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***The diplomats' society in the Romanian public space.
Perceptions, images and representations in the last
decades of the 19th century and
the first half of the
20th century***

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BOOK of ABSTRACTS

Mathias GRAF

(Konstanz University)

Through the eyes of a German diplomat.

Dr. Rosen's view on Romania in memoirs and diplomatic correspondence

– Politicians and Parliamentarism -

This lecture describes the perceptions and perspectives of the German ambassador, Dr. Friedrich Rosen, of the Romanian parliamentary system and its internal political structures during the time of his ambassadorship in Bucharest (1910 to 1912).

The focuses of the analysis are Rosen's personal judgments and appraisals on the political leaders of Romania, in particular their characteristics. In addition, the impressions of the envoy on the formation of the Romanian parliamentary system are also highlighted.

In terms of sources, on the one hand, the diplomatic reports of the German ambassador to the Foreign Ministry of the investigation period were used, on the other hand we've worked with Rosen's memoirs. In particular, the second book of Rosen's memoirs, "Aus einem diplomatischen Wanderleben: Bukarest – Lissabon"¹, was used for the analysis. This second volume includes among other things the period of his legation in Bucharest.²

Anyone who studies the memoirs and the diplomatic reports of the German diplomat Rosen will notice that the description of the political milieu and the animated sketches of known political figures represent an essential feature.³ Rosen's art of describing the diplomatic and political environment and his depiction of political characters have been used in this lecture and show for the first time Rosen's personal impressions of the political life in Romania between 1910 and 1912.

Sebastian SPÂNU

(“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iasi)

The political situation of Romania reflected in the correspondence of Allied representatives (1916-1918)

Towards the end of 1916, Russia and Romania were having problems maintaining the eastern front line against the Central Powers. While the Allies were concentrating all their efforts in the west, Romania was losing ground and was forced to retreat its Government and administration to Moldavia, together with the Allied representatives. The conservative leaders that had opposed Ion I.C. Brătianu in the years of neutrality now saw the opportunity to take over the Government and sign a separate peace with the Central Powers. However, the King was not willing to request the resignation of the Prime Minister. He instead proposed to Alexandru Marghiloman, one of the conservative leaders, to form together with the liberals a Government of national unity. Having been instructed by his mentor and senior colleague, Titu Maiorescu, not to accept any kind of compromise, Marghiloman had to reject the King's offer.

An important group of conservative politicians remained in Bucharest to greet the German representatives, thus creating a very delicate situation in Romania, from a political point of view. Noticing condescension and willingness among some of the politicians, the representatives of the Central Powers in Bucharest considered the option of organising a coup d'état in Romania.

Meanwhile, in the city of Iași, the new capital of Romania, the foreign diplomats of the Allied Powers were having a hard time providing the support requested by the Romanian Government. However, they were carefully monitoring the political manoeuvres of the Parliament representatives and the actions taken by the Government throughout the crisis determined by the Russian Revolution.

¹Friedrich Rosen; Aus einem diplomatischen Wanderleben, Band 2: Bukarest. Lissabon, Berlin 1932.

²Friedrich Rosen; Aus einem diplomatischen Wanderleben, Band 3/4: Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Herbert Müller-Werth, Wiesbaden 1959, p. 15.

³Herbert Müller-Werth; Friedrich Rosen, Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der deutschen Außenpolitik, Ein staatsmännisch denkender Diplomat, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 78 and Rosen, Aus einem diplomatischen Wanderleben, Band 3/4: Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Herbert Müller-Werth, p. 19.

Nicholas PITSOS

(Institute National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales/INALCO Paris)

Balkans beyond the Danube ? Romania and Romanians through the eyes of French diplomats during the Eastern Question

Between the treaty of Berlin and until the outbreak of the Great War, the Eastern Question in its Balkan version dominated part of the European and international relations. Far from being only a question of political, economical and cultural hegemony, it also led to the shaping of perceptions of the people and societies directly involved in its sequences, by outside observers. It was during that period that terms such as "Balkan" or "Oriental", coined previously, became of common use in the public space, being assigned to various actors, places, or historical regimes. Situated at the crossroads of the Ottoman empire, the domains of the Hapsburgs and tsarist Russia, influenced by the governance of the Phanariots, caught in the struggle between the French and German antagonism for the expansion of their respective spheres of influence and also reflecting opposing affinities within local sociopolitical elites, Romania found herself at the borderline of the construction of geo-historical and socio-cultural boundaries.

What were the elements of sociopolitical events and institutions, daily life aspects or cultural heritages that influenced at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the French diplomats' perceptions seeking to place Romania and the Romanian people within the imagined geography of the Balkans or the Oriental/Western constructed space dichotomy? How was this representational grammar, defining shifting degrees of proximity/identity, remoteness/otherness, conjugated to the geopolitical context? To what extent did these diplomat-originated perceptions join other judgments that were widespread in the public space?

Through the consultation of diplomatic archives, mainly the ones of the French embassy at Bucharest, but also those of the consulates at Constanza and Iasi, this paper aims to propose an interactional approach in the study of representations and international relations, taking into account the circulation of stereotyped images between various types of sources and discourses, including, besides diplomatic correspondences, travelers' memoirs and newspaper articles.

Silvana RACHIERU

(University of Bucharest)

An Ottoman Bey on the “Calea Victoriei” street: Romanian society through the eyes of the Ottoman diplomats

After the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, the opening of the diplomatic relations between Romania and the Ottoman Empire brought to Bucharest a new presence, the Ottoman diplomat as a permanent representative of the Sultan to Romania. After centuries of vassal relations, the peaceful agents of the former suzerain wrote interesting reports about the society where they had to fulfill their mission every day. The presentation will focus on the perspective of the Ottoman diplomats on the modern Romanian society and the similarities and differences observed by them.

Emanuela CONSTANTINI and Lorenzo MEDICI

(University of Perugia)

The view of Italy on the Latin sister. Carlo Fasciotti between Balkan Wars and the First World War

The focal point of this paper will be the manner in which Carlo Fasciotti, leading the Italian delegation in Bucharest between 1911 and 1919, depicted Romania in his official reports to the Italian Government.

The point of view of Fasciotti is particularly interesting, because of his presence in Romania at a crucial moment of Romanian national history: that of the completion of the nation State after the Balkan Wars and the First World War. The analysis of his reports will show the viewpoint of a high diplomat about a newly formed State, aiming to include territories inhabited by Romanian speaking people in order to complete its own Risorgimento. The fact that Fasciotti's mother country, Italy, was in a very similar condition to that of Romania, makes the analysis really more interesting.

Carlo Fasciotti was a diplomat with a family tradition: his father had been consul of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and then of the Kingdom of Italy, in Tunis. Carlo Fasciotti reached Bucharest when he was 41, having already worked in important consulates (Vienna, Athens, Crete). Therefore, the image he gave of Romania was influenced by his knowledge of the European – and especially of the South-Eastern European – area, as well as by the importance of Italy's relations with Romania.

Actually, Fasciotti supported Romania's claims for Silistra during the Balkan Wars, in spite of the hesitation of the Italian Government, which only in March 1913 adopted a clear pro-Romanian position. Fasciotti was aware that the similarity between the Italian situation and the Romanian one (both countries were allied with the Central Empires, and both countries laid claims to territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) could strengthen their political relevance at the outbreak of the World War. As instructed by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antonino di Sangiuliano, he asked for a coordinated political action of the two countries. Two agreements were then signed between Italy and Romania, the first in September 1914 and the second in February 1915, after the succession of Sonnino to di Sangiuliano. With these agreements, Italy and Romania committed to maintaining neutrality. In case one of them decided to enter the war, it was bound to inform the other in advance. Italy did not respect the pact and this created disagreement with the Romanian Government, despite the still strong sympathy of the Romanian public opinion for the “Latin sister”. Fasciotti acted once again as a mediator, avoiding the deterioration of their relationship.

For these reasons, the analysis of Fasciotti’s viewpoint can be of interest in order to understand how the completion of Romanian national unification was judged by an observer who was inside the country, but came from another country, which in a very similar condition to Romania but which perceived itself (and was perceived by the Romanian political leaders) as a Great Power.

Alma HANNIG

(Rheinische Friedrich- Wilhelms Universität Bonn)

“The land of contrasts and contradiction”.

Perceptions of Romania among the Austro-Hungarian diplomats on the eve of the Great War

Romania had played a pivotal role in the Balkan policy of the Habsburg Monarchy since 1913, especially because of the successful cooperation between Romania and Serbia during and after the Second Balkan War, as Serbia was considered Vienna's major enemy. One of the Austro-Hungarian diplomats, Ludwig von Flotow, claimed that Bucharest was “the embassy among the legacies,” which means that its political importance increased in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great War.

Karl Emil von Fürstenberg represented the Habsburg Monarchy from 1911 to 1913 and was succeeded by Ottokar Czernin, one of the most influential members of Archduke Franz Ferdinand's

entourage. Colonel Hranilovic was the Austro-Hungarian military attaché during this period. They all praised the Romanian landscapes and were fascinated by the people. But how did they perceive King Carol I and the Romanian government and politicians? What image did they have of the heir to the throne and his wife and how did they see the future cooperation between Austria-Hungary and Romania?

This paper aims to analyse the way Romania was perceived, as reflected in the private and official documents of the Austro-Hungarian diplomats and military attachés since the beginning of the First Balkan War. It is based on archival research and on published diplomatic and military documents.

Antal BERKES

(PhD candidate; Université Paris 3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle/University ELTE of Budapest)

The image of the League of Nations-mediators in the Romanian society during the Romanian-Hungarian “Optants” dispute (1923-1930)

The Hungarian-Romanian “Optants case” (1922-1930) overshadowed all the diplomatic relationships of the two countries and their activity in the League of Nations. The Romanian press and parliamentary debates closely followed the pleadings and negotiations in Geneva, and it is due to this press coverage that the public opinion became familiar with the foreign diplomats of the League of Nations. Thus, the images of mediators like the British Sir Austen Chamberlain and his successor Henderson, the Japanese Adatci, or that of Italian and German diplomats intervening in favour of the Hungarian cause were inherently linked to the changing Romanian public opinion on the Optants case. After each mediation effort apparently closing the debate, the Romanian press celebrated the heroism of the League of Nations’ mediator, whereas any new contestation by the Hungarian government clouded said image and shed a less favourable light on the person of the mediator. The Romanian press reported on the diplomats or public servants of the League of Nations with particular enthusiasm on the rare occasions when they came in person to Romania (e.g. the visits of the staff of the Minorities Section in 1923-1924, 1926), representing them as unbiased arbitrators. However, the changing public opinion of the mediators in the Optants case was in strong contrast with the stable and rather “black and white” image of the main representatives of the conflicting States: the Romanian press celebrated the heroic role of Titulesco despite the temporary failures of Romanian diplomacy, whereas the Hungarian Apponyi represented during the whole debate the oppressive Hungarian aristocracy.

Lucian LEUȘTEAN

(“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași)

**A Norwegian Diplomat, Erik Colban, Visiting Romania as an
International Bureaucrat in 1920s**

Romania, as an enlarged country in the aftermath of the Great War, had acquired a great deal of national minorities. Therefore, it became a part of the newly designed system for the protection of minorities of “race, language and religion” under the aegis of the League of Nations.

In these circumstances, and in the context of a practice instituted at the League, Erik Colban – head of the Administrative and Minorities Sections – came to Romania in 1923 on an information-gathering visit. In the opinion of the officials in Geneva, such visits were considered very useful in order to obtain a better and more profound knowledge of the realities that were less or partially known at the League. After his first trip, he visited again, in 1924 and 1926. During these visits, he respected the informative character, in accordance with the objectives of the League, which did not want to transform them into inquiries on the minorities’ situation, as some of the minorities’ representatives’ hoped. Even if these visits were not very long in duration, they were substantial.

During those visits Colban met a large number of Romanian officials, as well as political representatives of the minorities, the representatives of different churches in Romania, professors, teachers, peasants, etc. The Romanian officials presented documents, responses, justifications for their actions and the representatives of the minorities expressed their views and dissatisfactions. During his trips to Romania, Erik Colban never met explosive situations that could have lead to ethnic conflicts. Certainly a contribution to the success of Colban’s visits was their preparation in Geneva.

The goal of our paper is to underline the significance of the system for protection of national minorities in inter-war Europe and Romania as seen by a Norwegian, Erik Colban, a distinguished international official.

Adrian-Bogdan CEOBANU

(“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași)

**„Extremely conciliatory and all that the Romanians could desire”. First Russian
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Bucharest: Leon Uruzov**

After the recognition of the Romanian independence, in October 1878, the Russian Empire granted to its representative in Bucharest, Baron Stuart, only the rank of Minister Resident, a fact that displeased the Romanian Government, which considered this rank to be inappropriate for an envoy of an independent state. After two years, during which the Romanian-Russian relations were strained, it was only in December 1880 that the first Russian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Bucharest, Leon Uruzov, arrived in the Romanian capital. He stayed in this post until the middle of 1886; during this time he found his place in the Romanian society. In his reports we can discover succinct portraits of King Carol I and of liberal and conservative leaders. In this study we analyze the structure of the Legation during his mandate, the relationship with his colleagues and with Romanian politicians, as well as various incidents in which he was involved.

Grigorii SHKUNDIN

(Independent International University of Politics and Ecology, Moscow)

**At home among strangers, a stranger at home:
Stanislaw Alphonsovich Poklewski-Koziell, the Russian envoy to Bucharest,
1913-1916**

Stanislaw Alphonsovich Poklewski-Koziell (1868–1939), Russian diplomat, state counsellor en-titre, chamberlain of the Imperial Court, descending from the Lithuanian aristocratic family of Koziello-Poklewski. Between 1913 and 1916 he held the post of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Bucharest. His appointment to Bucharest, despite his recognised service at the side of the Foreign Minister S. D. Sazonov, was a sort of exile when he no longer enjoyed the protection of his former bosses – the influential ministers V. N. Lamsdorf and A. P. Izvolski.

The Emperor Nicholas II never liked Poklewski, because the latter was a devout Catholic and a freemason with notoriety in Europe. Given that Orthodoxy was the official religion in the Russian Empire, this circumstance was an impediment in the career of the capable diplomat S. A. Poklewski-Koziell. Once the First World War started, the glacial attitude of the monarch turned to visible mistrust

and suspicion. At the Court and at the General Headquarters, Poklewski was viewed as a Germanophile and a defeatist, an individual who from the very beginning did not have faith in the final victory of the Entente. He spoke in favour of maintaining Romania's neutrality status (especially in late 1915 and early 1916) and was an opponent of its joining the war on the side of the Allied Powers. Petrograd was bothered by the fact that the Russian envoy seemed to be too concerned with Romania's security. Ionel Brătianu skilfully took advantage of the mistrust shown by the Petrograd officials in their own envoy. In the summer of 1916 Poklewski was the most influent Entente diplomat in Bucharest. By following the instructions received from Petrograd, he contributed considerably to the success of the negotiations for Romania's adhesion to the anti-German coalition. However, as a result of the plotting carried out by individuals as highly placed as the leader of the Danube Special Destination Expedition, rear admiral M. M. Vesiolkina (who was rumoured to be the Emperor's illegitimate brother), in early December 1916 Poklewski was recalled from Romania. The Emperor decided to submit to the Council of State the issue of his "treason". But the outbreak of the February Revolution (1917) and the end of the Tsar's rule prevented this obviously malevolent trial from taking place, and Poklewski became again the envoy extraordinary to Romania, a country that he remained faithful to for the rest of his life.

Adrian VIȚALARU

("Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași)

Pellegrino Ghigi - minister plenipotentiary of Italy to Bucharest (1938-1941)

Pellegrino Ghigi (1899-1995) was a diplomat who during his career headed several diplomatic missions and consular offices in Europe and on other continents, without, however, reaching a more prominent position within the Italian diplomacy. His first important post abroad was that of consul general in Tangier (1925-1932); then he became head of the Italian diplomatic mission in Cairo (1935-1936). In 1937, Ghigi was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Vienna, and at the end of 1938 he took charge of the Bucharest legation. The diplomat remained in his post in the Romanian capital until the summer of 1941, when he was sent to head Italy's diplomatic mission to Athens. Ghigi left the diplomatic career after the events that took place in Italy in 1943, returning to diplomacy in 1958, when he was appointed ambassador to Madrid. His career ended a few years later. His last post was as Italy's ambassador to Belgium.

For Ghigi, the Bucharest post was an important one, as he remained involved in Central and South-East European issues after his brief assignment in Austria. From his position as a minister plenipotentiary to Romania, to Romania, he witnessed major events taking place both in the country and

abroad: the outbreak of war, the political changes in Romania, as well as the territory losses of 1940. All these moments were analysed in the reports and telegrams he wrote. Also, Ghigi endeavoured to build good relationships with the members of Bucharest's society and with the foreign diplomats accredited in Romania; he also supported the construction of closer ties between Romania and Italy.

Gheorghe NEGUSTOR

("Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca)

The image of death" in the vision of foreign diplomats accredited to Bucharest at the time of the Great War

As it is known, the First World War was also identified as a war of diplomats and politicians. These people, often accused of lack of feelings for the horrors caused by the conflict, have been often perceived as inhumane characters that would remorselessly send soldiers to their deaths on the battlefields. Was this, indeed, the case? This presentation proposes a re/reading of memoirs, diaries and other documents that show the manner in which the foreign diplomats accredited to Bucharest saw and reacted to the "real face" of war. In order to paint a clearer picture, my suggestion is to make a mirror analysis of the activity of diplomatic representatives from both camps: the Entente and the Central Powers. Going beyond the political pragmatism that needs to characterise the diplomacy of a nation in general and the diplomat as the representative of a mission in particular, the analysis of historical sources that some may consider "subjective" reveals actions and attitudes that show the diplomats at their most human.

Alexandru ISTRATE

("Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași)

Guests at the dinner parties held by King Carol I: Protocol and manners

Unlike dances, organised with much lavishness for New Year's, formal dinners were never the setting for sartorial or culinary extravagance. Organised away, in most cases, from the public eye, the dinners had however palpable consequences in the Romanian society. In political and military circles, in the diplomatic milieu, dinners were a much more effective means than dances for smoothing out disagreements and for consecrating agreements that were vital for the country. Taking part in a formal

dinner held by Carol I meant the confirmation of the guests' respectability and the recognition of their prestige.

The titles used in official papers allow us to identify approximately six types of dinners. With the exception of those involving just a few guests (presented in the palace records as "private"), the number of participants was substantial, constantly around a few dozen. The memoirs of the time talk about military, parliamentary, diplomatic, anniversary dinners, as well as about dinners held at the arrival in the country of important missions. The protocol did not admit any digressions, being more rigorous than in the case of formal dances. Those who had the honour of receiving an invitation from the king would receive at the same time recommendations concerning their attire, preferably as restrained as possible, and upon arrival each of them would be shown to their assigned places.

Theodor SMEU
(University of Bucharest)

The Joint Commission of the Pruth River delegates: activity and social life

The Joint Commission of the Pruth River was established in September 1870. The member states were Austria-Hungary, Russia and Romania. At that time Romania was not an independent state, therefore its membership in an international institution, alongside with two of the great powers, was a step forward in its attempt to obtain independence through diplomatic channels.

Regarding the appointment of the delegates, distinct typologies can be established. Starting with 1875 for Austria-Hungary and with 1878 for Russia the same person was appointed to the following posts: consul at Galatz; delegate of the European Commission of the Danube; delegate of the Joint Commission of the Pruth River. From 1879, the Romanian delegate was appointed delegate to the European Commission of the Danube. In the intervals 1886-1893 and 1904-1918 the Romanian delegates were diplomats who were waiting for a better post or who were considered disobedient. I have thus identified a possible hierarchy of Austrian consulates. One of the Austrian delegates, after he left Galatz, was directly promoted minister to China at the beginning of the Boxer rebellion and was probably in Beijing when the diplomatic district was besieged.

The headquarters of the Joint Commission was in Galatz. In the first year after it was established, the delegates were busy drafting the navigation and police regulations, navigation house regulations and navigation taxes. The delegates were also responsible for drafting the budgets, approving the navigation projects, answering petitions, dealing with purchases, etc. At the delegates' request, the 1866 convention,

under which the Commission had been established, was modified during the Bucharest Conference of January-February 1895. Following this modification, regulations also needed to be revised. The delegates intended to channelize the river, but their proposal was rejected by the governments they represented. In 1915 the activity was suspended and at the end of 1918 the Commission was dissolved by Romania.

The delegates, among the other members of the consular corps from Galatz, represented a part of the city's elites. As delegates of the Joint Commission of the Pruth River they did not organise social events, nor did they distinguish themselves in other ways in the city's social life. They were recognised as consuls and delegates of the European Commission of the Danube on various occasions.

Raluca TOMI

(Romanian Academy, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History)

An officer and a diplomat: Robert de Flers and his writings about Romanian society during the First World War

Travel accounts from the times of the First World War are a historical source that is too little researched in our historiography. What has been analysed and printed were the memoirs of politicians, of diplomats, officers, war diaries, official and private letters.

This presentation aims to re-evaluate the writings of Robert de Flers about the Romanian society during the war. As a diplomat and as an avid traveller, as the literary director of "Le Figaro", as a member of the French Academy, the destiny of Robert de Flers was strongly influenced by this contact with the oriental front of the First World War. He was a member of the French military mission led by General Henri Berthelot, and in 1918 he was the military attaché of the French legation.

His works concerning the Romanian society in the interval 1916 – 1918 are written both from an army officer's perspective, as well as from that of the diplomat, immediately familiar with military conflict, as well as of diplomatic circles, of opinion trends in the political circles and of the royal court.

Written with charm and colour, his works show a remarkable observation spirit, an exceptional skill in presenting the personalities he encountered, and these features turned him into a successful writer and into an especially successful playwright.

Bogdan POPA

(Romanian Academy, History Institute "Nicolae Iorga", Bucharest)

Diplomats and diplomacy as reflected in the Alexander Socec "Journal". A unique source for Romanian history of the late nineteenth century

The controversial Alexandru Socec, an army general degraded on the battlefields of the First World War, was the descendant of a well-established middle class family. His father, Ion V. Socec, was one of the first modern booksellers. A self-made entrepreneur, Ion V. Socec sent his sons to study abroad, in order to continue the family trade. However, Alexandru Socec refused a commercial career and went into the army. His unpublished personal diary is an important source for the history of the diplomatic corps accredited in Bucharest during the final decades of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Himself credited as a member of the Romanian mission to Vienna (as a student of the Cavalry School there), Alexandru Socec was very keen to establish connections with other diplomats, both abroad and at home.

The aim of this paper is to investigate this unpublished diary from the point of view of diplomatic history. One notable absence is that of family reports – although his brother, Ion I.V. (Jean) Socec was not only the heir of the family bookstore, publishing house and printing press, but also the consul of Sweden in Bucharest during the First World War.

Rudolf DINU

(University of Bucharest)

A special group: milestones of the foreign diplomatic corps in Bucharest, as reflected in the correspondence of Count Tornielli Brusati (1883-1887)

The study reveals the topics and issues debated within the Bucharest diplomatic corps in the interval 1883-1887, based on the memoires signed by the Italian plenipotentiary, Count Tornielli Giuseppe Brusati, preserved in the archive collections of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Rome. The text also attempts to clarify the manner in which the diplomatic corps in Bucharest was configured, its organisational structure, based on the notes left by the Italian minister, originally the interim doyen (1883-1885), and then full doyen (until 1887), of the diplomatic corps from the capital of the Romanian Kingdom. The paper deals with extremely interesting topics, issues that were insufficiently explored by

the older and even the more recent historiography, involving diplomatic representatives and representations in modern Romania, such as the relationship between the diplomatic corps and the Royal Court, communications and private affinities, and the relationship with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A novel perspective, derived from primary sources, of day-to-day activities and of society customs in a distinct group, the foreign diplomats accredited to Romania.

Claudiu-Lucian TOPOR

("Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași)

Impressions from the memoirs of German diplomats accredited in Bucharest (1881-1914). Topics, obsessions and prejudices

Of the nine envoys with the rank of resident minister, accredited to Bucharest by Imperial Germany in the interval 1881-1914, most wrote memoirs or impressions about the world they came into contact with or about the social life of diplomats before the war. Before the World War (1914-1918), that is, the one that would change dramatically the image of society and the prejudices of the old diplomacy. Some German plenipotentiaries, who had visited Bucharest during these years, wrote memoirs that have remained, unpublished to this day, in the personal collections of the Foreign Affairs Ministry (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes)⁴, some other diplomats have had only fragments of their notes and letters published (*Aus dem politischen Nachlass des Unterstaatssekretärs Dr. Busch Clemens August Busch*, "Deutsche Rundschau", 35 (1908); *Diplomatleben am Bosphorus. Aus dem literarischen Nachlass des Unterstaatssekretärs Dr. Busch*, in, 35, (1909); *Kiderlen –Wächter der Staatsmann und Mensch. Briefwechsel und Nachlass*, ed. von Ernst Jäckh, 1924) and only a few (e.g. Bernhard von Bülow; Friedrich Rosen) published in their entirety, starting with the inter-war years, their valuable memoirs. There are, of course, numerous situations (Bray-Steinburg, Hippolyt Graf von; Saurma von der Jeltsch, Anton Freiherr von; Bussche-Haddenhausen, Wesdehlen, Ludwig Graf von; Hilmar Freiherr von dem) in which the German diplomats did not leave behind any autobiographical writings. Others, important but at the same time meteoric presences in the milieus of Bucharest⁵, reflected intensely on classical diplomacy and on the conduct of diplomats in the modern world. This study seeks to develop the theme of the structure of memoirs published by the German diplomats accredited to Romania. The aim is to explain the prominence of some topics and the hushed tone of others. Sent to a world that was different from that in which they had received their education and professional training, they make their notes according to a

⁴ Leyden, Casimir Graf von. Nachlass in Stadtarchiv München.

⁵ Richard von Kühlman

quasi-general model. First they observe the monarchs and the ceremonies of the Court. This is more than a topic, it is more like an obsession, due to a visible ease in communication and information. The king, the queen, the princess and the crown prince are a common topic. In their close vicinity are the top politicians of the country, presented according to their character, personality and habits. Another topic that is never avoided is the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest. The memoir pages preserve valuable German accounts of the image of other diplomats. Also present is the topic of cultural life inside the German community in Bucharest; it could not have been absent, naturally, but, more than other topics, it seems to be one of the most rigorously presented. Social events also occupy considerable space in the landscape of the capital; dances and everyday entertainment – an excellent opportunity to observe the high society of Bucharest and to describe it in contrast with the author's vision of morals and education. Hence a number of prejudices result, influencing the perceptions about Romania.

Adrian-Silvan IONESCU

("G. Oprescu" Art History Institute, Bucharest)

Fuss and Feathers: the Romanian Diplomats' Uniforms (1860-1940)

The attire of the Romanian diplomats followed, from its emergence immediately after the Union of the Romanian Principalities, the cut and the design already established for many years in the other European countries. The civil servants of the country's ministries had worn uniforms as early as the times of the Organic Regulation, but given that the Romanian Principalities were not sovereign and thus were not entitled to diplomatic representation abroad, no special outfit had been established in this respect. There are no specifications concerning a certain uniform worn by the Romanian representatives sent by Alexandru Ioan I to the courts of the great European powers or to the Sublime Porte.

It was only in 1871 that a law was enacted, establishing the features of the diplomatic uniform. It consisted of a black tailcoat with gold embroidery, trousers with piping, a white waistcoat and a bicorne. The differences between the diplomats' ranks were signalled by the abundance (or the scarcity) of embroidery and by their location, as well as by the colour of the ostrich feathers placed on the edge of the bicorne. The diplomats would carry a sword with mother-of-pearl handle, its shell-shaped guard bearing the country's coat-of-arms. This uniform would be worn only when presenting one's letters of accreditation and during ceremonies.

In the 19th century, the tailcoat was worn unbuttoned, in order to show the white waistcoat, with gold buttons stamped with the Romanian coat-of-arms, but in the 20th century the tailcoat had to be buttoned up to the neck. For this purpose the wearer used not buttons, but a row of hooks hidden in the

lining, as the buttonholes were fake or even non-existent, in order not to interrupt the elaborate flowery composition of the embroidery.

These characteristics were preserved until the Second World War when, after the abolishment of monarchy and the installation of the democratic regime, the diplomats' uniforms were abolished as well.

Paul-Ersilian ROȘCA

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Another Dimension of Romanian Diplomacy: Queen Marie of Romania and the Foreign Diplomats during the First World War

The historical perspective on politics and war illustrates a framework dominated by masculinity, as political leaders and military personalities taking decisions concerning the history and existence of various countries and nations. Diplomacy at the beginning of the twentieth century makes no exception from this perspective, the foreign or Romanian diplomatic corps, the Parliament, the Government, and the army representing a prohibitive environment for women. However, the existence of remarkable women such as Martha Bibescu or Elena Văcărescu proved the influence and the role women were likely to play in political and cultural circles. A special case was represented by Queen Marie of Romania, a personality that would definitively exceed the boundaries of a queen who only plays a decorative role.

Her involvement in the taking of major decisions related to the First World War and in the significant changes that Romania underwent during the forthcoming years emphasized the importance of diplomacy and engagement in a different manner than before. Queen Marie benefitted from the status that women enjoyed within imperial and royal families, which was a more egalitarian environment than the political context specific for each country. Whereas voting rights, or the presence in the Parliament or Government were only future, even utopic projects, the reign of a queen or empress was an undeniable historical truth.

By taking advantage not only of her position or of the influence she had on King Ferdinand and the members of the Royal Court, but also of the connexions with the main European reigning families, Queen Marie proactively understood and assumed an active role in the issues regarding the First World War for Romania. Beyond her extraordinary medical activity and charity work, a significant chapter is represented by the steps she took in relation with the diplomatic staff of foreign government missions accredited to Romania. These endeavours were aimed at obtaining and maintaining the major allies' support in the war against the Central Powers. Hence, the extremely powerful personal relations and

contacts the Queen developed with the representatives of France, Russia or England sometimes represented the only viable action plans for Romania.

The goal of our paper is to analyze the importance of the relations between Queen Marie of Romania and the foreign diplomatic agents accredited to Bucharest/Iasi. Taking as a starting point her own confessions, which can be found in her personal diary from the Great War period, our paper rebuilds the picture of these diplomatic undertakings analyzed beyond the official diplomatic notes. By using the arguments of her kinship with the Tsar of Russia and the King of England, together with the charm and attraction she exercised over the French public space, Queen Marie managed to use all the official and unofficial diplomatic channels in support of the Romanian war efforts. Where negotiations and treaties signed by men failed or reached a deadlock, the Queen's interventions often succeeded in unlocking the situation. Foreign diplomats used this communication channel, being aware of the influence and the popularity Queen Marie enjoyed in the Romanian political and public spheres.

Andreea CREANGĂ

(„Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași)

The autocephaly of the Romanian Orthodox Church reflected in diplomatic documents (1885)

The canonical recognition of the autocephaly of the Romanian Orthodox Church by the Ecumenical Patriarchate on 22 April 1885 is a significant event for the history of the church and state in the Romanian Kingdom in the second half of the 19th century, as well as for inter-orthodox relations in general.

The historiographic documents used for studying this topic include the official correspondence between the Romanian political and ecclesiastical authorities and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, published by the "Biserica Ortodoxă Română" magazine in 1885. The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education printed the same year a brochure including the documentary pieces most significant for the recognition of autocephaly. The abovementioned documents, together with a few unpublished collections from the archive of the Holy Synod, were essential building blocks in the construction of the Romanian church historiography discourse on this topic in the 20th century.

The issue of the autocephaly of the Romanian Orthodox Church has been studied in a broader context, church historians paying special attention to the state ecclesiastical laws and to the official correspondence of the interval 1864-1885, which reflected the long and arduous process, in terms of political and ecclesiastical negotiations, of the transition from the proclamation of the autocephaly by the

Romanian state authorities on 3 December 1864 to its canonical recognition by the Ecumenical Patriarchate on 25 April 1885. Of course, one concern was to analyse the relationship between autonomy and autocephaly in the deep history of Romanians' clerical life, from a canonical point of view.

Most studies on this topic so far mention the so-called *diplomatic negotiations*, taking place in the first months of the year 1885, which prepared the grounds for the official acts referring to the autocephaly of the church, however without elaborating on this idea. The first to discuss the significance of these political ecclesiastical "negotiations" for the regulation of the relationship between the Romanian Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, taking into consideration, in a necessary manner, the position of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, was the minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education, Dimitrie A. Sturdza, in the year 1894; he did this in his reply to I. Kalinderu, the successor of Bishop Melchisedec Ștefănescu among the members of the Romanian Academy. The writings that followed, throughout the 20th century, have just picked up this information, without elaborating any further.

Using an unpublished collection from the Diplomatic Archive of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we aim to identify the mechanism that stood behind the official decisions made by the state and ecclesiastical authorities at the time. Confidential, personal and official letters are very important from this point of view, because they reveal the political church thinking specific for the State-Church relationship, as well as encourage a better understanding of the attitude of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in relation to the state and church actions in Romania and also the position of the decision-making institutions to the ethnic and territorial principles specific to church autonomy and autocephaly in general.

Daniel CAIN

(„Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași)

A diplomatic nightmare: Romania's declaration of war (August 1916)

Any declaration of war is a nightmare for the diplomats of the countries involved, despite the security granted to them under their special status. Isolated in the middle of enemy territory, without the possibility of communicating with their own government, these diplomats worry about what the next day will bring them. The pressure is immense: protect the diplomatic archive and other items belonging to the state they represent, as well as evacuate one's citizens from enemy territory. However, the journey home can turn into a distressing experience. This is what happened in August 1916, when Romania entered the First World War on the side of the Entente. The evacuation of Romanian diplomats from Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria and Turkey, as well as of the diplomatic representatives of these states from

Bucharest became a veritable saga. Due to mutual mistrust and suspicions, as well as due to financial difficulties, what should have been a few hours' trip turned into an nightmare lasting several weeks and taking them throughout half of Europe. A diplomatic nightmare we attempt to reconstruct based on the letters preserved in the archives and also based on eyewitness accounts.

Mihai-Alexandru PIȚIGOI
(University of Bucharest)

In search of a “home” for the British Legation in Bucharest (1906-1909)

Conyngham Greene, the British minister in Bucharest between 1905 and 1911, set the acquisition of a house that was to exclusively serve the Legation and its administrative apparatus in the Romanian capital as a major objective that had to be fulfilled during his term. At that particular moment, the diplomatic activities were taking place in a rented location, and the chancellery was located in the home of Hamilton Browne, the British chargé d’affaires.

The Treasury postponed the acquisition on several occasions, motivating that it lacked the funds. However, The Public Works Bureau put together a commission of British architects from Constantinople, in order to identify suitable locations in the capital of the Romanian kingdom.

Conyngham Greene’s perseverance paid off in early 1908, when a location that met the requirements necessary for the Legation’s activity became vacant. However, Greene’s success came at a cost. Edward Grey required a reduction in the number of offices, of the legation’s budget, but the number of personnel stayed the same. The decrease in budget was a blow for the British minister in Bucharest, because as he himself testified, life in Bucharest was as expensive as in any other capital of the world.

Cosmin IONIȚĂ
(University of Bucharest)

A ‘suspicious’ island in a Slav sea. Nikolai Shebeko's view of Romania

The paper will highlight the image of the Romanian Kingdom reflected in the diplomatic reports of the Russian minister in Bucharest during the Balkans Wars, Nikolai Schebeko. With a strong Latin component and a party to an alliance that determined King Carol I to side with the camp opposing Russia, the Old Kingdom had been reflected as a ‘suspicious’ island in a Slav sea.

Present in Bucharest for a little more than a year, Schebeko achieves three main tasks. Firstly, he brings a fresh insight on the Romanian politics and society for the Foreign Affairs ministry in St. Petersburg. Secondly, even if he was regarded with reluctance at the beginning, the Russian diplomat manages to acquire a decisive role in the Romanian political affairs during the Balkan conflict. Finally, despite the unfavourable conditions of his arrival, Shebeko follows a consistent policy to extract Romania out of the Central Powers’ custody. In 1913, when the Russian minister left Bucharest and headed towards Vienna, Romania was less ‘suspicious’, but more hopeful.

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