallachian in order to oppose it to the concept of foreigner? Or is the opposition rather between subjects and others?[6]

Foreigners in the Romanian lands were largely merchants and tradesmen, men of letters and diplomats, monks and mercenaries; for each of them, integration and social recognition followed a converging series of stages. Given the depopulation resulting from the wars and epidemics of the period, the Romanian lands were functionally dependent on all these foreigners. Their princes encouraged whole population groups to come and settle, granting privileges and tax exemptions for colonies made up largely of farmers, constituting the so-called *slobozii* (freeholds).[7] But this type of 'large-scale' migration is not what interests us at the present moment. Rather we shall direct our attention particularly to certain individual cases, trying to analyse the modalities of integration in the upper levels of the social hierarchy.

How did foreigners appear within the political elite, and how did foreigners appear outside political circles? Were they treated differently? Those who came to the princely court belonged to an intellectual elite, so to speak, as the Phanariot princes tried to surround themselves with doctors, teachers, painters – savants, in the sense specific to the period, a group distinguished by their mastery of science and art – a social and professional category quite different from the 'political' group around the prince. These *expatriates,* as Peter Burke calls them,[8] were invited by the Phanariot princes to contribute not only to the spread of knowledge but also to the setting up of educational and cultural initiatives necessary to their country of adoption. For various reasons, the subject has been neglected by Romanian historiography, although the term 'princely secretary' has become a commonplace, frequently used but often void of content[9].

It should also be mentioned that foreigners neither received a separate juridical nor were there institutional debates necessary for their social classification. Thus, my research is concentrated on archival documents and on the interpretation of particular cases that are revealing for the process of identification[10].

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[6] Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Tracey A. Sowerby, Jan Hennings, *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

[7] See also Andrew Robarts, 'Imperial confrontation or regional cooperation?: Bulgarian migration and Ottoman–Russian relations in the Black Sea region, 1768–1830s', *Turkish Historical Review*, 3/2 (2012): 149–167; Constantin N. Veclichi, *La contribution de l'émigration bulgare de la Valachie à la renaissance politique et culturelle du people bulgare (1762-1850)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1970).

[8] Peter Burke, *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge, 1500–2000* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2017), 82.

[9] On the Ottoman Empire see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011); Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: identité et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Peters, 2006) ; Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christian and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[10] See Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations. Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 6.

I am particularly interested in the metamorphoses undergone by the Linchou family in the course of a little over a century (between 1740 and 1850): from Linchou to Lenş and Linche de Moissac, between Marseilles, Istanbul, Bucharest and Paris, from Moorish converts to *true* Frenchmen, from Levantine merchants to Wallachian office-holders, ending up as the French comtes de Moissac. For this paper, however I shall limit myself to the first member of the Linchou family who opens this file of manoeuvring of multiple identities: François-Thomas Linchou.[11]

Pour l'honneur de la nation: From French Linchou to Ottoman Subject

François-Thomas Linchou was born in Marseilles early in the eighteenth century, into a family of French merchants, the son of Maurice Linchou and Catherine Roux, the brother of Jean-Baptise, Joseph-Marie and Pierre-François.[12] Arriving in Istanbul around 1739, as representative of the French company Manaire[13], he was involved there in trade and later in diplomacy on behalf of the French embassy.[14] From this position, he managed to become integrated in the Phanariot network, and became close to the Racovitza family. As diplomatic agent of the Phanariot voyvoda Constantine Racovitza (1699–1764), François-Thomas Linchou carried out intense diplomatic and commercial activity, which is recorded in a rich correspondence. This correspondence reveals his gradual development of relations of friendship and clientelism with different political and commercial circles in Istanbul: the French diplomatic representation and the Phanariot elite. This latter group held important offices at key points in political decision-making: the Ottoman court, the Orthodox patriarchy and the Moldavian and Wallachian diplomatic representations in the Ottoman Empire[15]. For each, François-Thomas Linchou offered his services in the procurement of luxury goods: information for everyone, porcelain tableware for the Sultan's mother, greyhounds for the French ambassador, thoroughbred horses for

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[11] See Marian Coman, *François-Thomas Linchou (1720–1760)*, in *Călători străini despre ţările române*, Suplimentul II (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2016), 253–258; Mihordea, *Politica orientală franceză şi ţările române în secolul al XVIII-lea (1749–1760)* [French Oriental Politic and the Romanian Principalities] (Bucharest, 1937).

[12] Information about this family is offered in M. André Borel D'Hauterive, 'Notice Historique et Genealogique sur la Maison de Linche', in *Revue Historique de la Noblesse*, publiée par M. André Borel D'Hauterive, tom II (Paris, 1841), 365–373.

[13] Archives Nationales, Paris, Fond Consulats. Mémoires et Documents. Affaires Etrangères, AE/B/III/253, ff. 3-4 (hereinafter: AN.AE). See also the index "Linchou" elaborated by Anne Mézin. I would like to express my gratitude to her for offering me the unpublished index.

[14] See also Christine Vogel, 'The Caftan and the Sword. Dress and Diplomacy in Ottoman–French Relations Around 1700', in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (Würzburg, 2015), 25–-45; Maurits H. vaan den Boogert, 'Intermediaries par excellence? Ottoman Dragomans in the Eighteenth Century', in *Hommes de l'entre-deux. Parcours individuals et portraits de groups sur la frontière de la Méditerranée (XVIe-XXe siècle)*, ed. Bernard Heyberger and Chantal Verdeil (Paris: Rivages des Xantons, 2009), 95–114.

[15] On this topic see Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2011).

diplomats, gold thread for *Madame la Princesse*, gold tobacco cases and perfumed tobacco for the prince, amber for the narghilehs of the boyars, among other wares.

While François-Thomas Linchou remained in this field of diplomacy, the family, through its representation 'Linchou & Compagnia' or 'Linchou père et fils', was pushed forward both for the occupation of 'posts in the Levant'[16] and in Levantine commerce. When his patron, Constantine Racovitza, became ruler in the Romanian lands, Linchou went with him as princely secretary, a post which he used to advance the position of his brothers in Balkan commerce and to obtain commercial privileges. Thus, between 1746 and 1757, we find the Linchou father and brothers sometimes in Bucharest, sometimes in Iași, sometimes in Galați, setting up the first French companies in the Romanian lands (1753 in Galați and 1754 in Bucharest)[17] and engaging in the trade of wax, honey, salted meat, skins, wine and wool, or handling the transit of porcelain, coffee, tobacco, horses, greyhounds, paper, mirrors and clocks.[18]

The Linchou family acted on the basis of privileges which they were continually requesting from the Phanariot ruler and from the French ambassador in Constantinople, and François-Thomas Linchou was able to keep this network active by means of a steady supply of information.[19] Trade in information and goods managed to enrich the Linchou brothers, but it also created a permanent dependence on their Phanariot patron and protector and on his networks. Furthermore, the Linchou company chose not become integrated in the Balkan trading network, which dominated the trade routes linking the Romanian lands to the Ottoman Empire, Russia and the Habsburg Empire, but to create its own trading network,[20] thus irritating various social and commercial interests.[21] In this venture, the family banked on their status as 'Frenchmen'. To be French was more important and more useful than to be a subject of the Prince, and thus a *re'aya*, paying taxes to the Ottoman

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[16] Filitti, *Lettres*, 82-84: 7/18 December 1752.

[17] The (failed) attempt of the Linchou brothers to establish commercial links between France and the Romanian lands was recorded by Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel, French consul in the Crimea, Cana and Smyrna between 1753 and 1782. See Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire* (Paris: Cuchet Libraire, 1787), tom 2, 207–209.

[18] 'Linchou et fils' were working in Constantinopole on 22 May 1750 when Maurice Linchou's involvement was mentioned in a commercial litigation regarding the selling of 36 ballots of wool. Balthazard-Marie Emerigon, *Traité des assurances et des contrats à la grosse* (Marseille: Mossy, 1784), vol. I, 323.

[19] See the Report of the French ambassador Des Alleurs, on January 1754, about the importance of the Romanian lands for the transit of information between Paris and Constantinople. Archives Des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, (hereinafter: AAE), Correspondence Politique, Turquie, 127, ff. 22-41.

[20] He insistently requests a commercial house in Constantinople for his father and brothers. Among other documents, see 'Recommandation pour une maison de commerce à Constantinople à la famille de S. Linchou', written by M. Potocki in Lublin, 2 December 1754, and sent to the French ambassador in Constantinople. AAE, Correspondence Politique, Turquie, 127, f. 356.

[21] On the importance of French commerce in Moldavia and France, see the memoirs of 1751, AAE, Correspondence Politique, Turquie, Suppl. 15, ff. 86, 89. See also, Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents of Romanian History] (Bucharest: Soccec, 1897) I₁, 608–610.

Empire (or, as it is expressed in the correspondence, 'to the Grand Seigneur', in other words, the Sultan).

François-Thomas Linchou, at the helm of this operation, is the most visible and the most vocal. Linchou's "self-fashioning" is constructed and deconstructed according to personal and contextual interests. François-Thomas insists on being defended by 'the honour of the French nation', but mixes with local boyars in pursuit of Moldavian offices, asks for it to be set down in black and white that he is French, while wishing to come closer to the local elite through a marriage of convenience.

But how do the others relate to this status? Do they bow before his claimed French superiority? The status of being French has no great relevance for the native elite, unless it is backed up by a powerful patron. On his arrival at the court in Iaşi (1749), princely secretary François-Thomas Linchou tries to protect his business interests by accepting an administrative office. He acquires the office of grand *sluger*,[22] and becomes *Leinţul franţuju* (Linchou the Frenchman) to the boyar elite.[23] While his holding of an office annoys the 'native' wing of the boyars, his closeness to Constantine Racovitza, through his function as princely secretary, upsets the Greek faction in the Prince's entourage: 'l'accez libre que j'ay auprès de Son Altesse à quelle heure que ce soit excittent la jalousie de la plupart de boyard de Son Altesse, qui ignore les raisons de ce libre accez.'[24] On top of that, the arrival of his family in Moldavia annoys everybody. The Greeks[25] and the boyars 'ne cessent de dire que je cherche à remplir la Moldavie peu à peu de François,'[26] he writes from Iaşi on 4 June 1753 to the French ambassador to the Porte, Roland Puchot Des Alleurs.[27] At the time he was trying to delay the coming of his father from Constantinople to Iaşi, after his brothers had long since descended on Wallachian territory. In any case, he writes, if his father arrived in Moldavia, he would quickly realise that 'les marchands y

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[22] His appointment may have been connected to his commercial activities, as the grand *sluger* (i.e. in Romanian) was responsible for the distribution, on the part of the princely court, of meat and candles to boyars and foreigners who enjoyed this right. With the reforms of Prince Constantine Mavrocordato, the office of grand *sluger* lost its traditional content, and its holder received specific duties from the prince. See Dionisie Fotino, *Istoria Generală a Daciei sau a Transilvaniei şi a Moldovei* (first edition: *Historia tes palai Dakias ta nyn Transylvanyas, Wallachias, kai Moldavias ek diaphoron palaion kai neon syngrapheon syneranistheisa para Dionysios Photeinou*, Vienna: Typ. Io Varthol. Svekiou, 1818-1819), ed. George Sion (Bucharest: Imprimeria Naţională a lui Iosif Romanov & Compania, 1859), 292–293.

[23] Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei de la domnia întâi şi până la a patra domnie a lui Costandin Mavrocordat vv. (1733–1774)*, critical edition by Aurora Ilieş and Ioana Zmeu (Bucharest: Minerva, 1987), 50.

[24] Filitti, *Lettres*, 59. Constantine Racovitza considers him 'one of the closest and most faithful office-holders'; AAE, Correspondence Politique, Turquie, vol. 127, f. 307, 20 July 1754.

[25] The reference is to the 'Greeks' who had come with the Phanariot prince and who occupied important offices in the princely council. See Lidia Cotovanu, '"Chasing Away the Greeks": The Prince-State and the Undesired Foreigners (Wallachia and Moldavia between the 16th and 18th Centuries)', in *Across the Danube. Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities (17th-19th C.)*, ed. Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 215–253.

[26] Filitti, *Lettres*, 58–61.

[27] He held the post from February 1747 to 23 November 1754, when he died in Constantinople. See AAE, Correspondance Politique, Turquie, vol. 127, ff. 433–434.

sont si meprisez, comme aussi tous ceux qui ne sont pas attachés à la principauté.'[28] This contempt is shown in the way that a series of rules of good conduct are disregarded in the presence of foreigners precisely in order to underline the difference of status: 'les boyards grecs regardent avec beaucoup de mépris les marchands qui se trouvent sur le pays, puisqu'ils les laissent devant eux sans les faire couvrir ny les faire assoier.'[29]

As he stubbornly insisted on remaining a foreigner, adhering neither to one faction nor to the other, François-Thomas fell into disfavour with the grand *postelnic* (i.e. foreign minister), Iordache Stavarache. A Greek boyar, with an important office concerned with the handling of foreign affairs, Iordache Stavarache was supported by his father-in-law, Manolache Geanet, the *capuchehaia* (i.e., the agent, 'doorkeep,' *kapıcı,*) of Phanariot ruler Constantine Racovitza at the Ottoman court. By incurring Stavarache's disfavour, François-Thomas thus lost much of his influence with Constantine Racovitza, who was dependent from a diplomatic point of view on his *capuchehaia* Manolache Geanet. *Linţu* the Frenchman, raised to the rank of grand *sluger*, had landed between the political factions that were struggling for precedence in relation to the Prince.[30]

The boyars in their turn accused him of arrogance: 'He had become very impudent and paid no regard to anyone,' writes Enache Kogălniceanu in his chronicle.[31] It should also be added that his being given a new office, that of grand *vameş* (i.e. head of customs), which was much more profitable than that of grand *sluger*, created tension among the boyars who had been pushed aside by a foreigner: 'la disgràce du Sieur Linchou est produit par la jalousie de sa faveur et de ce qu'il est douanier du Prince, ce qui ôte une charge lucrative et principale à quelqu'un de la nation moldave, qui ne peut sans envie ni regret la voir remplir par un étranger,' writes the French ambassador.[32] Beyond the inherent envy provoked by his holding such a high office, the testimonies of contemporaries present François-Thomas Linchou behaving in an authoritarian manner, proud of the position he held, and which he used to obtain profits and privileges. Abbot Sinadon describes '*Linciu* the papist' as being arrogant, influential and powerful. The abbot confesses, on 24 October 1764, that only his fear of this powerful figure has made him turn a blind eye to some illegal purchases of estates: knowing 'what man was *musiu Linciu*,' 'the

[28] Filitti, *Lettres*, 89
[29] Filitti, *Lettres*, 59
[30] This rivalry has been interpreted by Romanian historiography in ideological terms, acquiring either social or national significance. In fact the boyar groupings defined as 'Greek' or 'native-born' were made and unmade according to immediate interests. For details on the conflicts in the time of Constantine Racovitza, see Mihai Mârza, 'Revolta boierilor moldoveni din vara anului 1750: Reconstituire factologică, ipoteze, semnificaţii', in *Elitele puterii, puterile elitelor în spaţiul românesc (secolele XV–XX)*, ed. Cristian Ploscaru, and Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2018), 257–289.
[31] Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, *Letopiseţul*, 70.
[32] AAE, Correspondance Politique, Turquie, Suppl. 15, ff. 282, Des Alleurs to Broglio, 16 August 1753, Constantinople.

vameş of His Highness Constantine Racovitza,' who always acted with 'arrogance' and 'force'.[33] The abbot's 'fear' adds a new element to the definition of the foreigner: the religious dimension, Linchou is a Catholic, a 'papist'. However, what abbot Sinadon's account emphasises is the *vameş*'s marginality within the local elite, in which he tried to enter by immoral means, using his concubine's connections to acquire landholdings which would have otherwise been subject to pre-emption rights.

François-Thomas Linchou took a further step towards social integration when his patron moved to the throne of Wallachia: marriage. Marriage was the most accessible method of social integration into a network. Practised successfully by the vast majority of the 'Greeks' who arrived in the Danubian Principalities in the suite of the Phanariot princes, marriage proved useful to both partners: the newcomer acquired social recognition among the native boyars, which gave him the right to settle in the Principalities, to buy properties, and to enter into the political game even after the removal of his political patron; the boyars in their turn were brought closer to the power group around the Phanariot prince.

On his arrival in Bucharest, in 1753, François-Thomas Linchou kept not only the job of princely secretary, but also his influence with Constantine Racovitza, since he received the office of grand *cămăraş*.[34] Caught up in complexities of politics and administration, and not knowing how much longer he would be tarrying in the Romanian lands, the Frenchman tried to create a new belonging for himself and to obtain the social recognition and support of the native elite. As such, he sought to follow the model whose efficiency was proven, namely marriage. His betrothal to Ancuţa Sturdza, the daughter of the Moldavian boyar Sandu Sturdza, had taken place already during his residence in Moldavia. The lineage of the Sturdza boyars was a very important one with not only enormous wealth but also important positions in the social hierarchy. François-Thomas Linchou judged that the engagement would be very advantageous for him: 'à mon départ de Moldavie, s'étant presenté un mariage de convenance, soit par l'avantage du bien, aussi bien que de la famille, en la personne nommée Kokone Ankocha Sturdge, parente de Son Altesse, je me suis fiancé avant mon départ de Moldavie.' His betrothed's father had held the highest positions in the political apparatus, serving in turn as grand *ban*, grand *spătar* and even *caimacan*[35], and he was known to be close to Michael Racovitza, the father of Constantine Racovitza.[36] The alliance would have included Linchou in one of the

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[33] Ioan Caproşu, *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi* (Iaşi: Editura Dosoftei, 2005), V, 532–533, 538–540.
[34] Filitti, *Lettres*, 173. The *cămăraş* was responsible for the salt mines, and belonged, administratively speaking, to the 'prince's household', Fotino, *Istoria*, 309.
[35] Grand *Ban* (the name of Slavonic origin) was the highest office in the political hierarchy of Moldavia and Wallachia; Grand *Spătar* (from Greek *spathários*) was the official responsible for handling military affairs of the principality, while *caimacam* (from Ottoman *kaymakam*) carried out the duties of interim ruler, handling administrative duties in the absence of the ruler. See Fotino, *Istoria*, 265-266, 275-276.
[36] For details regarding the boyar Sandu Sturza see Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu, *Din lumea cronicarului Ion Neculce. Studiu prosopografic* (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2018), 498–507

most powerful boyar families and would have brought him even closer to the Racovitza lineage, from which princes had been recruited for the thrones of the two Principalities. The marriage that he requested with such insistence, two years after the celebration of the betrothal, also had a very practical aim: the protection of the business that he had left in Iași on his move to Wallachia.[37] He thus had much to gain. The materialisation of the marriage, however, raised problems. These were much more political than religious in nature. The confessional difference between the Orthodox Ancuța Sturdza and the Catholic François-Thomas Linchou is nowhere mentioned, and the betrothal had already been celebrated without this minor detail proving an impediment.[38] It was not here that the problem lay, therefore, but rather in the status of the two persons: Ancuța Sturdza belonged to the boyar elite and was a Moldavian subject under the authority of Prince Matthew Ghika, and implicitly, that of the Ottoman Empire; as such, she needed a permit of passage and the agreement of the Prince for the finalisation of the marriage. François-Thomas Linchou was a mere merchant, a French subject resident in the Levant, and would have to submit to the laws of France.[39] The ambassador of France in Istanbul was agreeable to a compromise, promising that he would 'turn a blind eye' if the marriage took place, but he pointed out that 'no French person in the Levant can marry without the agreement of the Minister [of the Navy].' In other words, the French diplomatic representative in the Levant might tolerate the match, but he asked Linchou to write directly to the Minister of the Navy specifying his reasons for disregarding the 'general rule.'[40] As he had left a considerable quantity of unsold wax in Moldavia, in the care of his brothers, François-Thomas desperately needed this marriage to prevent the confiscation of his goods and the ruin of his trade.[41] His

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[37] Filitti, *Lettres*, 376.

[38] According to the Orthodox canon law, such an alliance is forbidden. See *Îndreptarea legii (1652)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1962), 179–180.

[39] For the matrimonial strategies of French merchants in the Levant see Edhem Eldem, 'The French *Nation* of Constantinople in the Eighteenth Century as Reflected in the Saints Peter and Paul Parish Records, 1740-1800', in *French Mediterraneans: Transnational and Imperial Histories* ed. Patricia M.E. Lorcin and Todd Shepard, (Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 2016), 131–159.

[40] Filitti, *Lettres*, 165–166. The understanding shown by Vergennes may be explained by the fact that he was in a similar relationship. Unable to marry Anne Testa, née Vivier, the widow of a Genoese doctor from Pera, he was to live in concubinage until 1768. Marriage would result in his being called back from his post. For more details see Orville T. Murphy *Charles Gravier, Comte De Vergennes: French Diplomacy in the Age of Revolution, 1719–1787* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), 167–170.

[41] From his letter to the ambassador, it emerges that he had invested a considerable sum of money in the wax business, which, now with the return of Constantine Racovitza to Moldavia, he hoped, somehow, to recover. See his letter of 27 March 1757 (Filitti, *Lettres*, 217). Wax was one of the most important commercial products of interest to Phanariot princes, Turkish merchants and the Ottoman administration alike. For example, on 15 June 1755, the princely larder bought a considerable quantity of wax from merchants in Moldavia, and then sent it, through the merchant Mustafa Hagi Emir, to the market in Constantinople (Romanian Academy Library, Fond Documente Istorice, XII/34, 35, 36). In the same period, Sultan Mahmud I sent an order to the two princes to facilitate the acquisition by the Porte of a quantity of wax but to forbid the selling of this product to 'enemy territories'. See

argumentation hinges on the fluidity of the borders of the Levant: the Romanian lands belong to Christendom, not to the Levant. As such, he is a Frenchman sent on a mission to the Prince of Wallachia with the agreement of the King, who should take into account the services rendered and grant him this favour: 'je présume donc que la Cour me fairont la grâce de ne point désaprouver un mariage qui m'est avantageaux.'[42] This is the status that he needs now: a Frenchman in a Christian country and not a Frenchman in the Levant. But he also needs to belong to the local boyar class, in the interests of social integration. All these forms of status are turned to his advantage when necessary: 'Permettes-moi, Monseigneur, de vous représenter qu'il y a quelques différences entre moy et les autres François qui sont établis en Levant, attendu que je suis icy avec la connoissance et même l'aprobation de la Cour; outre qu'on peut regarder ce pays comme une partie de la Chretienneté et exclue du Levant. D'ailleurs ma residance icy est incertaine, et il se peut que je sois obligé d'y rester un très long temps.'[43] Social differences constitute another weak point in the contract: François-Thomas Linchou is a mere functionary in the service of Prince Constantine Racovitza, while Ancuţa Sturdza belongs to the highest rank of the Moldavian boyar class and is related to the most important boyar families, being a first cousin of the same Constantine Racovitza. In the interests of social equilibrium, François-Thomas insistently requests that he be granted a noble title by the King of France, Louis XV, emphasising his merits in the service of the kingdom.[44]

Like all expatriates, François-Thomas Linchou and his brothers acquired a certain amount of linguistic, legislative and administrative knowledge, which they used in daily life. From this point of view, it would be interesting to know a number of small details regarding their everyday social life: what sort of language did François-Thomas use to communicate with the locals; what sort of clothes did he wear; what sort of house did he have; and with which circle of friends and acquaintances did he socialise in Iaşi and Bucharest?

On 19 December 1756, François-Thomas Linchou wrote to the French ambassador in Poland, Charles-François de Broglio, suggesting that he intervene before the king setting up a consulate in the Romanian lands.[45] The idea was not new: it had been raised by other French subjects who had tried to do business in the Romanian lands and had realised the necessity of diplomatic protection through a consulate. François-Thomas, however, was more insistent and more argumentative, out of highly personal motives. After petitioning the conte de Vergennes for the

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Valeriu Veliman, *Relaţiile româno-otomane, 1711–1821. Documente turceşti* (Bucharest: Arhivele Statului, 1984), 315–318.

[42] Filitti, Lettres, 169–170.

[43] Filitti, *Lettres*, 169–170, 5 January 1757, Bucharest.

[44] AAE, Correspondance Politique, Pologne, vol. 250, f. 529. 'Les lettres de noblesse contribueront beaucoup a terminer mon marriage avec la cousine germaine du prince qui seroit tres avantageux', 19 December 1756.

[45] AAE, Correspondance Politique, Pologne, vol. 250, ff. 528–529.

erection of a consulate,[46] he then urged the conte de Broglio, who was in Paris, to request a French consul in Moldavia, and he even proposed a person for the job: his brother, who had been in Iași for six years and spoke 'the language of the country'.[47] Elsewhere, Maurice Linchou describes his and his sons' integration in Moldavian society as making good progress. 'We are quite well, as if we were in the middle of France,' he writes on 11 September 1753 to Ambassador Des Alleurs. At the same time, speaking of one of his sons, he presents him as 'known and respected by the whole people,' and especially by 'the commandant here [Galați] and his servants'.[48]

Having lived for a time in Istanbul, the Linchou family were familiar with the Oriental costume worn in the Romanian lands, and used it for protection against any hostility and to ease their social integration. Such clothing duality was accepted in the period, and served a person's immediate interests, especially when the nature of their profession required them to travel through various empires. Even the French ambassador, Vergennes,[49] adopted Oriental costume, and so did the Linchou brothers, adapting to their surroundings. The adoption of a specific local costume facilitated their access to the trading networks with which they formed business connections; similarly the Romanian language (and presumably also Greek) helped them to communicate and, most importantly, to conduct business. Thus, François-Thomas Linchou (and the whole family) took essential steps in the process of identification, adopting the lifestyle specific to the social elite among whom they pursued their activity. In Iași, François-Thomas began a 'family' life, living with a certain Vasilica, through whom he bought vineyards and estates in Bucium, a village close to the city. His concubine (as the documents label her: Romanian *țiitoare*), followed Thomas on his journeys between Iași and Bucharest, as Prince Constantine Racovitza moved from one capital to the other.[50] Speaking the language of the country, adopting the costume of the local elite, buying estates and living with a local woman, had not François-Thomas Linchou assimilated all the criteria that designated him as an Ottoman subject (*re'âyâ*)?

Re'âyâ vs. François

Returning now to the candle business, it should be explained that the artisan of the Linchou business ventures was in the first place François-Thomas Linchou. As the political and diplomatic interface for the commercial dealings of the Linchou Company, François-Thomas got involved in and in fact took charge of the solution of this dispute. The litigation ended up being presented in Iași before the Prince, in Giurgiu before the kadi, in Bucharest before the vizier and the aga, and in Constantinople before the Divan. The venture brought to the foreground invented

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[46] AAE, Correspondance Politique, Pologne, vol. 250, ff. 330-333, 1 July 1756, Linchou to Broglio.
[47] AAE, Correspondance Politique, Pologne, vol. 250, ff. 528-529.
[48] Filitti, *Lettres*, 91-93.
[49] See the portraits of the French consul and his wife by Antoine de Favray in the Pera Museum.
[50] Caproșu, *Documente*, V, 532-533.

identities, forged documents, networks and favours, used now by one side, now by the other. At present I can only give the point of view expressed by the Linchou family in their numerous correspondences with the ambassador of France in Istanbul, as I do not yet have access to more documents that would complete the picture.[51]

It seems that six months after the erection of the candle factory, Joseph Linchou, one of the brothers, was unhappy with the progress of the venture. Consequently he closed the factory and confiscated all the goods in the shop in order to recover the money he had invested: 'Seeing that Sterio was squandering the capital, because of his bad behaviour, Joseph Linchou withdrew all the goods that were to be found in the shop in order to recover his capital and put the business in order.' Sterio owed 3,800 piastres. He did not have the money, and thus ended up in the debtors' prison. From this point on, a long revenge fell upon the Linchou brothers, who were dragged all over the Empire, sometimes in irons, often blackmailed, suffering violation of the privacy of their home in the middle of the night, and sent into exile or suffered the humiliation of the confiscation of their property. Each time, the key point of defence concerned identity: when Sterio brought the case before the Sultan, Joseph Linchou was cited as a *re'âyâ* with business on Moldavian territory, while his brother, the experienced François-Thomas requested a *firmân* stating that Joseph was French, and thus benefitted from protection.[52] According to the capitulations concluded between France and the Ottoman Empire,[53] a French subject could not be dragged out of his home, as had happened to Joseph: 'The *çavuş* (executive agent) came into Linchou's house to seize him, which is contrary to the capitulations, for the house of a Frenchman may not be entered no matter where he is in Turkey.'[54] The *çavuş* sent by the Imperial Divan had even, François-Thomas believes, violated the laws of Moldavia, which stated 'that he may not enter any house and that he must read the *firmân* before the Prince and request the person sought by the Porte.'[55] Without respecting the capitulations or the laws of Moldavia, the imperial *çavuş* had taken Joseph in irons, after he had been cited repeatedly to stand opposite Sterio before the Imperial Divan, a treatment which

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[51] Despite searching a considerable number of Romanian archive fonds, I have been unable to find information about the Greek candlemaker Sterio. I have, however, found similar cases, which can provide information about how such litigation proceeded.

[52] The dispute involved two foreigners pursuing commercial activities on the territory of the Danubian Principalities. Sterio the *Greek* identifies himself according to stage of litigation and the courts he addresses: princely subject when he appeals to princely judgement, Ottoman subject when addresses the Ottoman courts. Cases between two foreigners were, as a rule, judged by the local courts, unless there was a numerous and well-organised community, as was the case of the Jews.

[53] Maurice H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beratlis in the 18th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[54] 'Le chaoux est venu dans la maison de Linchou pour l'y prendre, ce qui est contraire aux capitulations, puisqu'on ne peut entrer dans la maison d'un François dans quelque endroit de la Turquie que ce soit.' See Filitti, *Lettres*, 394–395.

[55] Filitti, *Lettres*, 394–395.

François-Thomas judged to be 'contraire à l'honneur de la nation françoise.'[56] More than that, the honour of the Prince of Moldavia was injured by such a violent intrusion, which had resulted in aggressive behaviour towards the officials who requested that the Moldavian laws be respected. 'The Greeks say,' writes François-Thomas, 'that a subject (*re'âyâ*) would have resolved this matter by now, even if he had not enjoyed protection' as a French subject did, and that 'Sterio would have received exemplary punishment.' The very reputation of France had been affected by the prolongation of the matter, and by the non-involvement of the ambassador in the protection of the French and the defence of their rights. 'The eyes of Moldavia are on us, curious to see what direction this matter will take,' declaimed François-Thomas, ceaselessly invoking 'the honour of the nation' and implicitly 'the honour of the French.'[57] The rhetoric of the Frenchman's defence is obvious. In fact, Christian merchants from Moldavia and Wallachia, Ottoman subjects, often appealed to the judgement of the Imperial Divan, unhappy with the sentences or mediation offered by the local authorities, thus providing an occasion for the repeated interference of Ottoman envoys in the justice system.

Honour, nation, rights, protection are words that fashion the identity of a Frenchman. For Thomas-François Linchou, the capitulations are above any law; in fact, he shares the opinion of other Westerners regarding 'the primacy of the capitulations'.[58] The status of *re'âyâ* is invoked only to obtain privileges or to force the resolution of a conflict. François-Thomas's attempt to combine his two identities and to enjoy only the advantages of each ultimately costs him his head.

On 14 March 1760, he was decapitated before Sultan Mustafa III, accused of grave offence to the Empire in his desperate attempt to restore Constantine Racovitza to the throne of Moldavia. The French embassy proved unable to give a definite answer to the Reis Effendi's questions: 'was Linchou a genuine Frenchman; was his service to the Prince compatible with this status; and as had he ever paid tribute to the Grand Seignior'?[59] The Frenchman's death on the 'scaffold' took the French embassy in Constantinople by surprise. It had not had time to build a defence, or even to know the charges. According to Ambassador Vergennnes, Linchou fell prey to his own intrigues, wishing to 'make himself useful to Prince Constantine Racovitza, to whom he had linked his fate.' Getting involved in a series of 'schemes', Linchou had apparently written a number of letters that were somewhat damaging to the Ottoman court, claiming that he had the agreement of the grand vizier.[60] It was the interception of the letters that led to his decapitation, confirming

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[56] Filitti, *Lettres*, 394-395.
[57] Filitti, *Lettres*, 394-395.
[58] Boogert, *The Capitulations*, 21.
[59] AAE, Fond Correspondence Politique, Turquie, vol. 136, f. 68.
[60] See 'Relation du supplice de S. Linchou condamné comme traître et sediciuex par la Porte', written by the first dragoman of the French Embassy, Deval, and attached to a letter of 17 March 1769. AAE, Fond Correspondence Politique, Turquie, vol. 136, f. 66–70; AN. Correspondance Consulaire. Constantinople, AE/B/I/437, ff. 9-10, 13-14.

his character as an "adventurer", and thus merging him with the 'Greeks' of the Empire, who were often so described in diplomatic correspondence.[61]

However, Linchou had made so many efforts to fashion Moldavian status, albeit only for the sake of privileges, that rumour had already assigned to him the identity of a 'rebel Moldavian boyar', far from that of an honourable Frenchman. 'Dass sie ihn nicht als einen Franken sondern als einen aufrührerichen moldauer Boyaren ansähen, der das Leben verwirket hätte,' writes Schwachhein, the Viennese ambassador, to Chancellor Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, on 18 March 1760.[62] If, in the eyes of the Turks, Linchou had put on the clothes of a rebel Moldavian boyar, to his conationals, the French Levant merchants, he had become an immoral 'Greek', who had dishonoured the French nation by his behaviour and as such deserved to die. In their petition, the French merchants expressed their concern with inability of their king to protect his subjects. They state that, together with his Greek clothes, Linchou has taken up tastes, manners and morals such as only Greeks are capable of, going so far as to maintain a harem in the Moldavian capital.[63] This behaviour has separated him from the honour of the French nation, noted the French merchants in the memoir, hiding behind the anonymity of the group. As Stephen Greenblatt pointed out, such constant adoption of new 'masks' would inevitably lead to 'some loss of self.'[64] Although repeatedly invoking 'the honour of being French,' François-Thomas Linchou seems to have had difficulties in his attempts to integrate himself in the community of French merchants in the Levant. The latter claimed that Linchou became a *veritable Greek*, since not even the Turks could distinguish him any more from the other subjects of the Empire.[65] After the tragic event, the French authorities tried to distance themselves from the 'adventurer' Linchou, who had linked himself too closely to the 'Greek prince,'[66] thus by his behaviour forfeiting any claim to French consular protection.[67]

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[61] On this topic see the memoir 'Caractère des gens du pays, leur commerce', AAE, Correspondence Politique, Turquie, Suppl. 15, ff. 105-107, 1751, Constantinople.

[62] Nicolae Iorga, *Documente privitoare la familia Calimachi* (Bucharest, 1903), II, 410.

[63] 'On a souffert que le Sieur Linchou se vouat au service d'un Prince Grec de Moldavie, eut serrail de femmes dans la capitale de la province, et déshonnorât enfin le nom français.' Mihordea, *Politica*, 527.

[64] Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning : From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2-9.

[65] 'Il semble que l'habit donne les goûts, les manières, et souvent les mœurs de ceux qui les portent dès que les Turcs ne nous distinguent plus, ils ne sont pas fâchés de punir sur un Français travesti l'insolence apparente d'un Grec qui devant eux ose de méconnaître.' Mihordea, *Politica*, 527. On his death in 1760, François-Thomas Linchou had a single son from a relationship with a woman from Istanbul. This natural son would inherit all his wealth. (Iorga, *Documente*, II, 411, no. 30).

[66] On 10 October 1762, Ambassador Vergennes wrote to the French ambassador in Poland, Antoine-René de Voyer, marquis de Paulny: 'la mort du Sieur Linchou, nous est étrangère, celui-ci ayant pris le service d'un prince Grec et s'étant mal adroitement engagé dans des intrigues très criminelles il en a été la triste victime.' AAE, Correspondence Politique, Pologne, vol. 273, f. 632.

[67] On 3 May 1760, Etienne-François de Choiseuil wrote to Vergennes: 'Vous avez fait, Monsieur, tout ce qui pouvoit dépendre de vous pour sauver le Sieur Linchou, mais il faut convenir que le crime dont il a été accusé et dont il a en quelque sorte fait l'aveu au Sieur Deval meritoit le supplice auquel il a été

François-Thomas Linchou donned the clothes of identity according to context and interest, adapting to the times but always seeking protection behind 'the honour of the French nation.' Others would categorise him sometimes as *Moldavian*, sometimes as *Greek*, starting from the exterior and public manifestations of this French subject in search of social recognition.

Conclusion

On 20 December 1842, the Collège Archéologique et Généalogique de France accepted the titles of nobility presented by Phillipe Jean-Baptiste de Linche for admission as a titular member.[68] Phillipe Linche (or Linchou), the nephew of François-Thomas Linchou[69] had succeeded where his uncle had failed: he had reached the highest level of the Wallachian boyar class, married a boyaress and accumulated a vast fortune. Having become a boyar and high office holder (under the name of Filip Lenș), with a mansion on the Mogoșoaia Road[70], the main artery of Bucharest, Phillipe returned to his French noble roots, going back to the Linche de Moissac branch.[71]

The Linchou case speaks of the multiple processes of identification that individuals could use to traverse and adapt to empires. The distinction between locals (i. e. *pământenii* in Romanian) and outsiders (i.e. *străinii* in Romanian) highlights a complex network of identity and status in which the boundaries of 'Greekness', 'Moldavianness' or 'Frenchness' appear somewhat fluid.

The story of the Linchou family is work in progress that highlights the evolution of the status of the foreigner in the Romanian lands in the course of a century. In the eighteenth century, foreigners were omnipresent, found in all strata of society, but it was only at the end of the century that an institutional and administrative debate took place, with the setting up of foreign consulates in the Romanian lands. Under pressure from the consulates, the Chancelleries for Foreign

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condamné. Nous ne pouvons pas exiger que l'article 22 de nos capitulations avec la Porte, renouvellées les 28 May 1740 soit applicables aux crimes de lése Majesté et de trahison en matière d'Etat.' AAE, Correspondance Politique, Turquie, vol. 136, f. 98v.

[68] Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereinafter: BNF), Fond Roumain 6. Documents généalogiques et administratifs relatifs aux familles de Linche et Carpinișanu (1570–1855), f. 300.

[69] Philippe was the son of Jean-Baptiste Linchou, who settled in Wallachia after the death of his brother, first as a teacher of foreign languages and then as princely secretary at the court of Alexander Ypsilanti (1774-1782). The identity of his mother is uncertain. Jean-Alexandre Vaillant names a certain Maria Hodivoaianu, who he believes was a freed slave of the great boyar Constantin Filipescu, in whose entourage the young Filip Lenș grew up (Jean-Alexandre Vaillant, *La Roumanie, ou Histoire, langue, littérature, orographie, statistique des peuples de la langue d'or, Ardialiens, Vallaques et Moldaves, résumés sur le nom de Romans* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand Editeur, 1844), vol. 2, 311.

[70] The house exists to this day, under the address Calea Victoriei 133 and is managed by Writers' Union of Romania. Despite being one of the oldest and most beautiful mansions in Bucharest, it currently houses a casino.

[71] The first part of this Linchou file, deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale on 22 July 1929, by Alexandre de Linche de Moissac, gathers documents from the years 1570–1650 regarding the connections of the Linche family with Moissac. See BNF, Fond Roumain 6, ff. 1–47.

Cases began their activity,[72] with responsibilities including resolving litigation of '*sudit* [foreign protégé] with *raia* [*re'aya*]' or '*sudit* with *sudit* of different protection.'[73] The Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire, such as Sterio the Greek, the candle-maker, integrated relatively quickly in the Romanian lands because of their faith and political proximity, and were assimilated into the social fabric, while Christians of different confessions (Catholic, Armenian or Protestant) bore the mark of difference. This was the situation of the Linchou family, who managed to integrate by way of commerce but would never manage to penetrate the social fabric of the community. Ultimately, François-Thomas Linchou adapted to every situation, trying to make as much profit as possible for himself and his family. It was this adaptability[74] that was held against him from all sides, the adaptability that helped him to survive, but negated the attributes of a distinct French nation in the Levant.

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[72] Exactly when these departments were founded in Wallachia and Moldavia remains unclear. For Wallachia there is as yet no study on the subject. If we are to believe the disposition given by John *Vodă* Caradja, the Chancellery for Foreign Cases functioned there from the end of November 1812 (Arhivele Naţionale Istorice Centrale (hereinafter ANIC), Fond Manuscrise, Ms. 1073, f. 2, 29 November 1812). For Moldavia, Stela Marieş maintains that the respective Chancellery was founded some time between 1777 and 1780. Stela Mărieş, *Supuşii străini din Moldova în perioada 1781–1862* (Iaşi: Editura Universitatea Al. I. Cuza, 1985), 40.

[73] ANIC, Fond Manuscrise, Ms. 1073, f. 1, 30 November 1812.

[74] See Ian Coller, 'East of Enlightenment: Regulating Cosmopolitanism between Istanbul and Paris in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of World History* 21 (2010), no.3: 447–70.

Iordache Filipescu, the 'last great boyar' of Wallachia and his heritage: a world of power, influence and goods[1]

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Abstract

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This study explores the manner in which two competing empires, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, acted through material culture and diplomacy to strengthen their influence in a territory lying at the periphery of Europe. To this end, the distribution, rhetoric and reception of the awarding of decorations is analysed, starting from the case of the great Romanian boyar Iordache Filipescu. Wallachia, an Ottoman province under Russian protectorate, in what is today south-eastern Romania, was at a moment of transition on the political level. Attracting loyalties and creating local action networks became diplomatic strategies, and one way in which pro-Ottoman and pro-Russian groupings may be traced in the Romanian space is through the intermediary of decorations. They transpose at the public level merits and services rendered to one of the two powers, but it is necessary to trace at the individual and family level the extent to which loyalty won in this way continued to exist. The message that the decorations transmitted remained a deceptive one: their possession was not equivalent to a transfer of power towards the holder in comparison with his compatriots, just as it did not guarantee complete adherence to the cause of the issuing power.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Russia, Wallachia, diplomacy

Ce nom de Philipesco est le grand nom de la Valachie, et le grand boyard qui le porte, l'idole du Roumain, qui retrouve en lui ce type national qu'il voit s'effacer a regret de jour en jour. Si Georges Philipesco, reniant ses somptueux habits, coupait sa longue barbe blanche, et abandonnait le kalpak d'Astrakan, cette apostasie causerait une douleur générale, qui prendrait les proportions d'un deuil public dans le peuple de la grande ville; et l'artiste, avide du spectacle encore si curieux de ce poétique pays, ne saurait désormais où retrouver le seul vestige élégant et splendide d'une société dont la

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réalité ne sera plus bientôt qu'un souvenir confus. (Charles Doussault, 'Église de Saint-Georges à Bucarest' in *L'Illustration*, no. 566, 31 décembre 1853, 445).[2]

Charles Doussault (1814–1880), French painter and illustrator, became known as an Orientalist painter following his journeys to the Ottoman Empire; he also paid special attention to Wallachia, which he visited during the first half of the nineteenth century. There he became an integral part of society and was welcomed into boyars' homes and at court so much so that, in August 1843, he was invited by Prince Gheorghe Bibescu (1804–1873)[3] to be part of his delegation going to Constantinople to pay tribute to the sultan. In 1848, together with Michel Bouquet (1807–1890), he drew the illustrations for *Album Moldo-Valaque ou guide politique et pittoresque à travers les Principautés du Danube*, a work meant to introduce the Romanian territory to Europeans, commissioned by the former French Consul in Bucharest and friend of the Romanians Adolphe Billecocq (1800–1874).[4] Doussault's notes about Wallachia appeared in the magazine *L'Illustration* during the Crimean War (1853–1856), as timely a publication as the above-mentioned album, enabling Westerners to better acquaint themselves with a space and a people much talked about on the political scene. At that moment, the menace of war was at the horizon as Russia occupied the Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in July 1853[5] and there was a strong public sympathy for the Ottoman Empire seen as a victim of its expansionist neighbour.[6] The author brings to the forefront the great boyar Gheorghe (Iordache) Filipescu, as the representative figure of both the Romanian *ancien régime* and the Ottoman Empire. Filipescu was the point of reference that gave Doussault the opportunity to discuss the need for a transition in changing regimes without deviating from contemporary politics, while serving, at the same time, the interests of his friends, the Romanians. The Frenchman was no 'armchair traveller', and used his acquired experience for diplomatic gains. His country

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[2] 'This name of Filipescu is the great name of Wallachia, and the great boyar who bears it, the idol of the Romanian, who finds in him the national type that he is sorry to see disappearing day by day. If Gheorghe Filipescu, renouncing his sumptuous garments, cut his long white beard and abandoned his Astrakhan kalpak, this apostasy would cause general distress, which would take on the proportions of public mourning among the common people of the great city; and the artist, avid for the still so curious spectacle of this poetic country, would no longer know where to find the only elegant and splendid vestige of a society whose reality will soon be no more than a confused memory'.

[3] Gheorghe Bibescu, Prince (*hospodar*) of Wallachia (1843-1848). On his reign see Georges Bibesco, *Roumanie: Règne de Bibesco*, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1893-1894).

[4] Adolphe Etienne Billecocq, French consul in Bucharest (1839–1846). He wrote *Le nostre Prigioni! Ou le journal de Billecocq, diplomate français,* 2 vols. (Paris: Cosson, 1849-1850) while another part of his journal is at Romanian Academy Library cf. *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea*, serie nouă, vol. V (1847-1851) ed. Daniela Bușă (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2009), 38-114.

[5] Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State, 1821-1878* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 55-60.

[6] Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 87-98. Later France, Britain and Sardinia will become the allies of the Porte against Russia.

was the first European ally of the Porte;[7] it had economic privileges and its actions were coordinated with the recently founded Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1836), whose aim was to react to Russia's diplomatic endeavours in a modern European manner.[8]

As early as the reign of Peter I, but especially during that of Catherine II, Russia was extending its empire to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire, the hostility between the two powers leading to the repeated Russian–Turkish wars in the region. By the Peace of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774), Russia gained control of the Crimea and commercial access to the Black Sea, became the protector of the Christians of the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) and Greece (including the Aegean Islands) and obtained permission to open diplomatic representations in the Ottoman Empire.[9] The response that Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) sought to give through his military reform programme at the military level[10] did not achieve the expected result, and the Peace of Bucharest (1812) led to the loss of Bessarabia too. From 1821, Moldavia and Wallachia, the native land of the great boyar described by Doussault, were no longer governed by Phanariots, ruling princes of Greek origin from the Phanar district of Constantinople, but by local rulers. Later, by the treaty of Adrianople (1829), the Principalities came under the protectorate of Russia, which also gained the right to administer them and to occupy them with troops until the Porte paid the reparations that it owed.

That Russia's influence was increasing is beyond doubt, and indeed for a moment it turned from a traditional enemy of the Ottoman Empire into its ally against the growing power that Muhammad Ali Pasha was gaining in Asia. This was support given out of strategic interest and in a predominantly Muslim territory, not that of the Christians that it protected. The Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi (1833) revealed the goal: Russian control over the Dardanelles. The reward received by Russia for its assistance worried European diplomacy, which reacted immediately. The two empires returned to their former hostility in the Crimean War (1853–1856) and the war of 1877–1878 which culminated in the gaining of independence for Romania, Serbia and Montenegro. By the Treaty of Paris (1856), the Ottoman Empire entered the 'Concert

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[7] Christine Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant. Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 17–18.

[8] Doğan Gürpinar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy. A Political, Social and Cultural History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 57–85.

[9] Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy. War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon* (London: I.B Tauris, 2013), 287; Jelavich, *Russia and the formation of the Romanian national state, 1821-1878*, 5-6.

[10] Tuncay Zorlu, *Innovation and Empire in Turkey. Sultan Selim III and the Modernisation of the Ottoman Navy* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008), who presents the role of foreign missions (French, Swedish and British technicians) and Ottoman specialists in consonance with the new administrative regulations. However, due to internal and external factors the modernisation process did not have the expected rapid positive outcome (166). On how the new measures were implemented see Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 180-213.

of Europe' launched by the Congress of Vienna (1815), which sought to maintain the security of borders. However at that moment there was already a 'pattern in the Balkans […] confusing in its detail but clear in overall direction.'[11] Through the intermediary of diplomatic meetings, territorial losses took place so that the balance of power between Russia and the Porte might be maintained. The challenge of reconciling 'forces of movement' that manifested themselves at the local level, in provinces, with 'forces of order'[12] emanating from the centre was a general one at the European level. For Russia and the Ottoman Empire it became necessary both for an extensive diplomatic system to be implemented, efficient and organized and consonant with that of the West,[13] and for actions to be carried out at local level to ensure the cooperation of the elite.

The importance of local leaders had proved crucial for the stability and durability of Ottoman presence in border areas and peripheral territories. Ali Pasha of Ioannina, Osman Pasvantoğlu from Vidin or Muhammad Ali in Egypt are handy examples to show the volatility of ruling over such territories. Ali Yaycioğlu has argued that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire, following other unsuccessful options, chose partnership between central and local elites as a solution to its problems.[14] Regardless of the path chosen, the aim was adaptation to the changes taking place at the European level.[15] Christine Philliou showed that the 'expansion of diplomacy as a factor in Ottoman court politics'[16] made the empire to react to what happened in Europe and the examples are Stephanos Vogorides and his family.[17] To accommodate to the new diplomatic situation, the Porte established a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, permanent embassies and a Translation Office, all new initiatives that emerged under the reign of Selim III and were reinforced under his successors.[18]

This context also shows the dynamic between the two powers on the periphery of Europe: one growing to the detriment of the other and both wishing to adapt and to remain active in the general diplomatic game, without, however, this putting their territory at risk. Thus, there were four levels of connection: 1) between both Russia

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[11] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 56.

[12] Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy*, 353-4.

[13] M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 123.

[14] Ali Yaycioğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 14–15.

[15] Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[16] Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 130.

[17] Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 170-173 through Vogoride's son-in-law Constantine Musurus who was Ottoman representative in London and also his son, Alexander, governor of Eastern Roumelia.

[18] Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, 132-135; Gürpinar, *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy*, 59-62; Ömer Kürkçüoglu, 'The Adoption and Use of Permanent Diplomacy' in *Ottoman Diplomacy. Conventional or Unconventional?* ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 114-130.

and the Ottoman Empire and the West; 2) between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, as neighbouring and often competing powers; 3) between one of these powers and a province of the other; and 4) between the Western powers and the provinces of these two empires. The opening of diplomatic representations followed this route that linked the capitals of Europe to Russia and the Ottoman Empire and then to the capitals of their provinces. For Wallachia this comes after the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774), when the Great Powers open consulates in Bucharest: Russia in 1782, Austria in 1783 while France and Britain in 1803.[19]

The present study seeks to shed light on the way in which both province (Wallachia) and centres, traditional (the suzerain power, the Ottoman Empire) and new (the protecting power, the Russian Empire), interacted in a game of power, using members of the elite and the networks built around them. The case of Iordache Filipescu is the starting point from which may be observed the manner in which objects of a diplomatic character, specifically decorations, were used by the boyars for the display of political loyalty and the maintenance of aspirations to the title of Ruler of Wallachia. For this purpose, two concepts are important: that of network and that of political loyalty. The social sciences have defined and made use of the first concept, and in applying it to history, Peter S. Bearman has come to the conclusion that, in the case of the elite, networks help to better position individuals in society because they constitute 'a structure of tangible social relations in which persons are embedded.'[20] Such a structure permits a fluidity of culture, in our case diplomatic culture, and through the intermediary of the activities that individuals produce, identities are generated.[21] A European diplomatic network comprising London, Constantinople, St. Petersburg and Bucharest displays increasing complexity as it incorporates other locations and comes to resemble Paul McLean's 'triads', whose fundamental characteristics are hierarchy, reachability and centrality.[22] None of these nodes remains always the same; rather they change according to their relations with the others and with the centre around which they gravitate. What counts is closeness and the resonance that it has, the difference lying precisely in the relation.

As Stephan Fuchs shows:

> The core has a very firm and highly selective boundary; the overall network's boundary shifts and expands, with no clear rules or criteria for extension or contraction. In the

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[19] Keith Hitchins, *Românii, 1774-1866*, 3rd edition, translated by George G. Potra, Delia Răzdolescu (București: Humanitas, 2013), 63, 64, 67, 71. For Serbia, which was also under the Russian protectorate after the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), this happened only later: 1835 (Austria), 1837 (Britain), 1838 (France) cf. Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 241.
[20] Peter S. Bearman, *Relations into Rhetorics: Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk England, 1540-1840* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993) apud Michael P. Hanagan, 'Cliometrics and Quantification' in *Encyclopedia of European Social History*, ed. Peter N. Stearns (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 113.
[21] Paul McLean, *Culture in Networks* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017), 24.
[22] McLean, *Culture in Networks,* 32-40.

peripheries, there is more uncertainty and ambivalence. Relations among nodes are more indirect, loosely coupled, and fragmented here. The paths extend into more unknown and uncertain territory, and there are fewer signs pointing home, to the core.[23]

At micro level, elite local families make use of primary (status, wealth, power) and secondary (lineage, control of land/estates, patron-client networking, titles as part of prestige) features in their relationship with the centre and society.[24] In direct connection with this is the concept of loyalty, which was for these political actors multi-layered and in continuous change, depending on political events and their regional and local implications.[25]

The Filipescu Family, Wallachia and Relations with Russia and the Ottoman Empire

In 1853, when writing for *L'Illustration*, Charles Doussault also made a sketch of Iordache Filipescu (see picture), close in representation to how his compatriot Louis Dupré depicted in his lithographs Ali Pasha of Iannina and Michael Soutsos, the Prince of Moldavia.[26] There were other old boyars who had not given up the old clothes, but Iordache Filipescu exuded an Oriental opulence. And this, in a time when under the Russian protectorate and administration, the Romanian elites largely embraced the French language and culture as vehicles of Westernisation, continuing a process that had started under the Phanariotes. Under the Russian administration led by general Pavel Dmitrievich Kiselev they adopted the first Romanian constitution (*The Organic Regulation*, 1831) and started

Courtesy of the 'Nicolae Iorga' Institute of History (Romanian Academy)

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[23] Stephan Fuchs, *Against Essentialism. A Theory of Culture and Society* (Cambridge–London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 289.

[24] Antonis Anastasopoulos, 'Introduction', in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Crete: Crete University Press, 2005), xxi–xxii.

[25] Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer and Robert Pichler, 'Introduction', in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans. The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, ed. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer and Robert Pichler (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 5–7, 12.

[26] Louis Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, ou Collection de portraits, de vues et de costumes grecs et ottomans peints sur les lieux, d'après nature, lithographiés et coloriés* (Paris : Imprimerie de Dondey- Dupré, 1825).

social-cultural reforms.[27]

Doussault observed the aspirations of the younger generation, captured the transition from the old to the new, and raised the question of whether elites could suddenly give up being Oriental (Turkish) to become Western.

But there is another component that makes Filipescu a typical example of the Oriental tradition, a component that does not transpire from Doussault's account, but from old family testimonials and from internal documents. While he is the protagonist and his family an emblem, Iordache Filipescu is better understood by assessing the knowledge and aspirations he had received from his father and, in his turn, passed down to his son.

The Filipescu family was one of the local boyar families (*boieri pământeni*) who managed to maintain their leadership position in Wallachia even after the arrival of the Phanariots, Greeks sent by the Porte to rule the principality. They appreciated culture[28], and cultivated their diplomatic sense, etiquette and refinement without completely abandoning the spirit and customs of their country. Iordache Filipescu's ancestors were successively in conflict with both the Phanariotes and the Russians. His grandfather was sent in exile to Mount Athos by the former while his father, Dinu, was punished twice. The first time it was by the Russians because he used various methods to spy for the Turks and their French allies during the Russian–Turkish war of 1806–1812. While little is known about this aspect of his life, his activities were consequential and they led to the Russians losing the Battle of Giurgiu (24 March 1809). In the opinion of Russian General Langeron, these effects determined the situation of the Russian troops in this part of the Balkans.[29] When Dinu Filipescu came back from his first exile to Ecaterinoslav he held the position of treasurer during the reign of Phanariot Prince Gheorghe Caragea. He was in direct contact with well-known money-lenders such as Ion Hagi Moscu, Manuc Bey, or Sachelarie, who lent large sums of money and did business with the state.[30] He tried, unsuccessfully, to dethrone the

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[27] Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State, 1821-1878*, 31-33 on the separation of the executive and and legislative powers and the creation of a centralized state system; Dan Berindei (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tom. I (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2003), 85-90 adds information about the creation of a national Romanian army, welfare institutions, national archives and so on. Also Ioan C. Filitti, *Les Principautes Roumaines sous l'occupation russe (1828-1834). Le Reglement Organique. Étude de Droit Politique et d'histoire diplomatique* (București: Imprimerie de l'Independance Roumaine, 1904).

[28] Constantin Filipescu Căpitanul wrote *Istoriile domnilor țerii românești*, from the beginning to 1688, published by Nicolae Iorga in 1902. Constantin (Dinu), Iordache Filipescu's father, encouraged and sponsored cultural events, and Romanian poet Barbu Paris Mumuleanu was one of his protégés.

[29] *Mémoires de Langeron, général d'infanterie dans l'armée russe, campagnes de 1812, 1813, 1814*, publiés d'après le ms.original par L.G.F(abry) (Paris, 1902), 134; *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea*, I, ed. P. Cernovodeanu (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2004), 325.

[30] G. Ionnescu Gion, *Istoria Bucurescilor* (Bucuresti: Socec, 1899), 472. For example, only in 1816 Wallachia owed to Sachelarie 910.681 *thalers*; and to pay it back, the principality ceded the profits from one branch of its income (*husmeturi*) for a year. Ionescu, *Manuc Bei*, 113. On the importance of Manuc

Prince through various subversive measures,[31] and was ultimately sent back into exile under guard, this time to his estate in Bucov.

Thus, previous generations of Iordache Filipescu's family passed on to him political aspirations that he himself embraced. In 1834, at the height of his popularity, he stood as a candidate for the position of prince. In the end, one of the new political leaders defeated him and he decided to withdraw, although he was to be again among the candidates for the throne in 1842. Marquis Bois-de-Comte reports the explanation that Filipescu, reflecting his future endeavours, offered at a friendly meeting:

> We were three old men as candidates, he told me. The Russians dismissed the three of us and they were right to do so. Our ideas and feelings were obsolete. The new generation must have its own leaders. We have remarkable people to lead us: Ştirbei, Bibescu and others. Our duty is to watch, to council well and to object to unjust and hasty gestures. As soon as the prince comes, I will resign but I will stay in the Assembly (*Adunare*); I'm not completely without power.[32]

J.A. Vaillant, the French tutor of Iordache Filipescu's children, believed the Russians did not favour him because he was 'too humane and liberal'.[33] That he was considered humane is no surprise, since he was a philanthropist: his soup kitchen fed the poor on a daily basis, a tradition resembling Ottoman *imarets*.[34]

Gheorghe Bibescu, the man with whom he was in a competition for the position of prince in 1842, enjoyed dressing luxuriously and displaying his status, and shortly after his election he appeared in public wearing the Ottoman decoration of *Nişan-ı İftihar*, an object considered by the French consul 'ridiculement riche de diamants'.[35] This object provoked some discontent among the Russian diplomatic party in

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Bey's activity in South-eastern Europe see Ştefania Costache, 'From Ruscuk to Bessarabia: Manuk Bey and the Career of an Ottoman-Russian Middleman at the Beginning of the 19th Century in *Cihannüma. Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi Sayı* III/1 – Temmuz 2017, 23-43.

[31] V.A. Urechea, 'Justiţia sub Ioan Caragea', in *Analele Academiei Române*, seria II, tom XX. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice, 1898, 275, 277. On the attitudes of Romanian boyars towards the Porte and the Phanariotes see Victor Taki, 'The Russian Protectorate in the Danubian Principalities: Legacies of the Eastern Question in Contemporary Russian-Romanian Relations in *Russian-Ottoman Borderlands. The Eastern Question Reconsidered*, eds. Lucien J. Frary, Mara Kozelsky (London-Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 40-48.

[32] *Călători străini*, III, 163.

[33] *Călători străini*, IV, 362.

[34] Historian Amy Singer defines and contextualises the charitable institution of imarets, attributing to them three functions: 1) to distribute food; 2) to legitimise a dynasty and 3) 'a means of Ottomanization', as they were present, from the fourteenth century in many Ottoman towns such as Istanbul, Edirne, Iznik, Salonica, Belgrade, Mecca, Damascus etc. cf. Amy Singer, 'Imarets', in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London–New York: Routledge, 2012), 84. For more details see Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman beneficience: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002) and 'The "Michelin Guide" to Public Kitchens in the Ottoman Empire', in *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, ed. A. Singer (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010), 69–92.

[35] George Bibesco, *Roumanie*, tom. I (Paris: Plon, 1893), 257.

Bucharest. Establishing a custom that the tsar and the sultan should offer symbolic gifts to each other's envoys in the territory to mark a political understanding, on this occasion, the tsar had taken the first step by giving the Ottoman representative a tobacco case. The sultan likewise had sent the Russian consul, Dashkov, a tobacco case, but the latter considered it 'd'une valeur si ordinaire que celui-ci la montrait a ses intimes comme une expression fort douteuse de la munificence du Grand Seigneur.'[36] The example demonstrates Russian expectations in public diplomacy: how could a prince subordinate to them wear a decoration while the protecting power's envoy received only a tobacco case, albeit richly adorned? The misunderstanding was quickly resolved thanks to Bibescu himself, who intervened before the sultan for the Russian consul also to receive the precious Nişan-ı İftihar. Accepting hierarchy and knowing his political place in this ever-changing diplomatic world was something Iordache Filipescu was good at. Always in Oriental clothes, opulent but not such as to offend sentiments and pride, he left it to the princes to appear in public and in portraits wearing the insignia of both powers, suzerain and protector. He did not copy them in his gestures as even the other great boyars, elderly men like himself, tried to do.

Following the event, Prince Gheorghe Bibescu granted to Iordache Filipescu the title of 'first boyar' because: 'from times past [first boyar] was the rank which elevated the most venerable members of the nobility to the highest respect of the community.'[37] It was an attempt to make the former opponent a man of trust, a man of his own in a hierarchy of power. On the other hand, it was another type of formal recommendation that strengthened the social and political capital of Iordache Filipescu and underlined that 'office and ancestry are keynote features in the design of family honor'.[38] In what future family generations concerns, Iordache Filipescu's sons all abandoned political careers in favour of cultural and military lives, serving as officers in the Russian and Romanian armies.

Two Empires, one province and a relationship through orders and decorations

Constantin (1804–1848) should have succeeded Iordache as head of the family, but he died in 1848, seven years before his father. Constantin Filipescu's private documents contain references to goods belonging to his house in Bucharest and to his estate in Ciumaşi, most of which were either taken by his father or sold at public auction. Of interest to us is which of these items the great boyar kept: an arms collection; French books; accessories; horse, cart and harness for riding; jewellery (one ring and one gold watch) and decorations; furniture; foreign and Romanian wines and some clothes.

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[36] 'of such an insignificant value that he showed it to his friends as a very questionable expression of the munificence of the Grand Seigneur' Bibesco, *Roumanie*, 247.
[37] *Buletinul. Gazetă Administrativă* XII (1843), 449.
[38] Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network. Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 75.

Passionate about hunting and weapons in general, Constantin had a beautiful collection: a wide scimitar, a carbine rifle, swords of various origins, a soldier's rifle, a coral-handled knife, 'a machine for cleaning rifles' and many more.[39] That his father did not keep many of the clothes is no surprise: it was normal to give them away, since for poor people they were luxury items. The documents do not mention whether they were in good condition or not. A 'Turkish' coat was given to Pavel, a house servant, and Constantin's Turkish decoration was donated to the treasury, while his father kept the Russian one. His widow took over the rest of the movable goods and real estate in order to pass them down to their children.[40] Basically, Iordache Filipescu acquired what might be called masculine goods, mostly new or hardly used, including prestige objects such as the Russian decoration.

Starting from these items divided between Constantin's widow and father, I examine the practices and significations associated with decorations. Of the two received by Constantin Filipescu from the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, it was the first that his father chose to keep as a family memento, representative for his son's public life. This raises obvious questions. Why this choice? How common was the presence of such objects in Romanian society? What significance did they have for political options?

In order to understand Iordache Filipescu's action, we must consider the context and return to the time, two decades previously, when medals and decorations made their appearance in the material culture of the Romanian elite. In both empires they were connected to a process of Westernisation, launched for Russia under Peter the Great while for the Porte it was the Napoleonic Wars that brought change. The highest Russian order, that of Saint Andrew, was instituted in 1699 on the English model. It was followed in order of importance by those of Saint George, Saint Vladimir (1782), Alexander Nevsky, the White Eagle, Saint Anne and Saint Stanislaus, these last three being originally Polish.[41] The Porte in its turn had its own system, which came to European attention when Admiral Horatio Nelson was rewarded for his services in 1798–1799 in Egypt with a chelengk (Tk. *çelenk*), a Turkish decoration resembling a jewelled brooch, worn by sultans in their turbans. It is described as a 'feather set with

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[39] Biblioteca Academiei Române (hereafter BAR), *Documente Istorice*, MCDXXXIX/153.

[40] The son of Constantin and of Aristiţa Balş, Gheorghe, became a senator, while their daughter Maria (1835–1877) married the governor of Kiev, Mihail Catacazi.

[41] Sir Bernard Burke, *The Book of Orders of Knighthood and Decorations of Honour of All Nations* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1858), 241–3, where the Order of Saint Catherine for women is also mentioned. The Polish orders were incorporated after1831, the White Eagle being the most important; R.E. Wyllie, *Orders, Decorations and Insignia: With the History and Romance of their Origin and a Full Description of Each*, (New York-London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921) 1921, 163; Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, *The Russian Imperial Award System during the Reign of Nicholas II* (Helsinki: [Finnish Antiquarian Society], 2005), 73, 137 argues that for St. Andrew, Peter I was inspired by Scotland's Order of the Thistle.

diamonds', with a clockwork mechanism to rotate the central star. [42] A year later it was followed by the Imperial Order of the Crescent, created on the English model to reward foreign diplomats. [43] Although for Turks this was still a sort of chelengk, albeit awarded only to foreigners, it was soon interpreted in the West as the first Ottoman order of chivalry,[44] although in reality this distinction belongs to the Order of Glory (Nişan-ı İftihar), instituted in 1831. Showing characteristic adaptability, the Porte aligned itself with European practice by accompanying the object itself with a diploma and a rule.[45] It was behind in comparison with Russia, which that same year started to decorate Ottoman subjects in the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in its capacity as the protecting power, as established by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), thus embarking on a somewhat problematic relationship with the suzerain power.

Decorations and medals are a vector of change,[46] and Russia made diplomatic use of their conferral in these two provinces on the Ottoman periphery. It did not award any of its high orders, but only the lower grades of those of Saint Vladimir, Saint Anne and Saint Stanislaus, as was to be expected given that those of Saint Andrew, Saint George and Alexander Nevsky were for the imperial family, Russian generals and crowned heads. A single exception was made for Metropolitan Veniamin Costache of Moldavia, who in 1831 received the Order of Saint Anne, First Class, 'with imperial crown and star.' In 1833, a large number of Wallachian petty boyars, functionaries and doctors were gifted rings with brilliants by the tsar for 'exceptional zeal' shown in eradicating cholera. The following year, great boyars and government officials in the principality received the Orders of Saint Anne, Saint Stanislaus and Saint Vladimir in various grades, while those responsible for judicial matters and public order received tobacco cases adorned with brilliants forming the imperial monogram. The explanation for these successive gestures of 'monarchical recognition' was the cooperation that these members of the elite demonstrated in the creation of the first Romanian constitution under the coordination of the Russian general Pavel Kiselyov. As the tsar's representative, he sought to assemble a loyal team to implement reforms, to boost the economy and to bring Wallachia closer to Russia. Of all those he met, the person he most appreciated for his ability and his response to requests was Barbu

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[42] Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege. A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004), 22–25; Terry Coleman, *The Nelson Touch. The Life and Legend of Horatio Nelson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 179, argues that the chelengk alluded (through its thirteen fingers) to the thirteen ships used in his victory at the Nile.

[43] Eldem, *Pride and Privilege,* 37–38, argues that it was established at the suggestion of a British diplomat at the Porte, Spencer Smith, as a decoration to integrate with European costume while at the same time displaying Turkish symbolism (the crescent).

[44] Eldem, *Pride and Privilege*, 38.

[45] Eldem, *Pride and Privilege*, 112–114.

[46] Simion Câlția, 'Ordinele militare ale secolului al XVIII-lea', in *Muzeul Național „Regele Ferdinand I". 90 de ani în slujba istoriografiei şi muzeografiei militare: 1923–2013*, ed. Olimpiu Manuel Glodarenco (Craiova: Sitech, 2013), 74.

Dimitrie Ştirbei, initially secretary of the government, then member of the National Assembly (*Adunarea Obştească*), minister and, finally, prince. This *cursus honorum* was accompanied by public recognition of his merits: the diploma awarded by the National Assembly for services to the country (1831), the Orders of Saint Anne and Saint Stanislaus (1834) and the Nişan-ı İftihar (1838).[47]

Three things may be noted from the example of Ştirbei: that a political figure might hold decorations from both foreign powers (suzerain and protector); that the reward for patriotism was conferred by a Romanian institution but for services carried out under Russian coordination; and that the Porte was slow to respond in this 'diplomatic game'. This delay did not mean it was ignorant or inactive. On the contrary, Russian decorations were conferred and worn with the Porte's approval, and a short glance at the sources shows us its mechanisms of adaptation to the initiatives of its neighbour. Immediately after its defeat and the Treaty of Adrianople, the Porte noted that a large number of Russian decorations were being awarded to various people in Wallachia. The information was centralised and, at the request of Russia, it was established who might wear them in public and in what form. As interior minister (*vornic al Trebilor Dinlăuntru*), Iordache Filipescu was designated in 1831 to deal with this issue at principality level. As the correspondence between Bucharest and the county centres shows, each individual had to bring before the appropriate local official documents proving their receipt of the decoration. This coincided with or anticipated the launch of another 'enquiry', concerning the population and territory of Wallachia, culminating in the census of 1838. In these early years after the Treaty of Adrianople, Russia installed an occupation force in the principality, sent General Kiselyov to select the people with whom he would work at the local level and, at the same time, gathered the information necessary to know the elite and the population of Wallachia. Because there was an associated protocol and regulation, it was necessary to establish who could wear decorations and how. In Vâlcea county, the Russians agreed, through the intermediary of the Romanian authorities, that only four individuals could wear them 'for their service' in the war with Turkey. They applied two criteria: 'only those who were in service as officers and in true warfare and secondly even those who were in lower ranks, a gift for exceptional bravery in war.'[48] At the time, as a defeated power, the Porte could do nothing but accept the situation: a Romanian boyar class declaring itself, partially, on the other side of the barricade. However this was not a total surrender before its neighbour.[49] Soon it would also accord the Nişan-ı İftihar, as a recognition of loyalty and at the recommendation of the prince, stating on each

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[47] Nicolae Iorga, *Viaţa şi domnia lui Barbu Dimitrie Ştirbei* (Vălenii de Munte: Tipografia 'Neamul Românesc', 1910), 19, 30; BAR, *Diploma emisă de Obşteasca Adunare Extraordinară de Revizie vornicului Barbu Ştirbei pentru serviciile aduse ţării în calitate de secretar al statului şi pentru contribuţia avută la alcătuirea Regulamentului.*

[48] Arhivele Naţionale. Direcţia Judeţeană Vâlcea, *Prefectura Judeţului Vâlcea*, 67/1831, f. 8.

[49] Eldem, *Pride and Privilege*, 115–116.

occasion where the decoration was to be worn (at the throat or on the chest). From 1834, the first information appears through the French consul in Bucharest, Adolphe Etienne Billecocq, who recalls how the sultan awarded the prince and his associates 'the highest military honours that he can grant', namely the decoration and the sword of honour. This was because they had stamped out a revolt that was about to start on the Bulgarian border, instigated by the Russian consul in Galați.[50] Later, the sultan himself came to Silistra and was met by the prince and the great boyars of the country, including Iordache Filipescu.[51] This was not an isolated case, however, and the decoration thus became for the Porte a symbol of the attenuation of a conflict, while also, like its Russian equivalent, serving to attract former opponents into its sphere of influence[52] or to reward political loyalty. An analysis of the Romanian cases reveals a further aspect. The majority of Romanian recipients of the Nişan-ı İftihar were great boyars, relatively advanced in years, but still with considerable local influence. The formula that we find in the accompanying document, in the case of individual rather than group awards, is: 'out of consideration towards your family, for your advanced age and for the services that you have rendered honourably, faithfully and worthily.'[53]

In terms of family chronology, Iordache Filipescu's son Constantin was, in 1834, the first to receive the Order of Saint Vladimir, Fourth Class,[54] although regarding the events on the Bulgarian border his father had been on the side of the Turks. Three years later Iordache received the highest grade of the Nişan-ı İftihar, to be worn at the throat. The award was made on the recommendation of the Prince and was for a whole group, including the bishop of Râmnic.[55] It was not till 1845 that Constantin, now grand *logofăt*, received a Turkish decoration 'out of consideration towards your family and for the services you have rendered.'[56] Thus, we see an attempt to win the younger, pro-Russian generation via a family with a history of loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. The tilting of the balance in diplomatic sympathies called for time, patience and persuasion, and the political 'balancing act' that we find in this peripheral space was far from easy for boyar families in which there were divergences of this nature. Moreover, the fluctuating relations between the surrounding empires became part of political normality.

The revolutions of 1848 in Wallachia and Austrian Transylvania brought a moment of cohesion and cooperation between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and

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[50] *La principauté de Valachie sous le Hospodar Bibesko, par B.A., ancien agent diplomatique dans le Levant*, (Bruxelles, 1847), 128; *Călători străini*, vol. V, 77–78.

[51] *Însemnările Androneștilor*, ed. Ilie Corfus (București: Imprimeria Națională, 1947), 70.

[52] Eldem, *Pride and Privilege*, 115, offers the Serbian example of Prince Miloš Obrenović recommended by Hüseyin Pasha, the military commander of Widdin.

[53] *Buletin Ofiţial*, 17 October, no. 97/1845, 385, the example of Mihail Cornescu.

[54] *Buletin Ofiţial*, 6 September, no. 29/1834, 119–120.

[55] *Buletin Ofiţial*, 19 August, no. 32/1837, 36.

[56] *Buletin Ofiţial*, 17 October, no. 97/1845, 386.

decorations came to the Romanian elite from both sides simultaneously. This was because foreign diplomacy at the time considered that the supplies and assistance coming from Wallachia, and implicitly from the Ottoman Empire, were decisive in putting down the series of revolutions in the region. The Russian general Alexander N. Lüders even stated, only half joking, that 'sans le biscuit valaque l'armée russe n'aurait pas pu faire la campagne.'[57] Younger and older boyars alike were now rewarded for opposing the Romanian revolution and, equally importantly, for supplying the Ottoman, Russian and Austrian troops in the territory. The *caimacam* himself, Constantin Cantacuzino,[58] received the Order of Saint Stanislaus, First Class, from the Russians,[59] and from the Turks (but only after it had been awarded to Iordache Filipescu) 'a decoration of functionary, second class, first grade, and a tobacco case adorned with brilliants and the portrait of H[is] M[ajesty].'[60] He was also granted, but would not accept, the right to compensation for the expenses he had incurred. The Austrians too awarded decorations by way of thanks,[61] starting with the *caimacam*, who received the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Leopold. Part of the Romanian elite, however, regarded these boyars as traitors, complicit with Russia in the violent repression that had taken place. In a brochure published anonymously in Paris in 1850, Iordache Filipescu and other boyars are described as conspirators who had prepared 'des massacres' and with the Russians sabotaged the Romanian revolution.[62] This aspect is absent from the portrait sketched by Doussault in *L'Illustration* three years later, with which we began. Passivity and opulent Oriental elegance do not, however, exclude politically necessary cunning and cruelty, for, let us not forget, supporting Russia now meant supporting the Porte. We know that after these political events Iordache paid a short visit to Constantinople; while there is not much information

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[57] 'Without Wallachian biscuits the Russian army could not have gone on campaign.' cf. Nicolae Iorga, *Mărturii istorice cu privire la viaţa şi domnia lui Ştirbei-Vodă* (Bucureşti, 1905), 47: the statement was noted by the French consul.

[58] *Caimacam* (or *kaymakam*), temporary replaced for the prince in the Romanian Principalities, appointed by the Porte – equivalent to a provincial governor. Constantin Cantacuzino (1793–1877), was appointed *caimacam* (1848–1849) on the basis of an agreement between the Russian and Ottoman empires.

[59] *Vestitorul Romanesc*, 10 September, 1849, XIII, no. 72; it was conferred also in the principality of Moldavia.

[60] *Albina Românească*, 8 December 1849, XXI, 410; *Vestitorul Românesc*, 17 September 1849, XII, no. 74, 297; in addition to the two named, only one other Wallachian boyar, I. Bibescu, recived this decoration, but in the second grade.

[61] *Vestitorul Românesc*, 5 November 1849, XIII, no. 88. For a short biography see Sergiu Iosipescu, 'Constantin Cantacuzino, caimacam al Ţării Românești' in *Familiile boierești din Moldova şi Ţara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică şi biografică*, ed. Mihai Dim. Sturdza, vol. III (Bucureşti: Simetria, 2014), 245–8.

[62] *Le Protectorat du Czar ou La Roumanie et la Russie. Nouveaux documents sur la situation européenne par J. R., témoin oculaire des événements qui se sont passes en Valachie de 1828 a 1819* (Paris: Comon Editeur, 1850), 45. Presumably written by Ion Heliade Rădulescu (1802–1872), Romanian revolutionary, writer and politician, founding member of the Romanian Academy. He was a receiver of the Nişan-ı İftihar; cf. *Buletin Ofiţial*, 17 October, no. 97/1845, 385.

about the trip, surviving letters from Reshid Pasha and from the great *serasker* [63] Muhammad Ali, dating from February and March 1850, confirm its political purpose and that it included a meeting with the Sultan. Amicably calling him 'cher ami', Reshid reiterates the goodwill of the Porte toward Iordache Filipescu: 'Je saisis cette occasion pour vous assurer que je garde un souvenir bien agréable de votre visite à Constantinople et que Sa Majesté Impériale, notre Auguste Souverain vous conserve toujours cette bienveillance dont vous avez été l'objet de sa part, pendant votre trop court séjour dans sa capitale.'[64] And it was just after the 1848 Romanian revolution that Iordache Filipescu received the Ottoman order Nişan-ı İftihar, an order highly appreciated for its opulent display.

The danger for the recipients of such gifts was that they did not correctly interpret them. The great boyars over-evaluated the gesture, failing to realise that the gift in itself did not symbolise political support in their rise to power. Confusion reigned among those who received decorations and other valuable objects from the tsar and the sultan and who came close to the decision-making circles of the Powers. This may be observed in the atmosphere surrounding the appointment of the prince, when the great boyars nursed hopes of being chosen from among the candidates. Iordache Filipescu had undergone such an experience, and in 1849 it was the turn of the *caimacam* to be rejected. He too, decorated by all three empires, was standing for the post of prince. But Russia, with the agreement of the Porte, favoured his junior, Barbu Ştirbei.[65] How can we explain this almost generalised confusion among the boyars? One answer comes from the older cultural tradition from which they had not yet detached themselves. Accustomed to the sultan's awarding caftans and insignia at a prince's investiture, and with valuable gifts symbolising his favour to those close to him, they saw decorations in terms of this paradigm. The more their decorations and the more diverse in origin, the more confident they were that they would obtain the princely throne or some other position of power. Pride in exhibiting decorations took hold of the entire elite, who had themselves painted wearing them with either Oriental or Western clothes.[66] But times had changed and so had the role of such gifts. The decoration no longer symbolised the legitimation of local power, but merely the

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[63] Army commandant and war minister in the Ottoman Empire.

[64] 'I take this opportunity to assure you that I have a very pleasant memory of your visit to Constantinople and that His Imperial Majesty, our August Sovereign still regards you with the benevolence that you were the object of on his part during your too short stay in his capital.' Cf. BAR, *Documente Istorice*, DCCCXXV/163, f. 1.

[65] Iorga, *Viaţa şi domnia*, 32. Indeed, failing to understand the diplomatic mechanism, Constantin Cantacuzino would stand again in 1854, but again without success. Ibidem, 163–4; Harold Temperley, 'The Union of Roumania in the Private Letters of Palmerston, Clarendon and Cowley, 1855–7' in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, XIVe année, no. 7–9, 1937, 235.

[66] Constanţa Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, *Evgheniţi, ciocoi, mojici. Despre obrazele primei modernităţi româneşti* (Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2013), 46–7.

recognition of some current merit or the attenuation of a conflict. It was the end of a process, not the beginning of another, and this is what the great boyars had to learn.

The great boyar Iordache Filipescu kept up the ostentatious luxury of his Bucharest residence at great expense and invested similar amounts in his Oriental garb. His constructed image was that of a high dignitary, like some grand vizier of former times[67] and he had to maintain it as he was a constant presence in Russian and Ottoman diplomatic circles. In 1854, at the height of the Crimean War, he was decorated by the Russian emperor with the Order of Saint Anne[68] in recognition of his support given to Russian officers. By this time, he had also formed a clear position regarding the unionist current which was becoming dominant in Romanian political circles. Many were in favour of bringing in a foreigner to head both principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and he argued for 'neither Turk, nor Greek nor Jew.'[69] While he thus did not explicitly exclude a Russian, the likelihood of a Russian prince was slim because the Romanians had set their hopes on a French or Belgian one.

It was only upon his death, in 1855, that his efforts to keep up appearances surfaced: he was in so much debt that his underage heirs wanted to give up their inheritance. The mansion on his estate at Tăriceni, Prahova county,[70] was in such disrepair in 1855 that refurbishing and renovating the Russian stoves, the furniture and the interior decoration called for considerable expenditure. Because the boyar had mostly lived and socialised in the city, his properties in the country were seriously neglected, and a year after his death the authorities noticed that his 'big houses' on the Mogoşoaia Road in the capital also needed maintenance. The cost of repairs and cleaning was considerable for a State which had other similar situations to administer; nevertheless, it decided to continue to invest and to use the profit from the estate to help the surviving underaged children.

Conclusions

We started this paper by looking at the image propagated in the West by Charles Doussault of a representative of Wallachia's old elite, Iordache Filipescu. The image responded to rising interest in the Ottoman Empire and portrayed Filipescu as somewhat of a symbol of this borderland. Called the 'last great Oriental boyar' in appearance and manners, Filipescu, holder of high office in this Turkish province and a candidate for the throne, had to meet readers' expectations. He kept his Oriental

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[67] See the example of the seventeenth-century Ottoman vizier analysed in Hedda Reindl-Kiel, 'The Must-Haves of a Grand Vizier: Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha's Luxury Assets', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. 106 (2016), 179–221. For him the most valuable items were jewellery (diamonds), sable furs and gold.

[68] *Gazeta de Moldavia*, XXVI (1854), 37.

[69] *Călători străini*, IV, 362.

[70] Previously, the estate had belonged to Miloš Obrenović, the Serbian Prince, whose affairs in Wallachia Iordache Filipescu had managed.

appearance even after the Treaty of Adrianople Treaty (1829), when he was a candidate for the position of prince and Russian influence was on the rise. For Westerners, he was an attractive and exotic character in a picturesque place, but things were more complicated than that. He played along with both the Russians and the Turks because the experience of living at the Ottoman border had taught him about the uncertain, volatile nature of political alliances and the continuous shifts in terms of loyalties and aspirations. Towards the end of his life, he discreetly gave up a prestigious Turkish item inherited from his son, the Nişan-ı İftihar, a decoration that he already possessed in his own right. In the 1830s and 1840s, such objects were the interface of the political loyalties of the Wallachian elite, and at the same time symbolic of the conflictual relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The former entered Romanian society by the channel of Orthodoxism, awarding its first decoration to the metropolitan of neighbouring Moldavia, and then turned mostly towards young boyars, functionaries and career officers. The latter started later, banking on the older generation of great boyars, through whom it sought to reach the younger members of their families and their entourage. The strategies of attraction were different and each power banked on a different generation to maintain the balance of local influence. Only for the revolutionary moment of 1848 can we speak of cooperation between the Porte and Russia; thereafter their relations resumed the same conflictual course. Although for them decorations had a clear purpose, they generated confusion in the narrow circle of the local elite who felt they justified their aspiring to the throne of the principality – to no avail, as Iordache Filipescu himself found out. These objects took on a double significance, different for those awarding them and those receiving them, making the political message variously interpretable at the public level. The confusion was perpetuated because it served the interests of the two empires, which acted through individuals and families with contrary political sympathies. The Filipescus, father and son, were in different camps. Thus for Iordache, the Russian decoration was his son's true political inheritance, and so he kept it. The Nişan-ı İftihâr, which he gave to the treasury, signified opulence and political attraction via the family, aspects to which Constantin had not been sympathetic. Divergent loyalties, coexisting in public and in the family, transposed the political divide between the generations of the Romanian elite. Contrary to expectations, the old loyalties would fade and give way to a political project instrumentalising the international context in order to break the principality away from the Ottoman empire. In 1853, during a new phase of the Eastern Question, the contemporaries of Iordache Filipescu did not see the paradox of his being both 'the last great Oriental boyar' and the supporter of greater autonomy from the Ottoman Empire, a political position contrary to the interests of the suzerain power.

An Interview with Sanjay Subrahmanyam

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The current issue of Cromohs is entitled 'From Comparative to Global History'. How do you see the relation between comparative history, connected history, and global history? Have we somehow gone 'beyond' comparison now?

Let us start with global history, because this is the object of some confusion, as we see from the recent book on the subject by Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (2016). In Conrad's view, global history is both 'an object of study and a particular way of looking at history', or what he calls a 'perspective'. He also tells us that there are three 'varieties' of global history (which he sometimes calls 'paradigms' or 'models'): one is a 'history of everything', the second is a study of 'exchange and connections', and the third is simply an attempt to place narrower cases in something called a 'global context'. How can something be a perspective, an object, a set of paradigms, and a group of models all at once? This seems to constitute sloppy thinking and careless use of language; it is not at all helpful.

Rather than such a hopeless muddle, in fact we need to think of global history as history on a large geographical scale that transcends the geographical divisions set by conventional area studies. And that is it! Now, there are various ways of going about this type of history. The time-honored way, certainly going back to Georg Hegel, Karl Marx, and Max Weber, is comparative history. There are more or less innovative ways of doing

comparative history, but I will agree that for historians—like sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, and so on—studying variation in space and time remains a key tool.

Yet when comparative history becomes mechanistic, repetitive, and obvious, or when its purpose becomes simply to show how Society A is a failed version of Society B (as occurred in connection with a lot of modernization theory), we need to look for other methodological approaches (which are, let me stress, neither paradigms nor models). One of these is 'connected history'. Here, our purpose would be to transcend and bypass the conventional divisions imposed by the rather arbitrary way in which historians are normally trained, so as to redraw geographical boundaries in an innovative way. This does not mean we replace one set of rigid boundaries (say, of the nation-state) with another. Rather, the geographies have to be as flexible and varied as the problems. The following step, which is the really difficult one, is to multiply and read across archives and other primary sources, in keeping with the complexity of the problem. This is why it is easy to brandish 'connected history' as a slogan, but rather more difficult to execute it in reality. These days there is quite a lot of 'fake' connected history around, in which historians pretend to read materials and archives that they really have not mastered .

Does this mean we have gone 'beyond' comparative history? I don't think so. Rather, I think we must continue to use comparative history, but in a more intelligent and careful way than was done in the 1970s and 1980s—when it was all too often just pushing through open doors with great fanfare. For example, I have a great interest in the comparative history of urbanism, but I really would not wish to return to a view whereby the only 'real' cities are in the Roman tradition, carried over into Christian Europe, and every other case is just a failed or flawed version of such a city. In this case, I am particularly interested in second-order comparisons. As such, if one compares the trajectories of cities which have been conquered, and where religious dominance has thus passed from one group to another, we are not simply comparing morphologies (the classic exercise), but processes of transformation accompanied by violence. In this way we have a set of commonalities, and can pass on to examine the variations.

How to do you see the relationship between the particular and the general in history, between the use of primary sources and the general synthesis, and between micro- and macro-history?

Even if we are not always looking for laws or models in history, the particular only makes sense in relation to the general. (In the US, they sometimes call this the 'so what' issue: yes, you showed this or that, but 'so what?') One uses the particular to build towards the general, but also, eventually, to question it. When a general history becomes so distant and disconnected from the particular that it is absolutely impervious to contradiction or

modification, it has, in my opinion, become pretty useless. This is what happened to Immanuel Wallerstein and his theory of 'world-systems' operation (beginning in 1974). Historians kept pointing out the hundreds and thousands of small and large factual and interpretational errors in his work (I wrote a brief article to this effect in the late 1980s, regarding South Asia), but this 'school' and its adherents could not have cared less. They saw all such errors as insignificant in relation to their grand model made of Teflon. On the other hand, we also have a sort of 'fuddy-duddy' version of history, which is only concerned with the examination of trivia, and which still survives, especially in some European institutions. Often this is a caricature of philology. But I have also come across historians, even in the US, who claim to refuse all forms of general categories, and state that they are totally uninterested in generalizations. I think this gives history a bad name, and allows others to make fun of the discipline as mere self-indulgence.

As regards the general synthesis as a genre of history-writing, it is certainly necessary, but above all as a teaching tool. I have taught now for over three decades, from first year college students to advanced seminars in India, Europe, and the US. There is no doubt in my mind that one cannot simply get into and engage with primary sources equally at all these levels. Even so, it turns out to be quite rare to find a general synthesis that is not based on a real engagement with primary materials, and is yet intellectually powerful. When I was a student, one such stimulating book—even for someone who was not a Marxist— was Perry Anderson's *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (1974). I rarely read such books for intellectual stimulation now. I find that a lot of them, even celebrated ones like the work of Jürgen Osterhammel on the nineteenth century, are just turgid compilations, accumulating narrative on narrative, or making long lists of this and that, with endless and undifferentiated bibliographies that don't help critical thinking at all. After all, listing and analysis are far from being the same exercise. I also don't trust such works regarding areas in which I am not a specialist, because I can see how prone to error they are in my own areas of particular competence.

I have written one book that comes close to a synthesis, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia* (1993, 2nd edition 2012); however, it contains a good number of primary sources, and the interpretative framework was also pushing the limits far from the received wisdom. If you compare it to the book written by John Russell-Wood at much the same time, *World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (1992) you can see the difference. So, even if I were to write a synthesis, I would root it to as far as possible in primary and not just secondary sources.

As for micro- and macro-history, that is a somewhat different albeit related question. I follow our common friend and my former colleague Carlo Ginzburg in taking micro-history to be the very close inspection of materials, on the metaphor of a microscope,

whereas in macro-history one often paints with broader brushstrokes, using a more aggregative approach. Ginzburg mostly refuses to write any kind of history that is not based on a close engagement with primary sources, as I realized when I invited him to write a general chapter for *The Cambridge World History*. Also, he has also never much dealt with techniques of aggregation, like statistics, which economic historians inevitably use. For my part, I don't find myself firmly wedded to either viewpoint. Earlier in my career, I was more inclined to macro-historical projects than I have come to be. Yet I don't believe strongly that one of these is legitimate and the other is not. It depends on the problems and the questions to be addressed.

What is the role of chance in historical research?

Anyone who has worked in the archives knows that there is something of chance in the work one does. But how much? I think that, like a lot of games of chance, they are really games of skill with some element of chance involved. Today, if you give me a problem and I am looking for ways to address it, I would hope that I have better skills than I did in 1985. Let me give you a few examples. Some years ago, a colleague found an intriguing manuscript in a small library in Paris, and was unable to make sense of where exactly it came from, or its larger context, even though he could read it. We sat down and read it together for half a day. I then suggested that he look in one particular set of archives, and he immediately found documents that provided him with quite a lot of direct context. After that, he followed the threads into other archives, and eventually did a splendid project. Now the reason for this is that I had worked on quite similar things before, and he had not; this is like comparing someone in a Las Vegas casino who can count cards efficiently with someone who cannot.

I have also worked in archives which were so chaotic that one never knew if or when one would find things. In one case, in Portugal in the 1980s, I only found materials because the archivist took a personal liking to me, and decided to show me things that I could never have found. The same thing has happened to my wife, who worked on religion in rural Brittany, in small and obscure church collections.

Again, seeing the links between disparate things one has found here and there is quite another matter. This can require initial speculative leaps of the imagination, which vary a lot from one person to another. A well-known joke in Indian history circles concerns a historian who claimed that one of the Mughal emperors would appear in his dreams, and direct his researches, even helping him to read obscure documents. Of course that is not chance, but the workings of a powerful subconscious instinct. All of us must wish we had our own Mughal emperors sometimes.

What is the place of the 'counterfactual' in the work of a historian? Have you used it yourself? Does it permit one to advance new hypotheses? Is this linked to the relationship between fiction and history?

I consider the 'counterfactual' to be a somewhat lighthearted and playful, exercise, not to be taken very seriously. It therefore surprises me that historians can get into passionate arguments about it. Of course, if ever one advances a causal argument, it does mean there is an implicit counterfactual in the sense that removing the cause will remove the effect. (That does not matter to some of our colleagues, who will proudly tell you that they never make causal arguments). I have only engaged in it once, as a result of a conference to which Geoffrey Parker invited me at Ohio State University. In the conference, I became a bit alarmed because most of the papers seemed to be about assassinations. What if Gavrilo Princip had not killed Franz Ferdinand? Or if William III had been killed in 1690 in the Battle of the Boyne? So I made a Borgesian literary joke of it in my contribution, and even invented some nonexistent erudite references to put in the footnotes—but Parker's colleagues were so annoyed by my attitude that they expelled me from the conference volume.

I can't say I consider an obsession with counterfactuals to be particularly useful for historians, or generative of interesting hypotheses. Yes, if there had been no Treaty of Versailles, many Germans would have been less resentful in the interwar period. Yet do we really want to go into wishful thinking, then, about how there would have been no Nazism? On the other hand, I appreciate a certain kind of historical fiction, which plays around with this sort of thing. As a child, I loved Alexandre Dumas. But I'll give you two more recent literary examples. One is E. L. Doctorow's *Ragtime* (1975), which is set in New York in the early twentieth century, and is really a splendid comic exercise. In a very different and much darker mode, we have Philip Roth's *The Plot against America* (2004). Both these novels work for me, but as novels. On the other hand, most of the novels I have read that are set in the early modern period do not. Even the best of them, like Orhan Pamuk's *My Name is Red* (1998), seem based on anachronistic and even dogmatic impositions. It is not just me who thinks that; Pamuk consulted a certain number of Ottoman historians and art historians, and I have not met one who really liked the book.

Can you tell us something about your personal history, your training, the choices, intellectual influences, and encounters that mark out your itinerary?

I come from a family that is less of intellectuals than of bureaucrats and civil servants, though there were some scientists in the broader family milieu. This is typical of my community, of Tamil Smarta Brahmins. I studied economics at university, because

although I really loved the elegance of mathematics, I had friends who were far more talented at maths than I was, and there seemed to be no point in competing with them. So I went into economics without much thought, and studied it as an undergraduate for three years with not much enthusiasm. I continued to study it at an advanced level in my MA, at the Delhi School of Economics, and it was only then that I started to get a proper grasp of the subject. I was unfortunate in not having had many good teachers in either high school or during undergraduate years, and I envy those who have had that good fortune. But at the Delhi School of Economics there was a handful of teachers who were also state-of-the-art and world-class researchers (both in economics and social and cultural anthropology).

From economics, I then branched into economic history, which, along with the history of economic thought was my favorite part of the subject at that time. This is what I did my PhD on between 1982 and 1986, while still based in Delhi. The focus of my project was trade history, focusing on the early modern period, and I had to learn a set of new languages and skills for it, which I was young and enthusiastic enough to do. The choice here was whether to do my PhD in India, or—like most of my contemporaries—go abroad to Europe or the US. The latter would probably have allowed me to enter more smoothly into the usual powerful institutions and networks, like Oxbridge, or the Ivy League, or the École normale. We all know the kinds of rewards that people reap from having such networks, and their embedded structures of patronage. But I have always been rather perverse in my thinking. So I took the harder road, that of the 'outsider'. Perhaps there was some cultural nationalism involved, as well as a sense of excessive pride (which is certainly one of my great failings, possibly inherited from my father). To cut a long story short, after a lot of painful experiences, I did manage to finish my thesis, which was eventually published as *The Political Economy of Commerce* (1990). During my PhD days, I had already begun to teach, and I continued to do so at the Delhi School until 1994-95, when I left for Paris, at the encouragement of two senior French historians, Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin.

Among the intellectual influences, there are too many to be mentioned, so I'll just talk about a few of the most direct ones, roughly in chronological order. The first one was my thesis advisor, Dharma Kumar, who was an economic historian working mostly on South India. She was not very prolific, but wrote one important book on land and caste in colonial India, and also edited *The Cambridge Economic History of India*. From her I learnt two things: always to be sceptical of the conventional wisdom, and to push your intellectual limits as far as you can, without fear of failing.

Then, three scholars whom I met in the 1980s: Ashin Das Gupta from Kolkata, Luís Filipe Thomaz from Lisbon, and Jean Aubin from Paris. They were all interested in commercial and diplomatic history. Each one in his own way helped me to understand

how to deal with archives, and various ways of reading them. Of the three, Aubin had the greatest chronological range and the broadest set of technical skills, perhaps of any historian I have known. He set the bar very high indeed. You could say that each is, or was, a sort of 'positivist', but at the same time all of them—and especially Das Gupta and Aubin—had a very acute sense of the relationship between archival research and the production of historical narrative. You can see their influence very markedly in almost every book I wrote in the 1990s, with one exception. That exception is *Symbols of Substance* (1992), a book on court culture in South India that I wrote jointly with Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman. These two scholars, who are trained to study literature and religion, gave my work a strong cultural impetus, which was then carried on in other work I did with them. But this first collaboration eventually also influenced another collaboration—probably the most long-lasting and productive I have had—with Muzaffar Alam, starting around the early 1990s and still ongoing. Working with Alam and Narayana Rao also opened totally new doors for me, because both are scholars who are at least partly trained outside the western academic system (unlike all the other names I have mentioned). Narayana Rao learnt about literature through his family, and by spending time in literary circles in small towns in South India, and Alam was trained first in a *madrasa* in North India. I think it is important for us in the university not to denigrate these forms of training, especially for literary and humanistic study, but rather to valorize their positive aspects. Then, in the last ten or fifteen years, I have been lucky enough to have extended conversations and exchanges with a number of other historians, some of whom have been my colleagues in Europe or the US. They also include younger colleagues and graduate students, who have challenged and encouraged me not to slack off, but rather to keep pace with new and emerging research questions.

In your view, what is the historian's craft? And what is his/her role in contemporary society?

The interesting thing about history is that, in and of itself, it has a relatively limited set of tools, and even its rules are more often like rules of thumb. The primary rule is some version of what the Germans liked to call *Quellenkritik*, from the nineteenth century. But there are obviously quite varied notions concerning how one goes about identifying a 'source', and then employing it critically. Even our definition of philology is no longer what it was in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the historian's conception of what can and cannot be accepted as a source has tended to shift, or rather to broadly expand and become more inclusive, over time. As we know, in the twentieth century, oral history has had a substantial influence, which was combined with the multiple and profitable conversations between historians and anthropologists (even the structuralists). The key

thing is that history is constantly borrowing from other disciplines, some neighboring and some far away, and it is here that we have a real set of challenges.

The first challenge lies in the fact that we may have disciplines that are actually epistemologically incompatible. Therefore, combining them promiscuously may only lead to deep confusion. For example, there are parts of economics that are based on very hard and inflexible conceptions of the 'primitive' individual, and individual rationality. Larger structures are then derived from such postulates. Yet these postulates may run completely counter to what historians think of the functioning of real societies and the people who live in them. Such examples can be easily multiplied, and they are a good reason to avoid rushing blindly into inter-disciplinary studies regardless of the consequences.

A second problem is 'scientism', namely the genuflection of historians in front of what they imagine are the robust results that the hard sciences can give them. Not long ago, we had a fashionable wave, during which historians began to read popular versions of neurobiology and then make absurd claims, such as that European imperialism could be explained as 'hard-wired' into popular cultural attitudes. Or again, some historians have begun to use DNA testing in quite simplistic ways, when in fact it can only be used with an enormous amount of caution and reflection on the relevant categories, and statistical methods to be employed. At the other end of the spectrum, historians (especially in the US) are regularly tempted by recourse to the writings of philosophical schools which espouse extreme relativism, or propositions regarding the indeterminacy of meaning. In part, this is because people extract thin slices from the rich diet that philosophers offer themselves, and employ them pretty much as they please. Again, it is interesting to observe this in the US, where the word 'theory' is bandied about in history departments in the most cavalier way. All in all, I would say the historian's toolbox is open, and its contents do evolve, but some real control (and self-control) must be exercised so that the contents do not become a random collection of instruments.

Since history is not an applied discipline, the historian—unlike the sociologist or the economist—is not primarily a giver of policy advice to the powers-that-be. Oddly enough, much of what historians do is show that the conventional wisdom regarding the past is doubtful, or plain wrong. This may seem perverse as a way to make a living. Some people think that historians should be givers of moral lessons, who are trying to make 'good citizens'. I really cannot subscribe to that view. In my own work, I try frequently to argue that it is very difficult to draw straight lines between the past, the present and (therefore) the future. In short, at least for me, the historian should be a voice of caution and of scepticism, not a cheerleader.

How important is the place of ideology in your own work? To what extent does the present intrude on your questions, and your research?

First of all, I don't adhere to any explicitly named ideology. In India, the far right thinks I am a Marxist, while many Marxists are quite dismissive of my kind of history. I don't practice any religion, but I am not hostile to religion either. Of course, I would prefer to live in a tolerant and relatively peaceful society, which respects the right to cultural difference, rather than a violent one, which seeks to impose homogeneity on its citizens.

Whatever I may have believed when I was young, I am no longer sympathetic to the idea of even revolutionary violence in a 'progressive' cause, after seeing the experiences of it in the later twentieth century. So, in a loose way, some people would classify me as a 'liberal', though this word is in danger of becoming meaningless. At the same, although I am interested in global history, I don't subscribe to any view on 'globalization', or even use the concept regularly in my work. However, this cannot mean that my work is either the search for the 'golden age' in the past, or the bald denunciation of past societies in the interests of some future utopia. A good deal of what I study in the past is pretty unsavory, but there it is. At any rate, I cannot use the past to run away from the present.

I would think that if the present intrudes on my research questions, it must be largely in an unconscious way. In sum, it has certainly never been my intention to be some sort of 'counsellor to the prince', and to have Mr Modi, Mr Macron, or Mrs Merkel read my work, and thus valorize it.

How do you see the relationship between violence, religion, and identity-formation? In relationship to the world in which we live (be it India, Europe, or the US), is it correct to speak of the 'return of religion'?

This is a subject that I began studying in the mid-1990s. Perhaps I was unconsciously influenced by the political climate in India at that time. Whether in regard to South Asia, Europe, or the Middle East, it is clear that violence and religion have historically often gone hand in hand, because of the need to draw boundaries, to include and exclude, by force if need be. Projects of persecution are often at the heart of religious institutions. The experience of past persecution can be the justification for persecuting others in the present. Some researchers in India claim that all this is a purely modern phenomenon, and a product of the nation-state and its activities in the past two hundred years. I don't see how any serious historian can defend that position.

My main interest here has been in three questions. First, I have tried to show that important forms of sectarian violence existed in medieval and early modern India, but that they are not exactly what we call 'communalism' in India today, because the nature of the boundaries between groups is quite different. Further, along with my colleague Muzaffar Alam I have tried to show that early modern states such as the Mughals had a particular type of political theory, through which they dealt with such conflicts. This theory has a

genealogical relationship with what we call 'secularism' in India today, and is different from the French notion of *laïcité*. The second area of enquiry concerns the early modern European experience, especially in the Iberian world, but not just limited to it. I find it astonishing that the European approach to this question, centring around ideas like 'confessionalization', has been so blithely universalized, as if it were the most natural thing in the world. I also find European self-congratulation on this matter more than a little troubling. The third question has less to do with my work as a historian, and is more relevant to me as an observer of contemporary political life. It concerns the omnipresence of religion in the US, where religion permeates nearly all of political life, and a good part of social life, too. In Canada, you have turban-wearing Sikhs in politics. In the US, to become acceptable, such Sikhs need to call themselves Nikki and Bobby, and convert to Methodism or Catholicism.

So the question of the 'return of religion' is quite different in India, western Europe, and the US. In the US, religion never went anywhere. It was always there, and God even forced the far better motto of '*E pluribus unum*' to give way. In western Europe, the past two or three decades have seen a double return: the religiosity of migrant (often Muslim) communities on the one hand, and, on the other, the assertion not so much of religion as such, but of the Christian religion as a default social identity. I have no idea whether the leaders of the Front national in France are all believing Christians, but they certainly deploy that social identity, as do Les Républicains.

And finally, India is the most complex case. This is because 'Hinduism' as a religion only crystallized in the nineteenth century, in the face of polemics with Christian missionaries on the one hand, and Muslim publicists on the other. Actually, 'Hinduism' is still a highly unstable category, yet even in its present, unstable, form, it can be employed for political mobilization. In the next few decades, the close tie-up between this type of community-formation (which I prefer as an idea to identity-formation), religious adherence, and actual or potential violence seems sure to remain in place. But I would be only too happy to be proven wrong.

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Global Intellectual History:
Some Reflections on Recent Publications

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Like other branches of history, intellectual history has 'gone global' in recent years (although perhaps with a certain delay), and there has been an increase in published research on more 'global' subjects. Five years after the publication of the volume edited by Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori[1] (which originated in a 2010 conference), and two years after the journal *Global Intellectual History* was launched, now is perhaps the moment to take stock. More specifically, it is perhaps the moment to reflect on the questions of how useful the label 'global intellectual history' is proving, and what, if anything, is specific about the field—which Martin Mulsow, introducing a special issue of *Global Intellectual History*, calls a 'discipline in the making'.[2] Indeed, as Moyn and Sartori make clear, there is as yet no general agreement on what is meant by 'global intellectual history'. This reflects the uncertainty surrounding global history more generally.

In his recent book, Sebastian Conrad defines global history as an approach that aims to 'arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions and connections that have made the modern world'. He offers a preliminary broad definition of this approach as 'a form of historical analysis in which phenomena, events, and processes are placed in global contexts'. Nevertheless, Conrad sees disagreement on how to best achieve this.[3] He distinguishes three camps among global

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[1] SAMUEL MOYN and ANDREW SARTORI, eds, *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).
[2] MARTIN MULSOW, "New Perspectives on Global Intellectual History", *Global Intellectual History*, 2, 1 (2017): 1-2.
[3] SEBASTIAN CONRAD, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016): 3-5.

historians: those who see global history as the history of everything; those who see it as the history of connections; those who see it as a history based on the concept of integration.

As far as global intellectual history is concerned, I do not think that we are anywhere nearer a consensus on what is meant by the label. Nor do I think we have approached a consensus about whether it implies a different methodology, or simply a different subject matter. Mulsow, in the 'Introduction' just mentioned, claims that global intellectual history provides innovative approaches to an old subject, as 'the extension of the perspective into the global creates new and unique problems that require imaginative solutions'. Moyn and Sartori's volume aims to showcase 'alternative models' of what global intellectual history might be, and does indeed show the diversity of what could be encompassed by this label. Interestingly, the volume contains a preponderance of contributions from scholars at universities in the US, and even in New York City (which may, of course, simply reflect the venue of the 2010 conference), and the subject is approached from the viewpoint of 'the North Atlantic Academy' (3). This is perhaps symptomatic, to the extent that, in some quarters, global intellectual history may be seen as an attempt to escape from the British tradition of the history of political thought that has concentrated on Western Europe, and on a particular tradition of early modern thinkers. As expressed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his article for the special issue of *Global Intellectual History*, this tradition has been perceived as a 'more limited and hidebound version, narrowly and artificially constrained in space' (31).

Instead, Moyn and Sartori's volume concentrates on the modern period. This corresponds to doubts among certain scholars as to how far a global approach is appropriate for early modern intellectual history. Yet, to a large extent, such doubts are linked to different views of what is meant by global intellectual history. The three main models identified by the editors in their very useful discussion in chapter 1, called 'Approaches to Global Intellectual History', are: 'the global as a meta-analytical category of the historian'; 'the global' as a property of the historian's subject-matter, and 'the global' as a subjective category used by the historical agents under study (5). Moyn and Sartori also propose examples of these somewhat overlapping approaches, several of which have a long history: for the first category, universal histories and comparative history, and for the second category, the study of networks and intermediaries, but also translation—all, in fact, increasingly studied by early modern historians. For the third category, the intellectual history of conceptions of the global implies a more critical stance in relation to the whole enterprise of global intellectual history. The main body of the volume provides examples of these 'alternative options' (which are not necessarily alternative), before a concluding section questions some of the options.

A welcome and courageous element of the book is its inclusion of sceptical concluding reflections by Frederick Cooper, in a chapter entitled 'How Global Do We Want Our Intellectual History to Be?'. Cooper underscores the importance of widening the scope of intellectual history, but questions the value added by the adjective 'global'; he explains his agreement or disagreement with different contributions, and emphasizes the importance of empires, and the limitations of the subject. He also thinks that the global approach should not necessarily be confined to contemporary history. I agree with this unease concerning the belief that early modern intellectual history cannot be global, in view of many examples to the contrary. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the special issue of the journal *Global Intellectual History*, Richard Whatmore and Knud Haakonssen argue that, instead of being confined to a purely Eurocentric or Western tradition, J. G. A. Pocock's essential concerns have always been global; they define Pocock as a historian of migration, or rather of the transplantation of forms of 'self-reflection upon human activity' across space and time.[4] Whatmore and Haakonssen also highlight lesser-known aspects of Pocock's scholarly interest, such as the question of settler versus indigenous culture in the New Zealand context, or Chinese historiography and philosophy. Emphasizing that his study of historiography is situated against such backgrounds and comparisons, they place Pocock's themes in wider geographical and temporal perspectives. Duncan Bell would presumably agree with this view of Pocock: in his article in the Moyn and Sartori volume, he points out, with reference to work by Pocock among others, that certain understandings of 'the global' are simply new wine in old bottles, due to a failure to adequately conceptualize 'the global'.[5]

The chronological limitations imposed by most of the contributors to the Moyn and Sartori volume are perhaps linked to another problem: it seems to me that in asking what global intellectual history might be, the problematic term is not only 'global', but also 'intellectual history', in view of the diverging views of what the latter covers. In the last of the volume's 'Concluding Reflections', Sudipta Kaviraj's contribution, 'Global Intellectual History. Meanings and Methods', begins with a rather idiosyncratic definition of intellectual history. He distinguishes two types of scholarly practice: on the one hand, an attempt to understand how 'large intellectual ideas or trends cause the events that make history', and, on the other, the analysis of intellectual systems or processes themselves. The remarks by Kaviraj, however, admit a wider diversity of practices, and conclude that we need to regard intellectual history as an internally heterogeneous discipline.

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[4] RICHARD WHATMORE and KNUD HAAKONSSEN, "Global Possibilities in Intellectual History: A Note on Practice", *Global Intellectual History*, 2, 1 (2017): 18-29, see 22.
[5] DUNCAN BELL, "Making and Taking Worlds", in *Global Intellectual History*: 254-279; see 254-256.

I am also somewhat unclear as to what Sartori understands by intellectual history in his contribution;[6] he develops 'a history of political-economic abstractions', and claims that 'global intellectual history is what intellectual history becomes once it begins to grapple with the problematic of real abstraction'. It is not clear whether this comes down to a global history of concepts and how far he considers his approach to be applicable beyond the study of political-economic discourse. Moyn's chapter, 'On the Nonglobalization of Ideas', questions Sartori's approach with reference to the examples of the Haitian Revolution and the non-globalization of human rights after the Second World War. He underlines the importance of political spaces and the complexity of structures, in other words 'situational appropriation' rather than a logic of globalization. Yet Moyn also seems to be understanding 'global intellectual history' as a 'global *conceptual* history'. This is also the case for Christopher L. Hill, who discusses 'Conceptual Universalization in the Transnational Nineteenth Century'; Hill theorizes his subject from the example of the Meiji period in Japan, and the process of universalisation and abstraction of particular concepts (such as society or civilisation) by different types of mediators, which enable circulation in non-national terms.

Other contributors to the edited volume, however, start from a different understanding of intellectual history as well as of 'global'. Vanessa Smith questions the emphasis placed on intellectual history as a study of texts. In 'Joseph Banks's Intermediaries. Rethinking Global Cultural Exchange', she studies Banks's career as a reconceptualization of the role of the cultural intermediary. She emphasizes in particular the importance of the role played by Banks's Tahitian friend Tupai and how their relationship challenges our understanding of a globalised intellectual history. From a very different perspective, Duncan Bell, using the work of Nelson Goodman, proposes the study of 'world making', or how people symbolically construct worlds; his aim is to emphasize the *practice* as much as the result, as well as the construction of intellectual personae.

Despite some apparent similarities, no other contributors to the edited volume adopt this approach to understanding 'the global' as the category of the actors under study. Nonetheless, several question the model of conceptual history. Janaki Bakhle, in 'Putting Global Intellectual History in its Place', concentrates on the Indian anticolonial nationalist Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in order to question the presupposition that tracking and analysing the itinerary of ideas around the world is the dominant mode for writing global intellectual history. In a particularly interesting example of what a global intellectual history might look like, Bakhle's study emphasizes the complexity of a thinker such as Savarkar, and the diversity of hermeneutical frames

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[6] ANDREW SARTORI, "Global Intellectual History and the History of Political Economy", in *Global Intellectual History*: 110-133.

in which he must be understood. In another chapter, Mamadou Diouf and Jinny Prais also present case studies, which concern twentieth-century black intellectuals' thinking about Africa.[7] Despite rather strange notions of what constitute Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment, Diouf and Prais show how certain intellectuals contested their political exclusion by locating Africa in world history. By contrast, in his chapter, 'Globalizing the Intellectual History of the Idea of the "Muslim World"', Cemil Aydin links power struggles in the colonial era to Ottoman and European attitudes in the Nineteenth Century, arguing that the globalisation of norms includes the agency and contributions of non-Western intellectuals. He is essentially arguing for a non-Eurocentric global intellectual history, in dialogue with the new international history.

Other contributions adopt a comparative history approach, with a different understanding of 'the global'. Siep Stuurman compares Herodotus, Sima Qian, and Ibn Khaldun, who discuss different nomadic peoples from different geographical areas, periods, and intellectual traditions.[8] In 'Cosmopolitanism, Vernacularism, and Premodernity', Sheldon Pollock compares the Sanskrit language of cosmopolitan space in a particular literary domain with the political-cultural order of ancient Rome, as part of a comparative study of premodern cosmopolitanism and the emergence of a 'cosmopolitan vernacular'. These two chapters, which take a different approach to 'the global', are also part of the small contingent devoted to the premodern period.

Overall, the content of this volume may justify Cooper's scepticism about global intellectual history. In any case, it confirms the diversity that currently characterizes views of global intellectual history and the practice of intellectual history in general, and thus the vigour of this field. I do not know what value is added by the notion of 'global' (to quote Fred Cooper), despite the interest and stimulus of the analyses in this edited collection. One can also wonder whether, in fact, such an addition creates 'new and unique problems'. The attempt to develop a transnational and transcultural intellectual history, to look at questions of circulation and connectedness, and to explore different sources is very welcome and can only help to renew the field, but do we need to worry about how 'global' it really is? Do we need to conceptualize 'the global'? *Global Intellectual History* is interesting less for the contributors' attempts to theorise and define than for the diversity of approaches and subjects it contains, in particular the precise case studies. For this reason, it can only stimulate renewal of the practice of intellectual history. If, as Moyn and Sartori suggest at one point, we take 'the global' to mean 'simply the methodological concern with experimenting beyond

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[7] MAMADOU DIOUF and JINNY PRAIS, "'Casting the Badge of Inferiority Beneath Black Peoples' Feet': Archiving and Reading the African Past, Present and Future in World History", in *Global Intellectual History*: 205-227.
[8] SIEP STUURMAN, "Common Humanity and Cultural Difference on the Sedentary-Nomadic Frontier: Herodotus, Sima Qian, and Ibn Khaldun", in *Global Intellectual History*: 33-58.

familiar geographical boundaries' (21), then global intellectual history is to be embraced with enthusiasm.

The Prospect of Global History

James Belich John Darwin Margaret Frenz and Chris Wickham eds
Oxford Oxford University Press 2016
[ISBN 9780198732259]

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Originating in a 2012 conference at the University of Oxford on 'New Directions in Global History,' *The Prospect of Global History* inaugurates 'a new series in global history.' While not exactly a manifesto, its tone is programmatic. The most conspicuous feature of this collection of eleven essays (including a robust 'Introduction' and an 'Afterword') is the unapologetically deep chronological coverage, which spans antiquity and the 'Middle Ages,' alongside the early modern and modern eras. The inclusion of the premodern within the remit of global history is not unprecedented, but remains unusual enough to cause, by itself, a reassessment of current methodological and geographical perspectives. This volume is addressed to two constituencies, that is, to both global historians and historians of premodern societies, and invites them to engage with each another's work. The editors' effort, in the 'Introduction,' to offer a typology of approaches to global history results in a schematic grid, within which the volume's essays fit comfortably. The first approach they identify is the 'history of globalization', characterized by distinct 'vectors of connectivity'—diffusion, outreach, dispersal, expansion, attraction, nodality. The second approach is 'comparative history,' including histories of 'divergence.' The third approach is a history of 'connectedness,' mobility, networks, and nodal points. (John Darwin's 'Afterword' recombines most elements to offer a slightly different typology.)

One consequence of the volume's extended chronological coverage is a questioning of the relationship between global history and globalization as a historical phenomenon. Is it possible to write global history of a time before the oceanic explorations of the fifteenth century connected the Afro-Eurasian landmass with the American one?

Among the editors' crucial aims is that of proving that a global prospect can and should be applied to ancient and medieval phenomena, in many ways using similar tools as those used for early modern and modern history. Nicholas Purcell's essay, for example, gives a sketch of the kind of commodity-chain history that has been one of the most distinctive and successful products of recent global history. His subject are those natural resins used to produce incense, a highly valuable 'exotic'

commodity since antiquity, whose harvesting in the region of the southern Red Sea, and trade through the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, the Levant, can be traced in unusually rich detail through both textual and archaeological evidence. Purcell observes that the circulation of such a precious and portable material affected the economic and political spaces it traversed; the widespread ritual usage and psychoactive properties of incense, in addition, open up a number of avenues to cultural, religious, and even cognitive approaches. In another of the chapters devoted to premodern history, James Belich presents the mid-fourteenth-century plague epidemic caused by the bacterion *Yersinia pestis* as a medieval case study of the interaction between ecological, economic, and geopolitical change. Historians of the late Middle Ages have long debated whether and how the effects of the 'Black Death' can be assessed and measured. Belich connects them with a dramatic redistribution of resources, which reached the lower strata of society and spurred a phase of expansion and specialization of trade in the European space and its hinterlands.

The volume's long-term prospect on global history also translates into a renewed emphasis on categories and methods that were once the province of twentieth-century world history and historical sociology. Robert Moore's essay on the 'global Middle Ages' borrows from the repertoire of world history to present a new global periodization, where the centuries commonly understood, in European history, as the 'central Middle Ages' are redefined as a global age of 'intensification,' driven by 'city-based civilization.' A methodological essay by Jürgen Osterhammel is an earnest endorsement of the value of historical sociology for historians of the global, and even of the viability of 'civilization' as a useful category for historical analysis. Osterhammel is refreshingly modest, on behalf of the whole profession, in recognizing the derivative and eclectic nature of much historical 'theory'—a little too modest, perhaps, if one considers the role of Fernand Braudel's work as an inspiration for historical sociologists in the US during the 1960s and 1970s.

A similar revival of methods and questions popular between the 1930s and the 1960s animates Kevin Hjortshøj O'Rourke's essay on what long series of prices can (still) tell us about market integration, convergence and divergence, and the connectedness of economies before the nineteenth century. A 'Little Divergence' between northwestern and southern European areas in the early modern period preceded the 'Great Divergence' between Europe and China, although neither convergence nor divergence are linear and self-sustaining economic processes. There is something deeply satisfying and familiar about the kind of Labroussian macro-indicators produced by this revamped econometric approach. Yet some of the old doubts also persist: for example about the meaningfulness, in such a long-term analysis, of artificially fixed geographical units in the long term (largely, and problematically, corresponding to modern countries), and especially about the compromises involved in distilling series of homogeneous and comparable data from

the wild diversity of surviving documents. O'Rourke is wary of monocausal explanations where 'the economic' is foundational. He subscribes, however, to the overarching teleology implied by the 'why are we so rich and they so poor?' question (in David Landes's formulation), which underlies all convergence/divergence debates.

Matthew Mosca and Francis Robinson discuss global history from the Chinese and the Islamic perspectives, respectively. As Mosca observes, for all its movement away from Eurocentrism, the history of globalization still tends to cast the Qing as reactive, rather than active power. He focuses on a smaller-scale topic (the only such case in the volume)—the genealogy of descendants of Chinggis Khan compiled by the Mongolian nobleman Ghombojab—as a test-case revealing the far-reaching information networks available to a Mongolian scholar familiar with the Qing court in 1725, and the importance of channels of communication and contact through Inner Asia, a relatively unexplored space for global histories. Knowledge networks are also central in Robinson's essay; indeed one of the most thought-provoking thematic proposals in the entire volume is Robinson's suggestion that we focus on master-disciple relationships as creators of networks over long distances within the pre-modern Islamic world. One suspects that a similar approach would work well for the Buddhist world, too.

The essays by Antony Hopkins and Linda Colley cover the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and engage more or less explicitly with the notion of empire. Empire is a crucial but historiographically suppressed category in the history of the United States, Hopkins argues, even for the period when the American Republic had overseas colonies, and deployed an explicit language of empire. Hopkins's discussion of the viability of 'empire' as a category for US power in the post-WWII world is stimulating, particularly in its attempt to emancipate empire from territoriality, which he sees as characteristic of a particular imperial 'stage of development.' Hopkins purposefully underplays the continued importance of actual territorial control for the sustenance of the 'informal' American empire. Yet it is often around American military bases that the distinctive dynamics of imperial power, including legal privilege, gendered violence, and land-grabbing, are more easily recognizable in the second half of the twentieth century (one thinks of Aviano, Okinawa, or Bahrein). In Colley's essay the category 'empire' is less prominent, but still very much at the heart of the piece. Her subject is the global spread of constitutions in the nineteenth century. The spread was spurred by traveling politicians and revolutionaries, and by a crowd of other writers, whose constitutional projects were never promulgated, but exerted an influence nonetheless. The significance of this remarkable 'contagion of constitutions,' Colley argues, lies not only in the global transmission of ideas of rights and the rule of law. Constitution-writing underpinned imperial strategies, for example within the British Empire, or, momentously, with the Japanese Meiji Constitution of 1889. Colley's chapter is the only one in this volume to ask outright whether women

played a role in the global history that she explores. (She answers the question in the negative.)

It is unlikely, in fact, that this volume will allay current anxieties about the 'left behind' of global history. Gender history is absent from the volume's range of examples—and whether this reveals something more general about global history and gender is currently the object of debate. Intellectual history, as a history of 'meaning and understanding,' awaits its own global approaches. The dangers of essentialism are forcefully signaled by the editors, yet Robinson seems to tap into the revival of 'Protestant' as a trans-historical, civilizational category when he equates 'Protestant' with 'personal responsibility and this-worldly action.' (The recent, rather puzzling, fortune of 'Protestantism' in social-scientific discourse deserves serious historiographical analysis).

In a way, the 'global' scale showcased in this collection is *augmented* by the volume's unusual chronological depth. As a result, and perhaps inevitably, *The Prospect of Global History* foregrounds histories of Very Big Things, and remains largely unfazed by teleology, which in some cases (most explicitly in 'divergence' debates) is embraced by the potential distortion of enthusiasm. The meeting between global and premodern histories is exciting and important, however; it highlights different geographies, suggests new explanatory frameworks, and dramatically expands the range of global phenomena historians can consider. This pioneering book will inspire new research, and, it is hoped, spur further discussion, for example, about micro-analytical scales and global history, and perhaps especially about the relationship between the documents that historians translate, compare, and combine, and histories on a global scale.

Dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb
Territories, People, Identities
Calasso Giovanna and Giuliano Lancioni eds
Leiden-Boston Brill 2017
[ISBN: 9789004328686]

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This bulky volume edited by Vanna Calasso and Giuliano Lancioni aims to investigate the various meanings and uses of the expressions *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* (commonly translated as 'the abode of Islam' and 'the abode of war') in a variety of sources, regions, and periods of the long and complex history of Muslim societies. These expressions, or better 'categories,' began to appear in late eighth-century legal discourse, when the Arab conquests had reached their peak; they were placed in circulation by jurists who were close to Baghdad, the center of the Abbasid caliphate.

The collection is divided into five parts: the first is devoted to definitions, and engages a variety of theoretical and methodological issues; the second explores the use and emergence of the terms in early texts (dating from the seventh to the early tenth century CE). The third part studies *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* in legal theory and practice; the fourth examines a variety of different regional contexts, while the fifth part examines modern and contemporary developments of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. The volume is completed by an essay titled 'Concluding Remarks,' which seeks to make sense of the terminological array found in the sources and employed to express ideas connected to *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. Useful indexes of Arabic names and technical terms are included at the very end of the book.

As perhaps already implied, *Dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* is a rich volume, and its topic is extremely complex. In what follows I highlight some of the central ideas emerging from the book, as well some of its merits and drawbacks. I avoid describing the single chapters one by one. In all, there are 19 chapters, plus the 'Introduction' and 'Concluding Remarks' focused on terminology. I also draw attention to some important additional source materials relevant to the topic at issue.

As an expression, *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* is generic and indeterminate; over time it has remained rather stable, yet fluid. Its indeterminacy and deceiving simplicity, being simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, are surely among the factors that contributed to its resilience, and to its use and re-use in a broad variety of contexts. This point emerges in various chapters. According to Yaacov Lev (chapter 3), in Fatimid sources from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and in Geniza documents, the basic terminology that was used to indicate Christian traders, the Byzantine empire, and foreign objects was *Rūm / Rūmī*. However, with the pressure of the Crusades, *Rūm / Rūmī* shifted towards the term *Ifranj* (Franks). In the period considered, this terminology remained stable, despite the fact that those who employed it were well

aware of the varied composition of the Christian European world.[1] While at first sight only tangential to the topic of the book, Lev puts forth a forceful caveat: terminology can be deceptive, often purposefully generic, and we should not limit ourselves to it—or perhaps we should not take it only at face value when attempting to understand the worldview of our sources.

Calasso agrees only partially with this view; she considers terminology a starting point that scholars cannot dispense with. Continuing her previous research,[2] Calasso pursues different lines of enquiry. One line reviews recent relevant secondary literature to show how even in legal discourse—with special reference to the Ḥanafī school—the two *dār-s* were not necessarily conceived as being openly hostile to one another. Rather they served as jurisdictional spaces in which the life, properties, and freedom of each subject (both Muslim and non-Muslim) were inviolable and protected by the ruler, or in which Muslim law was in effect, even under non-Muslim sovereignty (this is an element emerging also in chapter 17 by Yohanan Friedmann, and in chapter 19 by Eleonora Di Vincenzo and Francesca Romana Romani).

The other line of investigation examines the relevant terminology in different literary genres, and reaches the following conclusions. Travelogues and geographical texts rarely use *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. In legal literature—where the terms initially appeared and were commonly used—the pair *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* is neither defined nor treated in specific rubrics, but each *dār* functions as a counterpoint to the other, the interest of legal scholars focused on highlighting the change of norms entailed in a movement from one *dār* to the other.

Another key theme comes into view here: the pair *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* is not ubiquitous. Some literary genres are utterly indifferent to it, for instance historical writings at large, but not so the historiography of specific areas—such as that of northern al-Andalus discussed by Maribel Fierro and Luis Molina (chapter 11), where the expression *dār al-ḥarb* occurs mostly within the contexts of military action with neighboring Christians. In the histories on northeastern Iran, writes Camille Rhoné (chapter 12), the divide, its lexicon, and implications are there, but only indirectly. In yet other cases the pair is surprisingly absent, challenging our expectations. The *Book of jihād* by the pious Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 797 CE), a crucial early text for the construction of *jihād* ideology, does not use the *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* terminology to describe the enemy's land (Roberta Denaro, chapter 5).

Absence, implicit presence, lack of definition of categories (which are assumed, but not explained): these elements surface in various essays. Thus it becomes important to look for explanations. Lexicography of the eighth to fifteenth centuries is explored by Giuliano Lancioni (chapter 2), who brings into the discussion two useful remarks. *Dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* are collocations, and collocations made of combined single words are more difficult to arrange in lexicons. Moreover, whereas

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[1] A similar point is perceptively made by CAMILLE RHONÉ in her contribution to this volume (chapter 12) when dealing with the over-simplified representation of the Turcs as the archetypal enemy in sources from the ninth to the eleventh centuries concerning northeastern Iran.

[2] GIOVANNA CALASSO, "Alla ricerca di *dār al-islām*. Una ricognizione nei testi di giuristi e tradizionisti, lessicografi, geografi e viaggiatori," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 83/1-4 (2010): 271-296.

dār al-ḥarb is at least once defined in classical lexicons, *dār al-islām* is never, and this may have occurred because the latter was perceived as an object of common knowledge that did not need to be defined. The pressing question then becomes: why devote such scholarly effort to a formulaic and conventional representation of the world that many Muslim sources, not only lexicographers, do not use (or, if they do, they lack interest in defining)? Calasso provides an answer in her introductory essay; 'because this pair has to do with the crucial issue of how to conceive oneself and others and translate this idea into words' (p. 3). Or, one may also say, because this is a representation that concerns us closely.

Those chapters devoted to the circulation of the two categories in specific regions are particularly felicitous. According to Francisco Appelaniz (chapter 9), early fifteenth-century Venetian traders were aware of the divide between *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* and the normative changes that this division implied. More precisely, Venetian traders knew that non-Muslim groups living under Mamluk control, such as the Fazolati in Cyprus, enjoyed different legal status, and tried to exploit such differences for their own advantage. Appellániz shows that the Fazolati were a group of Syrian Christians who were treated as *dhimmī*s by the Mamluks, irrespective of the fact that they lived in Cyprus and that Venetians, who were well aware of their status, tried to gain the rank of Fazolati from Mamluk authorities in order to avoid expulsion from the Mamluk lands.

A fatwa concerning a group of Frankish merchants temporarily residing in Acre is mentioned in passing. The text is very important in many respects, and deserves attention. Issued in the year 754 AH (1353 CE) by the Shāfi'ī jurist Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355 CE) at the request of the governor of Safad, it describes a public religious celebration arranged by the above-mentioned Venetian traders. Such a celebration included a procession to the local church; participants included a group of Muslims and the head of the province and the port (*muqaddam al-wilāya wa'l-minā*)— ostensibly they also approved of it. Al-Subkī was interrogated about how to address this public display of non-Muslim faith, which had entailed a violation of the safe-conduct enjoyed by the merchants—the safe-conduct allowed them to safely and temporarily reside in *dar al-islām* (here the Mamluk domains). The fatwa makes a neat distinction between local non-Muslims (*dhimmī*s) and foreign non-Muslim residents (*ḥarbī*s). Further, it illustrates what measures should be taken when a pact of *dhimma* and one of safe-conduct are violated. Al-Subkī advises that the merchants should be imprisoned and used as a ransom to free Muslim prisoners, while the Muslims officers who took part and approved of the procession should resign from office.[3] Throughout his fatwa al-Subkī draws from the language of *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām*, demonstrating, as Appellániz observes, that these 'remained two necessary analytical

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[3] The fatwa is available in two editions whose respective texts contain some differences. Compare AL-SUBKĪ, TAQĪ AL-DĪN (1284-1355)/AL-MAQDISĪ AL-ṢĀLIḤĪ, SHARAF AL-DĪN ABŪ AL-BARAKĀT MŪSĀ IBN FAYYĀḌ (d. 1376), "An Unpublished XIVth-Century *Fatwā* on the Status of Foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria," *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens: Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus dem Kreise des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn*, ed. by W. HEFFENING and WILLIBALD KIRFEL (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), 55-68, and AL-SUBKĪ, TAQĪ AL-DĪN, *Fatāwā al-Subkī*, 2 vols, ed. by MUḤAMAMD 'ABD AL-SALĀM SHĀHIN (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1424/2009), vol. 2, 388-391.

categories if only because they allowed them [i.e. jurists] to differentiate local *dhimmīs* from resident *ḥarbīs'* (174).

This takes us to two further considerations which progressively take shape while reading the book. The first: some literary genres are more prone to host discussions on the topic in question, and fatwas in particular, since they respond to points of law that often stem from real-life incidents. Nicola Melis, who examines Ottoman sources, Appellániz, Fierro and Molino, Francesco Zappa, and Friedmann draw exemplary materials from this legal genre (to which I will shortly return). The second point is that after the formative period, *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* could be rather dormant categories (see chapter 8 by Éric Chaumont, at 157). It is in areas of intense interaction with non-Muslims because of trade, conflicts, or territorial vicinities, or otherwise in times of Islamic reformisms (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries), that the divide between *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* was reactivated, reacquiring in each context new relevance and diverse meanings.

The case of the northern region of al-Andalus painstakingly examined by Fierro and Molina has already been mentioned. Yet also exemplary is the case of northeastern Iran: between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, this was an area of intense interaction with the Turks as well as a region characterized by fluid steppe frontiers. Nonetheless, local dynasties copiously resorted to the *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* paradigm as a rhetorical device of legitimation and self-empowerment. Their appropriation of what was initially a legal tool elaborated by jurists close to the Abbasid court had little to do with territoriality or religious identity (Rhoné). Yet another case in point is that of western sub-Saharian Africa (*bilād al-sudān*). Discussing evidence from three different moments of the pre-colonial history of this area, Zappa (chapter 14), shows how the notions of *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* radically change in time, thus demonstrating the complexities of a region where the divide between *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* was never obvious, and the extraordinary potential of these categories to be molded in contrasting ways.

Colonial powers enacting an urgent confrontation of Muslim societies with the West, as well as contacts, circulations, migrations, and globalization: all these factors have triggered renewals of the *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* discourse in modern and contemporary Muslim societies. This is well illustrated in the last section of the book which considers modern India as well as Indonesian and colonial Tunisian contexts (chapters 17, 19 and 16). Minorities are also a privileged ground of enquiry, since they allow us to glimpse how the concepts at issue are negotiated according to specific agendas and historical circumstances (see Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti's chapter 4; Alessandro Cancian's chapter 15).

No volume on such a broad topic can ever be exhaustive. In this respect, I would like to draw attention to certain neglected source materials that add relevant clues to the topic in question. The first concerns early Khārijīs, who were perhaps the first to have articulated the idea of separate 'abodes' with a specific stress on the theme of emigration. We know that some early groups believed that the 'abode of their people' (*dār qawmi-him*)—that is, of non-Khārijīs—needed to be distanced by way of emigration (*hijra*) and that, accordingly, they held *hijra* to be a duty.

A unique, very early epistle attributed to a difficult to identify Ibāḍī khārijī named Sālim ibn Dhakhwān, and dated between 750 and 792 CE (but possibly incorporating even earlier materials), describes the beliefs of various Khārijī sects while arguing against them. The locutions *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* do not appear fully-fledged there. However, in Sālim's description, the idea emerges starkly of true faith needing to be physically asserted by an act of separation from the abode of the unbelievers/non-Khārijis (*dār qawmi-him*), that is by an act of emigration in emulation of the Prophet.[4] Since the earliest occurrence of *dār al-islām* occurs in parallel to *dār al-hijra* in the work of the Ḥanafī jurist Abū Yūsuf (d. 798 CE),[5] the contribution of these very early Khārijī materials must be taken in account in future explorations of the topic.

A second set of materials relates to the importance of fatwas as a literary genre particularly suited to hosting discussions on the subject here being considered. The Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328 CE) delivered some important statements on *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. The eighteenth volume of his collections of fatwas is mostly dedicated to Hadith commentary, and one such commentary unfolds on the famous ḥadīth on intentions (*innamā al-aʿmāl bi'l-niyyāt …*) where the last part mentions the *hijra*.[6] In the final pages, Ibn Taymiyya explains the meaning of two famous and apparently contradictory traditions concerning the *hijra*; one stating that after the conquest (usually intended as the conquest of Mecca) there will be no more *hijra*, but only *jihād* and intention; the other tradition declaring that emigration will not end until the enemy has been fought.[7]

It is regarding the first hadith that Ibn Taymiyya tackles the meaning of *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām*, insisting on their dynamic nature, and the possibility of shifting from one *dār* to the other as happened to Mecca. Initially a territory of unbelief and war (*dār al-kufr wa'l-ḥarb*), Mecca switched to *dār al-islām* when it was conquered by the Prophet. Thus the first manifestation of *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* is re-conducted to the life of the Muḥammad and the paradigmatic event of his migration from a territory of unbelief/war (Mecca) to one of faith (Medina). This is not surprising. It is also an element emerging forcefully in early *tafsīr* literature (see Roberto Tottoli at chapter 6 and Raoul Villano at chapter 7). But let us return to Ibn Taymiyya, who writes:

> The fact that a land is the abode of unbelief (*dār al-kufr*), faith (*dār al-īmān*) or depraved people (*dār al-fāsiqīn*) is not an intrinsic quality (*lāzim*), but rather an accidental one (*ṣifa ʿāriḍa*) depending on its inhabitants. Every land whose inhabitants are God-fearing

believers is the abode of God's friends in that moment, every land whose inhabitants are unbelievers is the abode of unbelief in that moment,[8] and every land whose inhabitants are dissolute (*fussāq*) is the abode of dissolution in that moment. And if a land is inhabited by people other than those we mentioned and is transformed by people different from them, then it is their abode (*fa-hiya dāru-hum*).[9]

And again, 'conditions of places are like the conditions of its servants',[10] writes Ibn Taymiyya, stressing that the quality of a given place depends on the qualities of those who live in it.

Another brief but famous fatwa regards the status of Mardin (in southern Turkey), a town that fell under Ilkhanid control at the end of the thirteenth century. Was it a place of war or peace (*balad ḥarb* or *silm*)? And, accordingly, was emigration (*hijra*) from it obligatory? [11] Ibn Taymiyya replied that Mardin was neither *dār al-silm* nor *dār al-ḥarb*, but that it corresponded to a third, composite type (*fa-hiya murakkaba*), and that it was not obligatory for Muslims to emigrate if they could practice their religion. Otherwise emigration was preferable but not compulsory. Mardin was not an abode of Islam, Ibn Taymiyya explained, because the rulings or institutions of Islam (*aḥkām al-islām*) were not in place. At the same time it was not an abode of war, because its people were not unbelievers; it was something composite, in between the two. Whereas the first text openly refrains from associating the nature of a given territory with its rulers, the second fatwa is more ambiguous. This not the right place to engage in a detailed discussion, but I stress that we do find definitions here.

Like most edited volumes that are the result of different hands, *Dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* is a heterogeneous book. Chapters are extremely diverse, both in length and scholarly standards. Exhaustive and well-researched essays mingle with others whose style, structure, and language can be fairly disheartening.

All chapters revolve around the core theme; the binomial *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* is effectively the thematic linchpin to which all contributions relate. Yet contrasting elements do emerge from time to time, and produce a rather centrifugal effect. A conclusive note that makes sense of contradictions and diversities, and fixes the major historical and interpretative trajectories that emerge from the book would have been most helpful. Among these, the most prominent seems to be that, after the formative period (from the seventh to the early tenth century), in pre-eighteenth-century Muslim societies *dār al-islām* and *dār* al-*ḥarb* could be latent categories. It is mainly in legal discussions or in relation to certain legal issues that the two expressions eventually crop up in diverse ways. As such, a strong essay from a legal scholar is missing from Part 3. Moreover, given the book's latitude, chapter abstracts would have been convenient. Author affiliations and short biographies are not necessary, but are usually welcome.

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[8] This sounds very similar to USMAN DAN FODIO's words cited and commented by FRANCESCO ZAPPA in the volume at 281—although USMAN DAN FODIO makes it very clear that the status of a given territory depends on its ruler.

[9] IBN TAYMIYYA, *MF*, vol. 18, 282 (*Sharḥ*); Michot, *Mardin*, 76-77.

[10] IBN TAYMIYYA, *MF*, vol. 18, 284 (*Sharḥ*); Michot, *Mardin*, 85.

[11] IBN TAYMIYYA, *MF*, vol. 28, 240-241; Michot in *Mardin*, 65-68 (translation), 1-28 (commentary).

These critical remarks are not meant to overshadow the merits of the book. As a project, it is in keeping with other recently edited collections that aim to place in time and space important ideas and cross-concepts for the history of the Muslim world. The volume on *takfīr* (charges of unbelief) edited by Maribel Fierro, Sabine Schmidtke, Camilla Adang and Hasan Ansari is a case in point.[12] The intent to explore how the categories of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* were received and elaborated over time in a multifarious array of literary genres and sources is a challenge not yet undertaken by scholars, and a rewarding effort even when 'silence,' or 'absence' is the outcome. It is left to future scholars to take up the challenge to write a coherent history of these categories and their reception. In the meantime, this book significantly advances our knowledge on the topic and will surely become a key reference reading on it.

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[12] CAMILLA ADANG, HASSAN ANSARI, MARIBEL FIERRO, SABINE SCHMIDTKE, eds, *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfir* (Leiden: Brill: 2015).

Pleasure in the Middle Ages
Naama Cohen-Hanegbi and Piroska Nagy
Turnhout Brepols Publishers 2018
[ISBN: 9782503575209]

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Cohen-Hanegbi and Nagy's edited collection of essays is divided into three parts: pleasured bodies, didactic pleasures and pleasure in God. As a whole, this volume has three aims: to uncover the range of pleasures in the Middle Ages, to challenge the perception that this period was one devoid of pleasure and to inspire further studies on the topic of pleasure in this period. Formed from a rich array of contributions by historians, art historians, philosophers, theologians and literary scholars, this book is imbued with a truly impressive breadth of expertise and gives the reader the sense that pleasure is, and should be treated as, an interdisciplinary topic. A result of the 2013 Leeds International Medieval Congress on pleasure, *Pleasure in the Middle Ages* has sixteen chapters in total which, between them, address pleasure in everything from theology and courts to medicine, manuscript illuminations and reading.

The first part of Cohen-Hanegbi and Nagy's volume is comprised of seven chapters and focuses on the theme of pleasured bodies. Across these seven chapters, pleasure is discussed in relation to the monastic lifestyles of the high middle ages (Cohen), merriment in late medieval England (Maddern), medicinal and theological attitudes to health, sex and self-discipline (Salmón: Cohen-Haegbi: Reddy), the creation and reading of illuminated manuscripts (Doyle), and the construction of a masculine code of conduct in the East from the third to ninth centuries (Moukheiber). Combined, these chapters are particularly striking for the sheer variety of the types of pleasure which they uncover across the medieval world during the third to fifteenth centuries, and for the diverse range of methods which the contributors have used to approach and discuss pleasure, or pleasures, in relation to the body. Several chapters awareness of the issue of translating medieval descriptions and perceptions of pleasure using modern notions, but they do so in different ways. Cohen and the late and much-missed Philippa C. Maddern's respective chapters for example, try to navigate the problems present in the translation of medieval descriptions of pleasure by arguing that these need to be analysed within the notions of the self, external world and language that existed in the high and late middle ages, not those which we hold today. William Reddy, in his chapter on pleasure, twelfth-century courts and neuroscience, highlights the difficulties present in translating the results of neuroscientific research into terms that can be useful for historians of pleasure, owing to the tendency of the sciences to 'kidnap' words such as 'emotion' which they then apply to their own

research without first problematising and acknowledging the cultural aspects of the terms first.

In the second part of *Pleasure in the Middle Ages*, the focus moves away from exploring pleasure and the body to examining pleasure in connection with didactic instruction. Consisting of five chapters, part two opens with Barbara Rosenwein's exploration of pleasure in Alcuin's *Sentences of Paternal Admonitions* or *On Virtues and Vices*. Perceiving the treatise to be a precursor to the present-day emotion self-help manual, Rosenwein suggests that it was created with a view to inciting pleasure in the mind of its intended reader, Wido, Count of the Breton Marches, by giving him instruction on how to master his feelings and actions. Pleasure, although not explicitly discussed in the text, was something that the treatise was intended to stimulate, by giving Wido confidence in his ability to obtain self-mastery. The connection between pleasure, instruction and self-mastery established in Rosenwein's chapter is carried forward in Newhauser and Perret's respective chapters. In Newhauser's chapter, the argument that twelfth to thirteenth century contemporaries perceived a complicated relationship to exist between pleasure, a multifaceted concept, sin and self-mastery becomes clear through the analysis of the influential writings of William Peraldus. Newhauser traces that pleasure developed an 'exchange value' with 'business' and 'narrative' aspects, something which resulted from Peraldus's adoption of the marketplace system of valuation as a metaphor to comment on moral values and the role of pleasure within them. Like Rosenwein and Newhauser, Perret explores pleasure in the work of the influential writer Giles of Rome, whose *On the Rule of Princes* had an enduring impact on contemporary thinking long after its composition in the late thirteenth century. Perret highlights that Giles, following the perceptions of Aristotle, perceived pleasure to be inextricably connected with education and the acquisition of virtue. For Giles, pleasure was instrumental in the physical and intellectual education of children, whose senses needed to be instructed to derive pleasure from performing virtuous actions. It was only by learning to take pleasure in the virtue of these actions, that a child could become a virtuous being. The importance of pleasure to virtue is also rendered apparent in Biron-Ouellet's chapter, arguing that Richard Rolle and Simone Fidati perceived pleasure to be an essential means by which one could judge the effectiveness of their spiritual practices. Biron-Ouellet's chapter is especially notable since, through its analysis of Fidati and Rolle's alternate uses of *gaudium* and *laetitia* to refer to spiritual pleasure, it bridges part two with part one and the discussions on words made by Maddern and Cohen. Élyse Dupras's chapter, illustrating the perverse pleasures which the accounts of the early martyrs, twelfth-century visions of Hell and Mystery Plays of the fifteenth to sixteenth century contain and invoke, is a fascinating read. Although there is little focus on didacticism, the theme upheld by the other chapters, Dupras's thought-provoking chapter does display a rounded, critical handling of pleasure in the sources. Over the course of the chapter, Dupras examines all the facets of the perverse pleasures which the descriptions and stage productions

of Hell contain and elicit: everything from the pleasure of the demons torturing sinners to that of saints who watch those tortures unfold and the audience, who get to see those who did wrong receive their just desserts.

Pleasures in God is the theme of the final part of this volume. Three of the four chapters discuss earthly pleasure and spiritual pleasure in relation to food and drink. Spiritual pleasure, as Guiliano explores, was discussed by Bede in the language of food and drink. Pope Gregory VII, as revealed by Grant, did not so much feel that it was the worldly pleasure attached to the consumption of leeks and onions that needed to be rejected so much as he felt that it was the leeks and onions themselves that needed to be rejected since, through their connection with carnal pleasures, they presented a diversion from the focus on the eternal path. Mews's chapter beautifully demonstrates that Bernard of Clairvaux, and indeed many other theological writers from Origen to Anselm, did not always interpret the opening to the Song of Songs as being hostile to the experience of physical pleasure. Guiliano's, Grant's and Mews's chapters, are particularly compelling because they complicate and debunk the traditional assumption that all thinkers of the medieval church perceived pleasure to be negative. Indeed, as these chapters show, the perception that there was a consistently negative attitude to pleasure in the church could not be further from the truth. Furthermore, the evident care taken by Guiliano, Grant and Mews to not only engage with a variety of late antique and early medieval sources that stretch beyond the scope of their immediate focus, but also to try and comprehend how their subjects perceived the pleasure they discuss, deserves high praise. Such care is carried through into Faesen's chapter which serves as the conclusion to the book as well as the third part. Faesen's chapter does not focus on pleasure in relation to food and drink as the preceding chapters do. Nevertheless, it does relate to the other three chapters through its focus on highlighting the spiritual pleasure visible in the relationship between enjoyment and the love of God that appears in the works of Ruusbroec and Hadewijch. Readers will find Faesen's chapter an appropriate conclusion to this book on and of pleasure, as it re-highlights the issue of translation which Cohen and Maddern emphasise in their opening chapters and thus brings the book full circle.

As a whole, *Pleasure in the Middle Ages* will be of especial interest to scholars who are interested in exploring attitudes to medicine, religion, sex, philosophy, community, friendship, the body and soul in the Middle Ages. Many emotion scholars will also find this volume stimulating through the contributions of Rosenwein, Reddy and, in particular, the last work of the much-loved Philippa Maddern. The impressive range of methodologies, sources and historical views contained within this volume enables it to provide something for every humanities scholar who is interested in exploring pleasure in the Middle Ages – everything from how modern scholars can discern pleasure in the sources of the Middle Ages to what pleasure there were, who experienced them and what people thought about them.

The Global Lives of Things:
The Material Culture of Connections
in the Early Modern World

Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello eds
London and New York: Routledge 2016
[ISBN: 9781138776661]

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The Global Lives of Things is a collection written by scholars who work at the intersection of the history of material culture and consumption on the one hand, and global history on the other. The collection is one outcome of the events organized by the 'Global Commodities' International Network funded by Britain's Arts and Humanities Research Council, and coordinated by the Global History and Culture Centre at the University of Warwick, with the collaboration of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem (Massachusetts), and the Bilgi University (Istanbul), between 2011 and 2013. The volume 'explores the ways in which objects—be they traded commodities, gifts, rarities, artworks or everyday mundane artefacts—came to shape the lives of people across the globe and at the same time created new and sometimes unpredictable connections' (xi). This implies understanding the meanings of objects, which depend on their 'social life,' according to Arjun Appadurai (*The Social Life of Things*, 1986).

During the 1980s, material culture and consumption were increasingly addressed by historians; for instance by Neil McKendrick, J. H. Plumb, and John Brewer, but also, and earlier, by Fernand Braudel. (Surprisingly, Braudel is not mentioned in *The Global Lives of Things*). Yet the publication of Appadurai's edited volume *The Social Life of Things* in 1986 helped to boost attention toward 'things,' and particularly toward the 'biographies' of things. According to Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, around the mid-1990s the scholarly landscape changed again, as a consequence of the 'global turn,' and now 'cross-border connections and interactions take precedence over the boundaries and narratives that seek to suggest the importance of separate nations' (2). While I agree with historians who stress the existence of earlier influential studies addressing global history, I also agree that, in the last two decades or so, attention to the 'global' and to 'globalization' has been booming.

In any case, importantly, *The Global Lives of Things* is the outcome of a fruitful intermingling of global history and the history of material culture and consumption. At stake is understanding the plural meanings of things, linked to their trajectories. To make sense of the world of goods by viewing objects as 'commodities that have been

moved from A to B is not enough.' As Gerritsen and Riello explain, 'we need to identify the "things" as global things and trace their trajectories, so that we see the accumulation of meanings that objects acquire as they travel.' Such travels imply longer or shorter displacements in space over longer or shorter spans of time, often associated with manipulations, changes, reutilization for different purposes. On the other hand, the contributors to this volume 'are not only interested in trajectories that span time zones and geographical variations:' they are also 'concerned to explore the transformative impact of these trajectories on the goods themselves' (13).

As Paula Findlen notes in one of three Afterwords to the volume (the other two are by Suraiya Faroqhi and Maxine Berg), *The Global Lives of Things* offers a number of 'material microhistories' (244). These illustrate itineraries that raise the question: 'how exactly do things become global?' Illuminating the implications of such transformation, the essays contribute to answering this question. In fact this collection 'considers how, in the early modern period, the social lives of things were global'—that is, they 'transcended the cultural and political boundaries of nations and even continents' (23). It does so by focusing on examples taken from 'the small but crucial portion of material culture that contributed to the creation of long-distance social and economic connections' (23).

The first part is devoted to 'Objects of global knowledge.' Pamela H. Smith explains that

> in the production of things, and, more generally, in all human acts of making, materials—which possess particular properties that enable a certain range of manipulations by the human hand—undergo a series of transformations, first into the 'raw materials' of human use by means of specialized practices and technologies, then into objects and things, and, finally (or, rather, concurrently), humans assign meanings to these things by integrating them into systems of knowledge and belief (or, 'theories') (31).

Smith focuses on a telling example, the production of vermilion (a red pigment used by artists to imitate blood) from sulphur and mercury. She illustrates the related flows of matter, practices, people, and knowledge across Eurasia.

Christine Guth's chapter is concerned with shagreen (leather made from shark and rayskin) and the network of knowledge that contributed to making the particular features of this product desirable at a global level: 'it satisfied the need for a material that was easily graspable and waterproof, but also had visual appeal.' Although used since antiquity, in early modern times shagreen was employed 'in a new range of goods including weapons, scientific instruments, lacquered chests, luggage, eyeglass and watch cases, and other personal accessories' (62). Shark and rayskin began to be traded across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. Japan was a major importer and

producer of luxury goods made with these materials, and, according to Guth, was a 'catalyst for their fashionable new applications in Europe' (62).

While many studies trace the flow of exotic goods to Europe, in this volume Pippa Lacey shows that in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean red coral was traded to Asia and the Qing imperial court (1644-1911). Thanks to the records of the English East India Company, Lacey focuses on the 'coral network' that linked Italian fishermen of coral, London diamond merchants, English naval captains, Chinese officials, as well as Guandong craftsmen and their Manchu rulers, the Qing emperors. This chapter shows that 'each link in the coral network combined to effect the transformation of red coral from natural raw material to precious imperial treasure' (81).

In the second part of *The Global Lives of Things* (titled 'Objects of global connections'), Mariana Françozo investigates the uses and meanings of feathered ornaments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, beginning with Louise Hollandine's surprising portrait of Princess Sophie of the Palatinate wearing a cape made of red and yellow feathers and a red-feathered headdress (in the collection of the Wasserburg-Anholt Castle, Isselburg, undated). After describing the production and ritual uses of feathered ornaments by Indigenous tribes, especially the Tupi people from the coastal area of Brazil, Françozo shows that after 1492 feathers quickly entered networks of material exchange, becoming the prized possessions of European collectors, and featuring in their *kunstkammers* as featherwork, loose sets of feathers, or entire birds. Featherwork thus exemplifies 'the transformation and reinvention of indigenous material culture in the colonial context' (107).

The connections of Portugal with Brazil and the Portuguese empire at large are the topic of Nuno Senos's chapter. The basis for this study is the extraordinary inventory—a list of over 6,000 entries—of the Vila Viçosa palace of Teodósio I, Duke of Bragança (d. 1563), who belonged to the wealthiest and most powerful family among the Portuguese nobility. Senos investigates those entries that reflect the duke's interest and involvement in maritime voyages that had been led by the Portuguese from the early fifteenth century onwards, to establish strongholds and cities in Morocco, the Gulf of Guinea, Mozambique, the West coast of India, Malacca, China, Japan, and Brazil, and to develop transcontinental trade in a multitude of commodities. Significantly, the duke's palace was filled with products from all over the world: according to Senos, this uncovered 'their integration in a general sense of normality' rather than a 'fascination for the exotic' (140).

The following chapter takes readers to Australia: Susan Broomhall investigates the encounters that took place, from the seventeenth-century onwards, between members of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Aboriginal peoples. This study explores how European objects (from trinkets and toys to precious metal and textiles) 'have been crucial to, and embedded in, power relations, expressed in social and

emotional forms and practices, between Europeans and indigenous peoples in what is now Australia' (145-46). These objects have been agents of colonial and power relations; those that have survived to the present day challenge the common narrative according to which 'Australia was settled by the British at Port Jackson in 1788' (156), and contribute to perpetuating the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples 'from access, rights and emotional connections to their own lands' (157).

The encounters around the material objects analyzed by Kévin Le Doudic in his chapter about French and Indian consumers in eighteenth-century Pondicherry (India), show a different landscape. The city—the main trading post of the French East India Company in the Indian Ocean during the eighteenth century—was a commercial hub where merchandise from India, Europe, and the so-called Far East circulated, and inhabitants and travelers from different lands met. Le Doudic focuses on three types of encounters that shaped material life in the city: 'unavoidable encounters' occasioned by the need of the French to adapt to the environment; 'commercial encounters,' the main reason for the French presence; 'cultural encounters,' 'one expression of which can be traced in material goods' (163). Interestingly, for instance,

> in terms of clothing and luxury accessories, Indians owned products of all origins in contrast to the French who excluded Asian products. This was due to the fact that some Indians sought to identify with the Westerners inhabiting the trading post with whom they were in contact for commercial purposes.

For the French, 'clothing was essential to social distinction and identification with the norms and values of French society. It was impossible to dress in Indian style' (176).

In the third part of the book, titled 'Objects of global consumption,' Matthew P. Romaniello discusses tobacco habits in the Russian empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The czars banned tobacco imports from the 1620s to the end of the century, when Peter the Great legalized imports, and trade flourished. However, when the ban was in place, tobacco was smuggled into European Russia and imported to Siberia, where it could be legally traded outside town walls, becoming part of Siberian commerce with Bukhara, India, Iran, and China. By the eighteenth century, Russia relied upon tobacco to facilitate the Siberian fur trade, and smoking spread among the populations of the Kamchatka peninsula. Those who belonged to the court of Peter the Great enjoyed smoking pipes; the eighteenth-century Russian elite preferred snuff, and western Siberian populations used water-pipes. The study of tobacco in Russia thus reveals social peculiarities and localized consumption habits pertaining to different ethno-linguistic groups that reinforced regional variations; patterns of consumption cannot be said to have unified the empire with a common habit, rather the contrary (195).

Sugar is often associated with tobacco in studies devoted to colonial consumer goods and global commodities. Yet Urmi Engineer approaches the history of sugar by focusing on the ecological changes caused by the transition to large-scale plantations that relied on African slaves. Environmental historians have mainly focused on deforestation, soil depletion, and erosion. Engineer aims to highlight changes in disease ecology: deforestation, irrigation, canal building, and so forth, as well as the development of port cities all created environments 'particularly hospitable to West African diseases, especially yellow fever and malaria' (199). Her approach thus contributes to illuminate 'the ways in which non-human agents can shape human history' (198).

Christine Fertig and Ulrich Pfister's chapter on global material culture in eighteenth-century Hamburg shows that Germany's overseas imports consisted mainly of colonial goods. Particularly spectacular was the growth in the market for coffee (despite stagnant per capita incomes), in connection with industrial development: textile workers appreciated coffee because it favored concentration on work during the long hours they had to spend sitting at the loom; moreover, women were numerous among such workers and had little time to cook. Other goods whose trade expanded rapidly, thanks to the increasing appreciation of body-care in the age of Enlightenment, were those 'contributing to bodily well-being through their dietetic and medical application,' such as cinchona bark, jalapa, and asafoetida. However, imported substances underwent 'glocalizing' processes: they were disentangled from the ritual, medical, and dietetic practices associated with them in non-European societies, and reconfigured for use in Europe.

Numerous images, both paintings and photographs, make visible to readers several 'things' that are the subject of this edited volume. Unfortunately, in the hard copy and in the e-book, all images are reproduced in black and white. Of course searches on the Internet can allow interested readers to view some of the images in all their colors which, in some cases, are crucial to appreciating their meaning. This is the case, for instance, with the oil painting by Antonio de Pereda known as *Still Life with an Ebony Chest* (State Hermitage Collection, St Petersburg, 1652); a refined analysis of this picture opens the book.

The extremely rich variety of objects, goods, habits, and themes dealt with in *The Global Lives of Things* may give the impression of a somewhat fragmented and dazing itinerary. However, within a scholarly landscape where both global history and the history of material culture and consumption have become a kind of fashion with a booming production of sometimes repetitive books and articles, this collection certainly does not bore the reader, thanks to its variegated contents. Indeed, it succeeds in communicating the complex, conflictual, chaotic but also coherent growth of connections and exchanges around the world. It also succeeds in illustrating the production of knowledge linked to the trajectories of those objects that became global:

such objects, brought from one place to the other, were given new significances, and this resulted into a plurality and accumulation of meanings variable according to place and times.

L'histoire, pour quoi faire?
Serge Gruzinski
Paris Fayard 2015
[ISBN 9782213677521]

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L'histoire, pour quoi faire? is a complex book—a short but highly problematic book. On the one hand it develops a reflection on the meaning of history in contemporary societies. On the other hand, it addresses the historical phenomenon of globalization, starting from today and moving backwards to its sixteenth-century beginning. During the second decade of the sixteenth century, within a few years two particularly significant events of a global scale took place: on the western side, the start of the Spanish conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés; on the eastern side, the attempt made by the Portuguese to penetrate China.

For the Spaniards, the good result of the Mexican adventure coincided with the beginning of the construction of a new West, in an area of the world that had never come into contact with the ancient ecumene. By contrast, the least known—and almost never mentioned—Portuguese initiative failed miserably. Nonetheless, from the simultaneity of these two projections outside its borders Europe acquired the conceptual assumptions to imagine itself as the center of the world.;

The roots of Eurocentrism, then, are placed there. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, in the context of what was traditionally called ecumene, the Europeans pushed their eyes only towards the East. However, from the sixteenth century onwards their glance became oblique: in the direction of the West, by virtue of their conquest they gave birth to a sort of cloning of themselves. They did so while facing a contrast with the 'world of the won,' from which long-lasting experience paths of *metissage* (intermingling) and contamination later emerged. At the same time, the direction of an East had for centuries escaped the European domination, and Europeans not only attended to this East with an unprecedented intensity, but also connected it with the new Western world. As a result of the slavery imposed by the Europeans, the same fate also affected Africa in the modern age. The global plot that encompassed the world in the following centuries was therefore characterized by a largely European agency. But what Europe are we talking about?

The concept of Eurocentrism is generally linked to factors that have marked the history of what is today Northern Europe. As such, it is connected to issues such as

the scientific and industrial revolutions (the Weberian 'disenchantment of the world'), or to the experience of British and French imperial domination on a global scale between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of the most interesting results of Serge Gruzinski's study is an appropriate, different emphasis on the transformation that Eurocentrism has undergone as a concept over time.

Perhaps because it was defeated and dominated, as happened to the societies of Central and South America; or because it frequently hosted merchant and missionary projections, as occurred in Asia, the Europe that the world knew in the sixteenth century was in fact the Iberian Europe, in its turn equipped with numerous Italian collaborators. Southern Europe, therefore, the same Europe which during the following centuries, knew a process of undeniable decadence—to the point of becoming, in the eyes of those who in the meantime imposed themselves as the holders of Western 'progress,' synonymous with a geographical, civil, and cultural liminality.

Later on, the northern Europeans began often applying to the southern Europeans the same negative assessments that the latter had elaborated from the sixteenth century to describe those populations of the new West that they had conquered. After being the center for the diffusion and direction of early modern Eurocentrism, the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean became, therefore, territorial and cultural peripheries; thus, in many respects, parts of the 'south' of the world. This causes Gruzinski to pose a question of great importance and interest: what do we talk about when we discuss European identity and modernity, since both are composed of many heterogeneous materials? For instance, not only - to use Weber's terminology - 'Protestant ethics' and 'spirit of capitalism', or Italian Renaissance, but also –the author argues - so to say 'radical' and conservative Catholicism in its Iberian version: seen from the perspective suggested by this book, Eurocentrism shows itself with many faces, whose relative relief changes over time. This tendency to metamorphosis demonstrates that the very nature of Europe is a far from static concept. It includes, alongside some unifying factors, many highly differentiated and conflicting elements. Indeed, the contact with other parts of the world, played a decisive role in enhancing these differences, as well as in making them become causes of inter-European ideological and cultural conflict. From this point of view, the initial episodes of the 'leyenda negra' that Gruzinski recalls in this book are perhaps the first manifestation of that sense of distancing which—the author reminds us—still today makes it difficult for Northern Europe to accept the idea that the protagonists of the first globalization were the Iberians and the Italians.

Of course the beginning of (Iberian) globalization was not only the occasion for an expansion of Europe. Nonetheless Gruzinski argues with conviction that Europe was certainly the main subject of the process of globalization: he does so without fear of taking distance from the critical positions outlined on this matter by postcolonial

studies and cultural studies. In pages that are among the most intriguing of his study, Gruzinski re-engages with other issues that he already considered in previous works—namely in *Les quatre parties du monde* (2004), *Quelle heure est-il là-bas. Amérique et Islam à l'orée des Temps modernes* (2008), and *L'Aigle et le Dragon. Démesure européenne et mondialisation au XVIe siècle* (2012). In fact he shows that, in some ways, the game played during the sixteenth century in the Americas was a continuation of the game begun before the epic of the Conquest. That adventure was animated by more than a simple reflection of multi-century, anti-Islamic fervor—and with Southern Catholic Europe the old history of the ancient competition between Christianity and Islam implicitly entered the new World.

Yet soon certain Ottoman intellectuals became aware of the existence of the new World, and began to imagine it as the possible future scenario of a new wave of Islamic expansion. Meanwhile, even in Spanish Mexico there were those who looked toward an East situated east of Europe. This was done, for example, by the Mexican chronicler Chimalpahin, a figure who exemplifies a process of cultural hybridization. This process produced both the 'cloning' of Europe in other parts of the world, and the acceleration and intensification of a tendency to *metissage*: a phenomenon which is the key to the deepest understanding of human history as a whole.

However, such a tendency towards *metissage* has always been developed within a well-outlined balance of power. This fact - Gruzinski argues - must always be considered in real terms, avoiding the temptation to see in it, uncritically, an easy way of composing the conflicts that have characterized human history in the past, and continue to do so. Once the 'radically' Eurocentric perspective which has long dominated historiography is set aside, human history is found to be polycentric and entangled. And Gruzinski devotes the most original and surprising part of his book to this theme, investigating the dialectic between polycentrism and hybridization in contemporary society, and in the historical narratives that feed it today.

But in the contemporary world, history is no longer communicated to the public by the professional historians alone. In addition, globally, the power of images has become in many respects more important than that of the written word and of the book (the elements that once constituted the symbol of cultural superiority). As such, a substantial number of the great narratives that connect the public with the historical dimension are produced in non-academic areas; this tends to be a history that 'goes on stage,' and is perceived by its audiences more through the channel of emotion than through reflection and reasoning. Such is the history, for example, made by television networks, with their serial productions about the past; made by the film industry, and further, in a lesser tone, made in other forms of art and entertainment.

In this context, Gruzinski discusses two specific cases that exemplify the current polycentrism of historiographical narratives. The first is that of the films made by Zhang Yimou, beginning with *Red Lanterns* in 1991, and culminating in *Hero* in 2004. Zhang proposes a narrative of China as the center of world history. His works highlight the continuity between past and present (a radiant present and an imperial past), glossing over the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth century, or the epochs of decay and submission. By this Zhang aims especially to exalt the recent rediscovery of the 'perennial' Confucian soul of Chinese culture, and to indicate in the latter the root of a possible 'mild' and peaceful 'sinocentric' universalism, one opposed to the aggressive universalism of a Western matrix. This is an interpretation that Zhang proposed to a global audience through his direction of the opening ceremony of the Games of the XXIX Olympiad that were hosted in China in 2008. (The American filmmaker Steven Spielberg withdrew as an adviser as a sign of protest against the violation of human rights in China.) Yet, as an alternative to the Eurocentric master narrative, this Sinocentric tale is not the only historical narrative that has been broadcast through cinema in recent times. Like China, Russia has sought for itself a new place in global history, articulating a tale that emphasizes continuity while tending to remove embarrassing periods from a reassuring reading of national history. Perhaps above all, the Russian filmmaker Alexander Sokurov has given expression to this approach in the movie *Russian Ark* (2002).

Alongside the theme of nationalistic polycentrism in its relationship with global history, Gruzinski's book repeatedly addresses the experience of hybridization associated with globalization. Here he leads the reader through very unusual places. For example, he describes a class at a high school in Roubaix, where a brave teacher at a multiethnic school has tried to stage a show created on the basis of materials in *L'Aigle et le Dragon*. The teacher aimed to contribute to building a shared past among his pupils, children whose stories are so diverse and dissonant. A second example is one immortalized in a photograph by Kader Attia, 'who shows one of the many possible images of the current world: a handful of teenagers playing football in the Algerian countryside. The place? The plains of Aurès, more precisely Tazoult. The scene? A Roman arch that serves as a door to a group of boys who strike the ball' (p.9). As a third example: the muddy shores of the Tapajos River in Santarém, the second city in the Brazilian state of Pará, where, while waiting to board a boat that will traverse the Rio of the Amazons, the author encounters a peddler who offers for sale a package of copied DVDs of Asian films of the most varied content. All these examples evoke the extraordinary density of the phenomena of hybridization that characterize the contemporary world and its places, each involving a puzzling mixture of different temporalities and spatialities.

Until recently the Eurocentric master narrative has been the core of the historical tale itself, since modern historiography was born in Europe at a time when Europe

dominated the world. The same master narrative is thus incapable of providing convincing answers to the complexities of a global world. Europe has undoubtedly contributed most to the emergence of such a world, but today this world includes an impetuous proliferation of subjects, languages of communication, and agencies, in an entanglement of autonomy and connection. To renew itself, therefore, historiography can no longer avoid matching the newer narrative techniques with new sources—which are today just as important as written sources for their ability to reach an audience much wider than that achieved by academic narratives.

Do we still need history? I believe Gruzinski's book gives an affirmative answer to this question. As such, we must learn to 'do' history that takes into account how deeply the global present has altered the nineteenth-century historical landscape that was the backdrop to the birth of modern historical writing.

The Global City
On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon
Jordan Gschwend, Annemarie and K. J. P. Lowe eds
London Paul Holberton Publishing 2015
[ISBN: 978190372889]

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Great discoveries such as the one that gave birth to *The Global City* are rare nowadays. In the preface to this fine book, we can read how it happened: in 2009, Kate Lowe, a historian of early modern Italy and Portugal, was in the office of Dr Dora Thornton, the British Museum's Curator of Renaissance Europe and Curator of the Waddesdon Bequest (a collection of about 300 objects bequeathed to the museum in 1898 by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, now on permanent display in a newly curated room). A photocopy of an old painting was sitting on a pile of papers. It showed part of a late Renaissance street view that nobody had been able to identify. For over a century, and without being noticed, the painting itself had been sitting in Kelmscott Manor (once the retreat of William Morris), now one of two museums run by the Society of Antiquaries of London. The wheels began to turn: Lowe suspected that the painting depicted a place in Iberia. The next day, her collaborator on earlier projects, the American-Swiss art historian Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, identified the scene as representing the central street of Renaissance Lisbon, the *Rua Nova dos Mercadores*. Official photographs of the paintings can be viewed on the website of Art UK at https://artuk.org/visit/venues/society-of-antiquaries-of-london-kelmscott-manor-6070.

As discoveries go, this was a spectacular one. The painting was just one of two panels that resulted from the cutting of the late sixteenth-century original at an unspecified date. From a strictly aesthetic point of view, it is not a work of overwhelming appeal. Much of the architectural scenery, consisting of dozens of narrow, three to four-storied houses with columns at the ground level, and shuttered windows further up, is held in tones of grey. A large proportion of the men, women, and children shown standing and sitting around, conversing with each other or going about other business, are dressed entirely in black or dark blue. Only a few touches of red, white, and ochre enliven the picture, along with some picturesque scenes typical of European genre paintings of the day. Yet for the historian, these two panels are of the greatest significance. They are the only known pictorial representation of the main commercial thoroughfare of one of the greatest cities of the early modern world.

In the words of Jakob Cuelvis, a German visitor to Iberia in 1599-1600 and author of the *Tesoro Chorografico de las Españas*, 'the Rua Nova is one of the richest streets

in the world.' Tirso de Molina reported: 'there is a street they call Rua Nova, which contains all the greatness and wealth of the Orient.' Inevitably, the discovery of the Kelmscott panels gave rise to an exhibition project. The ambition to produce a show, not just on the paintings as such, but about Lisbon as a global city, proved too much for the Wallace Collection, which originally embraced the idea. Eventually, the exhibition was held at Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon in 2017 (with parts later transiting to the Museu Soares dos Reis in Porto). *The Global City*, published in 2015 already in English, is a catalogue of sorts to the exhibition that never happened in London—but the volume is also much more than that. It is a full-blown scholarly work that deserves to be on the reading list of anyone interested in global connections, art, and material culture during the sixteenth century. It makes excellent reading for students or art history and global history. And it has the added advantage of being lavishly produced, courtesy of a London publisher willing to print beautiful books that do not always cost the world.

A number of key themes run through the various contributions in *The Global City*. Firstly, questions revolving around representation. Two opening chapters by the volume editors offer an excellent overview of the pictorial record of Renaissance Lisbon. Fewer images survive today than one would expect from such an important city, but also more than one might fear, taking into consideration the great earthquake of 1755, which decimated large parts of Lisbon, including some of its archives and art collections. The chapters provide abundant contextualization in their inclusion of city views from other parts of Europe, namely Italy. The panorama is supplemented by a chapter about literary representations of the *Rua Nova* by the literary historian Tom Earle. Combining archival, pictorial, and archaeological evidence, a chapter by Jordan Gschwend concerns what we now know about the *Rua Nova* in terms of architecture and urbanism. The highlight here is a '2D reconstruction' – that is, a computer-generated pictorial panorama – of the street, courtesy of Laura Fernández-González and Harry Kirkham.

The second theme running through the volume has to do with the population of Lisbon in the sixteenth century. Among the most striking aspects of the Kelmscott panels is the presence of numerous men, women, and children of African background. The large number of enslaved and free Blacks in Renaissance Lisbon has long been a commonplace assumption (it goes back to accounts by travelers from northern Europe who expressed their awe at such a visible non-white presence in the sixteenth century). While it is still not an aspect sufficiently embraced by the Portuguese public, it has been the subject of a growing number of scholarly projects. Kate Lowe is one of the foremost specialists in the history of black people in early modern Europe, and her discussion of 'the global population' of Lisbon offers precisely the kind of overview—detailed, nuanced, yet also capable of conveying the greater picture—that one would expect from such a rigorous researcher.

The third grand theme—and indeed the dominant aspect of most chapters—is material and visual culture. Here, too, *The Global City* presents the results of substantial new research. Much progress has been made in recent years on the study of inventories; Jordan Gschwend, among others, has been involved in this development. Some of the novelties now presented are remarkable in the way they go beyond the sphere of great noble households, into the world of less wealthy families and, indeed, into the shops that characterized Lisbon in the sixteenth century. The passage that perhaps most strikingly sums up the picture emerging from this new research is one that opens a chapter by Hugo Miguel Crespo on 'Global Interiors': 'contrarily to what has been argued in recent years, and apart from Portuguese royal collectors like Queen Catarina of Austria, the sixteenth-century Portuguese did not collect exotic Asian objects. Instead, they used them casually in everyday life inside their homes and wore them on the streets' (121). For example, there is evidence that an 'upper middle-class lady' in Porto wore an Indian embroidered cloak (*mantilha*) identical to one belonging to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Chinese porcelain abounded in Portuguese homes, and precious silk textiles and gilded furniture could be 'bought second-hand at daily auctions held in Lisbon's main squares' (121).

From here, two strands of analysis emerge: on the one hand, we are offered a welcome emphasis on materiality, an aspect that, as Ulinka Rublack has reminded us recently, is key to any understanding of the values attached to 'art' in the European Renaissance.[1] Crespo discusses this in the abovementioned chapter, and in another, where Sri Lankan techniques of rock crystal carving are explored in detail, along with questions of iconography and faith. An entire chapter by Bruno Werz is dedicated to the shipwreck of the carrack *Bom Jesus* (1533) recently discovered in Namibia; Jordan Gschwend explores Lisbon's patterns of 'global consumption'; Ulrike Körber examines lacquered Indo-Muslim shields and the way they may have been used for display. Most other chapters—including one on Chinese commodities by Rui Manuel Loureiro, and another on African ivories by Lowe—naturally carry numerous references to the materiality and commercial value(s) of the artwork discussed.

On the other hand, one also finds a great deal of information on matters of visual culture and iconography. Carla Alferes Pinto explores Christian sculpted ivories from India and Sri Lanka, and Crespo offers a detailed and inventive analysis of Ceylonese rock crystal representations of Jesus in relation to the religious world of recent converts from Buddhism and Hinduism. Crespo is particularly interested in the religious world of Bhakti Hindus and its translatability and connectability with Catholic notions of contemplation, bliss, and devotion. Some of this material is quite original and will hopefully trickle through to the next round of discussions on empire, faith, and conversion in early modern Asia.

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[1] ULINKA RUBLACK, "Matter in the Material Renaissance," *Past and Present*, 219 (2013): 41-85.

Is there anything to criticize, then, about *The Global City*? Interestingly, the exhibition held in Lisbon in 2017 gave rise to a public controversy. On the surface, this controversy was much ado about nothing. The historian Diogo Ramada Curto, not himself an expert in art, raised doubts about the authenticity of the Kelmscott panels, and also about that of another genre painting of comparable quality, which shows a social scene at the water fountains known as *Chafariz d'el Rei*.[2] Curto's intervention was peculiar, inasmuch as he had been involved in earlier publications in which the *Chafariz* painting's provenance was never questioned; his casting doubt was also a source of some embarrassment in the face of the doctoral research of a young art historian at London's University of the Arts. In an article published in 2015 but ignored by Curto, Julia Dudkiewicz showed beyond reasonable doubt that the *Rua Nova* paintings were part of the collection of Dante Gabriel Rossetti which ended up at Kelmscott.[3] Further analysis has also confirmed, in 2017, that the *Chafariz* painting can almost certainly be dated to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The question does persist, however, whether there is something in the politics of *The Global City* calling for debate. Like much of the historiography of early modern connections written over the past twenty years, this book teems with phrases such as 'interconnectedness' (47), 'diversity and entanglements' (57), or 'hybridity' (*passim*). Jordan Gschwend's work has often emphasized the colorful and exotic elements in the world of Renaissance collectors of Asian art. Of course, it would be rather strange if studies on this period did not; but one can certainly argue that a little more attention to the violence pervading early modern global trade would be welcome. The 'purchasing' of luxuries in Asia was not always just a stroll through the shops of Goa, but often involved piracy, theft, forced labor, and murder. Given the recent debate kicked off by Jeremy Adelman about the potentially pernicious politics of global history writing—its sometimes excessive attention to connections, and the way it can lead to an uncritical view of early globalization—this is something that every early modernist should be thinking about.[4]

Curto believes that the kind of global connected history which has become mainstream among Lusitanists since the late 1990s, and which resonates through the pages of *The Global City*, allows Lusotropicalism—the pernicious, rose-colored vision of a benign Portuguese imperialism formulated by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, and subsequently appropriated by the Salazar regime in the 1950s—to return

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[2] DIOGO RAMADA CURTO, "Lisboa era uma cidade global?," in *Expresso*, 18 February 2017, accessible online at http://expresso.sapo.pt/cultura/2017-02-26-Lisboa-era-uma-cidade-global--1 (last accessed 16 February 2018).

[3] JULIA DUDKIEWICZ, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Collection of Old Masters at Kelmscott Manor," *The British Art Journal*, XVI, 2 (2015): 89-100.

[4] JEREMY ADELMAN, "What is global History now?," *Aeon* (2017), https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment (last accessed 16 February 2018). Compare the vigorous rebuttal in RICHARD DRAYTON and DAVID MOTADEL, "Discussion: The Futures of Global History," *Journal of Global History*, 13, 1 (2018): 1-21.

to public discourse in an academic disguise. This raises the question in the first place of what gives a scholar with limited achievements in global history the right to dismiss the work of an entire generation of historians who have overcome precisely the provincialism of earlier Portuguese historiography. Yet apart from this question, is *The Global City* really an uncritical *encomion* of early modern globalization? There are certainly some causes for concern. Probably the most uncanny lapse is found in a passage in the chapter on '*Olisipo, Emporium Nobilissimum*,' where the abundance of Sri Lankan luxury objects in the Lisbon marketplace is explored with great delight on grounds of a document written in 1552 (150). How can one revel in this abundance without mentioning the brutal looting of the Temple of the Buddha's Tooth at Kōṭṭe—the foremost sacred place of Theravada Buddhism—by Portuguese troops, in 1551? The question may also arise of what function, exactly, is performed by a chapter by Shephard Krech III on the turkey in the Kelmscott paintings? Like so much that has been written on animals as *exotica* in the European Renaissance, this is scholarship that is delightful to read, but could benefit from some of the theoretical discussions underway concerning colonialism, animal agency and ecocide, even without going deeper into the troubled waters of the posthuman turn.

And yet it seems incongruous, and indeed unfair, to brand *The Global City* as yet another example of uncritical 'global talk.' Even taking into account its journalistic context, the tone of Curto's attack is beyond what most scholars would consider civil; it accuses the exhibition curators of a conscious avoidance of the negative aspects of empire building. This is clearly excessive, given, for example, the book's exploration of the extremely harsh conditions endured by slaves—both materially, as they carried the faeces of white people through the streets of Lisbon every day, due to the failure of the Portuguese elite to build an appropriate sewage system; and socially, as they were exposed to pejorative language and other kinds of abuse (63). Further into the book, where the rock-carvers of Sri Lanka are presented, what reader could not feel the pain suffered in the endless hours of hard manual work that went into the making of luxury objects?

Certainly such critical aspects need to be highlighted further and more explicitly than is currently standard, especially in the face of a wider resurgence of Lusotropical ideas in the ongoing boom of historical fiction written by Portuguese historians. But the criticism so far is no match for the scholarship presented in *The Global City*. A focused and informed debate is what we need, where all stakeholders are allowed to discuss the exact significance of the 'exotic' for sixteenth-century Lisbon, and thereby make a critical contribution, grounded in the study of material, social, and visual realities, to our understanding of the early modern world.

Mythology and Diplomacy
in the Age of Exploration

Adam Knobler
Leiden-Boston: Brill 2017
[ISBN 9789004324909]

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Mythology and Diplomacy in the Age of Exploration is volume 23 of the Brill series 'European Expansion and Indigenous Response.' In the Foreword to this volume, George Bryan Souza (present editor of the series) states that the aim of the collection is to analyze 'the process of European expansion, interchange and connectivity in a global context in the early modern and modern period,' taking into account the 'several ancillary historical processes' produced by European expansion and encounter with the rest of the world, such as 'colonization, imperialism, capitalism and globalization' (ix). In this context, *Mythology and Diplomacy in the Age of Exploration* concerns medieval and early modern interaction between European and non-European worlds. Adam Knobler assumes that this interaction was influenced by medieval mythology, and especially by two well-known myths: namely the myth of the existence of Prester John's powerful kingdom, and the myth of Saint Thomas's preaching in the Indies.

Knobler defines myths as 'sacred religious narrative[s] involving extraordinary events, upon which cultures base their behavior and their understanding of aspects of the world' (1). These narratives, he states, shaped the expectations of kings, emissaries, and explorers; as such, diplomacy was molded by medieval mythologies, conditioning Europeans' knowledge of the peoples and cultures they encountered. Consequently, European diplomatic overtures to newly discovered groups or polities were made under these pre-existing cosmographical assumptions, creating false expectations.

This book does not focus on medieval and early modern diplomatic technicalities, but on the use and influence of mythology in the history of diplomacy between Europeans and non-Europeans. Specifically, it refers to medieval and early modern diplomacy as the desire of Christians 'to find allies "on the other side of Islam"' (105). And the aim of this desire was to organize a Crusade to defeat the Muslims and reconquer the Holy Sepulchre.

This study covers the period from the twelfth century to the seventeenth; for Knobler, the 'Age of Exploration' encompasses the Iberian expansion in the Indies (between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), and European contacts with eastern kingdoms through the Middle Ages up to the seventeenth century. The book's first

chapter introduces the myth of Prester John, which spread during the first half of the twelfth century. Prester John was believed to have been the Christian emperor of a powerful kingdom in the 'marvelous East,' which embodied western virtues such as strength, independence, and material wealth. Knobler discusses how, during a difficult crusading period, Prester John served as a desirable ally for the Christians against the Muslims. In this sense, all distant and unknown kingdoms soon became suitable lands in which to locate Prester John's kingdom.

Chapter 2 analyzes European contacts and diplomatic interactions with the Turco-Mongols. As Knobler states, 'aspects of the Prester John mythology persistently shaped Western observations and diplomatic relations with the Mongols' (12). Before their invasion of Europe, the Mongols were hoped to be Prester John's people. Christians' explorations in the East, and their attempts to build an alliance with the Mongols were powered by this initial hope—and by the possibility of a Mongol conversion.

Following his analysis of European-Mongol diplomatic failures, Knobler argues that European diplomatic overtures turned towards Ethiopia, where Prester John's reign was believed to be 'found' (chapter 3). Ethiopia, traditionally considered one of the first evangelized nations, was regarded as one of the best candidates for the role of Christianity's distant ally against the Muslims. In keeping with this perspective, Europeans (especially the Portuguese) led diplomatic missions to Ethiopia. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Portuguese explorations represent for Knobler a turning point in the vicissitudes of the myth of Prester John, as do the circulation of prophecies regarding the unification of the world under Christianity. The Portuguese empire was promoted as embodying the qualities of Prester John's kingdom, while Ethiopia was branded 'heretic' and a 'minor kingdom—irrelevant for the Portuguese and their dreams of world domination' (55).

As analyzed in chapter 4, the explorations in Africa and Asia were still conditioned by the myths of Prester John and Saint Thomas. For Knobler, the figure of Vasco da Gama is exemplary: his first voyages 'demonstrate the preexistent Portuguese belief in the presence of Christians in the "Indies".' Moreover, Knobler shows how the myth of Saint Thomas's preaching 'influenced what he [da Gama] thought he saw in India' (58–59). During the Portuguese explorations, many African kings, as well as Asian Christians, were identified as descendants of those to whom the apostle had preached. In the first section of this chapter, a central theme is the failure of Portuguese diplomatic attempts to establish an alliance (to reconquer Jerusalem) with these peoples.

The second part of chapter 4 and the chapter that follows are dedicated to the role that mythology played in the Iberian colonization of the New World. Knobler describes how missionaries in New Mexico and Peru manipulated the Aztec myth of

Quetzalcoatl (the 'feathered serpent') and the imagery of the Inkan god Viracocha (creator of all things) to explain to Mesoamerican peoples that these divinities were no other than Saint Thomas, who preached in the Americas in ancient times. Knobler explains this preaching strategy with reference to a perspective both political and religious: 'by stating that older local deities were in fact Christian, the Spanish (in particular) could claim that the Americas were by rights Christian lands historically,' and the Conquest 'was simply a reclamation of lands that … were returning to their "rightful" owners.' Moreover, Christians rewrote and 'Christianized' the past and the cosmologies of Amerindians in order to place themselves 'in the "proper order" of things' (69).

The author also takes into account the mission to the East of Christopher Columbus, and his arrival in the New World (chapter 5). For Knobler, this 'diplomatic' voyage destined to reach the court of the Grand Khan represents the 'continuation of the search for allies in Central Asia' (70) analyzed in chapter 2. Traces of this search and crusading ideology can be found during the colonization of the New World: firstly, in Columbus's emphasis on American gold (to finance a supposed forthcoming crusade), and, secondly, in the instructive medium of dance dramas, first documented in 1539. Created and presented under Franciscan direction, in these events, Amerindians performed as Christians and their allies in battles against the Muslims. Following a general introduction to the prophetical context of the Conquest, Knobler concludes that 'crusade to the Holy Land was intimately linked with the development of Spanish empire in the Americas' (76).

In chapter 6, Knobler analyzes European 'Christianization' of the past of non-Christian princes and peoples (the Aq Qoyunlu, the Safavids, and the Druze of Lebanon) during the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. He also presents the failed attempts of Christian diplomacy to organize with these peoples a crusade against the Ottomans. In these attempts, 'the imagining of a Christian king "behind" Islam, established by the Prester John stories, still continued' (82). Finally, Knobler extends the European mythological landscape by briefly taking into account the long-lasting Jewish desire for contact with distant and powerful Jewish kingdoms (chapter 7). The myth of Ten Lost Tribes of Israel played a leading role in these expectations. According to a widespread and common Jewish interpretation of this myth, the Ten Tribes were believed to be bound for Europe to save their coreligionists from their condition of subjection and diaspora.

Knobler describes how, throughout the centuries, the accounts of Jewish travelers (such as Eldad ha-Dani and Benjamin of Tudela), prophet-messiahs or pseudo-ambassadors (like David Reubeni), and authors (such as Abraham Farissol) described the kingdom of the Ten Lost Tribes, thereby reinforcing Jewish expectations about these peoples. Such accounts were the basis for Jewish attempts to establish diplomatic interactions between Christians and the kingdom of the Lost Tribes; these

relations proved possible thanks to the Christian belief in the existence of allies in remote lands.

With a particular focus on Christian Europeans, Knobler offers a brief history of Europeans' imagination and research about non-European peoples, as well as their diplomatic contact with a variety of these 'others.' *Mythology and Diplomacy in the Age of Exploration* gives a highly readable overview of the political fallout from the myths of Prester John and Saint Thomas. The volume also provides a panoramic view of the numerous, complex themes gathered into particular myths in medieval and early modern Europeans' understanding of the 'other.'

Civilizing Emotions
Concepts in Nineteenth-Century Asia and Europe
Margrit Pernau Helge Jordheim Emmanuelle Saada Christian Bailey Einar Wigen
Orit Bashkin Mana Kia Mohinder Singh Rochona Majumdar Angelika C. Messner
Oleg Benesch Myoung-kyu Park and Jan Ifversen
Oxford Oxford University Press 2015
[ISBN 978-0-19-874553-2]

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This work is a contribution to the growing Oxford University Press series, Emotions in History. Emotions are clearly involved in how civility and civilization are constructed in late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century world cultures during the age of high imperialism in the investigations produced by these authors. However, the scholarship that informs these essays in the main stems not from the history of emotions so much as the history of concepts, a form of intellectual history particularly strong in the German academic tradition. This takes concepts – in this case civility and civilization – as the subject of investigation, explored through language and semantic fields in texts that, here, primarily concern the genres of dictionaries, encyclopedias, media debates and literature. As Jan Ifverson emphasizes in his Afterword, a key contribution of this collaborative project is its interest in going beyond national-level investigations to the transnational and its global entanglements. This is a particular challenge in a field that is grounded in linguistic specificities but which is handled here through attention to transfers, transmissions and translations of concepts between cultures.

As Margrit Pernau and Helge Jordheim present the work's aims in their Introduction, the kind of emotions of interest here are 'habitualized emotions' rather than 'spontaneous and short-lived affects' (p. 8). They are generally abstract ideas and ideals explored by intellectuals in debate, which could enhance or hinder the development of civilization, not studies of social realities, historical experiences or lived practices of emotions. Authors investigate in precise contexts ideas and vocabularies of emotions that look quite different to each other, and often not immediately much like emotion. This is evident in the work's Concept Index (pp. 340–2) in which varied concepts are labelled within different linguistic categories that range from Urdu and Korean to French and Persian (but, interestingly, not English). This include concepts that range from barbaric, conduct, culture and humanity to learning, moral substance, national essence, vital energy, and willpower. It is part of the considerable challenge for this work to offer a kind of implicit comparative study of

civilizing emotions when feeling expressions familiar to one culture, and even the word 'emotion,' do not exist in a straightforward manner in others.

Another key aim of the work is to de-centre Europe in the interplay and entanglements of civilizing concepts. The range of the studies reflects these global comparative interests in concepts that are explored through a wide range of linguistic and cultural contexts. This produces a number of fascinating connections between societies and influences. From its success in the 1905 Russo-Japanese War, for instance, Japanese society emerges as an exemplar for many authors across the globe of resistance and alternative to Western concepts of civilization. However, despite the orientation of the title and cover art, Europe is hard to ignore for these societies and the authors of these essays. Europe is the implicit geographic and cultural structure for the book, which is divided into four parts that begin with Europe and spiral outwards to the Middle East and South Asia to East Asia. In the findings of the essays, the work of European authors, especially Herbert Spencer, appears almost universally influential, even where it is critiqued and rejected for alternatives, and the intellectuals whose works are discussed in each society all had some experience of colonial contact with their own cultures. Pernau and Jordheim rightly point out that European thought on civilization was not without significant divergences itself, but as it appears in the studies of other cultures, it is hard to ignore that European models of civilization are, in most cases, the pre-eminent standpoint from which to propose local variations, adaptation or indeed, to reject altogether. The work's title prioritizes Asia and Europe, and accordingly the work does not provide case studies of either colonial settler societies of Europeans such as the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and in Africa, or of the peoples whose lands were invaded by them.

In Part 1, examining Europe, Helge Jordheim investigates the development of national cultures in Scandinavia. Here, national feeling was tied particularly to land and landscape in a strong pedagogical project from the 1870s. Drawing upon songs, encyclopedias, anthropological and biological writings, Jordheim shows both the influence of Spencer's thought as well as challenges to it. Focusing particularly on Spencer's reception in Norway, he explores how concepts of evolution and race were prioritized over cultural forms such as music and poetry as conduits to feeling and ideas of civilization, creating powerful divisions between Scandinavian peoples with long-lasting consequences. In the following chapter, Margrit Pernau explores the creation of the British imperial global order. She emphasizes the importance of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers in shifting civilization away from a courtly and individual (male) endeavour to a middle-class, and eventually whole of society, undertaking. She uses encyclopedias, advice books and keyword-searched newspapers from different political perspectives to explore how these largely masculine concepts of achievement of civility through emotions play out within different genres. She finds that encyclopedias show a shift from moral philosophy to models based in psychology

and biology, while religion remains a key influence in advice literature. Most dynamic were newspapers in terms of the variety of viewpoints expressed and conceptual flexibility in discussions about civilization that were as relevant to Irish policy as the Pacific Islands.

In considering sociability in the French Imperial Republic, Emmanuelle Saada argues that while the word civility was rarely discursively present over the nineteenth century, the idea underpinned the emerging discipline of social science and the political debates of high republicanism. In the social sciences, emotions were understood to be significant to the formation of cohesive social bonds in all societies as learned, rather than instinctive, behaviours. Republican pedagogy mirrored these ideas in its advocacy of civility as a way to develop social (and civic) attachment. Civilization, by contrast, was far more visible in a linear notion of progress that required re-education of the poor and peasantry as much as those in colonies. However, by the early twentieth century, a racialized emotionology emerged and rights to French citizenship for native peoples were founded, and foundered, on the relationship made between civility and citizenship. The consequences of these ideas informed the mid-twentieth-century literature of *négritude* in which emotionality distinguished African experience from European rationality. Christian Bailey explores a concept of *Kultur* in Germany as one of shared feelings contrasting the rather monumental *Zivilisationen* of France and Britain, in the context of Germany's late-comer political and colonizing status. These German conceptualizations cut across European supremacy within the civilization hierarchy, especially in examinations of the Islamic world. Bailey, analysing journals, combined with ethnographic research, and histories of migration, sees a blurring of the boundaries of civilization, ideas which German readers then encountered through explorations of non-European cultures in popular novels. Civility was not much used as a word but is traced here through a dense semantic field made up of terms that expressed the habits and emotions of other peoples, from civilization and education to barbarity, wildness, savage, and violence. Over time, however, a mapping of distinct Aryan and Semitic cultures on separate evolutionary trajectories emerged and increasingly the literature understood civilization through racialized differences that became not points for engagement but ones of entrenched difference.

Einar Wigen commences Part 2, focused on the Middle East, with his study of ideas of orderliness in the Ottoman Empire as it sought to understand itself and its position in international interactions, and as it was perceived by others. Wigen studies civilization's path as a concept through canonical texts, noting that it had to be translated through sematic field equivalents. It came into use as Ottomans sought to join the Concert of Europe at end of the Crimean War with documents using civilization to present emotions concepts through individual morality and state order. This was important in creating a sense of belonging to a group of allies, which implicitly defined others as less civilized. Increasing distinctions were made between

the orderliness of settled life as present and future, compared to nomadic existence as obsolete. However, Wigen also highlights a concomitant, emerging critique of European immorality and decline compared to the morality of Ottoman (then Turkish) culture. In Chapter 6, Orit Bashkin traces debates of civility and civilization in Arab print literature in which intellectuals connected these concepts to perceptions of emotionality, political choices, ideas about community and reforms. Although it was borrowed as a system of knowledge from Europe, Baskhin argues that civilization became a way for Arab authors to assess their own societies and to argue for adaptions to emotions and behaviours better suited to the times. Some feeling characteristics were perceived to be holding back the Arab world. Apathy was identified as a problem and forgiveness potentially too yielding and weak, while mercy and compassion were useful emotions to counter apathy as long as they did not become excessive generosity. Some emotional attributes of Bedouin culture were praiseworthy, such as courage and bravery, but nomadism was considered of a past age. Peasants and women were also among topics of debate that reflected ideas about Arab emotional identity as Muslims, Egyptians, "the East" and as embedded in the geography of the landscapes in which peoples in the Middle East had emerged. In the next chapter, Mana Kia considers the assessment of Persian intellectuals regarding Iran's perceived decline over the nineteenth century. Shame about the moral degradation of the nation as individuals and its loss of political sovereignty was central to these discussions. Older ideas about masculine moral refinement were linked to a restoration of civility that foregrounded honour and zeal in an individual practice of virtue as part of a national civil project. State-level political reform and individual (male) moral behaviour were thus deeply intertwined.

Part 3 provides three studies concerning South Asia, beginning with Pernau's chapter using bilingual dictionaries, seen as part of the colonial project, to map out concepts of civility in Urdu. Here, barbarity was linked to a lack of knowledge and also to emotions or, more precisely, to a lack of the 'right,' virtuous and compassionate ones that would bring people together and inspire enthusiasm and ardour for the nation. Pernau highlights the strong influence of Persian traditions and writings for Urdu concepts of civility and virtue. In this context, there was a rejection of civilization as a linear concept, for one with ebbs and flows that meant no society was always at the forefront of progress. In Chapter 9, Mohinder Singh considers the transformation in concepts of civilization and progress in India, long part of the vocabulary of the colonial mission there in which the West loomed as the comparative other for Indian civilization. Authors were not uncritical of the West or those who followed its modes too slavishly, reminding readers of the great, ancient Indian civilizations that were on par with European antiquity. Here, bodily health as well as a robust emotional core were critical to the governance of nation and self in ideologies that principally targeted the upper castes. Muslims and lower castes were less visible in these discussions, while

women were inculcated in new pedagogical programs that would make them better domestic partners and family carers for the men who would lead the nation's future. Rochona Majumdar concludes this section with her chapter exploring Bengali civility as seen by intellectuals who recommended cultivation of political emotions, especially devotion, in the people for the nation. Founded initially in self-development, via restraint and professionalization stemming from Western ideals, civilization was only available to a small minority of the Bengali populace. However, erudite and archaeological studies provided models of glorious Bengali civilization in the past that served as motivating foundations, while writers offered pathways to a new national self. In these texts, a secular politicized form of devotion emerged as the feeling that attached individuals, rich and poor, to the greater good, although this community was one that implicitly did not include Muslims, making a demarcation in Hindi-Muslim relations at least as important as those between East and West.

In the final Part, concentrating on East Asia, Angelika C. Messner demonstrates the importance placed in early Republican China on new interpretations of the relationship between the body politic and emotions. As in Singh's study, a focus on hygiene and bodily reforms (such as foot and breast binding, and the queue) were key mechanisms in civilizing process proposed by Chinese intellectuals. Coinciding with a strong medical missionary movement, much was viewed through the lens of medicine, with words for civility, knowledge and nourishing life taking on new meanings in a civilizing discourse. In Chapter 12, Oleg Benesch provides an important chapter on the confrontation of civilities and civilizations in Japan, a country that served as a key model for many societies beyond Europe after 1905. Benesch emphasizes the significant, pre-existing concepts of social hierarchy and emotional behaviours in traditional Japanese society that were negotiated through Japanese interactions with Western societies and also in its increasingly aggressive positioning with both China and Korea over this period. Japanese society had a strong, and strengthening, sense of martial values than were present in the Chinese orientations from which its terms and concepts of civilization were drawn. Likewise, the Japanese rejected Western sensibilities regarding male homosexual relationships, that had a long acceptance in local culture. These and other assertions of a specifically Japanese set of feelings of civility were oriented towards a national patriotism as Japan progressively encountered the world during this period. Myoung-kyu Park's study of Korea provides a counterpart to the Japanese perspective, as a nation that found itself increasingly colonized by its neighbour at this time. Park identifies how shame and embarrassment characterized the first response of intellectuals to Korea's rapid phase of modernization in the 1880s as it emerged from the isolation of the Joseon dynasty hermit kingdom. These feelings were mobilized to motivate both individual and collective political action, just as traditional Confucian emotionality of righteous anger enabled peasant resistance to change. In the emerging literature composed under

Japanese occupation, emotions became drivers for the formation of a concept of the Korean nation as one founded in grief, suffering, and, importantly, endurance.

These are fascinating and insightful studies, which bring new work from across the globe to bear on historical frameworks for civility and conceptualizations of civilization. Although framed as a collaboratively-authored monograph, all the chapters except the introduction are nonetheless written by individual specialists of their particular geographical and cultural domain. While the authors share the aim to examine concepts of civility and civilization, how these play out in specific cultural contexts differs substantially. While a monograph generally has a sense of building an argument and depth of analysis for the reader across the chapters, the essays here function rather as unique sites of investigation. These dense essays, deeply embedded in their disciplinary and historiographical scholarship, could have assisted a meta-level analysis by consistently having clear conclusions to their findings. Additional, brief summative analyses of each of the book's four parts would also have aided comprehension of the text's global contribution to the field. Without these features or a Conclusion to the work as a whole, the Introduction and Afterword are left to carry significant intellectual weight in pulling together these findings into a coherent argument, a role that they cannot quite fulfil.

Emotional Cities
Debates on Urban Change in Berlin and Cairo 1860-1910
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The onrush of urban modernity and its apparent emotional consequences suture Berlin and Cairo in Prestel's *Emotional Cities*. As a social and cultural history, emphasizing emotions affords a focus on how individuals and institutions negotiated a period of considerable change. Prestel wisely avoids the trap of claiming some special, singular relationship between these two distant cities. Nor do personalities come to bear the weight of history. A few people move between Cairo and Berlin, including in the book's opening pages, but this crosstown traffic rarely feels central to the book's chief claims.

Instead, the central claims of this book bear on how comparable anxieties surfaced in the two cities, reflecting similarities in their histories. For Berlin, Prestel covers debates about: love, sexuality, and morality; consumerism, prostitution, and excitement; calm, nerves, and suburban development. For Cairo, he considers debates about: gender, rationality, and emotionality; colonial rule, urban districts, and pleasure; emotional reform, physical exercise, and suburban retreat. The chapters fall roughly into thematic pairs; thus, for example, the chapter on urban consumer culture around Berlin's Friedrichstraße is matched with the following chapter on Cairo's Azbakiyya district.

Prestel documents similar discourses of emotional transformation in Berlin and Cairo, suggesting a resemblance in dynamics that defies the cities' standard separation into different historical lineages ('Middle Eastern', 'European', 'Christian', 'Islamic') or stages ('delayed' urbanisation). He argues that the history of emotions can overcome Eurocentric pitfalls. An 'emotional cities' paradigm promises, for Prestel, a properly global urban history. By tracking emotions rather than dominant models of modernization or westernization, urban historians can 'unravel national and regional approaches to the history of cities' (3). Unfortunately, Prestel structures the book as a series of discrete, alternating case study chapters on these topics (Berlin, Cairo, Berlin …). As he acknowledges, rather than any unravelling, this structure keeps the study bound in place. Nonetheless, the payoff for the book's structure is a series of rich, evocative chapters. Prestel has an eye for the intriguing detail and the interesting story,

which is remarkable given the multiple languages of the primary source material he has plumbed for the book.

In both Berlin and Cairo during 1860–1910, it became common to propose the rise of specifically urban emotions. The book outlines a trajectory from new emotional practices to efforts to shape emotions through reforms. In Cairo from the 1860s, Arabic authors praised urban life as fostering men's rationality (*'aql*)—an education of the heart, engendering middle-class sociability through controlled bodies and passions. *'Aql* here meant controlling and fostering certain emotions. Prestel's research underlines that the reality of this rationality was limited, and largely underpinned social distinction. In Berlin, meanwhile, the city was apparently threatened by rapid industrialization, and new relations of production and migration. The professional classes diagnosed a loss of a 'feeling of morality' (*sittliches Gefühl*), fixated on corrupting nightlife and new forms of intimacy.

In the 1870s and through the 1880s, theories of the body as an energetic system came to prominence, with 'nerves' playing an important role in urban debates about excessively excited feelings, leading to a loss of control: Friedrichstraße and Azbakiyya instilled ambiguous and troubling emotions. Walking in these districts was described in terms thick with emotion: disgust, love, embarrassment, awe, agony, shame, curiosity, anger, and fear. Prestel pays close attention to gender throughout the book, and here notes that the presence of female sex workers was bound up in claims about 'threats to rationality and a rising emotionality' (73) in men. Women also increasingly enjoyed leisure time as consumers and theatregoers around Friedrichstraße. Police and social commentators struggled to navigate the mingling of middle-class women and working-class women (including sex workers). As in Berlin, blurred class distinctions in Cairo caused handwringing. Declining middle-class rationality meant that the working class could apparently 'gain control over middle-class men through their emotions' (134). Weak *'aql* was twinned with men's weak bodies in Cairo (167). The city began to figure as a place of dangerous feelings and harmful practices, dated roughly to British occupation and colonial rule.

Over the following two decades, schemes in both cities sought to counter the gloomy picture of urban life, and the purported material effects of emotional excitement on health. By the turn of the century, critics substantiated claims about emotion through new research in the bodily sciences—physiology, anatomy, medicine, and psychology. In Berlin, new suburbs distant from the city's apartment blocks were said to provide calm and positive emotions, away from the 'nervousness' of fatiguing urban life. Likewise, 'physical culture' (gymnastics, bodybuilding, sunbathing, sports clubs, and so on) could control emotionality and train the body to avoid overstimulation. Similar developments in Cairo saw exercise heralded as fostering rationality and positive emotions. The city/country split saw the countryside outside Cairo valorized as a site for authentic emotions lost by city dwellers. Suburban

developments were effectively sold as forms of disalienation for the middle class. In Berlin and Cairo, these retreats to the urban fringe repeated social differentiation, as the working class was left to often poor-quality inner city housing. In both cities, this moment also saw discourses of nationalism entangled with portrayals of strong and rational male bodies—a fact played out with deadly consequences in Germany in following decades.

The sweeping title of Prestel's study (*Emotional Cities*) stakes its place in a confluence of emotional and urban histories; the field-defining title isolates something implicit in the book's approach. We tend to associate cities with modernity and rationalization—the increasing complexity of social life that demanded bureaucratization, quantification, cartography, urban plans, and so forth. These essential features remain present in Prestel's book. However, another dimension of commentary on urbanization became concerned with the effects of city life on inhabitants' psychic life: the well-known examples of Georg Simmel and Walter Benjamin are there to prove it with Berlin. The examples from Cairo are lesser known in work from the Global North. Bringing them to prominence and into dialogue is a major achievement of Prestel's book.