HIPERBOREEA
JOURNAL

HIPERBOREEA JOURNAL

www.hiperboreeajournal.com

CONTENT

Studies and Articles

ICONOGRAPHY OF POWER
OF THE PAGAN BULGARIAN RULER:
IMAGES, SYMBOLISM AND TRADITION

Oksana Minaeva[*]

Abstract: The ideas of ruler's power of the pagan Bulgarians and their expression are a question of debates concerning different fields of humanities such as history, archaeology, epigraphy, religious studies, and art history. The discussion proposed tends to seek the ideological basis of the ruler's power as seen through cosmogonic, religious and political notions preserved in written historical sources, traces of rites and beliefs in mythology and folklore and in the arts. Thus, the three levels of the ruler's ideology are considered: the written/verbal texts, ritual texts and visual texts in order to find out a set of iconographic formulae of expressing the power of the pagan Bulgarian ruler.

Keywords: iconography of power, visual imagery, mythological beliefs, pagan Bulgarian ruler, First Bulgarian kingdom 7th–9th c.

The ideology of power of the Bulgarians in the period of their state formation (7th–9th c.) after the settling on the Balkans of a group of Bulgars led by their chieftain Asparukh and after founding a newly formed union with the Slavs is a complex phenomenon.[1] The predominance of the Bulgar ethnic group in organizing the administrative and military matters is attested by home and foreign contemporary historians.[2] Hence, the ideas of power bear strong relations with traditions of the peoples of the Steppe and the so called nomadic Pax.[3] For these reasons the present study relies on the written sources about the peoples of the Migration period and of the Eastern European Steppes and Middle Asia in the first millennium A.D., taking in mind the fact that the early medieval state and rulership develops much later than the actual foundation of the state. For Old Bulgaria it should be stated that the medieval period started in the 9th c., after the official conversion to Christianity. In this respect it should be pointed out that all comparisons, which are made in the research, tend to seek the typological compatibility on the basis of economic and political development of the peoples under discussion and not ethnic similarities.

---

[*] Associate Professor at the New Bulgarian University; e-mail: oksanaminaeva@hotmail.com.
[1] Гюзелев, Васил, Иван Божилов, 1999,100; Stepanov, Tsvetelin. 2010.
[2] Theophanis Confessoris. III, 1960, 226-289; Nicephori patriarchae., III, 1960, 290-306.
[3] Pritsak, Omeljan, 1981.

The ideas of power and rulership in pagan Bulgaria comprise a complex of different realms. The first realm is a multitude of notions of different areas – political, mythological and religious ones. They are mainly revealed in written texts by the witnesses of the events or by later chroniclers. The second realm refers to actions and rituals preserved either in written form by different historical texts or by traits in epic and folklore material. The third realm concerns a very large sector of visual imagery which was used in one or another way to express the ideas of rulership and power. All these three realms (ideas, rituals, images) are inter-related, interpolated and interlinked and cannot be separated. However, when considering a historic, cultural or visual fact we may know only some parts of one of these three realms and have less information about the others. Therefore, the attempt to reconstruct the whole picture of the phenomena may lead us to discover whether there was a certain set of images that formed an imagery arsenal that was used for expressing ideas of power by means of scenes, compositions, separate images and signs. It is the repetition of all these that allows to interpret them as a testimony for existence of a certain iconography used to express the ideas of the ruling power and especially of the ruler, i.e. kingship/rulership.

The ruling ideology takes down mythological ideas on specific levels and expresses them through verbal, ritual, and visual forms by means of texts, images, signs and symbols. Therefore, this research will be divided into three parts. The first one will deal with those historic testimonies which have been preserved in recorded texts by contemporaries or by authors of later times - in chronicles or literary works. The second part will comment on rituals related to the establishment of the kingly power and preserved in written texts, legends or as mythological relics in such texts. The third part will search for visual images that could be specifically associated with the pagan Bulgarian ruler's iconography or the circle of themes that characterize it.

1. Ideas of power of the pagan Bulgarian rulership

First it should be stated that the term *kingship* is not used in this study but rather the term *rulership* is supposed to designate the essence of its contents. The problem of ruler's ideology of the First Bulgarian Kingdom is related to the nature and type of ruler's institution. The kingship ideology is a central institution in sedentary societies governed by or concentrated upon one singular person, the king. As a state institution, the royal ideology is therefore different from other social institutions typical of societies with varying degrees of development such as tribal societies, although in many anthropological studies the term 'royal ideology or kingship' has been introduced and used. Societies governed as kingdoms are characterized by a complex and hierarchical internal structure and are often divided into different social classes. Generally, they are based on an agricultural or manufacturing economy that requires centralized management. Such societies require an economic as well as a political axis. Although single-party political power can vary (from absolute to symbolic), it is important because it represents the pinnacle of power. The government is ruled by the king directly or, if not, by his immediate entourage. The pagan Bulgarian society at the time of the foundation of the Bulgarian state in the Balkans was at another stage of development, defined differently by the authors - as a 'military tribal union',

'barbarian state' type, or 'early-state formation' etc.[4] It is obvious that there existed certain traditions of organization but there was a need to include in the pagan Bulgarian rulership certain ideas, rituals and ready-made formulas of expressing power from their neighbours - the sedentary states of Sasanian Iran[5] and the Byzantine Empire, which were entangled in one or another way in the pagan Bulgarian ideology.

The ideas of power in the pagan Bulgarian society comprise several complex aspects referring to the political doctrine of its existence. Most generally these ideas are dependent on socio-economic and military organization of the power and on the beliefs (religious or/and mythological) being manifestations of deeply rooted and traditionally occurring themes, motifs and images.

I.1. *Political doctrine: the notions of power in pagan Bulgaria and their relation to the military ideology of Bulgarian society*

The royal institution is the most widespread and most archaic institution. But to distinguish its common traits, typical of societies at particular periods of historical development, requires a great deal of attention. While often correspondence of certain features and ideas of different peoples about the nature of power is due to similar social and economic relations, this is not always a guarantee of a resemblance. On the other hand, any general framework of similarities can be fulfilled by specific features that make these traits appear to be completely different. However, our direction of comparisons referring to pagan Bulgarian ideas encompasses a broad range of peoples and cultures during a long historic time interval because the pagan Bulgarian views during the First Bulgarian Kingdom (7th–9th c) cannot be discussed without having in mind their previous traditions.

The development of Bulgarian society and the idea of statehood passed through several stages; it was a process, not a result that was quickly established. In the first stage the predominant traditions were those of the nomad steppe alliances, out of which Magna Bulgaria was born and existed for about half a century (about 630–655). This was precisely the time when in other parts of Central and Western Europe larger or smaller tribal alliances were formed and united like those of the Avars and the Franks.[6] Later on with the establishment of the Bulgars in the Balkans and their interaction with the settled traditions on the Balkan Peninsula (681 A.D.), the Old Bulgarian state, people and culture were formed as a result of the development of the state structure and the process of synthesis, a process whose final apogee became the adoption of Christianity in 864. Only then the beginning of early medieval feudal state structures and culture can be perceived. In the previous pagan period, the idea of statehood, type of thinking, and corresponding culture were of archaic, not feudal, early-medieval type. For this reason, it is necessary to always have in mind facts from the former ancient history of the Bulgars in the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia, the concept of steppe alliances and the basis of their military and administrative organization.

---

[4] Beševliev, Veselin, 1980; Степанов, Цветелин, 1999.
[5] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Chronographia tripertita, II, 1960, 28.
[6] Theuws, Frans and Janet Nelson, 2000.

The political doctrine of the power of the Khan - status, prerogatives and position in the society during the initial period of existence of the Bulgarian state is established in confrontation with Byzantium and the prevalence of the military-political institutions of the 'barbarian society'. The influence of Byzantium on these societies is a fact, but it is too weak, as the Bulgarian traditions were predominant before their arrival in the Balkans. While in Byzantium the idea of power is the result of a long tradition of political and religious teachings, based on the notions of Roman Empire, Greek culture, and Orthodox Eastern Christianity, the foundations of Khan's ideology in Bulgaria are rooted in archaic thinking. In it, the hierarchical structuring of space as a result of the mythical initial act of the creation of the world is in line with the social one, and the ruler, who has received his prerogatives from Above and the Supreme Divinity, is at the center of this space.

The most important aspect of the royal institution, emphasized in different cultures in different ways, is the central place of the king and his role as a symbol of unity. The personality of the king is considered a mediator between the different parts and interests that make up the social order and links between the human and non-human world. The king maintains the integrity of the social "cosmos". Thus, his rule is like that of a supreme being in many different religious systems. Often his personality is perceived as a microcosm and incarnation of the center of the cosmos. This role originates from the central place of the king in the universe and the social order that repeats the laws of the universe. The concept of the universe in the ideas of the pagan Bulgarians is being reconstructed in written sources and its similarity to the Indo-European heritage of the peoples of Eurasia.

The essence of power is expressed in the title of the ruler. It reflexes the relevance between the ruler and supreme forces – the Supreme God. Much has been written on religious beliefs of the pagan Bulgarians. Generally it is accepted that the supreme god of the pagan Bulgarians was Tangra as compared to Tengry among the Blue Turks of the Turkic Khaganate.[7] This is considered to be the belief of only a part of the population and basically the ruling classes of Bulgar origin mixed with other beliefs of shamanic character. However, the debate includes in these beliefs also traces of Iranian origin (Mithraism and worship of fire) as remains of the Indo-European heritage of the Bulgars and their past in the ancient homeland and region of Middle Asia. While showing the existence of correspondence between ruler and God, Prof. V. Besheliev clearly formulated the idea of supreme power of the pagan period, expressed through the title of the Bulgarian pagan ruler: "The Greek official title of the Bulgarian ruler was "ο εκ Θεου αρχων", (i.e. from the god ruler) which appears in the Proto-Bulgarian Epigraphic monuments as well as in Byzantine sources"[8]. This official title could be interpreted as a translation of an Old Turkic one, because both the Bulgarians and the Turks believed that their ruler accepted the power of the higher god. However, Beshevliev considers the titular expression "ο εκ Θεου αρχων", is a translation of a home title with a similar content, but being an imitation of the Byzantine imperial title *ex teo basiles.* [9] Despite this opinion, there are still controversial points, since this title

---

[7] Chavannes, E., 1900; Liu Mau-Tsai, 1956.
[8] Beševliev, Veselin, 1971, 81-92.
[9] Beševliev, Veselin, 1963. Bessevliev, 1981, 42.

mentioned in the inscriptions is characteristic only for a certain period - from the time of Khan Krum to Khan Presian. In one inscription of khan Presian found at Philippi the ruler is called 'the ruler by god of the many Bulgarians'. Krum is called *rex Bulgarorum* by Eginhard,[10] while Nicephorus when speaking of Tervel and the Huns called him *kyrios* - that is, chief. Generally, in the Byzantine sources, the chieftains of Turkic tribes, especially during the 6th-7th centuries, are commonly referred to as *kyrios*. Khan Kubrat[11] was one of them according to Theophanes[12]. In fact, another title ΚΑΝΑΣΥΒΙΓΙ - occurs in most of the home sources. The debate referring to the content and deciphering of this title still continues because it is in the center of the issue about the traditions and influences of the Bulgars – whether pertaining to Old Turkic, Iranian or Middle Asian surrounding.

I.2. *Mythological ideas of the Bulgarians during the pagan period and ruler's ideology*

The mythological ideas of the pagan Bulgarians are not so much discussed in specialized literature. Although attempts are made to connect them to ancient Turkic mythology[13] and, on the other hand, to Indo-European traces in Iranian context[14], the themes and their relation to power of the ruler are not interpreted in details. Here we shall search whether some texts could reveal if we can speak of existence of myths or traces of myths concerning cosmogony (origin of cosmos or structure of cosmos), ethnogony (origin of tribe), sociogony (origin of state-landname-sagas), origin of power and personages such as the cultural hero and links with the ruler among pagan Bulgarians.

Cosmogony

We do not have a myth of creation referring to pagan Bulgarians.[15] However, the pagan Bulgarian model of the world could be reconstructed through the cosmological concepts describing its parts and expressed through concrete ideas and images. The vertical structure of the world is presented as a three-part, to which the different natural and social phenomena are related. The spatial-temporal model is revealed through the main cosmological objects, related to its center. These basic ideas-universals, called 'hierophany' by M. Eliade, are characteristic of all cultures[16]. According to them, a tree, mountain or hill can be sacred and have the meaning of a center. Natural objects themselves are perceived as such, sometimes requiring additional stone, wood or metal processing. In this way, once again the sacredness of the object is secured. The notion of the sacred axis is at the heart of these myths

---

[10] Einhardi II, 1960, 29-39.

[11] Stepanov, Tsvetelin, 2016, 383.

[12] Moravcsik, G. II, 1938, 352-359.

[13] The most frequently used texts providing information about the ancient Turkic mythological concepts are the Turkic runic inscriptions on the Orchon River, Mongolia (the so-called memorial plate of Kul Tegin 732, Bilge Kagan 736 and Tonjukuk, senior adviser to Bilge Kagan) as well as Chinese historical texts see Овчаров, Димитър 1980; Стойнев, А., 1979.

[14] Хофарт, Александър. 2009.

[15] The myths of creation as preserved in folklore tradition bear strong Christian connotations. See Петканова, Донка, 1978.

[16] Eliade, Mircea, 1961.

and it takes the form of not only a mountain, but also a palace-capital that rises on its top. The ancient Turks also worshiped the mountain as the center of the world (according to the statement of Zemarchus - Mount Ectag, i.e. the golden mountain).[17] This idea has a similarity to the Chinese myths of the Kunlun (the sacred mountain)[18].

There is a belief in the healing power of the stone among the pagan Bulgarians, as it has been perceived by a number of Eurasian peoples. The respect of the healing stone is mentioned in the most important written source about their pagan beliefs *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum*.[19] It is most likely that the mentioned stone is the one that is a part of a sanctuary in the earliest period of existence at the Madara rocks of a Proto-Bulgarian religious center. The concept of the universe in the notions of the ancient Bulgarians is a square flat earth over which the heavenly hemisphere, the pole of which extending and equalizing with the polar star. Both, heavenly and earth spheres, are divided into segments that coincide with the calendar cycle. The central position of the polar star/place of the heavenly god on the vertical was the usual place of the ruler. The ruler is turned south to the heavenly altar. The left and right directions, east and west respectively, were dedicated to the solar and lunar altars. On this spatial scheme, they were responsible for the location of the clans, as well as for the troops, as we read in the Hambarlii inscription (813 A.D.)[20]

As an analogy of the concepts of space, the stone model of the yurt from Devnya can be seen. On the stone model of yurt is an engraved drawing of a human figure to which a horse is approaching. In his hands the human figure holds a bow. The stone model itself below is carved, suggesting it was placed on a wooden pole. This further confirms the idea of the model as a simultaneous axis, as the pylon or coil is perceived as the world axis. In the concepts of the паган Bulgarians, there was an isomorphism of the home / yurt / and the connection with the world tree, the sacrificial pillar, the center of the world and the cosmos.[21]

The cult of the holy mountain can also be linked to the choice of a pagan cult center at Madara rocks. As early as 1927 G. Fecher assumed that the basic precondition for this choice was the inherited cult tradition of previous historical ages.[22] (The mountain - a line between heaven and earth, is sometimes seen as a meeting place between the heavenly spirit and the soul of the heroes, rulers and ancestors. Thus, though there is no detailed and eloquent data on the pagan Bulgarian theogonic system, there is still data about ritual actions. Whether these rituals described are related to a myth cannot be reconstructed exactly, but definitely the have a mythological basis.

Ethnogony

The ethnogonic myth usually concerns the story of origin of the tribe. The reference about the son of Christian King Symeon the Great given by Liutprand – Bishop of Cremona, can serve as a starting point to our considerations. In his chronicle, he dedicates a chapter to

---

[17] Menander Protector in Migne, Patrolog. Graec., vol. cxiii., Paris, 1864.
[18] Schafer, Edward H., 1985.
[19] Nicolai papae I. 1960, 60-65.
[20] Today village of Malomirovo, Yambol region, see Бешевлиев, Веселин. 1981, 35-41.
[21] Рашев, Рашо. 1976, 1, 39-45.
[22] Протич, Андрей, Попов, Рафаил, Геза Фехер и Гаврил Кацаров, 1925.

the Bulgarian king Simeon, where he also talks about one of his two sons Baian: "... *Baianum autem adeo ferunt magicam didicisse, ut ex homine subito tieri lupup quamvecumque cerneres feram..*" (He had so far learned the magic that he could suddenly turn into a wolf and any other beast...).[23] The recording of Baian's magical incarnations, unrelated to the Christian culture, in the historical sources, obviously has a good cause. In scholarly literature, for the most part, this information is interpreted as evidence of the presence of shamanism and traces of it in medieval Bulgarian culture, even after the adoption of Christianity. But behind this fact there are rooted aspects of a different phenomenon, of which shamanism is also a part. This is a description of a magical ritual practice related to the ideological notions of power in pagan Bulgaria. The ritual transformation of a person into a wolf is rooted in the notions of the unshakable connection and unity of man and animal. They lead far into the peculiarities of archaic thinking and life. In the archaic consciousness, each phenomenon has continued in another and has been transformed without beginning and ending into the circle of the invariably repetitive cycle. Thus, man and the animal were one that temporarily perceived a binary image of opposing beings to achieve livelihood in chasing, hunting, and fighting, and made eternal reincarnation.

There exist a number of legends in which the wolf is described as the tribe's pedigree, spread in extremely wide geographic and cultural areas of North America - to Polynesia. However, the most discussed parallel to these traces about the link between the ruler and the animal, considered as the sacred animal of the tribe, is the legend of origin of the Turkic tribe. The earliest preserved text appears in the annals of the short-lived Chinese dynasty Chu (556-581), the so-called Chu-shu, completed around 629. The same text was passed to Sui-shu / annals of the Sui Dynasty (581–617), recorded around 629–631. A little different is the version given in Pei-shi, completed around 659.[24] The Kyrghiz are also considered to be the descendants of the red hound. Similar is the Magyar version of the legend of Attila's birth. According to it, the Magyar King wanted to marry her daughter for the Byzantine heir and locked her in a tower to keep her beauty from threatening dangers. But the royal daughter got pregnant with the dog that was left to protect her and gave birth to Attila. The Sarmatians also had a wolf on their flags as the sacred animal. And to finish the enumeration of this small part of the ethnogenetic legends of the wolf as the tribe's ancestor, we will also mention the legend of the origin of Genghis Khan about the Gray Wolf in the Mongols. There is no a single answer to the question of whether these are independent legends of their origin or these are variants of an ancient legend reproduced by the different chroniclers.[25]

Was there such a legend about the origins among pagan Bulgarians? Unfortunately, there is no record of such a legend in the written sources. However, as we see, the above mentioned facts can serve as indirect data that support its presence among the pagan Bulgarians as well. In this respect the scholars point that the name of Khan Kubrat (Κούβρατος, Κούβρατος Κροβάτος) is recorded in some sources such as Kurt (meaning wolf in

---

[23] Liudprandi. 1960, 323.
[24] Chavannes, E., 1903; Liu Mau-Tsai, I-II., 1956.
[25] McCone, Kim R. 1987, 101-154;

the ancient Turkic language). The linguistic and historic dispute over Kurt's correspondence with Kubrat and the origin and meaning of the name which has long been resolved in historiography. Rather, attention should be paid to the fact that in most of the tribal names the meaning of their name in its liminal abstraction is restrained to the myth in order to keep the principle of storing information in its own name. If in the process of designation by taboo certain essential information of common use is removed and translated into a specialized way in order to be preserved in the collective memory, then the widespread introduction of some of the important for that tradition names, related to the precedent (the first act) which lay down the basis of this tradition (including prophanization), ensures the continuity of this tradition. Thus, the wolf as a totem animal designates both proper names and names of tribes. In Indo-European languages, the root of "wolf" occurs in numerous personal and generic names such as the Luvians, Lycians, Dacians and others. According to V. Zlatarski it also lies in the ethnonym of the tribe Kurtargurs (one of the many Bulgars tribes) which he translates as "the genus of the wolf".[26]

Are there any images in the pagan culture of Bulgaria in the 7th-10th centuries, which could be referred to the myth of the wolf-progenitor? Or other that can be interpreted in connection with the notions of the wolf. A glimpse of the pagan images of the first Bulgarian kingdom will show that there are almost none. Only there are several drawings on the stone blocks of the walls of Pliska and Preslav, some of which unfinished, others overlapped by other images. This seems surprising, especially if we take into account the long Eurasian tradition beginning with the Neolithic drawings, as well as the monuments of the Scythian-Sarmatian culture represented in the bronze collection of Peter I in the Hermitage and the so called Ordos Bronzes in Chinese and Mongolian museums.[27] These traditions seem to be directly inherited by artifacts of the ancient Turkic art such as the treatment of the image of a wolf appliquéd on a belt from Kudyrge, the Altai mountain of the 6th–7th c.[28] Moreover, it is assumed that the image of a wolf and a human figure on the wall of Bugut, Mongolia with a trilingual inscription of ancient Turkic, Sogdian and Chinese, which is the earliest example of the Old Turkic script, is precisely an "illustration" of the myth of the wolf-progenitor.[29] Another illustration of this myth in the Roman version of the Capitolian Wolf is part of the mural painting of the palace of the Sogdian ruler of VII-VIII century, presenting the meeting of the two traditions on the border of the ancient Turkic and classical world.[30]

Perhaps one of the reasons, why the images of the wolf do not appear among the Danubian pagan Bulgarians as an "illustration" of the traditions associated with it, is the original non-iconicity of the level of their art. The characteristics of their animistic and totemic notions should also not be ignored. The totem is a taboo, and most often it is not called by its own name, but by some other epithets and substitutes. In many cases, the totem is not depicted, but other signs of expression are sought. Wearing amulets can also replace

---

[26] Златарски, Васил., 1970.

[27] Piotrovsky, B., L. Galanina, and N. Grach., 1987.

[28] Гаврилова А. А., 1965.

[29] Alyilmaz, Cengiz, 2003.

[30] Compareti, Mateo, 2012.

pars pro toto the image of the taboo. Perhaps in this case, the sign IYI, could replace the image of the mythical ancestor. Therefore, we must once again pay attention to the significance of this sign which is found on stone blocks, amulets, and various objects. Their interpretation as craft scratches for markings, and the opinion of the eminent historian and epigrapher V. Besheviev, as a sign for heaven and the heavenly god Tangra should be reconsidered.[31] Perhaps the opinion of Prof. St. Vaklinov as a sign marking the tribe and the ruler/chieftain of the tribe can be related to the notions of the ancestor wolf and its heavenly origin, as well as the heavenly epithets "gray", "gray", "silver" in the texts.[32] Another interpretation seems to be also possible that the ideas of the pagan Bulgarians to unite and overlap the significance of these images - the wolf, the sky, the heavenly and the god Tangra – into this one single sign.

Sociogony, the foundation myth

Usually such myths tell of the social structure of society or of the initial act of the creation of the state, finding and settling on a land to be the future home of the tribe.

Jordan, following Priscus, tells about the Huns that after they were involved in a deer hunt, they crossed Meotis and settled there.[33] The same legend was narrated by Procopius[34] According to him, the Huns inhabiting this region, called the Cimmerians, had a king with two sons Utigur and Kutrigur. After their father's death, one day while hunting, they followed a deer which jumped in the water. In this way they understood that the transfer to the other side was possible. Utigur returned to his homeland, and Kutrigur led his people beyond the straits. Utigur and Kutrigur are two ethnicons denoting tribal communities. This legend is also interpreted as referring to one of the many Bulgar tribes – the Kutrigurs.

Sozomenus[35] also describes a typologically similar legend, again about the Huns, in two variants. In one of them the migrants were led by an ox, and in the other – by a doe. Agathias[36] tells the legend without details, but according the same principle of scheme and ethnic attributes as Procopius, the roe pointed to the path of the Huns tribes, called Utigurs and Kutrigurs,, which came from the mountain Imeon (the Altai). The mythical-epic tradition of Antiquity contains such a narrative explaining the Cimmerian migrations, and perhaps this circumstance, besides the typical for the Byzantine historical accounts common use of an established ethnic nomenclature, led to the identification of the Huns and the Cimmerians.

Variants of the mythical theme of the animal guide occur also in Ancient Greek culture, Italy and the Hellenistic world. The occurrence, persecution and killing in some

---

[31] Бешевлиев, Веселин., 1979, с. 17—24.

[32] Рашев, Рашо. 1992, 96-97.

[33] Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum sive Gothorum*, pp. 123 ff, chap.23; on the significance of the passage of Altheim, Geshichte der Hunnen, I.

[34] Procopius of Caesarea, *Bell Goth* 4, 5, J. Marquqrt, J. Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifgzüge, Leipzig, 1903, 529.

[35] Sozomenus, 1954, 59.

[36] Agathiae *Historiarum Libri* V, 1958, 185-186.

cases of the animal are related to birth events - the birth of a city, a colony, or a state. In this case, the animal is a guide to unknown worlds. It determines the orientation in unknown territory, saves the human group and the act is not only "wonderful", it marks the beginning of a new historical reality, a city, a state, an empire. A typical example of this kind of legends in the ancient mythical traditions is the myth of the foundation of Troy (Ilion).[37]

The Hungarian legend about Hunor and Magor also uses similar motifs. As they hunted in the steppes, the brothers Hunor and Magor, the sons of the giant Menrot, saw the roe deer and followed her through the Meotis marshes until they came to a fertile valley. The deer disappeared, but the place seemed suitable for the herds, and so they returned home and asked for permission from their father if they could settle down here with their people.[38]

Although Theophanes, who talks about Kubrat and his sons and the displacement of the tribes of the Bulgars, does not mention in his narrative the "animal-guide," there are parts of this legendary plot which can be related to this scheme. First, he tells that despite the father's will not to separate, soon after his death the brothers, each one leading his own tribe, did separated. Moreover, Asparukh's migration and the staying of Batbayan in former lands reveal the scheme of Procopius' story about the resettlement of the Kutrigurs beyond Meotis, while the Utigurs remained in their original home-place. In the explanation of the interpretation of this plot as related to the custom of the Ver Sacra– a type of migration related to age-gender differentiation, St. Yordanov draws attention to the analogy of the Italian examples, where juvenile alliances are the institution involved in conducting migratory movements (see Procopius' narrative, where he defines his characters as young people).[39] As evidence, Yordanov also recalls the fact that in some cases the sources use the ethnicon version of Kurtargar or Kutrigur – i.e. "people of the wolf tribe", accentuating on the lycanthropic indication of the appropriate age. Thus the migration action is undertaken by those who passed through the age initiation rite (wolves), while in the old places of residence representatives of another age group remain. The conclusion - this is a plot of a typological nature, found in many chronologically and geographically remote mythic-epic traditions. It is not a "wandering motif" but reflects essential features and logical patterns. The historical facts are applied to them, and thus they receive a mythical legendary envelope.

Yet other study leads us to a similar interpretation of the myth of the deer persecution by the hunter. According to Petar Dobrev[40], the name Avitokhol of the mythical progenitor in the List of Bulgarian kings[41] can be translated quite correctly through the Pamir languages, since *avi* – meaning deer, and *tochol* –son. The link between the deer's myth with the cultural hero-creator of the tribe is obvious and obvious is also the occurrence both of the two variants of the myth in one and the same culture.

A direct illustration of the myth of the pursuit of the deer cannot be found in the artifacts of pagan culture in Bulgaria. But the drawings of roe deers and, in some cases, deer

---

[37] Apollod., Bibl., III, 12, 3
[38] Simon of Kéza, 1999.
[39] Йорданов, Стефан. 1993, с. 30-51; Същият, 1993, с. 71-81.
[40] Добрев, Петър, 1994. с. 206-207.
[41] Москов, Моско, 1988, стр. 24 – 25; Pritsak, Omeljan, 1955.

hunting scenes on the stone blocks of Pliska and Preslav could be related to similar mythological notions[42]. J. Moroz interprets extensively all the details of the image and symbolism of the deer in ancient cultures and Christianity, and in this respect a number of drawings of horsemen pursuing an animal can be assumed as variants of the legend of the deer and its expression not only as a guide animal but also as a sacrificial animal[43].

On the other hand, the presence of such myths of the type *Landnahme sagas* is characteristic of the Eurasian peoples in the first millennium B.C. and the first millennium A.D. The relationship of Eurasian animal style with myths of this kind has long been studied.[44] The archaism of the mythical-ritual ensemble, in which the ancestor is an animal that appears as a model of both the warrior and the hunter, is well-known. Examined from this point of view, the hunt, where the carnivore is pursued and leads the hunter to discover new land, thus discovering a new territory, can be interpreted as a re-authentication of the myth of origin.[45]

Thus, the hunting scene itself, where the hunter most often hunts an animal, acquires an ideological significance. It becomes characteristic of the first cultural hero, the leader of the tribe, i.e. the king. Hunting and the hunting scene become the prerogative of the leader, the king and the hero. In this respect, the numerous drawings of hunting scenes on the stone blocks of Pliska and Preslav, could be interpret as evidence of the existence of such ideas.

Myths of the origin of ruler's power

Did a legend about the origin of ruler's power really exist among the pagan Bulgarians and what was it like?

According to historical evidence, the power of Attila, the chief of the Huns, was due to the fact that he found Ares' sacred sword. Jordanes[46] tells that the most revered among the Huns was the sword of Ares, which was hidden in ancient times and later discovered with the help of an ox. Once a plowman noticed that his animal was kneeling and finding no reason for it, he followed the traces of blood until he reached the sword where his ox had come in while he was eating. He dug it and took it to Attila. Attila was very pleased with this gift, and being arrogant, he thought that in this way he had gained dominion over the world, since by the sword of Mars Attila was given victory in the battles. This legend reminds that of the Scythian legend about the receiving of signs of kingly power.[47] This fact links the emergence of the king's institution to the Huns with an earlier testimony of the Scythians suggests that he was aware of those similar traits on which it was based.[48]

We do not have a similar myth. However, a testimony of the sacred role of the sword among the pagan Bulgarians could be provided by one of the answers of Pope Nicholas. It

---

[42] Овчаров Димитър, 1982.

[43] Мороз, Йосиф, 1981, кн. 3; Мороз, Йосиф, 2010.

[44] Altheim, Fr. Band 1, 1959.

[45] Eliade, M. De la Zalmoxis la Genghis-Han.Payot, Paris, 1970.

[46], Jordanes, *Getica*, 1958, 352-357.

[47] on Scythian legend see Грантовский, Е., 1960.

[48] Dumesil, Georges, 1990, 58-63.

mentions the oath of pagan Bulgarians that took place in front of the sword, a custom also known to exist among the Avars [49]

The legend of finding the sacred sword of the Huns is a reminiscent of the familiar legend in many variants of Indo-European peoples in Antiquity referring to the foundation of the ruler's institution, through legalizing myths and rituals with themes such as *sacred plowing, city foundation,* and *sacred marriage to a goddess.* According to one of the versions of kingship ideology of the Frisians, the peasant Gordian, one day, with surprise, saw that an eagle was sitting on one of the oxen of his carriage. He went to Telmisos to get an interpretation of this oracle. In front of the door he met a young seer who, seeing the eagle still stuck in his seat, insisted that Gordios immediately made a sacrifice to Zeus. Then they got married. As the King of the Phrygians suddenly died without leaving heirs, the augur proclaimed that the new king would appear with his bride sitting on an ox car. When Gordie's car appeared in Telmisos's square, the eagle caught the attention of the people, and the former plowman was unanimously chosen to be a king. A similar legend for the election of a king also exists for the royal power in Boeotia, where King of Thebes became Cadmus. Even later, it is the basis of many of the legendary accounts of emerging state formations in Europe. For example, the legend of the origins of power is found among the Czechs, fixed in an earlier version (the so-called Kristian legend) and later by Kozma in his chronicle, where the power is given to an ox-plower.[50]

The ritual plow is a well-known myth-ritual complex among the Indo-European peoples. We find certain traces of it in the Bulgarian epic tradition and particularly in the heroic epic about Krali Marko.[51] But it is difficult to trace the connection of the Old pagan Bulgarian mythical substrate further to the heroic genre system. Genetic or typological is the similarity of the South Slavic epic with the Indo-European relict mythological notions? An important period - the time of the creation of the heroic epic and the participation of the pagan Bulgarians in it need to be studied in more detail. Preserved traces of the myth-poetic views of the pagan Bulgarians are the subject of research, and with good reason, in texts belonging to the so called apocryphal chronicle tradition of Bulgarian type, including apocryphal works from the 11th–12th centuries, created mainly in the region of Sofia. In this respect, the interpretation of the apocryphal text "Skazanie Isaevo" by St. Jordanov is related to the mythological youth of the hero/ruler.[52] The name of the 38th ruler in the text, Gordie Chigocin, brings a lot of complex information. On the one hand it reminds of the Bulgarian version of Gordie - the saint-warrior St. George. On the other hand, the name Gordios is borne by the mythological Frisian ruler, whose mythical biography implies the mythologems "prince-foreigner", "sacred marriage", "election of the national assembly". On the other hand, the above mythologems are related to an ideological system reflecting the functioning of age-initiation organization. Here the name of Chigocin is interpreted by St. Yordanov with the title "chigot", "jiggit" and reflects the status of the adolescent and of the age of the ephebes.

---

[49] Кацаров, Гаврил. Клетвата 113-120.
[50] Cosmas of Prague, 2009.
[51] Afanasieva-Koleva, A., 1991, 74-81.
[52] Йорданов, Стефан., 1995, с. 31-52.

Another reference we could find in the Bulgarian apocryphal chronicle tradition where the motif of the king-child Ispor is said to be carried for three years in the cow's womb, thus pointing to allusion to ritual death and initiation, perceiving the duration of the initiation cycle.[53]

How can we interpret then the numerous representations of a plow in the drawings on stone blocks in Pliska and Preslav. What ideas have triggered the appearance of the numerous images of plow (signs?) on the blocks of Pliska and Preslav? They have been interpreted by D. Ovcharov as a reflection of the households and the material achievements of the Bulgarians, already in this period.[54] On the other hand, the Christian symbolism of the plow is well known. Perhaps, certain traits of the mythological symbolism of the ox as related to the creation of city/center, where ruler sits, might be still living in these depictions?

2. Rituals of power: written sources and mythological references

Ritual hunt, initiation

Without discussing in detail the symbolism of the horseman scene at Madara rocks, the present study would like to confirm the interpretation that it is a visual expression of "ritual hunt," and the image is not of a particular ruler, but of a hero with whom any ruler can be identified, as evidenced by the inscriptions around dated from different times. V. Beshevliev paid attention to the Roman, and then Byzantine ritual, of the victorious rider stepping on the defeated enemy, linking it both with text from the so called Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions (the Chatalar inscription) and with the entering of Byzantine triumphal customs in pagan Bulgarian court culture.[55] Thus, in his opinion, the relief scene at Madara rocks represents a triumphant ruler. This idea was further developed by other scholars looking for the name of the particular ruler, Asparuh, Krum, or Tervel (an idea that last quite a long time in Bulgarian scholarly literature and still prevails in it). However, it can be suggested that the meaning of the scene lies more in the act of punching the spear in the animal and in viewing the hunt as a royal and heroic test. In this regard, the information from Anastasius the Librarian[56] that khan Krum wanted to punch his spear in the gate of Constantinople is taken as evidence of a sacred act. The text also tells that this act was preceded by a "sacrificial killing".

What is the use of the spear in the depicted scene at Madara rocks? Though referring to Thracian art, the observations made by Ivan Marazov on the seeming "contradiction" in the symbolism of the bow and the spear in the royal consecration may also be valid for this scene.[57] According to him, the king's main weapon is the spear, the attribute that characterizes it as having completed his initiation. Since the model of the royal consecration is built on the model of the initiation, and because of the fact that for the royal ideology precisely those moments of obtaining the status are mostly valued – i.e. the transitional

[53] Венедиков, Иван, 1980, 227; Степанов, Цветелин. 2013.
[54] Овчаров, Димитър, 1982.
[55] Бешевлиев, Веселин, 1958, 4-25.
[56] Anastasius Bibleothecarius, 1960, $ 61.
[57] Маразов, Иван, 1992, 358-9.

period of trials, the king, who does not possesses a permanent status and must always assert it over a certain cycle, is always in a period of consecration. Hence, the duality of his insignia. The king always hunts with his spear-attribute of high status, but he must also be also a great archer, that is, the king must at all times prove his possibilities for a new transition. Thus, the king acts resemble the heroic test and the king identifies himself with the hero. Moreover, the shape of the spear, coinciding with the cosmic axis pointed both to the center of the world and above to heaven, is symbolically related to the leader and progenitor of the tribe. Thus, it may be assumed that the Madara hunting scene symbolizes the royal test/initiation, and its transitional status is also expressed by the choice of placing the relief on the rocks between the earth and the sky, while the ritual of enthronement is supposed to have happened according to another ritual, as it will be discussed further.

Ritual of enthronement or elevation on a shield

In medieval sources we are used to read about coronation rituals of kings recorded down with details and supplied with illustrative images in miniatures. However, it is difficult to state in what official way and ritual the new pagan Bulgarian ruler ascended to sacrifice his power. The Bulgarian historical sources are silent. The List of the Bulgarian rulers marks only the year and the time of achieving and the period of the consecutively occupying power, as the change of the ruling dynasty is only mentioned without comment.[58] Foreign authors only mention some facts. For example Khan Tervel is told to have received insignia and the title archontus but nothing is mentioned about the ritual.[59] These acts of Byzantium to neighboring rulers-barbarians are undoubtedly associated with the doctrine of the "family of rulers chaired by the Byzantine ruler," which is the blade of Byzantine politics towards neighboring peoples.[60]

Much is known about the Byzantine ceremonial of enthronement. The coronation ritual can be traces back to imperial Rome when Augustus (27 B.C.–14 A.D.) introduced the principle of the emperor as the only civil and army leader (Augustus). It included several consecutive acts. The Byzantine emperor was elected by the senate, the army and Byzantine people and before being crowned he should be acclaimed by the people.[61]

A miniature in *Skyllitzes Matritensis* chronicle[62], "The uprising Bulgarians declare Peter Delyan as their king" (Fol., 215 R), illustrates this event.[63] The scene shows how five or six warriors on both sides of Peter Delyan raise him in his arms. One can easily detect the presentation of the custom of raising on a shield known in late Roman and early Byzantine iconography, which, along with receiving the "crown of authority by Christ", occupies one of the main places in ruler's subjects for presentation of royal power. Though the shield is missing in the illustration - a major symbolic sign of the ruler's rise – it can be reasonably assumed that the illustrator had in mind particularly such a ritual.

---

[58] Москов, Моско, 1988, стр. 24 – 25.
[59] Theophanes, English translation, 1982, 375.
[60] Dölger, Franz, 1940; Ostrogorsky, George. 1956, 1-14.
[61] Ostrogorsky, George, 1955, 246-256; Hunger, Herbert. Hrsg, 1975.
[62] Tsamakda, Vasiliki, 2002.
[63] Божков, Атанас, 1972, 228.

Let's take a closer look upon the ritual "elevation on a shield" and upon symbolism of the scene in ancient times in order to answer the question whether the Byzantine illustrator mechanically adopted this iconographic scheme for giving the royal power known since the time of the Roman Emperor-Soldiers and applied it to this event, knowing that Peter Delyan was raised by troops or he really thought that it corresponded to the existing ideas and rituals in the Bulgarian court. Could such a ritual exist in the rulers' court of the pagan Bulgarians?

The symbolism of ritual "elevation on a shield" is related to the solar symbolism and the notions of the cosmic kingdom in the ancient world.[64] This is a very extensive set of concepts including ideas according to which the ruler, the king is at the center of the world and the cosmic order. One of the concepts in which this idea is embodied is that of the cosmic city. The centers of the state, the cities that have been the principal place of residence of kings in antiquity, have always been perceived as such places. Most often this is expressed by the circular plan of the cities or palaces of kings. The city of Dārābgerd, represented an ideal sphere with an inner concentric wall, outlining a precise circle, and the whole area was divided into equal sectors by the radial axes of the streets ending at the four walls located in the four compass directions. Fīrūzābād, the original residence of the Sasanian kings, also has a circular plan, unlike the Roman square plan[65].

The circle, the medallion (*cosmic clypeus*) appears to be one of the oldest cosmic symbols in Ancient times and Antiquity. In this way the image of the sun is transformed into the image of the cosmic circle. It is in the center of astral symbolism used to be combined with religious and kingly symbolism in Egypt, Iran (Ahura Mazda is shown depicted inside), the Roman emperor. When the image of the living emperor is placed in a medallion, the idea of the Emperor-Cosmocrator, the Emperor-Sun is pointed out in the foreground, and it is treated as "*Sol in suo clipeo*", while the portrait of the deceased in the medallion emphasizes the idea of his rise to the stars, as originally used to denote heroes and later, common mortals. The ritual of elevation on a shield is related to the cosmic symbolism of the image of the emperor, the ruler. In reality it coincides ritually to the rising of the new ruler who is equaled to the rising of the sun.

A similar ritual for receiving the power is given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[66] When describing the raid of the Magyars and talking about their first living places at Lebedia and then about their move to Ethelkuz he tells that their leader Arpad was elevated on a shield by Khazar (ethnonym).

Another source for the ancient Turkic customs provides a rich basis for reflection. This is the description of the custom of choosing a ruler described in the Chinese chronicle Sui-shu.[67] In the election of the lord of the throne, the closest dignitaries put him on a canvas, and in the sunrise circle around him nine times. Every time the dignitaries bow before him. After completing the adoration, they pick him up on an equestrian horse, tighten his throat with a silk thread, and weakening him slowly, ask, "how many years he can be a khan ..."

---

[64] L'Orange, H.P., 1973, 313-323.
[65] Ghirshman, R., 1947, 1-28.
[66] Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De Administrando Imperio* (ch. 38), 173.
[67] Бичурин, Н.Я., 1950, v.1, 229-230.

Beside the ritual acts of raising on a canvas and circling, which are definitely related to cosmic symbolism, here another symbolic ritual act linked with sacred kingship can be attested - the dying of the earth ruler and rebirth in his heavenly essence. Thus here a combination of two rituals can be seen – ritual elevation on a shield and ritual killing of the king.

The role of the king is important in the centralized organization for provision of goods, and as in the case of nomadic unions, of adding/taking/stealing goods, land for pasture and distribution of wealth. The King is the main benefactor/giver of products and wealth to the whole society, to the collective unit. Especially this is manifested in the ritual plan of the most important feasts guaranteeing the re-union of the power of the cosmos. At the heart of the concept of power is the idea of charisma of a family or a member of a certain family. Among the Blue Turks the main terms is *qut, ulug* ("donated by Tangra"), in Sogdian and Iranian *hvarnah*, and in Chinese *shou ming*. A given genus can rise and acquire charisma and manage for a given period only to be replaced soon by another group. Whenever the family loses its charisma, it loses not only the rule but also its language, which is replaced by the new charismatic family. In this regard, the ritual "sacral killing" known among the Turkic peoples can also be interpreted as existing among pagan Bulgarians. Here there is no need to discuss it in detail after Frazer[68] but it should point out that certain historic written sources are interpreted as giving evidence about this ritual among the pagan Bulgarians as well.[69]

Ritual feast

When discussing the complex of ritual feast we have to bear in mind its ideological, political, religious and mythological aspects. Immediately we must mention the famous written source about Khan Krum and his victory over Emperor Nicephorus. It is told by Theophanes.[70] ..."*Krum cut off Nicephorus' head and put it on a stake for a few days as a show of those who came to him and of our shame, and then he took it ,and as he cleaned it from inside, he overlaid it with silver, and praising himself he made the Slavic chieftains drink from it.*" Such a custom is known in numerous ancient peoples. Herodotus [IV, 65] mentions it referring to the Scythians: ..."*The skull of the defeated enemy they overlaid with gold and decoration from within in order to use it as a cup.*" There is similar information about the Huns, as well as about other peoples of the steppes. [71] Behind the story narrated by Theophanes, the aspect of sacrifice, as being a part of the ritual table and feast can be easily detected.

Another story told by Theophylact, archbishop of Ohrid (ca. 1050/60–ca. 1108), should be added to this narration.[72] Among the Greek prisoners, there was certain Kinamon, who was "*magnificent and beautiful in appearance, and in his moody spirit more glorious and more divine than his fellows.*" When the booty was distributed, he was taken by Khan Omurtag. Kinamon was loved by his master and by all, but he was distinguished by religion.

---

[68] Frazer, James, 1890.

[69] See Sigebertus *Chronica*, 1965, 43 about the death of khan Telets.

[70] Theophanis Continuati *Chronographia*, 1964, 107-139.

[71] Chavannes, E., 1903, LXX.

[72] Theophylactus, PG, t. 126, $ 29-30. Theophylacti Achridensis, archiepiscopi Bulgariae. *Historia martyrii XV martyrum Tiberiupolitanorum*, 1994, $ 29, 30, 31, 63-65.

Omurtag used all his efforts to separate him from Christ. He first tested his faith in the following way: After performing a glorious sacrifice and preparing for a rich meal, he commanded the noble Kinamon to eat with the other superiors. But Kinamon, remembering the words of the apostle Paul, that 'ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils' rejected the offer. Khan Omurtag insisted on his will. After Kinamon refused, Omurtag threw him in prison.

To the foreign historical evidence about the pagan Bulgarians some home evidence can be added. A mention of a ritual feast is found in *Responsa Nicolai I papae ad consulta Bulgarorum.*[73] "*Assertis, quod rex cum manducandum in sedili, sicut mos est, ad mensam sederit, nemo ad convescendum etiam, neque uxor eius cum eo discumbat, vobis procul in sellis residentibus, et in terra manducantibus; et idcirco quid vobis hinc praecipiamus, nosse desideratis...*" This record describes the habitual distribution of the ruler and his attendants. The so called Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions mention also participation of a special circle of notables surrounding the pagan Bulgarian Khan called in Greek "*threptos anthropos*" (people receiving food).[74] These people are mentioned in different kind of inscriptions of the ruler's chancellery grouped after their function – building inscriptions, commemorative and others. Most of them follow one model including the title of the ruler, the name of the person, his activities, his belonging to the special circle of people receiving food distributed by the ruler and participation in feasts, his kin and the place of death.[75]

When discussing these written sources several important sacred rituals can be seen implemented – the sacrifice, the common meal and drink at the table, the presence of a circle of notables around the leader/ruler and newcomers-guests that should be attracted to the cult (the Slav chieftains, Kinamon). Thus, according to the records about the table rituals in the written sources, it is clear that among the pagan Bulgarians there existed a special circle of close dignitaries of the Khan. Having in mind the warrior structure and organization of the pagan state formation, the role of the military tradition of the male alliances of *Männerbund* type can easily be noticed where it is known that the ritual practice includes the battle and the feast into one common model[76].

The ritual transformation of the myth of Odin's warriors serves as a model on which the structure and the function of the male unions are built. The myth itself appears to be an allegorical model for motivation and behavior of individual members of the collective and society. The extrapolation of customs at the ritual level serves as a basis through which the repeatability of the world/universal and social order is validated and reinstituted. Once the leader (the chieftain, the ruler) made the sacrifice (appearing also as the supreme priest) a table is placed where the king distributes drink and food. The religious aspect of this act is in fact equal to the consumption of the sacrifice and the participation in it. In this way the neophyte joins the cult. The social or the equal ideological symbolism of participation in the feast is expressed through the distribution of the gifts - horse, belt and rank: title and

---

[73] Дечев, Данаил. *Responsa...* 1992.
[74] Runciman, Steven. 1930, 285.
[75] Beševliev, Veselin, 1963.
[76] Dumézil, Georges, 1964.

administrative position for those who have passed the test or participated in the battle by doing feats (act equal to the initiation). In this case, the obedience and faithfulness of the circle of converts and those who join in demonstrating the power of the leader is shown. Thus, table rituals have, besides religious an ideological symbolism too. Gestures as bows oath and oaths while receiving gifts and acclamation are behavioral and verbal codes in this ritual.

Sacred road, royal tour

A similar ritual and ideological level, where the ruler, following his prototype - the cultural hero or the ancestor of the tribe - must legitimize his power and manifest himself, is the royal tour.

Evidence of the ideological significance of the legitimation of power through the royal tour in the Indo-European ritual practice is not a new subject in scholarly literature. A similar practice is well known among the Hittites, as well as among the Scythians and the Thracians, according to Herodotus. Ivan Marazov interpreted the description of the path of the Achaemenid kings Xerxes and Darius and proved the correspondence of their route with the sacred t*opoi* of the Thracian rulers to the Thracian sacral cosmogram; i.e. foreign conquerors of Thrace often followed the routes of the sacred ways, as a mythical-religious form of conquest and integration of the country.[77] The ritual repeating of the movement along the route, i.e. the king's path on a cosmological level, periodically and in connection with the legitimation of power, is thoroughly implanted in the ritual practice and everyday life of the Iranian kings and is the subject of a number of studies. Just remember that the existing road between Susa and Pasargadae the spacious capital and last resting place of Cyrus the Great (559–530 BCE) , and then between Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam was part of the vast network of roads connecting the cities, residences and sacred tops of the Iranian kings (Herodotus 5.52–53)[78]

The typologically similar features of the royal tour as one of the imperial royal ordinances in the quoted, albeit very fragmented, written records of various peoples of Antiquity can be characterized by several important symbolic and ritualistic aspects:

– The ruler travels to his country by visiting the main sacred centers: cult places, residences, significant settlements. The sacred places are the main points around which the primeval space once emerged, and it is to be constantly re-actualized ritually. His tour actually marks the four directions of the world and its horizontal structure because precisely the territory of the state is perceived as a ritual representation of the universe identified with the places visited for sacrifice, i.e. the tour of circumference spatially structured the space.

– The tour takes place annually or several times a year – i.e. according to the calendar cycle. At the religious-doctrinal level by means of the the royal tour the dynasties reproduce the revival of nature as well as their own revival. This stimulates the movement of the cosmic forces, the change of the annual times, birth of the seasons. But this is also one of the forms of the renewal of the royal power, of its periodic rejuvenation and re-actualization.

---

[77] Маразов, И. 1988, т. III, с., 194-214.

[78] The specialized literature on the question of the sacred road is superfluous. It discusses different routes in geographic areas of Asia Minor. See French, D. 1998. 15-43; Graf, D. F., 1994.

– Through the tour the king re-establishes his country, legitimizing his right over the territory. From a socio-political point of view, the periodically conducted royal tour confirms the supreme and unlimited rights over the proclaimed lands, affirming the legal ownership over them. This is the territorial core of the kingdom, and the tour around the territory separates it from everything outside and closes it, preserving it from the chaos.

– The tour is carried out on a chariot or horse. In the holy transition they are necessarily accompanied by satellites - representatives of the aristocratic elite or composite accompanying animals. On a social level, the ritual tour of the ruler follows the path of his evolution, along with his own people.

– Everywhere along the route of the tour the ruler is welcomed with a rich ritual table, accompanied by sacrifices and other royal rites. Besides written sources about Ancient Greek and Iranian rulers we can find similar descriptions about supposed sacrifices and visits to sacred places during the royal tour of the Huns as given by a Chinese source: "Chan, Ming, Chanyu and his elders climbed the mountain of Hong on the eastern side of the No-Puy River and sacrificed a white horse. Chanyu took out his sword and wet his end in wine; this oath wine they drank from the skull of the head of the Yuezhi master killed by Laoshan chanyu[79]

Thus, a number of mythological, ritual and social aspects of royal ideology in the ritual complex of the sacred tour can be traced back to archaic society. The sanctification of a certain space in the consecration-initiation cycle of the ruler's ceremonial practice includes a number of symbolic topographies in which the path/the route/the road is the basic paradigmatic construct. The road gathers all the sacred points marked by a temple, a treasure, a sanctuary; it leads to the sacred mountain; it leads to the temple of the supreme god and it is related to its worship; it leads to the temple/mausoleum/cave/ or the place of the ancestors and it is intermittently associated with sacrifices, magical acts, cult objects.

Are there records concerning the sacred road/royal tour in the early Bulgarian culture from the pagan period before Christianity as well as in the visual language of the early Bulgarian culture? Possibly such written and visual information which can be related to the existence of the complex of ideas and beliefs about the "royal" or "sacred" way among the pagan Bulgarians can be found. The idea of existence of a sacred road between the capital Pliska and the sacral complex at Madara rocks has recently appeared in the studies.

Let us turn to one record by Deacon Ignatius of the peace treaty of 815 AD between the Byzantine emperor Leo and the envoys of the Bulgarian ruler khan Omurtag. He tells that the Byzantine Basileus had to make libations with a cup, turn saddles himself, touch triple braided belts, raises grass upwards.[80] The horse saddle can be interpreted as a symbol, a sign of the center of territory, the overturning - as a cover-opening act[81]; the touch of triple braided belts and the whip again can be looked upon as symbolizing gestures of prosperity,

---

[79] Бичурин, Пак там, 92.

[80] Migne, J.-P., *Patrologia cursus completes, series graeca*, t. 111, 1863, col. 264 – 267; Кацаров, Г., 1912, 113-120 ; Златарски, В. Н. *История на българската държава през средните векове*, т. 1, ч. 1, Притурка 14, С., 1918, 1994; Трифоновъ, Ю. 1937, 263-279.

[81] Маразов, Иван. 2000, 181-235.

the sheaf of grass from the already cultivated ground - as tearing, breaking the hierarchical setting of the world and ultimately its destruction and then its re-arrangement.

In this respect it is possible to attract the familiar historical information about the overturning of the shield by the Bulgarian ruler khan Tervel.[82] This act can be interpreted as a ritual action, symbolizing "cutting", "mapping" a new territory, and marking a new symbolic center of power where the ruler is located. Similarly, the interpretation of the gesture of khan Krum punching his spear in the gates of Constantinople could be interpreted as adding a new territory to the former one and re-legitimizing the authority over the existing territory and the newly acquired one.

The social symbolism of the centric plan, expressed in the sense of the ruler's center, we see in another mythical motif - this of the "copper threshing floor" in the written sources about pagan Bulgarian culture. The ideas of the pagan Bulgarians about power and statehood (the state center bearing the sign of sacredness) certainly comprise this symbol, which is too old in origin and is most probably related to the idea for the "copper heaven" (the metal-made sky)[83].

In all the mythological accounts and descriptions of the spatial concepts of the location of the pagan Bulgarian people and their lands we can see the idea of internal and external Bulgaria as well as ideas related to the development of the barbaric and nomadic states. Probably the Bulgarians had the idea of a state center before they passed south of the Danube. Given the lifestyle of the population of Magna Bulgaria, it may be assumed that Kubrat's "capital" was not distinguished from the residences of the steppe unions whose populations had seasoned movements with herds. Perhaps there were at least two seasonal residences - a winter one, somewhere around the Black Sea or the Azov Sea (but hardly on the isolated Taman Peninsula such as Phanagoria), and a summer one - at the northern border of the steppe lands of Magna Bulgaria. Where exactly they were, however, it is not known. The gradual transition from *sedes mobiles* to permanent centers and *sedes principis* to the true capital *civitas regni* takes place over a long period and ends only in the first half of the ninth century. It should be noted that the practice of rulers to have not only one residence is observed throughout the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages in the peoples of Western Europe as well. The court in the European early medieval West, as a rule, was a just a locus, mobile and inconsistent, more in line with the dynasty's birthplace. Thus, it can be assumed that since the time of their organizational life in the Eurasian steppes the pagan Bulgarians maintained a permanent and main political center of the type "camp" town. After the foundation of Bulgarian statehood in the Balkans, rulers still have temporary residences (auls) known from the stone inscriptions. One such important aul was the one at Chatalar (today the village of Tsar Krum) as well as the residence at Madara. Gradually, however, there is a need for a central settlement, where not only the residence of the Khan, but also the entire administration could be placed. However, the problem with the earliest history and the beginning of Pliska is not yet fully resolved. According to Pavel Georgiev, the earliest traces of life and construction in Aboba-Pliska Center are not of the kind of usual

---

[82] Венедиков, Иван, 1987.
[83] Минаева, Оксана, 1996, N 4. 27-32.

settlement. In their specificity, they correspond quite well to the centers known from Antiquity, which in Latin-language sources are defined as *consiliabulum*. Unlike the forum, the *consiliabulum* is not an urban agglomeration, but a place for temporary gatherings in connection with solving common problems of the community. In the traditions of nomadic peoples, centers of this type can be defined as a seasonal or temporary settlement with structures built on different occasions, including military or other events. In the Old Bulgarian language, these centers are called *станьище* (a gathering place).[84]

The proximity of the Pliska to the cult center at the foot of the Madara Rocks, used since the prehistoric age, is important for the establishment of Pliska as the main residence and center of the pagan state. This coincides with the spatial concepts of the tradition from the earliest stage of existence of the Bulgarian ethnicity and has a typological correspondence with the idea of the sacred mountain in the archaic mythological consciousness. Similar ideas about the relation between the sacred mountain, the temple, the mausoleum or the cult place as the center of the cosmos and society were also shared by the two cultures – the Chinese and the Iranian - with which the pagan Bulgarians were in touch before their settlement in the Balkans. Here the parallelization between the ancient Bulgarian culture and the mentioned cultures should be highlighted in terms of the myth-ritual connection of the symbolism of the mountain with the ruler's ideology. The mountain/the rocks are the sacred center of the relationship between the ruler and the supreme divinity. For example one of the five holy mountains in the ancient Chinese culture is Tai Shan Mountain, located in central Shandong province. The report describes 72 Chinese emperors from various dynasties who have worshiped the sacred mountain for sacrifices and other ceremonial purposes, including Emperor Qin Shi Juan-di (221–206 BC), Emperor Wu-di of the Han Dynasty (206–8 AD), the Tang Dynasty emperor Juan-Jong (618-907 AD) and Qing Emperors (1644–1911)[85]. An example of Iranian culture has repeatedly highlighted the connection between the capital Ctesiphon and the Naqš-e Rostam cult center.[86] Having in mind all this it can be supposed that the cult center at Madara rocks was also perceived as a sacred mountain according to the ancient ideas of the pagan Bulgarians and was related to the ruler's ideology.[87]

It is important here to note that besides its relation to sacred nature, Madara cult rock complex included another typological aspect of ruler's ideology connected with writing and lettering. The sacredness of the rocks and the stone structure is definitely linked with the ruler's ideology as well as the stone inscriptions. It is well known that these inscriptions stood for the ruler's chancellery keeping written treaties, markers of boundaries, military and administrative acts. Where did all these inscriptions stand; were they a part of a commemorative mausoleum such as the one of Kul Tegin[88] or they were placed gathered in a

---

[84] Георгиев, Павел, 2002.

[85] A copy of a commemorative inscription acclaiming the sacred mountain and the rituals made by Qin-Shi Juan-di (221-207 B.C.) is kept in the British Museum; see Thompson, L. G, 1988.

[86] Root, M. C., 1979, 92.

[87] No35 in *Responsa Nicolae papae I ad consulta bulgarorum,* see Дечев,Д,. 1922.

[88] Евтюхова, Л.А., 1952; Грач, А. Д., 1961.

special building such as the so called the "stele forest" in Xian[89]? Most of the researchers suppose that their place was in Pliska in the palace, or that they marked the probable sacred way from Pliska to Madara rocks[90].

The proximity to Madara is also related to the possibility to maintain contact with the ancestors and the opportunity to perform the ritual of the election of the ruler, which usually takes place in a sacred surrounding. Certainly, there is a strong bond between ancestor cult and ruler's ideology. Usually the cult of the ancestors is expressed through burial customs and different forms of commemorative and worship practice. In the archaic period, royal burials are generally marked with a mound, a tombstone or other markers such as stones, columns, various over-structures. Very often the funeral facility is part of a larger funeral complex with a mausoleum, a sacrificial place, a temple. This applies to both the Mediterranean circle and the Eurasian steppe culture and culture of Central Asia, as far as Korea. The question is why, since there are so many typological similarities of the pagan Bulgarians with the Steppe and Middle Asian cultures, burial structures similar to complexes such as the one in Korea, the mausoleums of the Chinese emperors of the Zhou, Han, Tang, Ming, and the ancient Turkic complexes like Kul Tegin are not known among them. Nevertheless, some finds still give reason to believe that Pliska field was ritually marked through sacred burials. Finding a cenotaph perhaps of a higher dignitary in an older mound embankment is important as evidence of the sacred value of this space.[91] Another fact also speaks of the sacred assessment of the space around Madara cult complex. This is the place where the burial of a warrior of highest rank was found furnished with a belt, showing his rank. And it is a well-known fact that the ritual designation of the sacred road by means of depositing a treasure or kingly and dignitary burials is one of the main features of this ritual and ideological practice[92]. All of these evidences, accentuated by the scholars, definitely point to the conclusion that it is possible to have a sacred road from Pliska to Madara cult complex as a part of the ideas and beliefs related to the royal ideology. Still, sacral topographies marking this road are to be explored, as well as the ritual structures of the Madara cult complex itself.

3. Iconography of power. Iconographic arsenal of scenes and images – symbolism and function

It is clear from the discussed written sources that mythological and ritual correspondences of the ideas of power among pagan Bulgarians lead, on the one hand, to parallels with peoples of the Indo-European cultural circle, and on the other hand, to the peoples of the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia inhabited by other ethnic cultures. In fact, the typological similarities between the Bulgarian pagan culture and royal ideology with them are not only at the level of the universal archaic type of thinking, but it is also possible to

---

[89] Howard, A. F., Li Song, Wu Hung, Yang Hong. 2003; see also the Museum Bei Lin Xi'an.
[90] Петрински, Иван, Петрински, Герасим.
http://www.segabg.com/article.php?sid=2008100900040001301
[91] R. Rachev. S.Stanilov, 1998, 67-72.
[92] Маразов, Иван, 2008, 39-67.

assume direct contacts and borrowings from other ethnical cultural circles in Central Asia together with the inherited culture of the Eurasian Thracian-Scythian circle or the neighboring cultures of China, Iran and Byzantium. The question of the essence of the royal ideology of the pagan Bulgarians is one of the most frequently discussed in Bulgarian scholarly literature. Every generation of scholars from the very first beginnings of historiography of the Bulgarian people aims at describing and analyzing the origin of power and essence. Why is this issue so important? This question is largely bound up with the search for the Bulgarians' land of origin and ethnic identity. The passage through Romanticism[93] and the different theories of origin: indigenous, Ugro-Finnish, Slavic, Hunnish, Hunnish-Turkic, Old Turkic, and Indo-European leads to the dissemination of contradictory theories in research studies.[94] All tendencies exaggerate to a certain extent the evidence side of written and language information and sources, which cannot in a number of instances be associated with material and image testimonies. And here lie the difficulties in the task to try to reconstruct the iconography of certain scenes, images and signs that can be included in a definite circle of imagery related to the idea of power and the ideology of the pagan Bulgarian ruler.

Perhaps one of the problems is the question of why the pagan Bulgarians, judging by the credible evidence of the title nomenclature and state organization, were close to the traditions of the Turkic Khaganate, while some historical and literary sources, and epic as far as it can be reconstructed, show traits similar to societies belonging to the Indo-European circle. However, the very formulation of the question in this way - interpreting artistic phenomena and art based on an ethnic basis - is not so much working as the one seeking common typologically similar manifestations of certain concepts at all levels in mythological and verbal texts, in ritual and magical practices, along with pictorial texts. This method was attempted to be applied here trying to interpret the visual language of the pagan Bulgarians which appears to be not that superfluous but still rich and symbolic enough to express the ideas of power.

Horseman/hunt scene

Can anything else be added to the question of the composition and symbolism of the Madara rock relief? It seems that it is very difficult since horseman in Bulgarian art and in general the horse scene, is well studied by Bulgarian researchers. The publication of R. Rashev is one of the most important[95] where he classifies the images of horsemen (mainly Pliska and Preslav stone drawings) according to the actions as a main sign and the type of armament as a secondary sign in three types of compositions with variants and sub-variants. The first type presents a horseman hunting, the second type presents a horseman in a duel or parade, while the third one shows just an unarmed ride.

One can easily notice some similarities between the horseman scenes on the stone blocks of Pliska and Preslav when observing the relief composition of a horseman with

---

[93] Раковски, Г.С. Сурваки или Сур-Сива бог. - В: *Съчинения* Т4, С, 1988, 363-364. Раковски, Г.С. Бележки.- В: *Съчинения*. Т.4, . ..с. 591.

[94] Рашев, Рашо. Прабългарите...2004.

[95] Rashev, R, 1984, 2-3, 60.

animals around and several inscriptions cut in Madara rocks. This proves that that composition was not unfamiliar semantically and visually to the pagan Bulgarians. However, judging by the composition of Madara relief scene generally two different interpretations can be perceived. The first composition accentuates on the aspect of triumph and the second one on the aspect of hunting.

Examining the iconographic of relief, the Roman Hellenistic tradition in the development of the horseman scene of the Black Sea coast and Asia Minor tradition is obvious at first sight. V. Besevliev pointed out this as evidence of the entry of Byzantine triumphal customs into the Bulgarian culture.[96] In Roman imperial iconography, the emperor's figure is presented as the victor over his enemy stepping upon him (*invictus romanus*). Often the human figure under the feet of the horse was replaced by a lion, a variant influenced by the exploits of Heracles and first encountered on Commodus' coins (191 AD.). In fact, the depiction of a horseman punching his spear into a lion enters after the influence of the Near Eastern art. Thus, the triumph over the enemy, adopted in Roman imperial iconography, has a *heroic aspect*. After the fifth century, however, the horseman-defeating-lion motif disappears from Roman coins. The iconographical composition is rather more common in Coptic coins from Egypt, under the influence of the Persians, and in the coins of the Eastern Roman empire - Byzantium where variants appear showing genius or Victoria crowning the horseman. Generally, the scene is called triumphant and expresses the triumph of the emperor over his enemies.

The comparison between the iconography of Madara relief and Achaemenid and especially Sasanian reliefs (Ṭāq-e Bostān) show difference in iconography since the Iranian scene is used not only in its triumphant symbolism but more often in the aspect of investiture.[97] The actual hunting scene is shown on the so called Sasanian silver vessels where quite common variants of the king shooting with a bow occur.[98]

The iconographic formulae (triumphant, hunting and riding horseman) is attested in Sogdian culture (Pendjikent paintings), Hunnish and Old Turkic culture (Kudyrge), early Islamic art (painting at Kasr al-Hair) and Chinese examples – areas of quite large dimensions to seek influence upon the composition of Madara rider.

Having in mind the differences in composition and iconography with the mentioned art traditions it can be suggested that Madara relief is more plausible to be related to the idea of initiation of the hero, having made a ritual exploit. This is one of the three constant variants of interpretation.[99] The other two insist on the Madara scene being a representation of the main god of the pagan Bulgarians Tangra or as one of the pagan rulers – either Asparukh, Krum or Tervel.

---

[96] Бешевлиев, Веселин, 1958, 4-37.

[97] Herzfeld, Ernst, 910.

[98] Harper, Prudence, 1981.

[99] The idea of the horseman scene as a representation of the hero, with whom every ruler can associate (judging by the different inscriptions around the relief) is promoted by the author Oksana Minaeva in her book. See Минаева, Оксана, 1991.

Ruler enthroned /Ascension

Visual scenes showing the pagan Bulgarian ruler sitting on his throne are difficult to find. However, some visual evidence given by foreign sources can give a certain notion how the ruler was represented.

A rich visual collection of scenes depicting Bulgarian pagan rulers is given by one chronicle of the 12ᵗʰ c. historian Scylitzes in one of the copies of his book preserved in Spain and called Scylitzes matritensis.

Almost all miniatures illustrating the events of the times of Khan Krum and Khan Omurtag show the same spatial environment. These are the book illumination 18V "The Envoys of the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Armenian before Khan Krum", illumination 35R "Khan Omurtag sending messengers to the Byzantine Emperor Michael" and illumination 82Ra "Khan Omurtag fights against the Christian sermons of the Byzantine captives." In the illustrations which particularly tried to be close to certain objectivity the pagan Bulgarian ruler is presented in front of a tent. At first glance this can be interpreted as a wish of the scribbler to traditionally hand over the military camp and tent of the Bulgarian ruler. But on the other hand, his great attention to this detail on the stage is perhaps due to his knowledge of its typical characteristic sign for the Bulgarians. The tent or yurt is not only typical among pagan Булгарианс, it is also characteristic of peoples of the East European Steppes and of numerous peoples in Eurasia and Middle Asia.

Thus, the symbolism of yurt as a reflection of the spatial concepts of cosmic construction and the round cupola tent as the equivalent of the semi-sphere through which the universe is presented is expressed in a number of images not only in ancient Turkic art but also in other examples of the art of China from the Tang era and earlier. The outline of a spherical shape or a dome representation is a standardized spatial character in the representation of a ruler in many cultures as well as in the pagan Bulgarian culture. This tradition is kept, regardless of the later stone architectural development of construction palaces in Pliska and Preslav. The same symbolism in understanding of the domed space is preserved also in the decision of the throne hall with an apse in Krum's Palace in Pliska and the palace in Preslav, where the throne of the ruler was probably placed in this area. Therefore, it can be assumed that the depiction of the Bulgarian pagan rulers under the tumultuous space of the tent or yurt is not only a decision of the illustrator to display a space that is veritable to his narrative, but rather to highlight a typical environment characteristic of the Bulgarian ruler.

The posture of the ruler in miniature 35R "Khan Omurtag sends messengers ..." shows him in a semi-profile, sitting, his right hand raised up in an oration gesture. Similar is the posture of Khan Krum in folio 18Va "Messengers of the Byzantine Emperor before Khan Krum". But then, in miniature 82Ra Khan Omurtag is clearly shown frontally. He is seated, with slightly crossed legs, his right hand is raised up, and the left hand is constricted in the elbow and the palm is placed on the thigh. A comparison with the other miniatures, depicting Byzantine history in particular the imperial images in the "throne scene" and the pose of the arm and legs of the seated position of the Byzantine Emperors, show substantial differences. The tendency to portray the Bulgarian rulers in profile or semi-profile, and not

frontally, as is typical of the Byzantine emperor, shows perhaps the diligence of the illustrators to diminish the significance of the represented figures. One of the types of the stool of the Bulgarian ruler looks like the *sella curilis* which is typical for Migration period in Western Europe, known as early as the Roman period. The other type seems to be more close to Middle Asian variants.

The comparison of the images of Bulgarian rulers in the miniatures, albeit few and not enough, with images of rulers in the Iranian Sasanian (3rd–7th c.) and post-Sasanian (7th–10th c.) culture, as well as the Turkish art in Middle Asia, show several similarities. In the relief at Bīšāpūr of Šāpur II (4th c.A.D.), as well as in the Khosrow I Cup in the National Library of Paris or the so-called glass-cup of Solomon, the posture of the Iranian ruler in the throne scene is represented with slightly crossed legs, and both hands are laid on the sword standing between the legs.[100] A great variety of similar seating poses can be found in both Iranian and post-Sasanian Sogdian art as well as in Old Turkic art.[101] Their iconography is used in scenes of "chairing a council", "feast", "apotheosis" and in some of them even the influence of Buddhist art is detected. In general, it can be assumed that the position of the Bulgarian ruler is rendered as definitely different from that of the Byzantine emperors and as rather similar to some of the variants in Iranian and Turkic art.

The way of depicting the chair of the Bulgarian rulers in the miniatures differs strongly from the type of the Byzantine ruler's throne-*cathedra*.[102] It is without a backrest, more of the type of a bench/coach or bed *kline*, and in other cases it is like a stool with crossed legs. This is supported by numerous examples of throne representation in different artifacts in Turkic art, Chines art and Sogdian art. Moreover most often these thrones-*klinai* are supported by sculptured lions or flying horses or griffins, thus giving the scene the notion of ascension. Perhaps the figure of a lion found in Pliska served as a part of such throne structure. Thus it may be assumed that the pagan Bulgarian ruler did not use the typical for the Near Eastern cultures and then in the Christian imagery representations of the throne type of *cathedra* but rather the type of *kline*, known for the Eurasian nomadic circle and China.

Ritual table

Unfortunately, there are no representations of the scene ritual table and feasts of the pagan Bulgarians, despite the rich written sources about the existence of such customs. For this reason, we are forced to draw comparisons with the descriptions of such customs and representations of the peoples of the Migration peoples and of other cultures. However, they may be not consistent both by chronology and by ethnicity. Nevertheless, such a combination of different sources of images is theoretically justified, as there is a typological similarity referring their ideology and the sacred meaning of the ritual table. In these sources we can see the same moments in the description of the feasts. First of all, the location of the participants and their distribution around the ruler is commonly the same. The ruler is

---

[100] Herzfeld, Ernst, 1920, 1-24, 103-147.
[101] Маршак, Борис, 1971.
[102] Минаева, Оксана, 2007, 187-218.

seated or lying on a sofa/kline with many pillows. The participants of close dignitaries surround the ruler. In most cases, they are sitting down on the ground. A cup bearer brings and exports the drinks and dishes that are offered. Drinking and eating alternate accompanied by the sounds of musical instruments and dancers.[103]

Unfortunately the only image of a feast of the pagan Bulgarians, known for now, is that illustrating the feast of Khan Krum in Constantine Manasses's Chronicle (c. 1130–c. 1187).[104] It cannot serve us as for discussion of the typical iconography of the ruler's feast since the mode of presentation of the scene follows Byzantine models. Then other artifacts can be attracted in order to reconstruct the eventual iconography of the pagan Bulgarian feast. Depictions of such feasts on the so called post-Sasanian vessels from Middle Asia[105] and the paintings from Pendjikent[106] are of great help in this respect. They give a definite iconographic scheme in representing the feast. The ruler is seated on a large sofa with a cup in his hand surrounded by attendants, musicians, acrobats, animals. Sometimes the seat is given as a throne while in other cases it reminds a kline with cushions. The fact that this composition goes back to the representation of Heracles's feast in the iconography of artifacts from Antiquity cannot be omitted. The other variant of the iconographic scheme shows the ruler seated in the characteristic of Buddhist culture *asana* posture.[107] Similar, though with certain differences, the paintings from Penjikent and the examples of Chinese Tang representations of feasts, show the ruler seated on the ground surrounded by the attendants.

Another aspect of the symbolism of the ritual feast is the presence of vessels on the table. The vessels, in the same way as the armaments and the belt possess emblematic value. Most often they are given as gifts to those present at the feast or they are used only on special occasions when celebrating different sacred festivities. The function, shape and decoration of the vessels and table sets reflect the symbolism of the ritual table. The sets comprise a number of different cups, bowls, plates and sometimes they are so small that seem to be improper for containing food in them. This perhaps can be explained by the ritual of distribution of the food by the ruler and the sequence of courses of meals. Most of the depicted vessels in the ritual table scenes are found as artifacts. The phenomenon of the treasures can also be added to the complex of ritual table as related to the ruler's ideology and iconography, and their specific manifestations can contribute much for the purpose of this study.

---

[103] Маршак, Борис, 1971.

[104] Джурова, Аксиния, 2007.

[105] Маршак, Борис, 1971.

[106] Беленицкий А. М., 1973.

[107] Esin, Emel, 1969, 224-261.

Conclusion

The ruling ideology takes down mythological ideas on specific levels and expresses them through verbal, ritual, visual ideas, images and symbols. Bulgarian art of the pagan period is still at the stage where archaic, verbal and mobile culture is established and transformed into iconic, institutionalized and written culture. Thus the arsenal of visual images such as plots, images, symbolic signs and codes is not rich and it is difficult to match it with the rational imagery and pictorial languages of Classical Antiquity and the early Middle Ages of the neighboring sedentary societies and mythological and written records are also scarce and partial. It seems that the question of their reconstruction is too complicated. The mechanism of mythologizing historical events, as well as their encoding in verbal, written and visual text is complex. On the one hand, the historical sources from the age of pagan Bulgarians and their typologically close peoples from the epoch of the Great Migration are yet to be explored and, on the other hand, the interaction of pagan Bulgarian art with the influences of other cultures are to be reinterpreted in order to understand better the ruler's ideology and imagery arsenal.

Bibliography

Written Sources:

Бичурин, Н.Я. /Иакинф/ Собрание сведений о народах, обытавших Средней Азии в древние времена. М.-Л., 1950-53, т.1-3.

Кюнер, Н.В. Китайские известия о народах Южной Сибири, Центральной Азии и Далнего Востока. М., 1961.

Agathiae. *Historiarum libri V* ГРЪЦКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ FONTES GRAECI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, II, Българска Академия на Науките, София, 1958, pp. 179-294.

Anastasius Bibleothecarius. *Chronographia tripertita.* ЛАТИНСКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ, FONTES LATINI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, II, Българска Академия на Науките, София, 1960, pp. 222-277.

Cosmas of Prague. *The Chronicle of the Czechs* (Translated with an introduction and notes by Lisa Wolverton) The Catholic University of America Press. 2009.

Einhardi *Vita Karoli Magni* ЛАТИНСКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ FONTES LATINI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, II, Българска Академия на Науките София, 1960, pp. 29-39.

Jordanes, *Getica,* ЛАТИНСКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ, FONTES LATINI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, I, Българска Академия на Науките, София, 1958, pp. 326-367.

Liudprandi *Antapodosis* ЛАТИНСКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ FONTES LATINI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, II, Българска Академия на Науките София, 1960, pp. 318-327.

Menander Protector, *De Legationibus Romanorum ad Gentes*, pp. 295–302, 380-85, 397–404, Bonn edition (xix.), 1828 (=pp. 806–11, 883–87, 899–907, in Migne, Patrolog. Graec., vol. cxiii., Paris, 1864)

Nicephori patriarchae Breviarium ГРЪЦКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ FONTES GRAECI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE III, Българска Академия на НаукитеСофия, 1960, pp. 290-306.

Nicolai papae I *Epistolae*. ЛАТИНСКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ FONTES LATINI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, II, Българска Академия на Науките София, 1960, pp. 60-65.

Simon of Kéza. *The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Edited and translated by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer with a study by Jenő Szűcs), 1999.

Simonis of Keza, Gesta Hungarorum = Cronicon Hungaricum, ed. Al. Horanyi, Vienna, 1781.

Sozomenus. *Historia ecclesiastica* ГРЪЦКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ, FONTES GRAECI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE I, Българска Академия на Науките, София, 1954, pp. 50-69.

Theophanis Confessoris. *Chronographia* ГРЪЦКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ, FONTES GRAECI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE III, Българска Академия на Науките, София, 1960, 226-289; The chronicle of Theophanes: an English translation of anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813). With introduction and notes by Harry Turtledove. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Theophanis Continuati *Chronographia* ГРЪЦКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ, FONTES GRAECI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE V Българската Академия на Науките, София, 1964, pp. 107-139.

Theophylacti Achridensis, archiepiscopi Bulgariae. *Historia martyrii XV martyrum Tiberiupolitanorum,* ГРЪЦКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ, FONTES GRAECI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE IX-2, Българска Академия на Науките, София, 1994, $29, 30, 31, pp. 63-65.

Sigebertus *Chronica*, ЛАТИНСКИ ИЗВОРИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКАТА ИСТОРИЯ FONTES LATINI HISTORIAE BULGARICAE, III, Българска Академия на Науките София, 1965, pp. 40-49.

Publications:

Беленицкий А. М. Монументальное искусство Пенджикента. Живопись. Скульптура, Москва, 1973.

Бешевлиев, Веселин. Византийски триумфални обичаи, акламации и титли у българите в IX в. - *Известия на Етнографски институт с музей*, III, 1958, pp. 4-25.

Бешевлиев, Веселин. Географското минало на Плиска и нейната околност. - *Известия на Народния музей Шумен*. 1973. Т.6. С. 3-14.

Бешевлиев, Веселин. Значението на първобългарския знак IYI, - *Известия на Народния музей Варна*, XV, 1979, с. 17–24.

Бешевлиев, Веселин. *Прабългарски епиграфски паметници*. София, 1981.

Божков, Атанас. *Миниатюри от Мадридския ръкопис на Йоан Скилица.* София, 1972.

Ваклинов, Станчо. *Формиране на старобългарската култура* (VI-XI). София, 1977.

Венедиков, Иван. *Медното гумно на прабългарите.* София, 1980.

Венедиков, Иван. *Златният стожер на прабългарите.* София, 1987.

Гаврилова А. А. *Могильник Кудыргэ как источник по истории алтайских племен.* М.-Л., 1965.

Георгиев, Павел. Раждането на столицата Абоба-Плиска. – В: *POLYXRONIA. Сборник в чест на проф. Иван Божилов.* София, Анубис, 2002.

Герасимов, Тодор. Проучвания върху реалиите на релефа на Мадарските скали. - В: *Мадарски конник.* София, 1956.

Грач, А. Д. *Древнетюркские изваяния Тувы.* Москва, 1961.

Гюзелев, Васил, Иван Божилов, *История на Средновековна България VII-XIV век,* Анубис, С., 1999.

Дечев, Данаил. *Responsa Nikolai Papa I ad consulta Bulgarorum.* Anno 866. С., 1992.

Джурова, Аксиния.*Фототипно издание на Манасиевата хроника.* София, 2007.

Дуйчев, Иван. *Миниатюрите на Манасиевата летопис.* С., 1962.

Евтюхова, Л.А. Каменные изваяния Южной Сибири и Монголии. МИА, 24, 1952.

Златарски, В. Н. *История на българската държава през средните векове,* т. 1, ч. 1, Притурка 14, С., 1918, 1994.

Златарски, Васил. *История на българската държава през средните векове.* Том I. История на Първото българско царство. Част I. Епоха на хуно-българското надмощие (679–852) I изд. София 1918; II изд., под ред. на Петър Хр. Петров, Наука и изкуство, София, 1970.

Йорданов, Стефан. Бележки върху социалната организация на прабългарите. - В: *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. В чест на профессор Веселин Бешевлиев.* Велико Търново, Университетско издателство "Св. св. Кирил и Методий", 1993, с. 71-81.

Йорданов, Стефан. За митологичната младост и мито-ритуалната ликантропия на прабългарския владетел: II. Кутригурският вожд Грод, Курт/Кубрат от Велика България и апокрифният владетел Гордие-Чигочин. - В: *Българите в Северното Причерноморие. Изследвания и материали.* Том четвърти. Велико Търново, 1995, с. 31-52.

Йорданов, Стефан. Обичаят "Свещена пролет" у прабългарите и механизмът на преселенията им в Северното Причерноморие и на Балканите. - В: *Българите в Северното Причерноморие. Изследвания и материали.* Том втори. Издателска къща Аста. Велико Търново, 1993, 30-51.

Кацаров, Гаврил. Клетвата у езическите българи. - *Сп. БАН,* кн.III, ч.2, Историко-фил. клон. София, 1912, 113-118.

Маразов, Иван. *Мит, ритуал и изкуство у траките.* София, 1992.

Маразов, Иван. Царският път у траките. – В: *Мит, ритуал, фолклор.* С., 1988, т. III, с. 194-214.

Маразов, Иван. Действието „покриване-откриване" в мита и ритуала. – В: *МИФ* 5, *Културното пространство* II, Департамент История на културата, НБУ. София, 2000, pp. 181-235.

Маразов, Иван. HETEROTOPIA наа древна Тракия 2. Некропол и съкровище. – В. *Съкровище и сакрална топография.* Научна конференция, Сливен, 2006. = *МИФ* 13, НБУ, 2008, … 39-67.

Маршак, Борис. *Согдийское серебро. Очерки по восточной торевтике.* Москва, 1971.

Минаева, Оксана. Мотивът "медното гумно" в прабългарската история, митология и епос. - *Проблеми на изкуството,* София, 1996, N 4. 27-32.

Минаева, Оксана. *Мадарският конник.* София, 1991.

Минаева, Оксана. Тронът в царската идеология и обредност на прабългарите. - *МИФ* 12, НБУ, София, 2007, pp. 187-218.

Москов, Моско. *Именник на българските ханове,* Д-р. Петър Берон, С., 1988, стр. 24 – 25.

Мороз, Йосиф. Еленът в българския фолклор и вярвания - *Български фолклор,* 1981, кн. 3.

Мороз, Йосиф. *Вълшебният елен и светиите.* ИК „Световит", София, 2010.

Овчаров, Димитър. Към въпроса за реконструкцията на религиозно-митологическия комплекс на прабългарите. - *Проблеми на културата,* кн.1, 1980.

Овчаров, Димитър. .*Български средновековни рисунки-графити.*София, Изд. Септември, 1982.

Петканова, Донка. *Апокрифна литература и фолклор.* София, 1978.

Петрински, Иван, Герасим Петрински. Една хипотеза за Свещения път между Плиска и Мадара, - Сега, http://www.segabg.com/article.php?sid=2008100900040001301, 03.10.2017.

Протич, Андрей. Сасанидската художествена традиция у прабългарите. – *Известия на Българския археологически институт,* IV, 1926-1927.

Протич, Андрей., Попов, Рафаил., Геза Фехер и Гаврил Кацаров. *Мадарският конник*: Популярно изложение с 15 образа. София : Народен музей, Придв. печ. 1925

Раковски, Георги Сава. Сурваки или Сур-Сива бог. - В: *Съчинения* Т4, Езикознание. Етнография. Фолклор.С, 1988, pp. 363-364.

Рашев, Рашо. *Българската езическа култура VII-IX век.* София, 2008.

Рашев, Рашо. Девташларите - мегалитни паметници на българската езическа култура. – Плиска – *Преслав,* 5, 1992, pp. 5 - 34.

Рашо, Рашо. За произхода на прабългарите. - *Studia protobulgarica et medievalia europensia. В* чест на проф. *Веселин Бешевлиев.* В.Търново, 1993, 23 - 33. Рашев, Рашо. Pliska - the first capital of Bulgaria. - *Ancient Bulgaria.* Vol. II. Nottingham, 1983, 255 - 269.

Рашев, Рашо. За хронологията и произхода на знака „ипсилон с две хасти". – *Приноси към българската археология.* С. 1992, pp. 96-97.

Рашев, Рашо. Модел на юрта от Девня. - *Археология,* 1976, 1, pp. 39-45.

Рашев, Рашо. Прабългарски култов паметник от Мадара. - *Археология,* 1973, 2, 29-38.

Рашев, Рашо. За името Мадара. - *Медиевистични изследвания в памет на П. Димитров.* Шумен, 1996, pp. 303 - 305.

Рашев, Рашо. За тибетските успоредици на Мадарския конник. - *Археология,* 1978, 4, pp. 48-54.

Рашев, Рашо. Мадарският конник - стари и нови въпроси. - *Исторически преглед,* 1998, 3-4, pp. 192 - 204.

Рашев, Рашо. *Прабългарите през V – VII век.* Второ допълнено издание. София, 2004.

Сокровища хана Кубрата. Каталог, В.Н.Залесская, З.А.Львова, Б.И.Маршак, И.В.Соколова, Н.А.Фонякова. Гос. Эрмитаж, 1997.

Станилов, Станислав. *Българската монархия на средните векове.* С., 2003.

Степанов, Цветелин. *Власт и авторитет в ранносредновековна България.* София, 1999.

Степанов, Цветелин. Цар Слав и легитимацията на българското царство в Сказание на пророк Исайя. – В. *In Honorem 1.Triantaphyllo:Юбилеен сборник в чест на 60-годипнината на проф. д.ф.н. Христо Трендафилов.* Шуменски университет „Епископ Константин Преславски“, Научен център преславска книжовна школа, Фабер, 2013.

Стойнев, Анани. Елементи на религиозно-митологичния комплекс на прабългарите. - Проблеми на културата, 1979, бр. 1, 36.

Трифоновъ, Ю. „Къмъ въпроса за византийско-български договори съ езически обреди“, В: *ИБАИ,* XI, 1937, с. 263-279.

Хофарт, Александър. *Митраизмът и древните българи.* 2009..

Чобанов, Тодор. Свещенните дворци на българските ханове. София, 2008.

Юрукова, Йорданка, Веселин Пенчев. Български средновековни печати и монети. С., 1990.

Юхас, Петер. Остатъци от тотемизъм в религиозния комплекс на маджари и прабългари. - Проблеми на културата, кн.4, 1980.

Altheim, Franz. *Geschichte der Hunnen.* Band 1 *Von den Anfängen bis zum Einbruch in Europa.* De Gruyter, 1959.

Alyilmaz, Cengiz. On the Bugut Inscription and Mausoleum Complex. - Ērān und Anērān Webfestschrift Marshak, 2003. http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/alyilmaz.html

Beševliev, Veselin. *Die protobulgarische Periode in der bulgarischen Geschichte.* Amsterdam, 1980.

Beševliev, Veselin *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften.* Berlin, Akad.-Verl., 1963.

Beševliev, Veselin. "Die Kaiseridee beiden Protobulgaren." — *Byzantiná,* 3, 1971 pp. 81–92.

Chavannes, E. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux.* St.Petersbourg, 1903.

Compareti, Mateo."Classical elements in Sogdian art. Fables represented in the mural I Penjikent".-*Iranica Antiqua,* vol. XLVII, 2012.

Doelger, F. „Bulgarisches Cartum und byzantinisches Kaisertum“, in : *Actes IVe Congr. Intern. Èt. Byzantines* Sofia I (Izvestija Bülg. ArArcheol. Institut 9). Sofia 1935, pp. 57-68 (reprinted: *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* 140-158).

Dölger, Franz. „Die ‚Familie der Könige' im Mittelalter." - *Hist. Jahrb. 60* (1940) (Festgabe für R. v. Heckel) pp. 397-420 (reprinted in: *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* 34-69).

Dumézil, Georges. *Aspekte der Kriegerfunktion bei den Indogermanen*. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1964.

Eliade, Mircea. *De la Zalmoxis la Genghis-Han*. Payot, Paris, 1970.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. Willard R. Trask).

Esin, Emel, "And". The cup rites in Inner-Asian and Turkish rites, in Oleg Grabar (ed.), *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens: in memoriam Kurt Erdmann, Istanbul: Istanbul üniversitesi edebiyât fakültesi*, 1969, pp. 224-261.

Frazer, James. *The golden bough. A Study in Comparative Religion*. 1st ed.2 vols. 1890.

French, D. 1998. "Pre-and early-Roman roads of Asia Minor. The Persian royal road." - *Iran* 36, pp.15-43.

Ghirshman, R. "Firouzabad," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 46, 1947, pp. 1-28.

Graf, D. F. *The Persian Royal Road System*, 1994.

Harper, Prudence. *Silver Vessels of the Sassanian Period*. Volume one; *Royal Imagery*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981.

Harper, Prudence. *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire*, New York, 1978.

Howard, A. F., Li Song, Wu Hung, Yang Hong. *Chinese sculpture*. Yale University Press, 2003.

Herzfeld, Ernst. *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910.

Herzfeld, Ernst. „Der Thron des Khosro; Quellenkritische und ikonographische Studien ueber Grenzgebuete der Kunstgeschichte des Morgen-und Abendlandes." - *JPKS*, 41, 1920, 1-24, pp. 103-147.

Hunger, Herbert. Hrsg. *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*. Darmstadt, 1975.

Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Turken (T'u-kue)*. Wiesbsden 1956.

Liu, Mau-Tsai. *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Turken* (T'u-kue). Wiesbsden 1956.

L'Orange H. P. "Expressions of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World." – in: *Likeness and Icon. Selected Studies in Classical and Early Medieval Art*. Odense University press, 1973

Marquqrt, J. *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifgzüge*. Leipzig, 1903.

McCone, Kim R. "Hund, Wolf, und Krieger bei den Indogermanen" in W. Meid (ed.), *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*, Innsbruck, 1987, 101-154.

Piotrovsky, B., L. Galanina, and N. Grach *Scythian Art*. Phaidon,Oxford, and Aurora, Leningrad, 1987.

Ostrogorsky, George. "The Byzantine Emperor and the hierarchical world order." - *Slav. and East Eur. Review* 35, 1956, pp. 1-14.

Ostrogorsky, George. „Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell." – *Historia*, 4,1955, 246-256 (reprinted in HUNGER, H. *Das byzantinischesHerrscherbild*. 1975, 94-108)

Pritsak, Omeljan "Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren." *Ural-Altaische Bibliothek*, Otto Harrassowitz - Wiesbaden, 1955.

Pritsak, Omeljan. *The origin of Rus*.Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1981.

Rachev, R. and S.Stanilov. Kenotaph für einen Herrscher bei der ersten bulgarischen Hauptstadt Pliska. - *Das Altertum*, 44. Berlin, 1998, 67-72.

Root, M. C. The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art, *Acta Iranica* 19, 1979.

Roux, Jean Paul. La religion des Turks de l'Orkhon des VII e et VIIIe siecles - RHR, T. 161, 1962, N1. 1-24, N 2, pp. 199-231.

Roux, Jean Paul. L'origin celeste de la soverainete dans les inscriptions paleo-turques de Mongolie et Sberie - Studies in the History of Religion, leiden, 1959, 231-241=

Roux, Jean Paul. Tangry: Essai sur le Ciel Dieux des peuples altaiques - RHR, P., T.149, 1956, N 1, 49-82; vol. 2, 197-230; T.150, 1957, N 1, 27-54, N 2, 173-212

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*. 1930.

Schafer, Edward H. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. *The Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages: The Problem of the Others*. (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 8.) Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Theuws, Frans and Janet Nelson. *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. Leiden, Brill, 2000.

Thompson, L. G. *Chinese religion: An Introduction*. 4th ed. Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1988.

Tsamakda, Vasiliki. *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes*. Leiden. 2002.

Werner, Joachim. „Der Grabfund von Malaja Perescepina und Kuvrat Kagan der Bulgaren." - *Abhandlungen Bayerisches Akademie der Wiss*. Phil-hist. Kl. N.F. 91, 1984.

Werner, Joachim. „Neues zu Kuvrat und Malaja Perescepina." – *Germania*, 70, 1992, 2 Halbband, pp. 430-436.

APPENDIX
ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig.1. The capital of the pagan Bulgarian ruler Pliska
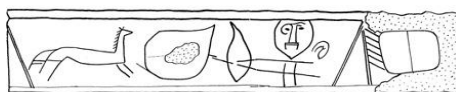
Fig. 2. A model of yurt with graffiti,
Devnya, northeastern Bulgaria, After Ваклинов, Ст. 1977, 32.

Fig. 3. Runic inscription from the village of Bjala,
district of Varna, Varna Arch. Museum.
Varna Archaeological Museum. After Бешевлиев, В. 1981, N 3.

Fig. 4. The inscription from Syulejmankyoi today village of Sechishte, near Novi Pazar, with the
clauses of 30-yars treaty of Omurtag with Byzantium, 815, Nat. Hist. Museum

Fig. 5. The Omurtag inscription of Tourdachis
mentioning *threptos anthropos*
after Бешевлиев, В. 1981.

Fig. 6. Lion statue found at Pliska Archaeological Museum

Fig. 7. Lion statue from the aul of Omurtag, Village of Khan Krum
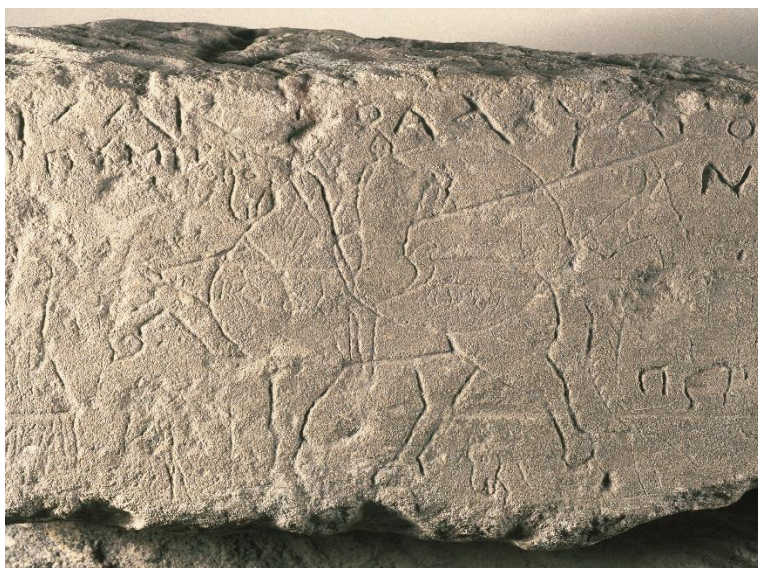
Fig. 8. Drawing on a stone block from Pliska. After Ваклинов, Ст. 1977.

Fig. 9. View at Madara rocks with the relief scene
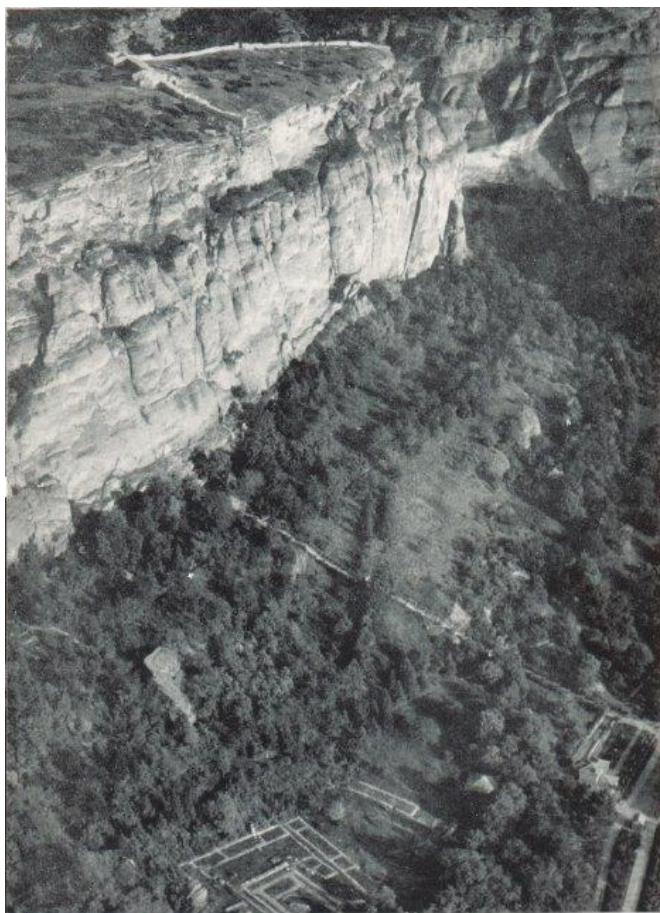
Fig. 10. View at the cult complex at Madara rocks

Fig. 11. Sacred way Ming Tombs

Fig. 12. Reconstruction of Madara
sacred way, after Petrinsky, Iv.
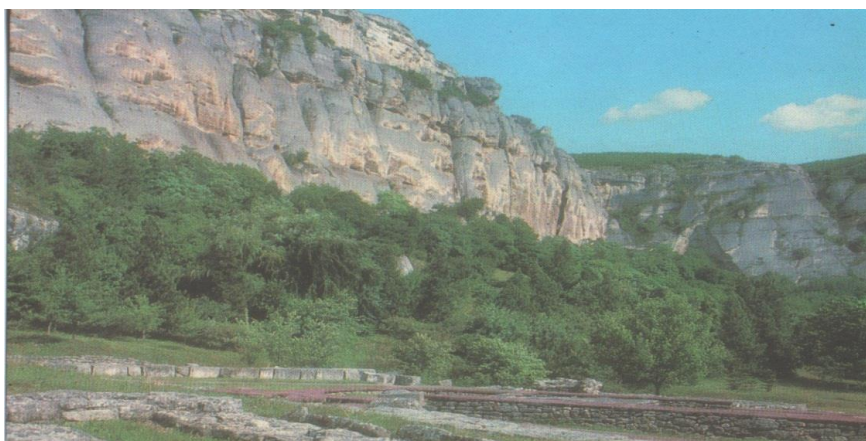
Fig. 13. View at the cult complex at Madara Rocks

Fig. 14. Mount Tai and rock inscriptions of different rulers
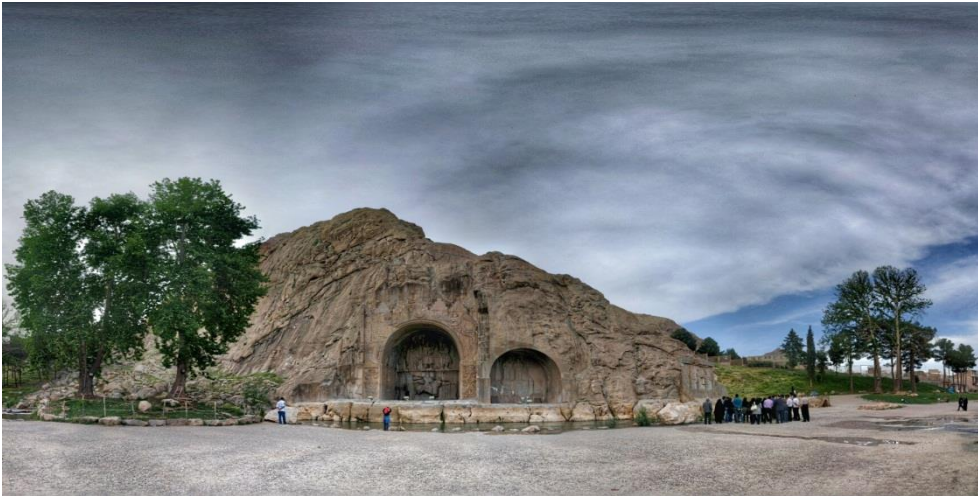
Fig. 15. Ṭāq-e Bostān, Iran
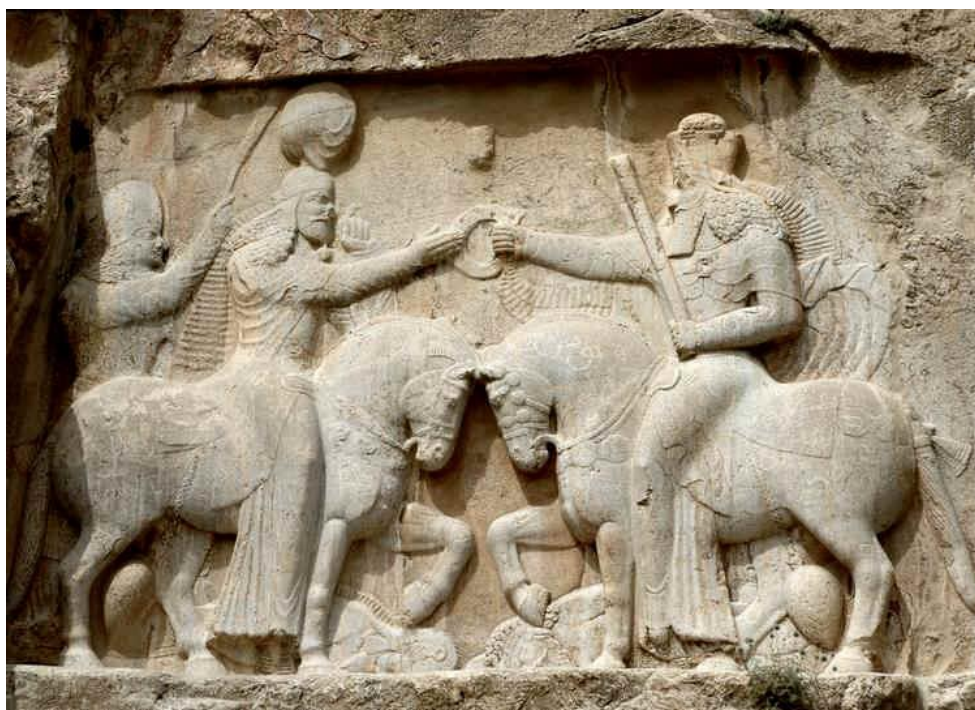
Fig. 16. Ardashir Investiture of Ardashir I at Naqsh-e Rustam

Fig. 17. Triumph of Shapur I over Valerian at Naqsh-e Rustam

Fig. 18. Fol., 215 R, *Skyllitzes Matritensis* chronicle,
"The uprising Bulgarians declare Peter Delyan as their king"

Fig.19 Krum feast the victory of Nicephorus. Chronicle of Mannases (1130-1187).
Bulgarian translation with illustrations from the first half of 14th c.

Fig. 20. Post-Sassanian silver vessel from Sogdiana

Fig. 21. Feast table scene, Penjikent painting 7th-8th c. Tadzhikistan

Fig. 22. Fol. 18V, "The Envoys of the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Armenian before Khan Krum"

Fig. 23. Fol. 35R, "Khan Omurtag sending messengers to the Byzantine Emperor Michael"

Fig. 24. Fol. 82Ra, "Khan Omurtag fights against the Christian sermons
of the Byzantine captives."

Fig. 25. Throne scene of Shapur II at Bishapur

Fig. 26. Throne coach from Northern Zhou tomb of An Jia in Xi'an

BYZANTINE SATIRE:
THE BACKGROUND IN THE *TIMARION*

Iakovos Menelaou[*]

Abstract: In this paper, I examine the twelfth century Byzantine satire *Timarion*. I seek to analyse the background of the work, through a focus on the plot and characters, the classical sources that influenced the Byzantine author and the issues of date and authorship which should be seen in relation to the targets of his attack. While there is no certainty about the identity of the author, the *Timarion* was written, probably, by a learned author who had knowledge of classical authors and medical theories of his era. This is obvious in the way he embodies these traditions in his satire. Similarly to satires of the classical period, the *Timarion's* attack is directed at several directions.

Keywords: Characters, Authorship, Sources, Sarcasm, Attack.

Introduction

Griffin gives a comprehensive explanation of satire, describing it as rhetorical and moral art designed to attack vice or folly. Same as polemical rhetoric, it targets at persuading an audience that someone or something is reprehensible or ridiculous. The victims of satire come from the real world and satire usually proceeds by means of reference to moral purposes.[1] Diehl also writes that satires focus on the same moral problems that writings in applied ethics do, employing certain arguments that are intended to persuade either their readers or even the targets of their criticism.[2]

Satires should be seen as fictional, but they are also an indirect and concealed commentary on certain aspects of the real world and they have real-world targets: particular individuals or general foibles of humanity.[3] Irony, according to Gordon, has close associations with the writing of satire, and it should be seen as a technique that depended on the ability of the reader to find if a statement was truthful. In addition, sarcasm should be

---

[*] PhD Candidate, King's College London; e-mail: menelaou.iakovos@gmail.com.
[1] Griffin, 1994, 1.
[2] Diehl, 2013, 311–321.
[3] Diehl, 2013, 313.

seen as a more aggressive and overt version of irony.[4] And of course, dealing with Byzantine satire these are elements that the reader should have in mind.

The *Timarion* is one of the most representative works of Byzantine satire, following the concept of Lucianic works. Τιμαρίων, ἤ περὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν παθημάτων as the whole title appears in Greek was first published by Hase due to an accidental event.[5] Although the manuscript belonged to the Vatican library, Emperor Napoleon I transferred it together with many other texts to Paris. Napoleon commissioned Hase to make a catalogue with all the Greek texts of that collection and the latter found the *Timarion*. He believed that the work is important and proceeded to its publication together with a Latin translation and commentary. According to Baldwin, the *Timarion* survives in a single manuscript (Codex Vaticanus Graecus 87).[6]

In any case, the *Timarion* is indeed a valuable text and one would incline to agree with Vlachakos' four statements about its significance.[7] First, the language of the text is interesting, as it shows a learned author with classical and Byzantine knowledge. Yet, although the obvious influence by Lucian, the *Timarion* is characterized by ingenuity, as it presents words or phrases which do not appear in any other work. Second, this is an important testimony about the festival of Δημητρίων; the commercial event which is dedicated to the patron Saint of Thessalonica (Saint Demetrios). In the *Timarion*, there is a detailed description of the festival and certain information. According to Vlachakos, the third factor is some medical information the author gives, which means that he was probably a doctor. Even if one disagrees with this view, still the *Timarion* is a useful source about medicine in Byzantium.[8] Finally, the *Timarion* should be seen as a basic source about the geography of the twelfth century, since we have the description of Axios and its valley and references to people from different places who visited Thessalonica during the festival and a wide range of products.[9] As Alexiou declares, the *Timarion* is one of those Byzantine works of adventure, where one could see *ekphrasis*; a regular feature of Byzantine literature with a stylized description of landscape, acropolis, gardens, statues and paintings.[10] Similarly to Alexiou, Kaldellis also declares that the author shows *ekphrasis* through the festival of Saint Demetrios and a satirical *encomium* of the city's governor.[11]

---

[4] Gordon, 2017, 82–107.

[5] Tozer, 1881, 234.

[6] Baldwin, 1984, 1.

[7] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 32–38.

[8] We will return to the issue of authorship and the candidature of Callicles later.

[9] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 32–38.

[10] Alexiou, 1993, 263–286.

[11] Kaldellis, 2012, 275.

1. Plot and characters

As Galatariotou asserts, Timarion is the most famous fictional character-traveller to have fallen severely ill.[12] The *Timarion* is written in dialogue form -a satirical dialogue as Alexiou says[13] or even philosophical satire according to Kaldellis-[14] and there are two main characters: Timarion, who is the basic narrator, and his friend Kydion, who sets the questions to the main character. The story begins with the meeting of the two friends, after Timarion's return to Constantinople from Thessalonica. Kydion asks about the reasons of his friend's delay. Then, Timarion begins his narrative with every detail. He says that the reason of his travel to Thessalonica was the festival of Saint Demetrios. He provides his friend with all the information about the event: it was something unique, since visitors could see a variety of animals, every kind of material woven, merchants from around the world with goods of various sorts and several other things. After the ceremony was finished, Timarion decides to return to his place. Here, we pass to the main part of the work: Timarion's travel to Hades.

The hero of the text fell ill, because of a violent fever. Although he eats a diet of vegetables and vinegar, the fever hit him again and, as he declares, it was a case of tertian fever. An inflammation of the liver followed the fever and Timarion vomited up his bile; the one of the four vital elements (yellow and black bile, blood and phlegm). At midnight, two black demons appeared and dragged Timarion's soul to Hades, telling him, that he lost the fourth one of the component elements. As a result, they had to take him to the Underworld.[15] During his adventure in Hades, Timarion met several characters.[16] One of them is Theodore of Smyrna; his master at the school of Constantinople when both were alive. Theodore will defend the hero at Hades' court and will help him to return to life. The work ends with Theodore persuading judges and Timarion returning home.

According to Kazhdan, the approach to medicine is rather paradoxical, while the image of Theodore and his knowledge of ancient medicine is ironical. While the earthly image of Theodore is that of a strong man, in the Underworld he is a skinny man.[17] This change can be explained in terms of diet, as Theodore has tamed his gluttonous stomach and lost his unnecessary flesh; because of this change of diet, he also healed his gout.[18] Through this description of Theodore, the unknown author suggests a parody of Christian temperance.[19]

---

[12] Galatariotou, 1993, 221–241

[13] Alexiou, 1993, 280.

[14] Kaldellis, 2012, 275.

[15] Temkin, 1962, 95, 97–115.

[16] As Kaldellis writes, Timarion meets many people, both contemporaries and ancient philosophers and orators (Kaldellis, 2012, 276).

[17] Kazhdan, 1984, 43–51.

[18] Kazhdan, 1984, 50.

[19] Kazhdan, 1984, 50.

In Hades, Timarion faces the tribunal which benefits from the expertness of great doctors, while the counsel for the defense is rather optimistic. Asclepius does not attend such meetings regularly, Hippocrates is busy with dubious aphorisms, Erasistratus is ignoramus and Galen, who is described as 'god-like', is given leave of absence.[20] In the end, Timarion is saved, as the experts find that he lost only his secreted bile which is not the same as the constitutive element. The *Timarion* is a work of the Byzantine world that mocks, as a satire would do, but also accepts the traditions and practices of Byzantine medicine.[21]

From the people that Timarion met during his adventure, the Dux who appears in Saint Demetrios' festival is a very interesting character, as the narrator gives a detailed description of his appearance. Dux's origin of both parents' side belonged to the aristocracy; similarly his wife. His eyes were full of happiness, his face had something from Aphrodite and Ares and the colour of his hair was something between black and blonde. His voice was modulated by Sappho.[22]

Nevertheless, the Dux's identity is not clear, as Timarion does not mention his name but only some information about his pedigree, which is not enough for us to settle on an outcome. Tozer declares that the Dux could be identified with Michael Palaeologus,[23] similarly to Ellissen who indicates Michael too.[24] In contrast, Vlachakos believes that possibly the narrator refers to one of the two sons of Anna Doukaina and Georgios Palaeologos: Nikephoros or Andronikos.[25] Baldwin expresses a similar view.[26] Romano, Cheynet and Vannier believe that he is possibly Nikephoros.[27] Such a disagreement is not a surprise, as although the author gives a lengthy description, he does not name the Dux. Consequently, Alexiou's point, that possibly the Dux of the text is not a historical but a symbolic or allegorical character, seems another possibility.[28]

In addition, Timarion met some other characters during his travel to Hades: an old man of exotic origin from Great Phrygia whose name nobody could say (according to the law of Minos and Aeacus);[29] another old man who asks Timarion about the prices of fish and other products on the earth[30] and the emperor Romanus IV Diogenes who is blind.[31] We also have the group of judges, Aeacus, Minos and the emperor Theophilus who was famous for his justice when he was alive[32] and some philosophers, like John Italus, Diogenes the Cynic,

---

[20] Temkin, 1962, 115.
[21] Temkin, 1962, 115.
[22] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 62–67.
[23] Tozer, 1881, 245–246.
[24] Baldwin, 1984, 94.
[25] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 23.
[26] Baldwin, 1984, 95.
[27] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 189.
[28] Alexiou, 1982/83, 36.
[29] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 85–89.
[30] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 95–97.
[31] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 95–99.
[32] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 114–119.

Roman Cato and some representatives of the Second Sophistic.[33] Just before his departure, the hero will meet the following trio of tyrants: Alexander of Pherae, Philaretus and Nero.[34]

The identity of the Byzantine sophist who reads judges' verdict, after the court took place is another interesting story.[35] Although the author does not reveal his name, a certain phrase alludes to Michael Psellus: ὑποψελλίζων τὰ πολλά. According to Tozer and Ellissen, the phrase designates Michael;[36] Baldwin and Vlachakos agree with this opinion.[37] As opposed to earlier and the identity of the Dux, the agreement between prominent critics of the *Timarion*, suggests that it is rather hard to connect the Byzantine sophist with another personality, than Psellus.

In regard with Kydion, Kaldellis claims that while former critique saw him as a mere dialogic device-speaker who only exists to set the questions to the protagonist, a closer reading shows that his contributions affect the work in a major way.[38] In fact, he is an important part of the satire and maybe he represents one type of student in Theodoros' school. At the same time, he contributes to the *ekphrasis*, which is spread throughout the work.[39] While Timarion notices the difference between rhetoric and philosophy and he presents himself as a student of philosophy, Kydion probably belongs to the orators.[40]

2. Sources and influences

The wealth of the classical tradition is the obvious source of the *Timarion*. Lucian constitutes the basic source of the work, and as certain critics declare his model is spread in Byzantine satire, in general.[41] For instance, Tozer mentions that Byzantine authors adopted Lucian's form and method[42] and Alexiou claims that the *Timarion* follows the style of Lucian with the relevant descent to the Underworld.[43] Tsaras also writes that the *Timarion* shows the strong influence of Lucian.[44] Another classical author who probably influenced the *Timarion*, but at a lesser extent, is Homer, as words or even phrases from the Homeric epics are spread throughout the text.

Besides, Garland, focusing on the fifteenth century Byzantine satire *Mazaris's Journey*, explains that this is a Byzantine satire reminiscent of classical works like the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, Aristophanes' *Frogs*, *Clouds* and *Ploutos*, while the setting of

---

[33] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 152–159.

[34] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 164–165.

[35] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 148–149.

[36] Tozer, 1881, 254 and Βλαχάκος, 2004, 233.

[37] Baldwin, 1984, 23 and Βλαχάκος, 2004, 28.

[38] Kaldellis, 2012, 279.

[39] Kaldellis, 2012, 279-280.

[40] Kaldellis, 2012, 281.

[41] For example, Tozer delares that in *Mazaris*, the fifteenth century satire, we see Homeric words and phrases (Tozer, 1881, 257–270).

[42] Tozer, 1881, 237.

[43] Alexiou, 1982/3, 30.

[44] Τσάρας, 1985, 191.

the journey to Hades is essentially Lucianic.[45] As Garland also suggests the *Timarion* is a predecessor of *Mazaris*, revolving around the same topic of the journey to Hades in a satirical manner.[46] As Kaldellis notes, there is a number of phrases in the *Timarion* tha are based on the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, while Euripides' *Medea* and *Orestes* are also reflected. Also, the author shows knowledge of Komnenian rhetoric too, which alludes to classical Greece.[47]

According to Baldwin, while the *Timarion* and *Mazaris* present a similar setting and themes and share the same pagan and Christian elements, it cannot be assumed that the author of *Mazaris* knew the earlier work. Most pieces of Byzantine literature had only limited circulation and, also, the *Timarion* survives in a single manuscript. Nevertheless, it lasted long to be abused by Acropolites.[48] If the later author knew the *Timarion* and Acropolites' critique, he might have thought twice about writing under his real name.[49] In any case, whether we consider that *Mazaris's* author knew the *Timarion* or not, in fact the two works reflect more or less the same classical sources.

Initially, the *Timarion* begins with Kydion saluting the narrator, using the phrase Τιμαρίων ὁ καλός.[50] In Lucian's *Lexiphanes*, Lycinus who is the secondary character of the text as Kydion in the *Timarion*, welcomes his friend and basic narrator in an identical way: Λεξιφάνης ὁ καλὸς μετὰ βιβλίου.[51]

Another phrase that shows Lucian's influence appears some lines after: πρὸς φίλον γὰρ ἐρεῖς παλαιὸν καὶ νέον.[52] These Kydion's words, again, are reminiscent of the friend in Lucian's *Menippus*:

> Μηδαμῶς, ὦ Μένιππε, πρὸς τοῦ Διός, μὴ
> φθονήσῃς τῶν λόγων φίλῳ ἀνδρί· πρὸς γὰρ εἰδότα
> σιωπᾶν ἐρεῖς, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς μεμυημένον.[53]

In both cases, the interlocutor invites his friend and central character to describe his condition, since he speaks to a real and old friend whom he can trust.

In another part of the *Timarion*, the narrator makes mention of some friends' requests which sometimes become annoying, but he cannot ignore:

> Ἀλλὰ τί πάθω; τὰ τῶν φίλων τοιαῦτα, ὡς
> ἔοικεν, ἀπαραίτητα καὶ τυραννίδος ἐγγύς· καὶ

---

[45] Garland, 2007, 183–214.

[46] Garland, 2007, 185. Of course, there are certain differences between the two satires. For example, Garland notes the different use of the term ἐκεῖνος in the two works (Garland, 2007, 213).

[47] Kaldellis, 2012, 282–285.

[48] Baldwin, 1993, 345–358. The criticism by Acropolites will be discussed later.

[49] Baldwin, 1993, 350

[50] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 40.

[51] Harmon, 1913, 292. The phrase also appears in Plato (Βλαχάκος, 2004, 170).

[52] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 40.

[53] Harmon, 1913, 76.

οὐκ ἐνὸν παραιτήσασθαι τὸ ἐπίταγμα, ὁποῖόν
ποτ᾽ ἂν εἴη. λέγωμεν οὖν ἀρξάμενοι.[54]

As we can see below, Timarion's speech is, again, reminiscent of Lucian's Menippus:

Ὑπουργητέον καὶ ταῦτά σοι· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ
πάθοι τις, ὁπότε φίλος ἀνὴρ βιάζοιτο; καὶ δὴ
πρῶτά σοι δίειμι τὰ περὶ τῆς γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς,
ὅθεν ὡρμήθην πρὸς τὴν κατάβασιν.[55]

Similarly, Menippus conveys an identical kind of complaint in regard to his friend's desire; he cannot avoid him and should tell him about his adventure.

The following phrase in the *Timarion* also shows the influence from Lucian:

Αἰακοῦ γὰρ καὶ
Μίνωος νόμος ἔμποινος ὥρισται κατὰ τῶν
ἐρωτώντων ἢ ἀπολογουμένων περὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας
τοῦ γέροντος.[56]

Here, Timarion tells Kydion that according to a law by Aeacus and Minos, no one is allowed to speak about the old man's identity. In Lucian's *Menippus*, the hero tells his friend about a great deal, whose content should be a secret; if someone learns that Menippus revealed it, he would accuse him at the court of Radamanthus:

Νὴ Δία, καὶ πολλά γε· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ θέμις ἐκφέρειν
αὐτὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας οὐδὲ ἐξαγορεύειν τὰ ἀπόρρητα,
μὴ καί τις ἡμᾶς γράψηται γραφὴν ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ
τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος.[57]

As we can see, it is not only the generic topic of the hero's travel to the Underworld that alludes to Lucian, but certain phrases too. In addition, as Baldwin very notably states, the *Timarion* is a veritable cento of Lucianic phrases.[58] Indeed, beyond the influences from *Menippus* and *Lexiphanes*, Vlachakos notices that there are also characteristics from other Lucianic works, such as Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί, Χαρίδημος ἢ περὶ κάλλους, Κατάπλους ἢ Τύραννος and Περὶ πένθους.[59]

---

[54] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 52.
[55] Harmon, 1913, 78.
[56] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 88.
[57] Harmon, 1913, 76.
[58] Baldwin, 1984, 8.
[59] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 202.

Turning to Homer, one could say that there are some further reflections. A first example appears in the line 'ἤλυθας, Τηλέμαχε γλυκερὸν φάος'[60] at the very beginning of the text, when Kydion meets Timarion. Obviously, apart from the fact that the phrase is in brackets, suggesting that the author took it from somewhere else, it is interesting to note that it alludes to Homer's phrase ἦλθες Τηλέμαχε γλυκερὸν φάος in the *Odyssey*.[61] Also, the phrase οὖλοι τὰς κόμας, ξανθοὶ τὰς κόμας[62] in the *Timarion* reminds us of the *Iliad*, and especially the phrase ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἕλε Πηλεΐωνα.[63] In both cases, we have the description of a man with focus on his blonde hair. In the *Timarion* the man is the Dux, while in Homer is Peleionas.

Other influences beyond Lucian and Homer could also be detected in the *Timarion*. For instance, Baldwin believes that although the topic of the descent to Hades apparently alludes to Lucian, it could be also connected to Aristophanes' *Frogs*.[64] In addition, Vlachakos sees influences from Euripides' tragedies.[65] In fact, the author of the *Timarion* seeks and combines elements from several authors of the classical tradition; indication of his high education.

3. Century and authorship

Former critique denotes the Komnenian dynasty, as the period that the *Timarion* was written. Although we do not have a specific date for the composition of the text, Tozer proposes the first half of the twelfth century.[66] Other critics also agree.

According to Alexiou, we should place the *Timarion* certainly in the first half of the twelfth century,[67] while at the same time Tsaras places the work in the period of Alexios I (1081–1118) or John II (1118–1143) or even Manuel I (1143–1180).[68] In addition, Beaton is more accurate, claiming that evidence within the text points the second decade of the twelfth century. According to Beaton, the first half of the twelfth century seems to be a vague limit and it is mainly associated with the question of authorship.[69] In any case, the twelfth century is accepted as the appropriate period of the *Timarion*, and especially, the first half of the century.

Regarding the issue of authorship though, things are different as various views have been expressed. According to Tozer and Tsaras, the author provides us with some details about his origin, which is Cappadocia; Tozer also declares that probably the author should be

---

[60] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 40.
[61] Homers, 1874, 92. See also Kaldellis on that (in 'The Timarion', 270–275). Kaldellis also focuses and analyses this actual phrase.
[62] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 60.
[63] Homer, 1866, 16.
[64] Baldwin, 1984, 8.
[65] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 161.
[66] Tozer, 1881, 235.
[67] Alexiou, 1982/3, 30.
[68] Τσάρας, 1985, 191.
[69] Mullett and Smythe, 1996, 333–334.

by profession a philosopher.[70] Nevertheless, there are four basic candidates that could be seen as the authors of the *Timarion*: someone Timarion who is also the hero of the story, Theodore Prodromos or Ptochoprodromos who is a well-known author and literature figure of the twelfth century, Nicholas Callicles, the famous doctor and poet of the same century, and finally, Michael Italicus who belongs to the reigns of John II and Manuel I.[71]

Hunger suggested that Prodromos is the author of the satire, based on some linguistic similarities, which bring it close to other works of his.[72] On the other hand, Dräseke asserted that the name 'Timarion' could be the name of the author too, drawing attention to the context of the work and Acropolites' criticism which proposed that the *Timarion* should be burnt[73]. Callicles has been considered by some critics, including Romano, another candidate because of the medical background of the satire.[74] Callicles is designated as an *archiatros* and is known from other sources too, as Anna Komnena mentions his name in the list of the best doctors. In addition, Callicles was a court poet.[75] Finally, Baldwin suggests that Michael Italicus is the likely author, as the dates and some other pieces of information agree with the content of the satire.[76]

According to Beaton, all the names lack justification and arguments.[77] Especially those critics who claim that the *Timarion* is written by a doctor mainly focus on those parts, that present the narrator describing his health and making diagnosis for himself:

> ἐκείνου γὰρ λυθέντος, ἐκπύρωσις
> ἠκολούθησεν ἥπατος καὶ δεινοτάτη γαστρόρροια,
> αὐτήν τε τὴν στοιχειώδη χολὴν κενοῦσα
> σὺν αἵματι καθαρῷ καὶ τὰς σάρκας
> συντήκουσα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα δίκην ἐχίδνης
> δαρδάπτουσα.[78]
> [...]
> ὅτι καὶ
> Ασκληπιῷ καὶ Ἱπποκράτει ἀπόφανσις ἀνεστήλωται
> γεγραμμένη καθ' Αιδου, μὴ βιώσιμα
> εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν τεττάρων ἑνὸς λειπομένῳ,
> κἂν ἴσως ἔρρωταί οἱ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον.[79]

---

[70] Tozer, 1881, 235 and Τσάρας, 1985, 191.
[71] Baldwin, 1984, 36.
[72] Τσάρας, 1985, 20.
[73] Τσάρας, 1985, 20.
[74] Τσάρας, 1985, 20-21.
[75] Kazhdan, 1984, 50.
[76] Baldwin, 1984, 36-37.
[77] Mullett and Smythe, 1996, 334.
[78] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 72.
[79] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 76–78.

In the above extract, as Vlachakos states, the narrator alludes to Hippocrates' theory on the four essential elements of the human body: phlegm, blood, yellow and black bile.[80] The detailed description of the hero's health and the knowledge of some medical information gave a good reason to see the author of the *Timarion* as a doctor; possibly Callicles. Nevertheless, as Kazhdan declares the twelfth century authors paid special attention to the medical profession; such an example is Theodore Prodromos.[81] Saying that, the author could be someone who was not a doctor by profession, but he had, indeed, some knowledge and interest in medical theories of his era.

Most likely, the author of the *Timarion* is an educated person; one could see this, through his familiarity with certain classical authors. He combines the tradition of Lucian with the Homeric one, including elements of others like Aristophanes and Euripides. Consequently, medical knowledge could be seen as part of his education. Besides, educated people in the twelfth century had knowledge of several disciplines.[82] A notable example would be Anna Komnena who illustrates in her *Alexiad* sound knowledge of Homer, Sapfo and other classical authors. In addition, she shows her interest and understanding of medicine, describing her father's health in the last book:

Οἱ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ταῖς ἀρτηρίαις ἐπιβάλλοντες ἔμφασιν παντοίου εἴδους ἀνωμαλίας κατὰ πᾶσαν τῆς ἀρτηρίας κίνησιν εὑρίσκειν ἀνωμολόγουν, τὸ δ' αἴτιον συνιδεῖν οὐκ εἶχον ὅπη.[83]

[...]

Τοσοῦτον δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ηὔξανε τὸ τῆς νόσου, ὡς μηκέτι ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἐπέρχεσθαι, ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς θατέραν δύνασθαι κατακλιθῆναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλευρὰν μηδὲ πρὸς ἰσχύος ἔχειν ἀβίαστον τὸ παράπαν εἰσπνεῦσαι τὸν ἀέρα.[84]

[...]

Ορθιος γὰρ ἠναγκάζετο διόλου ἀνακαθήμενος ἀναπνεῖν· εἰ δέ που καὶ ὕπτιος κέοιτο ἢ κατὰ θατέραν πλευράν, φεῦ τότε τοῦ βρόχου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνῆν συρμάδα μικρὰν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἀέρος εἰσρυῆναί τε καὶ ἀπορρυῆναι κατά γε τὴν ἀναπνοήν τε καὶ εἰσπνοήν.[85]

In the above lines, Anna Komnena deals with Alexios I Komnenos' health problems, before his death. She describes her father's inhalation and exhalation problems, explaining that he needed to sit all the time, in order to breathe better. Also, she mentions that his arteries' function was in a very bad condition too. Thus, basic knowledge of medicine seems like common knowledge for most educated people in this period.

---

[80] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 99.

[81] Kazhdan, 1984, 50.

[82] For example Baldwin, 1984, 15-19, explains how categories like these of medicine, philosophy and rhetoric were only superficially separated, while Kazhdan in 'The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', 50, explains how Callicles, apart from a famous *archiatros*, was also a poet.

[83] Comnene, 1945, 232.

[84] Comnene, 1945, 232.

[85] Comnene, 1945, 233.

Besides, one could say that if we leave aside the theory of the four essential elements of Hippocrates, there is no other substantial reference to clear medicine. The *Timarion* is based on one single theory and the author develops this according to the concept of his narrative. Hippocrates was widely appreciated in Byzantium and he was a major personality, whose reputation survived in Byzantine culture.[86] As a result, his theories were not property of doctors only, but something well-known and established among people with certain education. In addition, the *Timarion* is a satire; that means the author attacks major personalities and theories. Hippocrates could be one of his targets. As Kazhdan writes, the criticism of Hippocrates and Erasistratus we see in the satire is rather philological rather than medical, and it is limited to mocking their stylistic and grammatical shortcomings.[87] In addition, Timarion's fate is entrusted to the council of doctors who act primarily as judges and not physicians.[88]

Baldwin writes that the doctors were considered inseparable from other roles and categories and Galen is the most striking example we see the combination medicine, philosophy and rhetoric.[89] Even in cases when roles like doctors and philosophers were treated as separate categories, the classification was not strict, as characters who had skills in anatomy and pharmacy they were also philosophers, orators and poets.[90] A word like 'iatrosophist' was widely used in textbooks without due regard to its background.[91]

There are several other examples in classical and Byzantine literature: in the *Odyssey*, doctors are registered as craftsmen along with other roles like seers, carpenters or minstrels; Euripides describes his treatment in the *Frogs*, through an extended medical simile and generally, in Aristophanes, we have some references to doctors.[92] Consequently, these combinations help the reader to see how medicine became a standard element in Byzantine higher education. In *Mazaris*, Hobolos is asked if he is rated as a top doctor or top orator down in Hades.[93]

Yet, according to Temkin, the *Timarion* presupposes a remarkable knowledge of medical literature on the part of its readers and a familiarity with Hippocratic aphorisms, Erasistratus' famous diagnosis of a case of love sickness and Galen's verbose style. This should be standard knowledge, if the reader is meant to appreciate and understand certain behaviours.[94] The *Timarion* is a satire indeed, but as Temkin declares, it is a satire for intellectuals.[95]

---

[86] Galvão-Sobrinho, 1996, 438–455, deals with the survival of Hippocratic writings in the Middle Ages.
[87] Kazhdan, 1984, 50.
[88] Kazhdan, 1984, 51.
[89] Baldwin, 1984, 15–19.
[90] Baldwin, 1984, 16.
[91] Baldwin, 1984, 16.
[92] Baldwin, 1984, 16.
[93] Baldwin, 1984, 16.
[94] Temkin, 1962, 115.
[95] Temkin, 1962, 115.

The fact that the author does not reveal his identity should be seen in connection to his attack. According to Alexiou, the unknown author had very good reasons to keep his anonymity, as his work constitutes a bitter case of satire against the twelfth century society;[96] one could say directed at religion, philosophy, rhetoric, law and medicine. In addition, Alexiou explains that this anonymity is associated with the fact that there are several historical figures in the work, including Romanus IV, Theophilus, Michael Psellus, John Italos and Theodore of Smyrna.[97] Likewise, Garland states that in *Mazaris*, similarly to the twelfth century Byzantine satires like the *Timarion*, doctors and especially amateur practitioners are attacked throughout the work with strength.[98]

Constantine Acropolites' opinion, that the *Timarion* should be burnt characterizing the author as a maniac provides us with the ground to seek the targets of the author.[99] In truth, Acropolites was devoted to God and Christianity; he saw the *Timarion* as a thread for Christianity and detected elements attacking religion. There is no certainty if Acropolites is the only example of such negative criticism, but according to Baldwin's statement, Acropolites was not an 'isolated bigot'.[100]

Generally speaking, the Byzantines did not have any issues with well-known historical personalities and satirical attacks on declining rulers; this is apparent in the *Timarion*.[101] But for Acropolites, a man with an active role in the religious life of his period and growing up in a churchy environment,[102] even literature should follow the rules of his conservative circle. He could not see the literary category to which the *Timarion* belongs, as for him everything revolved around religion. As Maguire writes, it was axiomatic in Byzantine society that Orthodox Christian artists did not invent, while the legitimacy of the holy image depended on tradition and the reproduction of the prototype. The distinction between Christian images and pagan images is result of this lack of innovation.[103] But still, even the *Timarion*, a Byzantine secular writing, characterized creatures coming from pagan mythology as implausible and absurd. The protagonist says that the unlikely event of his release from the Underworld is not realistic, similarly to the hippocentaurs, sphinxes and other mythological fabrications of the ancients made by sculptors and painters.[104]

According to Kaldellis, even the way that Timarion introduces the festival of Saint Demetrios suggests an ironical tone, as 'The Demetria' is a festival just like the Panathenaia among the Athenians or Panionia among the Milesians. This is part of the author's technique to explain Christian customs in terms of pagan customs. In that way, the festival of Saint

---

[96] Alexiou, 1982/3, 30–31.
[97] Alexiou, 1982/3, 37.
[98] Garland, 2007, 200.
[99] Baldwin, 1984, 25.
[100] Baldwin, 1984, 27.
[101] Garland, 2007, 200.
[102] Baldwin, 1984, 26.
[103] Maguire, 1999, 189–205.
[104] Maguire, 1999, 190.

Demetrios becomes a proper representation of a journey into pagan Hades.[105] And possibly, this is the background of Acropolites' criticism.

The unknown author of the *Timarion* directs his satire at certain directions and religion should be seen as one of them. Tozer declares that the *Timarion* mocks physicians and medical theories, while at the same time he says that the trial is based on a parody of the Athenian lawsuit.[106] Finally, Vlachakos believes that the author targets a wide range of people, including the high-class Byzantine society, and relevant situations of his era, like gluttony and social inequality.[107]

Conclusion

It could be said that it is strange that this work did not attract greater attention, as it is probably the first Byzantine fiction that discusses several historical figures, contemporary events and the intellectual society.[108] The *Timarion* is a mixture of Lucianic dialogue, social satire, travel narrative, *ekphrasis*, a vision of Hades, religious history and comparison of religions, imperial history, medical-judicial controversies and others.[109]

The *Timarion* is an example that even in conservative societies like the Byzantine one, satire has its place. Based on the Lucianic model of the Underworld, the unknown author adapts his plot and characters, according to the needs of his own society. Probably, in our days the reader is not in position to see, at what extent the *Timarion* made Byzantine people laugh. But in any case, it is a valuable text, as it is representative of Byzantine satire. Given its Hippocratic sense, *epidemia* would be, as Baldwin suggests, a well-chosen noun.[110]

The author of the *Timarion* is very likely to be an educated person, since as we have seen apart from Lucian, we can identify certain phrases from Homer, possibly influences from Ancient Greek tragedies and comedies and sound knowledge of Hippocrates' medical theories. According to Kaldellis, whoever the author was, this work has been designed to attract a specific narrow circle.[111] Such education was mainly a privilege of people with a notable position in Byzantine society. In regard with the name of the author, there is no certainty although the efforts of critics. Thus, the authorship of the *Timarion* remains an attractive question for further discussion or even more an enigma.

---

[105] Kaldellis, 2012, 285–286.
[106] Tozer, 1881, 246 and 253.
[107] Βλαχάκος, 2004, 30–31.
[108] Kaldellis, 2012, 277.
[109] Kaldellis, 2012, 277.
[110] Baldwin, 1993, 351.
[111] Kaldellis, 2012, 277.

Bibliography

Alexiou, M. 'Literary subversion and the aristocracy in twelfth-century Byzantium: a stylistic analysis of the *Timarion* (ch. 6–10)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 8 (1982/83).

Alexiou, M. 'Writing against Silence: Antithesis and Ekphrasis in the Prose Fiction of Georgios Vizyenos', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 47 (1993), pp. 263–286.

Baldwin, B., 'Beyond the House Call: Doctors in Early Byzantine History and Politics', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 38, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine (1984), pp. 15–19.

Baldwin, B. (tr.), *Timarion*. Detroit, 1984.

Baldwin, B. 'The "Mazaris": Reflections and Reappraisal', Illinois Classical Studies, Vol. 18 (1993), pp. 345–358.

Comnenae, A. *Alexiade (XI-XV)*, ed. and tr. Leib Bernard. Paris, 1945.

Diehl, N., 'Satire, Analogy, and Moral Philosophy', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 71, No. 4 (2013), pp. 311–321.

Galatariotou, C. 'Travel and Perception in Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 47 (1993), pp. 221–241.

Griffin, D. *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction* (Kentucky, 1994).

Galvão-Sobrinho, C. R. 'Hippocratic Ideals, Medical Ethics, and the Practice of Medicine in the Early Middle Ages: The Legacy of the Hippocratic Oath', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (October 1996), pp. 438–455.

Garland, L. 'Mazaris's Journey to Hades: Further Reflections and Reappraisal', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 61 (2007), pp. 183–214.

Gordon, S. 'Parody, Sarcasm, and Invective in the Nugae of Walter Map', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 116, No. 1 (2017), pp. 82–107.

Homer. *Iliad I-XII*, ed. George Long. London, 1866.

Homers. *Odyssee*, ed. Karl Friedrich Ameis. Leipzig, 1874.

Harmon, A. M. (ed. and tr.). *Lucian of Samosata Vol. IV*. London, 1913.

Harmon, A. M. (ed. and tr.). *Lucian of Samosata Vol. V*. London, 1913.

Kazhdan, A. 'The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 38, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine (1984), pp. 43–51.

Kaldellis, A. 'The *Timarion*: Toward a Literary Interpretation', P. Odorico (ed.), *La Face caché de la Littérature Byzantine: le Texte en Tant que Message Immédiat*. Paris, 2012.

Mullett, M. and Smythe, D. *Alexios I Komnenos: Papers*. Belfast, 1996.

Maguire, H. 'The Profane Aesthetic in Byzantine Art and Literature', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 53 (1999), pp. 189–205.

Tozer, H. F. 'Byzantine satire', *The journal of Hellenic studies*, Vol. 2 (1881).

Temkin, O. 'Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 16 (1962), 95, pp. 97–115

Βλαχάκος, Π. (ed. and tr.). *Τιμαρίων: ένα ταξίδι από την Κωνσταντινούπολη στην Θεσσαλονίκη*. Thessalonica, 2004.

Τσάρας, Γ., 'Τιμαρίων, ἤ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων', *Η Θεσσαλονίκη*, 1985.

LIVING WATER (*ABUR*) – A POSSIBLE LEXICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN ROMANIAN, ALBANIAN AND BASQUE

Şerban George Paul Drugaş[*]

Abstract: I will analyze in this paper the possibility for a common origin of a word that appears in Romanian as *abur* "vapor, steam", in Albanian as *avull* (id.), and in Basque with two forms, as *ibar* "valley, watered meadow" and *ibai* "river". Romanian *abur* and Albanian *avull* are words of the substratum vocabulary of these languages, with a common origin, the Romanian form being more primitive. If a connection between the Basque *ibar* / *ibai* and the PIE root of the previous Albanian and Romanian words could be established, then the three words would have had a common origin.

Keywords: etymology, common origin, Indo-European, abur, avull, ibar.

1. Romanian *abur* and Albanian *avull*

The Romanian *abur(e)* – pl. *aburi* (noun, masc.) means "vapor, steam",[1] and forms the following derivate words: *a abura* or *a aburi* (vb., "to make or produce steams, to exhale"), *aburat* (adj. from part., "wet"), *abureală* (noun, fem., "breath, breeze"), *aburitor* (adj., from part., who exhales), *aburiu* (adj. (vaporous, whitish). The word was taken into the Modern Greek, as ἄμπρος.[2] The form in Greek shows that it is a loan from the Romanian, and not from the Albanian.

The Albanian *avull* ("old *avullë* -17th century-, Gheg *abull*' [3]) has the same meaning as *abur* in Romanian, both autochthonous, from the substratum.[4] V. Orel (2000) gave the etymology for the Albanian word as: "*avull* 'steam, vapor' < EPA *abula* continuing *n̩bh(u)lo-*, close to OHG *nebul* 'fog', OS *nifol* < Gmc *nebulaz*."[5] As signaled by S. Paliga

---

[1] *DEX*, 2009.
[2] Meyer, *Neugr. St.*, II, 74, apud Ciorănescu, 1958-1966.
[3] Russu, 1981, 245.
[4] Cf. *ibid.*, 108. Id., 1967, 203.
[5] Orel, 2000, 42.

(2006), the Romanian form couldn't be a loan from the Albanian (as many such cognates), because "Albanian *avull*, with *v* against *b* in Romanian is newer (as suggested or implied by all those who suggested IE *ab-* 'water' as the origin of these forms. Also Alb. *ll*, as in other cases, reflects a later evolution *r > ll*"[6] Thus, the Albanian *avull* comes also from the PIE root with an −*r* suffix, as the Romanian *abur*, not from the class with −*l*. The old forms in Albanian demonstrate this. As we shall see below, a group of hydronyms in *ab(h)ro-/ebro-* came also from *$\eta bh(ro/ri)$-*. The root *$\eta bh(ro/ri)$-* was congruent, with not such a distant phonetic structure to a *h_2eP-*, with the suffix −*r*.

2. Balkan and other European related words

Among the words analyzed here, some are put in relation with the Romanian *abur* and the Albanian *avull* by some scholars, some have a close form and meaning, some might have a common origin, while some only seem to have a resembling form and should be discarded. The Indo-Europeans were influenced by the populations that inhabited previously the land they occupied.[7] Thus, discussing hydronyms and toponyms with old origin, for all the Indo-European forms discussed here the connection with the Pre-Indo-Europeans should be taken to account.

When discussing the Thraco-Dacian or other Indo-European names with a form like *$(h)V-b(h)-r$-*, their origin was either in the *h_2eP-/*ab-/*ap-* "water" (with a suffix -*r*) [8] and *$\eta bh(ro/ri)$-* "living water". The root *$abhro$-/*h_2ebhro-* "strong, mighty"[9] gave some athroponyms and toponyms with a resembling form, but a different origin, of which there will be presented some below. Some water names became place names or person names. Among the place names in Thrace, for instance, *Αβρεττηνή*, a "region in Mysia", seems to have formed from a root with hydronym value.[10]

The Dacian name *Abruttus* seems to have been applied first to the river in Transylvania, then to a Dacian city, then to the correspondent Roman city, now to the Romanian Abrud, both river and city. Since it appears that all the other names came from the river, and, in general, such toponyms came from hydronyms, the root of origin must have been *$\eta bh(ro/ri)$-*. The Romanian city Abrud is placed at 65 km NW from Alba Iulia, in the district Alba. From the river Abruttus, tributary to Arieş, similar names (now Abrud in Romanian) were given the section of the Bihor Mt. between Arieş and Ampoi and to the depression in the region. The inhabitation of the area is archeologically documented from Hallstatt. The evidences of the roman *castellum* from the 2nd – 3rd centuries are present in the site "Cetăţuia" (SW of the city, near the boarding school). The medieval city is attested as *Oppidum montanum* (1215), then succesively called: *Abruth* sau *terra Obruth* (1271), *Abrudbanya* (1320), *Civitas Altemburg* (1427), and *Abrud Banya* (Josephinian Map, 1769–

---

[6] Paliga, 2006, 26. Cf. id., 2010, 190-191.
[7] Beekes, 2011, 46. Kortlandt, 1989. Cf. Mallory & Adams, 1997, 339 etc.
[8] Pokorny, I, 1959, 1.
[9] Pokorny, I, 1959, 2.
[10] Pârvan, 1982, 141 (235).

1773, Sectio 136).[11] On the territory of the present Romania, another toponym *Abrud*, with archeological significance, is located in Dobruja, near Adamclisi.[12]

A city with a similar name was constituted south of Danube, *Αβρυτος*. It was a Thracian city, then Roman, the modern city in Bulgaria bearing the name Abtat. About it, V. Pârvan wrote: "Abrittus in Getia of the Crobyzi; *Αβρεττηνή* [Abrettene], region in Mysia." ("Abrittus în Getia crobyzică; *Αβρεττηνή* [Abrettene], regiune în Mysia."[13]). And also: "It is clear that the Getian kingdom of Roles was on the right side of the Danube, east to Iantra, with its center, probably, between Durostorum and Axiopolis, around Abrittus and Tropaeum Traiani, where afterwards, in the time of the Empire, we found the Dacians in a great number, troubling the Ausdacensi" („E clar, că regatul get al lui Roles era în dreapta Dunării, la Răsărit de Iantra, cu centrul poate, între Durostorum și Axiopolis, către Abrittus și Tropaeum Traiani, acolo unde pe urmă - în vremea Imperiului - găsim pe daci în mare număr, făcînd greu necaz ausdecensilor."[14])

The Thracian river name *(H)Ebros* (Maritsa) also appeared in Ptolemaeus.[15] Ivan Duridanov wrote about its etymology: "*Hebros* (Hdt., Thuk., Eurip., etc.), *Hebrus* (Plin., Verg., Ovid.) - the modern Marica river. The name survived in the designation of the upper course as *Ibър* and also in the village name of *Po-ibrene*, an original settlement name in - *ěne*. There are known several other water names: *Ibar*, Morava's tributary in Serbia, Old Serbian ИБрЬ, *Ibr*, Teterev's tributary in the Northern Ukraine, near Kiev; *Ibru*, river in Romania. The Bulg. *Ibър* and the Serb. *Ibar* are derived from an earlier form **Ibrъ*. Obviously, this is about one and the same form in various Indo-European languages – Thracian, Illyrian, Dacian, etc. – independent one with another. As the short *e* in foreign names cannot produce *-i-* in Bulgarian, Serbian, etc., we must assume that the Thracian river name was inaccurately reproduced by the Greek authors (with *-e-*), living aside the rough breathing that appears as *h* in the Latin orthography. The forms *Ibr, Ibar, Ibr* can be derived: from the IE **Eibhro-s*, assuming the diphthong *ei* was reduced to monophthong in Slavic, in a long *i*, or from the IE **Ibhro-s*, leading to the Slavic **Jьbrъ = *Ibrъ*. The Thracian name had, in all probability, a diphthong – like *ei* – in the beginning. It can be supposed it is derivative from the IE stem **eibh-* in the Pelasgian (Pre-Greek) *éibō* "to drip, to spill" and "to flow" (...)."[16]
A similar association of the considered Balkan river names was given by S. Paliga. He also mentioned the above occurrences, of old Indo-European ancestry and signaled a possible connection with the Pre-Indo-European fund.[17]

---

[11] Pârvan, 1982, 160 (274), 163 (278), 379 (673), 431 (751). Daicoviciu, 1941, 298-336. 300-303. Popescu, 1957, 158, 216, 249 etc. Cf. http://ran.cimec.ro/, RAN 1160.01, 1160.02.

[12] Cf. L. Ellis, P. Foschi, 2006, 40-41. Alexandru Barnea *et alii*, 2007, 27-28.

[13] Pârvan, 1982, 141 (235).

[14] Pârvan, *Getica*, 1982, 54 (85); cf. *ibid.*, p. 68 (118).

[15] Ptolemaei, Lib. III, cap. 11, vol. I, 1843, 187.

[16] Duridanov, 1985, 30-31. See also, id., 1995, 822. Cf. Tomaschek, 1975, 293 (1894, II, 93).

[17] Paliga, 2006, 26, 112, 244, 271, 321, 340.

*

        Some Thracian names seem to perpetuate the meaning "strong, mighty" from the
PIE *abhro-, giving *abro-,[18] which should be, therefore, discarded from the family of *abur –
avull*. This is the case of *Αβροζέλμης* (*Abrozelmes* or *Ebruzelmis*).[19]

        Pertaining to the family of the PIE *abhro- "strong, mighty", *Αβρούπολις* was the
name of a king of the Thracian tribe of *Sapaioi* (*Sapaei*), east of Nestus, north of Abdera. The
name appears in inscriptions. Rome, in the 2nd century BC, was worried by some news from
the *Bastarnae*, about the strengthening of the army of Macedonia. Eumenes, the king of Asia,
with his capital in Pergamum, also complained to Rome, accusing Perseus, the king of
Macedonia and successor of Philip V, of immorality and conspiracy against Rome. Abrupolis
attacked Perseus in 179 BC, plundering the Aegean port Amhipolis and the golden mines of
Pangaion (Pangaeus), until Perseus defeated him and seized his land. Rome demanded the
restoration of his ally, Abrupolis, to the rule of his kingdom, using later this incident as a
pretext for the third war with Macedonia. Abrupolis appears in an inscription[20] and in many
documents: Polybius 22.18.2-3; Diodorus Sic. 29.33, Livy 42.13.5, 42.40.5, 42.41.10-11[21],
Appianus Mac. 11, Pausanias 7.10, *Macedonian Affairs* 1, 11.2[22], Pausanias, *Description of
Greece*, 7.10.6-7.[23] It has some variants,[24] as: *Abrouporis*[25] and *Ablouporis*.[26]

        The form *Abruporis* could be explained through the Thracian group of names
finished in –*poris*, mostly translated "son, the son of". This is why I think the etymology of
Georgiev remains the correct one: "mighty son" ("мощен син"[27]). The older solution of
Tomaschek, to translate it as "horse mounted fighter" ("Kämpfer zu Ross", "Rossschlächter")
does not really work. He used the form *Ablouporis*, associating it with *Aulouporis*,[28] while
Boshnakov thought that "*Ablouporis* might be considered closer to the genuine
pronunciation of the Sapaean name".[29] However, I think the beginning in *abru-*, as present in
almost all the documents, could better fit with the name of a royalty, as "mighty", and has
good support in other Thracian names of persons and places. For the second term, all the

[18] Tomaschek, 1975, 203 (1894, II, 3). Russu, 1967, 89.

[19] Russu, 1967, 89. Paliga, 2006, 26. See also, www.palaeolexicon.com.

[20] Syll.³ 643 = RDGE no. 40; cf. Sherk, RGEDA, no. 19, apud Boshnakov, 2012, 35

[21] Livy, 1850, pp. 1970-1971, 1997-1999. Id., 1876, 80, 123, 125. Id., 1911, 65. Id., 1938, 409-410,
414-417, 1970-1971.

[22] Appian, 1879, and 1899.

[23] Pausanias, 1903, and 1918.

[24] See also: Thirlwall, 1855, 426. Smith, 1867, 3. Xenopol, 1925, 58. Bagnall & Derow, 2004, 82.
Paliga, 2006, 26. Dimitriev, 2011, 188-189. See also: www.perseus.tufts.edu/, http://referenceworks.

[25] Ms. Polybios 22.18.2, in Boshnakov, 2012, 35. Polybius, 1962.

[26] Sherk, 1969, apud Boshnakov, 2012, 35 sq.: 80 BC, cf. RDGE no. 20, 21.

[27] Georgiev 1977, 63, also p. 90, apud Boshnakov, 2012, 35.

[28] Tomaschek 1894/1980, 21, apud Boshnakov, 2012, 35.

[29] Boshnakov, 2012, 35.

authors concur in pleading for the Thracian original –*poris*, which was Grecized in *-polis*. Detschew associated the word with the name *Efriporis* from an inscription.[30]

<p align="center">*</p>

     An interesting commentary about the etymology of Aphrodite shows how intricate, the two roots, one for the "water", and the other for "strong", became, in the old Indo-European languages, altogether with some Pre-Indo-European roots, because of the resemblance in form: "The root *abhro*: 'strong, mighty" is related to the cult of fertility hence the goddess of love, beauty and sexual rapture "Αφροδίτη Aphrodite". The name of Aphrodite derived from Gk. ἀφρός "sea foam" + Σῖτᾶνες "titaness". The name of Aphrodite is also related to Root *abō(n)* (ape, aquatic demon) and to Root *ab* (water, river) [see below]. In Greek mythology, Aphrodite is the goddess of love, beauty and sexual rapture. According to Hesiod, she was born when Uranus (the father of the gods) was castrated by his son Cronus. Cronus threw the severed genitals into the ocean which began to churn and foam about them. From the ἀφρός "aphros ('sea foam')" arose Aphrodite, and the sea carried her to either Cyprus or Cythera. Hence she is often referred to as Kypris and Cytherea. The name of Aphrodite is related to PIE Root (enebh-2): *nebh-, embh-, m̥bh-* (wet, damp; water; clouds) O. Ind. *abhrám.* (<m̥bhros), Av. *awra* n."[31]

<p align="center">*</p>

     A very interesting and similar case to be discussed here is that of *Europe.* The name of our continent, Europe, comes from Greek in all the modern languages. Its first occurrence in a text is in a Homeric hymn to Apollo, written in the early 6th century BC: "Telphusa, here I am minded to make a glorious temple, an oracle for men, and hither they will always bring perfect hecatombs, both those who live in rich Peloponnesus and those of Europe and all the wave-washed isles, coming to seek oracles."[32] This first occurrence of Europe seems to give it the meaning of the Aegean shore and anything beyond it, mentioned together with Peloponnesus and the islands (i. e., archipelago). The site just quoted mentions the main etymological explanation given to Europe: "Often explained as "broad face," from eurys "wide" (see *eury-*) + *ops* "face," literally "eye" (...). But also traditionally linked with *Europa*, Phoenician princess in Greek mythology. Klein (citing Heinrich Lewy) suggests a possible Semitic origin in Akkad. *erebu* "to go down, set" (in reference to the sun) which would parallel orient where the sun rises. Another suggestion along those lines is Phoenician *'ereb* "evening," hence "west.'"[33]

     An early attempt to find an etymology for *Europe* was done by Johannes and Theodor Baunack. They tried to explain the word through some Indo-European roots. Thus, they divided it in *Εὐρ-ώπη.* For the first part they gave the Greek interpretation "wide, large", while for the second part they chose the obvious parallel with the Sanskrit *ᵃ̊p-*, "water", as,

---

[30] Boshnakov, 2012, quoting Detschew, 1957, 3, also p. 374: "AEM 15, 1892, 216 no. 98, inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum".

[31] Lubotsky, 2007, 4-5.

[32] Homer (*To Apollo*, I, 247-251), 1998, 90, 91. http://www.etymonline.com/

[33] http://www.etymonline.com/ ... Cf. Cabrejas, 2013. Id., 2015, pp. 1-2. Id., 2017, p. 7 – similar ideas in this respect.

they wrote, -ώπη in Σιν-ώπη, Ιν-ωπός, Ασ-ωπός (Stud. Nicol. 23). Therefore, their translation was "wide, large sea" ("das weite, grosse Meer").[34]

Lewy rejected the earliest studies of J. Baunack, and wished to demonstrate a Semitic origin for the word Europe, placing it among other such Greek words.[35] He pointed out that J. Baunack derived Asia from ἀσσα-, ἄσσιος "wasserreich, water kingdom" (< *ak-), giving Ασια χθών or Ασια γᾶ. Lewy offered a Semitic etymology, from the Assyrian aṣû = Hebrew יצא "to rise".[36] He mentioned the Homer's reference to the Phrigian Ασιος and to other occurrences.[37] Lewy also wished to explain Europe through a Semitic origin, from the Assyrian root erēbu, giving in Hebrew ereb shamshi, "sunset".[38]

Klein, repeating Lewy's theories, wrote: "Europa, n., daughter of Agenor, king of Phoenicia (*Greek mythol.*) …".[39] And then: "*Europe*, n. … which is prob. of Semitic origin Cp. Akkad. *erēbu*, 'to enter, to go in; to go down, set' (said of the sun), *erēb shamshi*, 'sunset', Heb. *'erebh*, 'sunset, evening' (…). Accordingly Εὐρώπη orig. meant 'the Region of the Setting Sun'. Cp. Hesychius, who renders Εὐρώπη with the words χώρα τῆς δύσεως (= 'the Land of the Setting Sun'). Cp. also Gk. Ερεβος, 'place of nether darkness', which derives fr. Heb. *'erebh*. See *maarib* and cp. *Erebus*. The form Εὐρώπη (as if the name meant εὐρ-ώπη, 'broad face') is due to the natural tendency of the Greeks to Grecize words foreign to their language. In this sense is the development of Gk. Εὐρώπη from a Semitic word meaning 'sunset, evening', cp. *Asia*."[40]

Assuwa (later Asia) was a country in western Anatolia, associated to Wilusa (Ilion, Troy), which gathered around it many other states on the eastern shore of the Aegean Sea, a coalition that was defeated by the Hittite king Tudhaliya II in 1430 BC, maybe to destabilize Troy.[41] Also, "There are mythic traditions of the Greeks that trace the Bronze Age dynasties at Argos, Tiryns and Mycene back to Assuwa. If there were blood ties between the royal families of Argolis and those of Assuwa, the Mycenaeans may have wanted to help their cousins to defend themselves against an invasion by King Tudhaliyas IV – an invasion of their own ancestral homeland. If so, they failed."[42] The Hattians were the first inhabitants of the central Anatolia, a non Indo-European people, but in whose time Assuwa did not exist. The Indo-Europeans arrived in Anatolia at the end of the 3rd millennium BC, and "among them, the Luwians that spoke a very close language to the cuneiform Hittite. After the arrival of the Luwians, around the Halys river settled an Indo-European population from whom descended the historical Hittites, the founders of the Hittite empire."[43] Assuwa contained an

---

[34] Baunack, 1886, 68.
[35] Lewy, 1895, 139.
[36] Lewy, 1895, 139.
[37] Lewy, 1895, 140.
[38] Lewy, 1895, 139sqq.
[39] Klein, 1971, 550.
[40] Klein, 1971, 550.
[41] Castleden, 2005, 217.
[42] Castleden, 2005, 214, 83, 202-203, 210, 214, 217.
[43] Daniel & Negoiţă, 1986, 19.

Indo-European people, neighbored by peoples of the same origin. The influence of the old Semitic peoples (Akkadian, Aramaic) reached, in that time, Cappadocia, and the center of Anatolia, but not so far in the west as to give the name of that country. It was named Assuwa in Hittite and Asia in Greek, and thus, Assuwa-Asia did not have a Semitic origin. The Phoenicians did not begin to spread in the Mediterranean Sea sooner than the mid of the 2nd century, at least five centuries after the attestation of the Assuwa-Asia and its close relation with the Mycenaean world. Furthermore, Assuwa-Asia was placed westward from the Semitic area, and not eastward, to justify the trial of linking its etymology with the Assyrian *as⊠û* = Hebrew יצא "to rise". The country was called Assuwa by the Hittites and Asia by the Mycenaeans long before the Greeks suffered any Semitic influence, which took place mainly due to the Phoenicians. The Hittites blocked the previous penetrations of the Semitic peoples towards the center of Anatolia and even pushed them back eastwards. This pressure, contrary to any Semitic influence in the west of Anatolia, persisted from the 19th to the 12th century BC, when the invasion of the Sea Peoples destabilized the Hittite empire and led to the formation of the new Hittite kingdoms, where the Semitic element gained again a higher representation in the eastern regions, up to Cappadocia.[44] All these data show that the name Assuwa-Asia has no Semitic origin, being only a form resemblance with an important Semitic word.

I believe that the same is the case of the name *Europe*. From the quotes above, we see that J. & T. Baunack tried to give an *Indo-European etymology*, tradition somehow interrupted by the opinion introduced by Lewy and repeated by Klein, that Europe would have had a *Semitic origin*. The Greek Ερεβος "place of nether darkness" is associated with the Assyrian root *erēbu*, evident in the Hebrew *erēb shamshi*, "sunset". However, the early Indo-European presences in the Middle East is clearly attested, such as that of the Hurrians, the Mittanians and even that of the Hittites themselves, the development of the Indo-European researches would allow us to conceive a reverse etymology in this case.

The mythical Thracian Orpheus was connected to the Greek word *orphnos* "dark", derived from *orphos* "deprived of", a cognate with the Latin *orbus luminae oculorum* "deprived of the light of the eyes"[45]. The PIE root *orbh- produced many words, such as: "Greek *orphanos* "orphaned, without parents, fatherless," literally "deprived," from *orphos* "bereft," from PIE *orbho- "bereft of father," also "deprived of free status," from root *orbh- "to change allegiance, to pass from one status to another" (source also of Hittite *harb-* "change allegiance," Latin *orbus* "bereft," Sanskrit *arbhah* "weak, child," Armenian *orb* "orphan," Old Irish *orbe* "heir," Old Church Slavonic *rabu* "slave," *rabota* "servitude" (see *robot*), Gothic *arbja*, German *erbe*, Old English *ierfa* "heir," Old High German *arabeit*, German *Arbeit* "work," Old Frisian *arbed*, Old English *earfoð* "hardship, suffering, trouble")."[46] To all these, I would add the Latin *corvada* (> Fr. *corvée*; Romanian *corvoadă*).

As we can see, the evolution of the root easily allows a vocal between *r* and *b*, and the change of the first vocal, as in the Semitic *erēb*. We can see a strong connection in form and

---

[44] Cf. Daniel & Negoiță, 1986, 22-48.

[45] H. Frisk, sub ὄρφνη, apud Mușu, 1981, 252. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopedia*, sub Orpheus, apud Roscher, *Mythological Lexicon*, sub Orpheus.

[46] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=orphan.

in meaning between a largely spread Indo-European root and a Semitic one, which would suggest a very early loan from the Indo-European peoples around the Caucasus and Taurus Mts. to the Semitic peoples. Thus, if we would consider to connect Europe to a root *V-rb-, that would rather be the Indo-European root, situated on a stronger position than the Semitic one, which seems to be tributary to the first. Someone could say that even if a very old connection between the PIE *orbh- and the Semitic ereb could be seen, the Phoenicians would still be the ones who gave to the Greeks the term Ερεβος. In the light of the above information, I doubt that, because since Ερεβος meant "place of nether darkness", it clearly shows nothing else than another occurrence of the PIE *orbh-, because "a place of darkness" is nothing else than "a place deprived of the light of the eyes". Thus, Ερεβος is a place dominated by orbus luminae oculorum, "darkness". Other developments of the PIE *orbh- in Latin are geometrical and astronomical: orbis "sphere, globe, something spherical or circular" (see, the eye sockets, the orbits of the planets etc.), and orbita "wheel track, rut". From all these it results that Ερεβος is only the Greek variant of an Indo-European word for "West" and many astronomical, geometrical and light-related meanings. If the Semitic ereb was connected to the mentioned Indo-European root, the term could have penetrated the Semitic world from the western people, the Indo-Europeans much earlier than the contact between the Phoenicians with the Greeks. Or, if the two terms had a common origin, it could open some discussions for the supporters of the Nostratic and other similar theories.[47] However, the name Εὐρώπη is only apparently close in form to the completely Indo-European Ερεβος, but without any etymological connection. The Greek letter Υ in ΕΥΡΩΠΗ stands in a very complex relation to the labial sounds it represents (/b/, /v/, /w/, /u/) to be so easily dismissed. This is why J. & T. Baunack were on a better way in presenting an Indo-European origin for Εὐρώπη.

The Greek word Εὐρώπη is clearly composed of two elements, both of a significant circulation among the Greeks, the Thracians and all the other Indo-European peoples: εὐρ- and ὤπη. As we saw, J. & T. Baunack gave for εὐρ(υ)- "wide, large", and for ὤπη the Sanskrit *âp-, "water", which means the PIE *h₂ep-. Under εὐρ-, however, we can also see the Indo-European hydronym *n̥bh(ro/ri)- > *ab(h)ro/ri-. Both explanations have their plausibility. In either case, we have an augmentation of the idea of water, leading us to a definition of the 'sea'. The Proto-Indo-European had not a proper word for "sea", but there were added only ulterior adaptations.[48] When they arrived on the Aegean shores, the Indo-Europeans defined

---

[47] Cf. Dennis, 2002, 85-96.

[48] Mallory & Adams, 1997, 503: "The precise semantic field of *mōri has long been regarded as diagnostic for locating the IE homeland. (...) This inland orientation was further supported by the fact that those peoples actually living adjacent to an open sea (e.g., the Greeks, the Germans and the Indo-Aryans) had borrowed words for the body of water from non-IE sources, e.g., Grk θάλαττα 'sea', OE sæ 'sea' (> NE sea), Goth saiws 'sea'. All of this suggested that the primary meaning had been some form of 'standing water', preferably an inland lake or sea, and the meaning '(salt water) sea' was secondary." Cf. id., 2006, 127. Kretschmer, 1896, 65: the name *mori was first applied to the Black Sea with the meaning of "sea". Cf. Udolf, 2010, 262: *mar- with suffixes, in Old Germanic: *-indr-, *-isa-, "Merseburg ... auf Marisa". See Marisia (Mureș) in Transylvania, and Maritza (Hebros).

that impressive stretch of water "wide / large water(s)" or "tumult of water(s)". Paying careful attention, the final is ὠπη, and not ὠπ-ς, and therefore it should rather be connected to the rich Indo-European vocabulary resulted from the PIE *h_2ep-, then to the notion of *face*, even if this, too, could suggest, metaphorically, a surface, and thus a surface of water. A final argument for the etymology given to Europe as "large (surface) / tumult of water", with the PIE *h_2eP- as the origin of the second element in the word is the fact that the Indo-European invaders were called by the Egyptians the "Sea Peoples".

The attacks of the "Sea Peoples" were recorded from some of their attacks in the Nile Delta and upon the Hittites in the time of Ramesses II (13th century BC). The famous inscription of Karnak and other records describe the events in the fifth year of of Merenptah (late 13th century BC), when the "Sea Peoples" invaded Libya, in May, and then the Delta, and were defeated at the end of June.[49] Ramses III (early 12th century BC) rejected, in numerous occasions, the attacks of the Asian peoples, as well as of the "Sea Peoples".[50] The name of "Sea Peoples" is given to the invaders that attacked Egypt mainly from the Aegean archipelago and shores. They are connected to the Aegean-Mediterranean Sea by the Egyptian reference ("of the sea"[51]) and, in some of the cases, the Egyptian narration mention that they live the isles ("of the isles" - Denyen)[52] or their countries are on the sea ("of the countries of the sea" – Ekwesh, Shekelesh, Sherden). Among them, they are considered: Denyen-Dai̯ni̯w (*d3jnjw* /) – Danaoi, Ekwesh-Akawaša (*jḵ3w3š3* / '-ḵ'-y-w'-š') - Achaaeans, Lukki-Ruku (*row*) - Lycians, Peleset (*prwsṯ*) - Philistines, Shekelesh-Šakaruša (*š3krš3* / š'-k'-rw-š') – Siculi, Sherden-Šardan (*š3rdn* / š'-r'-d-n-n') - Sardinians, Teresh-Tur(u)ša (*twrš3* / tw-rw-š') - Thyrrenians/Etruscans, Tjeker (*ṯ3k3r*), and Weshesh (*w3š3š3*).[53]

The Egyptian expression translates as "peoples of Europe", as the Indo-Europeans occupied the Aegean Sea, meaning its archipelago and its coasts! To all these, maybe it would

---

[49] Lalouette, 1987, 10-29.

[50] Posener et alii, 1970, 244. Lalouette, 1987, 42-68.

[51] Breasted, 1906, vol. IV, §129, 75, §403, 201.

[52] Expression "in their isles": Breasted, 1906, Vol. IV, §403, 201.

[53] Expression "of the countries of the sea": Breasted, 1906, Vol. III, §588, pp. 248-250 (*List of Captives and Slain* - from the time of Merneptah), §601, p. 255. Ibid., Vol. III, §306, 309, p. 136, 138: relevant list of the peoples in Asia Minor, such as: Kheta (ḫt') - Hittites, Pedes (py-d'-s'), Derden (d'-r-d-ny) - Dardanians, Mesa (m's') - Mysians, Kelekesh (ḵ'-r'-ky-š'') - Cylicians, Luka (rw-k') - Lycians. *Ibid.*, §60, p. 34: "the Thekel, who may be the Sikeli, later of Sicily; the Shekelesh, the Denyen or Danaoi, and the Weshwesh (§64, l. 18), who are of uncertain origin.". *Ibid.*, §64, pp. 37-38 – *Northern invasion of Syria*: "The countries - -, the [Northerners] in their isles were disturbed, taken away in the [fray] - at one time. Not one stood before their hands, from Kheta (Ḫt'), Kode (Ḵdy), Carchemish (K-r'-k'-m-š'), Arvad ('-r'-tw), Alasa ('-r'-s'), they were wasted. [The]y [set up] a camp in one place in Amor ('-m-r'). They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward to Egypt. Their main support was Peleset (Pw-r'-s'-t), Thekel (Ṯ'-k-k'-r'), Shekelesh (Š'-k-rw-š'), Denyen (D'-y-n-yw, sic !), and Weshesh (W'-š'-š'). (These) lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the *Circle of the Earth*. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans.". Cf. Lalouette, 1987, 10 sqq.

not be without any consequence the fact that the most important river of Europe, as first defined, in the first occurrence of the word (above), was *Hebros*. The formation of Europe is similar to that of *Rhodope* (cf. "Lith. *Rùd-upé* ... Lith. *rùdas* 'brown, reddish, dark yellow' ... and Latv. *ùpe* 'flow', Latv. *upe* 'id.'"[54]), but with a different modifier before -*ope* (< PIE *h_2eP-). In this case, the first part of the word Europe was either a result of the PIE *$ṇbhro$-, or that of ευρ- "large". In the Homeric hymn to Apollo, Europe did not include the archipelago or the Peloponnesus, but it designated "the land placed north of the Corinthian Gulf".[55]

*

The Proto-Indo-European radical *h_2eP-/*ab-/*ap- meant "water".[56] Other PIE radical had the shape *abh-/*hebh-, meaning "strong, mighty, direct, abrupt, brutal, quick". To this we must add the PIE *$ṇbh$-, meaning "fog, cloud". All the three radicals developed in many Indo-European languages, giving many words, on both semantic paths that were just mentioned. They all allowed a productive suffixation wit –r (*abhro-, *hebhro- etc.). Thus, there was a PIE root *abhro-/*hebhro- for "strong, mighty".[57] Such a complicated paronymy gave some mixed-up results.[58] The PIE *$ṇbh$- with –r gave *$ṇbh(ro/ri)$- (or *$ṃbhro$-)[59]. This PIE root designated the rain, the falling water in some IE languages: "Lat *imber* 'shower', Skt *abhrá*- 'rain-cloud', and probably Grk *ómbros* 'rain', Toch B *epper* 'sky'".[60] This root is responsible for the apparition of some hydronyms in *ab(h)r-*/*ebr-*, which abound in the Thraco-Dacian area, and can be easily spotted elsewhere in the Indo-European context.

The PIE *$ṇbhro$- itself came, as shown, from the the PIE *$ṇbh$- "fog, cloud". The PIE *$ṇbh$- (at Pokorny: *enebh-, *nebh-, *embh-, *$ṃbh$-) gave: Skt. *nábhas* "fog, sky", *ambhas* "rain water", *ambu*- "water", Gk. νέφος, -ους "cloud, fog", Lacedaemonian ὀμφά "odor", Arcadian εὔομφος "fragrant", OIr. *nem* "moisten, humidity", NIr. *neamh*, Wales, Cornish *nef* "sky", Hitt *ne-pi-iš* (*nebis*) "sky", Arm. *amb* / *amp* "cloud", Lat. *nimbus* "downpour". The PIE *$ṇbh$- was also very productive with a liquid (*-l, -r*) as a suffix. It gave with –*l*: OHG *nebul* "fog", OS *nifol* < Germ. *nebulaz*, Skt. *nabhanu*- "spring", Av. *aiwi- naptīm asti* "he stained (moistened) with blood", *napta* "to moisten" (< *nab-ta), NPers. *neft*, *Naphta*, Lat. *Neptūnus* "the god of the springs, rivers, and thus of the seas" (< *nebh-tu-s), Scyth. river name *Naparis*,[61] OPers. spring name *Νάπας* "rooted in Iranian *apa* "water, spring"".[62] And with -*r* (*$ṇbhro/ri$-): Lat. *imber* "shower", Skt. *abhrá*- "rain-cloud", and probably Gk. ἀφρός "foam",

---

[54] Duridanov, 1985, 41.

[55] Ion Acsan, Note 84, in Homer, 1998, 222.

[56] Pokorny, I, 1959, 1; cf. Lesenciuc & Nagy, 2013, 240-241.

[57] Pokorny, I, 1959, 2.

[58] Pokorny, Vol. I, 1959, 2, 316. Lubotsky, 2007, 4, 6.

[59] W. B. Henning (*Memorial Volume*, 1970), *Indisch-Iranische Apellativa und alteuropäische Gewässernamen*, in Schmid, 1994, 150.

[60] Mallory-Adams, 2006, 126.

[61] The series in this paragraph from Pokorny, vol. 1, 1959, 315-316.

[62] Pokorny, vol. 1, 1959, 316.

ὄμβρος "rain", Toch. B *epper* "sky", Gaul., It. *Ambrā* etc.[63] Considering the Scythian *Naparis* from the root **n̥bh-l-*, while the Old Persan *Napas* from the Iranian *apa*[64], shows an inconsistency. However, it is not hard to conceive that the PIE roots **n̥bh-* and **h₂eP-* (the second one, giving Iran *apa*, as defined after the laryngeal theory was proven) would have had a common origin. After all, the nasal *-n̥-* is just another vowel which developed, most probable, after the laryngeal was lost.

Some said the root **h₂eP-/*ab-/*ap-* was taken by the early Indo-Europeans from the populations that lived before them in Europe, named Pelasgians, understood as Pre-Greeks.[65] Some treat it as an independent Proto-Indo-European root,[66] while others consider it developed from PIE **h₃ekʷehₐ-* "water": "From Root *akʷā-* (more probably *ekʷā-*) *ēkʷ-*: "water, river" [through the shift *-gʷ- > -b-*, *-kʷ- > -p-*, attested in Greek, Illyrian and Celtic languages] derived Root **ab-* "water, river" and Root **āp-2* "water, river"." [67] Although **apa < *akᵘa* (Germ. **ahwō- ...*) was supported by many, it was also rejected by others, on phonological reasons.[68]

The radical **ab-/*ap-/*h₂eP-*, "water, river", gave: Latin *amnis* "late" *< *abnis*, Old Irish *ab* gen. *abae* "river", Celtic *ambe* "river" ("*inter ambes* 'inter rivos' ... Skr. *ámbhas* 'water'")[69], Middle Irish *abac* "beaver, dwarf", Welsh *afon, afanc* "beaver, water demon" (*< *abo-n-/*hebō*), Breton *auon*, Gaul. Brit. *Abona*, Swiss French *avañ* "pasture", English *Avon*, Veneto-Illyrian **ab-*, Celtic *abbanos* "monkey" (*< *abo-n-/*hebō-*)[70], Old High German *–apa, –affa*; German *Affe* "water demon", *apa, ape, ap(h)us* "water, flow, spring"[71] *Asnapia* & var.[72], English *ape* "water demon" (*< *abo-n-/*hebō-*), Old Prusian *ape* "river", Thraco-Dacian river names (and different place names from river names) *Apos, Aba, Abantes, Apo*[73], *Burd-apa* (or *Burd-opes - Βούρδ-ωπες*), *Cal-abaeus, Ostaphos*[74], *Rhodope*[75], *Zald-apa* or *Σαλδαπα*. The root was very productive throughout the Indo-European communities, as seen above, in Europe, but also in Asian Indo-European languages: Hittite *hāpa-* "river", Avestan *āfs* "water",

---

[63] Pokorny, vol. 1, 1959, 316. Orel, 2000, 42. Mallory-Adams, 2006, 126.

[64] Pokorny, vol. 1, 1959, 316: following in this case Brandenstein, OLZ 1940, 435 ff.

[65] Beekes, 2014, 1-3. Duridanov, 1985, 30-31. Paliga, 2006, 26.

[66] Mallory & Adams, 2006, 126.

[67] Lubotsky, 2007, 8.

[68] Cf. Dittmaier, 1955, 53. Udolf, 2010, 256, 261.

[69] Kretschmer, 1896, 135.

[70] Lubotsky, 2007, 7: mistakenly wrote in Greek ἀβράνος.

[71] Duridanov, 1985, 74.

[72] Dittmaier, 1955, 17. Huisman, Van Laere, 1991, 96.

[73] River Caraş, Romania, for Pârvan, 1982, 158, who thought it might have been a loan from Iranian: id., 379, 430.

[74] Duridanov, 1985, 37: Ptol., *ost* "Lit. *Uostas, Ustas* 'sea', Latv. FlN *Uost-upe, Oost-up* (...), from Lit. *uostas, uostd* 'Flußmtindung, Hafen', ... Latv. *uosts, uosta* 'dass.', ... Lat. *ostium* 'Eingang, Flußmtindung'." ... *ape* "river".

[75] *Duridanov, 1985,* 41: Herod., Thuc., Verg., Plin., *Rhodopa* Theokr., "Lith. FlN *Rùd-upé, Rūd-upé*, Latv. FlN *Rud-upe*... - all from Lith. *rùdas* 'brown, reddish, dark yellow' ... and Latv. *ùpe* 'flow', Latv. *upe* 'id.'".

Sanskrit *āp-* "water", Tocharian A and B *āp* "water, river". The root was preserved in many modern European words, such as: Romanian *Abud / Abod*[76], *Abuş*[77], *Apa*[78], *Apaţa*[79], Lithuanian *ùpe* "river", Latvian *Abava* etc.[80]

Since the root **ap-/*ap-/*h₂eP-* "water, river" is so widely spread in the Indo-European languages, seconding closely the main root for "water", **wodr̥-*, from western European to Baltic, Balkan and Indo-Iranian peoples, a Proto-Indo-European origin of both these roots is the most plausible. Again, giving the large spread of the root **ap-/*ap-/*h₂eP-* "water, river", a local shift *-Kʷ- > -P-* is either excluded, or it could occur only while the contact between most of the Indo-European tribes was still possible. We should also notice that the PIE root **h_aekʷeh_a-* "water" is characteristic to the north-western area of the Indo-Europeans (Europe and Anatolia),[81] while the PIE root **h₂eP-* "living water" is more universally represented.[82] The forms derived from **h₂eP-* were also connected, semantically, to mythological concepts, for the spirits of the waters.

The Romanian word *apă* is explained by the Latin *aqua*. The changes from Latin *-qu-* to Romanian *-p-* are documented for many cases, like *quattuor > patru*. However, the Romanian word has an identical form in Thraco-Dacian, and identical or similar forms were used, since the prehistoric to modern times, by all the surrounding peoples. The Romanian form *apă* resulted from a very peculiar circumstance, the usual shift *-qu- > -p-* and the instability in the spelling of the Latin words after the classical period making the Latin *aqua* meet the form that was already used in Thraco-Dacian. A Thraco-Dacian **apə* might have influenced the transformation of the Latin *aqua* into the Romanian *apă*.

Strange enough, a similar evolution, and maybe influence from the autochthonous tongue, could be observed for the Romanian *soare*, for which, the sonorant liquid is present in many Iranian forms, and it also appeared in some Romance languages. The PIE **séh_a-ul-* / **séh₂u-l-* / **séh₂u-en-* gave: W. *haul*, Lat. *sōl*, OHG *sunne* (+ *-en*), OIs. OE *sōl* > NE *sun*, Goth. *sauil*, *sunnō* (+ *-en*), Lith. *saule*, Latv. *saūle*, OCS *slьnьce* > Russ. *sólnce*, Gk. ἠἐλιος, Av. *hvara* (= *huar*), Skt./OInd. *svàr* (= *súar*), gen. sg. *sū́ras*, dat. sg. *sūré – sū́r(y)a-*, OIr. *sūil*, Ir. *sul*, Britt. *sol*.[83] The striking similarity between the Romanian form *soare* and the Old Iranian, Av. *hvara* (= *huar*), Skt./OInd. *svàr* (= *súar*), is noticeable. Such shapes, with a

---

[76] Paliga, 2006, 26: NL, (MS).

[77] Paliga, 2006, 27: "NL (MS), At.: 1361: *Obus-falva*; 1433: *Abus-falva*".

[78] Paliga, 2006, 32: "NL (SM) At. 1215 – *villa Apa*; 1414 – *Appafalva*. Does not seem derived from apă < Lat. aqua, but rather related with substratum elements with root ap-".

[79] Paliga, 2006, 26, 32.

[80] For all the occurrences in the paragraph: Pokorny, 1959, I, 1. Pârvan, 1982, 158 (270), 379 (672), 430 (751). Duridanov, 1985, 37, 41, 74. Mallory & Adams, 1997, 636. Id., 2006, 126. Paliga, 2006, 26-27, 32. Lubotsky, 2007, 7-8. Dimitrov, 2009, 125. Greule, 2014, 39. Wilhelm Brandenstein, *Neues zum apa-Problem*, in Schmid, 1994, 141-142. Dittmaier, 1955, 15, 54. Hartig, Müller, 1968, 102-107. Müller, 1986, 15.

[81] Mallory & Adams, 2006, 127, 485.

[82] Mallory & Adams, 2006, 126, 482.

[83] Pokorny, 1959, p. 881. Mallory & Adams, 1997, p. 556. Mallory & Adams, 2006, p. 128. Ernout & Meillet, 2001, p. 632. De Vaan, 2008, 570.

sonorant liquid, preceded by a long vowel *ū*, two vowels or the diphthong *u̯a*, could also be found in some Romansh dialects, like the Ladin *surëdl*, and the Friulian *soreli* (Vulgar Latin **soliclus < *soliculus*), as well as in all the Romanian dialects, including, Istro-Romanian *sore*, and the Aromanian *soari*.

3. The Basque *ibar* and a possible connection

T he Basque language is not Indo-European, but an isolated language , to which many scholars tried to find connections with other languages: "The one genetic connection that has been established beyond reasonable doubt is that between Basque and the ancient Aquitanian language. (...) the hypothesis of a genetic link between Basque and (some of) the languages of the Caucasus is the one which has generated the greatest amount of research. (...) For the time being, we must continue to consider Basque an isolated language, without known relatives other than Aquitanian".[84] The basic vocabulary of the Basque is not Indo-European. The ancestors of the modern Basques were once spread on a larger area in the Iberian Peninsula and southern France.[85] Although the Basque is not Indo-European, some of its words can be discussed as having a common origin with words in some Indo-European languages, either because of the Indo-European loans in Basque, or due to a Pre-Indo-European origin of the compared words in each analyzed instance. On one hand, the Basque language imported Indo-European words from the prehistoric beginnings of the cohabitation of the two cultures, during the Roman domination, and up to the modern times.[86] On the other hand, the Indo-Europeans encountered, when they spread throughout Europe, several preceding populations (like the ancestors of the modern Basques and the Pre-Greek populations), from whom they borrowed words that, eventually, evolved and become their own.

Eventually, the Indo-European presence overwhelmed the languages of the older population to the situation that the non-Indo-European traces are very hard to be detected. Some scholars dedicated themselves to find such substratum traces, while other authors are very cautious about the chances of success in such enterprise. This is also the case of the collective dedicated to the study of Basque, led by R. L. Trask. About the situation of the surviving non-Indo-European occurrences in the Indo-European languages, he wrote: "Europe has been inhabited for tens of thousands of years before the arrival of the Indo-European languages, and there is no doubt that these languages obliterated a number of earlier languages spoken throughout the continent. With only a few scanty exceptions here and there, we have no direct evidence of these earlier languages, but we do perhaps have some indirect evidence. Linguists have long suspected that the vocabulary, the grammatical features and even the phonological developments characteristic of particular Indo-European languages might reflect the influence of speakers of the indigenous population upon whom

---

[84] Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 1.
[85] Joaquín Gorrochategui, *Basque and its Neighbors in Antiquity*, in Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 57.
[86] Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 57. Luis Michelena, *The Latin and Romance Element in Basque*, in Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 137 sqq. R. L. Trask, *Origins and Relatives of Basque*, 76.

the Indo-European speech was imposed. (...) Such 'substrate' theories have proved to be of enduring popularity, even though our almost total lack of information about the nature of the pre-IE languages necessarily renders substrate theories little better than sheer speculation in most cases."[87] He advocates that the Indo-Europeans didn't find a linguistic homogeneity, but on the contrary, diverse and dispersed populations, some with related languages and some not.[88] Sihler, referring to an even smaller group of pre-IE populations, like those inhabiting the territories where the Greek tribes arrived, wrote that they were "far from being homogeneous".[89] Beekes, even if he considers Pre-Greek as a unitary language with some dialects, he concedes that even in the southern Balkan Peninsula this better understood Old European (non-Indo-European) language must have cohabitated with others of that category, much more obscure and diverse.[90]

The attempt to solve IE etymologies more or less inclined to connect it to Pre-IE solutions depends much on the academic school of thinking. I mentioned in this paper several such opportunities to connect the debated etymologies with the Pre-IE background, as several authors consider. However, I will not endeavor to solve such a dispute here, but I will only try to make a tentative proposal of a possible etymological connection, leading to an IE root already mentioned several times in this article. The discussion about the relationship of this root to possible Pre-IE influences would need more research and it was, in fact, already approached by others.[91]

Although considerable attempts were made, few Basque words were better connected to some peculiar words in the European languages, such as Basque *adar* – Old Irish *adarc*, both "horn", and Basque *gorosti* – Sardinian *golóstru*.[92] The early Indo-European loans in Basque are scarce, but possible.[93]

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

The Basque has two forms of interest here that are close in form and meaning: *ibar*, "valley, watered meadow"[94] and *ibai*, "river"[95]. The Basque *ibar* is seen among some collective words, using a suffix: "*-ar* Hypothetical NFS with a collective sense."[96] The word *ibar* seems to be the origin for another Basque word: "*ipar* (...), *iphar* (...), *ifar* (...) *n.* 'north', 'north wind', ... (particularly among fishermen) 'east', 'east wind'. ... Obscure. (...) suggests a variant of *ibar* 'valley', (...) resulting from a combination along the lines of **ibar-haize* 'valley wind' > 'north wind' (+ *haize* 'wind'), parallel to Rom. formations like Fr. *vent d'aval*."[97] The

---

[87] R. L. Trask, *Origins and Relatives of Basque*, in Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 68.

[88] R. L. Trask, *Origins and Relatives of Basque*, in Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 69.

[89] Sihler, 1995, 8.

[90] Beekes, 2014, 45-46. Cf. id., 2003.

[91] Paliga, 2006, 26, 112, 244, 271, 321, 340..

[92] R. L. Trask, 1995, 70.

[93] R. L. Trask, 1995, 73 sqq.

[94] Trask, 2008, 19, 100, 217, 226, 357, 388, 389, 393.

[95] Trask, 2008, 217, 357, 388, 393.

[96] Trask, 2008, 100; id., 217.

[97] Trask, 2008, 226.

comparison between *ibar* and *ipar* in Basque get these words even closer to the original meaning, showing a connection between water and wind – sublimated water, boiling water, atmospheric water, active water.

The Basque word *ibar* has many derivates, and forms many composite words. The name of the town Eibar[98] might be close. Here it is an instance of a folk line using the word *ibar*: "*Andozeko ibarra, ala ibar luzea!* – Andoz.REL valley *ala* valley long.DET – 'the Andoze valley, what a long valley!' [Folk song]".[99]

However, the Basque word *ibar* was linked with old water names. The river *Ebro* (Basque, Spanish; Catalan Ebre; Greek *Εβρος, Ιβηρ*; Latin *Hiber, Ibēr, Iberus Flumen*) was mentioned by Ptolemaeus (II 8, 9), springing from the Cantabrian Mountains, crossing the Basque Country, and flowing into the Mediterranean Sea. The entire hydrographic basin of the *Ebro* was dominated by the Basque speaking people the Middle Ages.[100] We should notice that while *ibar* and *ibai* have the above mentioned meaning, the Basque word for "vapor" is *(l)urrin.*[101]

The Greek name of the population in the Iberian Peninsula was *Ibēres*, and the ulterior, Latin one, was *Hibēri / Ibēri*, and of the province *Ibēria*, names that are clearly close to that of the river Ebro,[102] without a sufficient explanation why the same ancient name was used for Georgia.

St. Isidore of Seville had often mistaken about his etymologies, but this one is correct: "The Spanish were first named *Iberians, after the river Iberus (i.e. the Ebro)*, but afterwards they were named Spaniards (Hispanus) after Hispalus (i.e. the legendary founder of Hispalis, Seville)."[103]

Enrique Cabrejas Iñesta considered that the name of the Spanish river *Ebro* comes either from the Indo-European root *εὐρυ- / εὐρε-*, "mighty, powerful", or that meaning "large" (see about *Europe*, above). He sees the connection with the river *Ebrus* (Marița) in Thrace. If *Ebro* in Spain would belong to hydronyms of *Hebros* in Thrace,[104] like Serbian *Ibar* (< *Ibr*), *Ibr* in Ukraine, *Ibru* in Romania, and others, it would follow this list to the root **ab-/*ap- /*h₂eP- (-r, -l)*, as described for the Balkan river names.

Some authors put the Basque *ibar* "valley" in connection with the same root **ap-* and some Celtic water and river names that were mentioned above (section 2): "Waliser benutzen "aber", Gälen dagegen "inver" für Fluß. Das "ber" und "ver" hat die gleiche Wurzel. (...) Es hat eine starke Ähnlichkeit mit baskisch "ibar" = Tal, Flußebene. Wegfall des P.

---

[98] Cf. Hualde, Urbina, 2003, 49, 177.

[99] Hualde, Urbina, 2003, 49, 569.

[100] Zuazo, Koldo, *The Basque Country and the Basque Language*, in Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 8. Joaquín Gorrochategui, *Basque and its Neighbors in Antiquity*, 30-36, 56-57

[101] Luis Michelena, *The Ancient Basque Consonants*, in Hualde *et alii*, 1995, 128.

[102] Westrem, 2001, 328; http://www.etymonline.com/.

[103] Isidore of Seville (IX.ii.109), 2006, 198, my highlight.

[104] Cabrejas, 2013. Id., 2015, 1-2. Id., 2017, 7. He sees Ebro coming from the Indo-European root *εὐρυ- / εὐρε-*, "mighty, powerful", or that meaning "large", although as a hydronym it should be rather connected to **ab(h)-r- / *ṇbh-ro-.*

Manche"[105] (= "Welsh use "aber", while the Gaels "inver" for *river*. The words "ber" and "ver" have the same root. (…) They have a strong similarity with the Baque "ibar" = valley, flood plain.") Other such explanation by the same author: "… Basque *ababuru* thus again referring to *aba* = "flow"".[106] Thus, if the Basque *ibar* would have come from the same root, **ab-/*ap-/*h₂eP-* (*-r, -l*), as the Romanian *abur* and the Albanian *avull*, they might have had a common origin. The Basque word adds to the root **ib-* (**ab-*) a suffix *–r*, either as a sign of the collective sense[107] (although Trask doubts there is a "plural suffix" *–ar* in Basque)[108], or rather as a suffix already inherited.[109]

<div align="center">*</div>

If we support such a hypothesis, the etymological tree of PIE **h₂eP-/*ap-/*ab-* – **n̥bh-(ro)-*, with the Romanian *abur* / Albanian *avull* / Basque *ibar*, would be as it follows:

PIE **h₂eP-* "water, spring, river" > **(h)āp- / *āb-* >

> Hittite *hāpa-* "river"

> Baltic **āpa-* > Lithuanian *ùpe*, Latvian *Abava*, Old Prusian *ape* "river"

> Thraco-Dacian **āpa-* > *Apos, Aba, Abantes, Apo, Burd-apa* (*Burd-opes*), *Calabaeus, Ostaphos, Rhodope, S/Zald-apa*, Romanian *Apa, Abud / Abod, Abuş, Apaţa*.

> Sanskrit *āp-* "water"

> Iranian **āpa-* "water, spring, river"

> Tocharian A and B *āp* "water, river"

> Celtic **abo-n-/*hebō-* > Old Irish *ab* gen. *abae* "river", Gaul. Brit. *Abona*, Breton *auon*, Swiss French *avañ* "pasture", English *Avon*

> Celtic *abbanos* "monkey", Middle Irish *abac* "beaver, dwarf", Welsh *afon, afanc* "beaver, water demon"

> Latin *amnis *abnis* > "late"

> Veneto-Illyrian **ab-*

> Old High German *–apa, –affa*, German *Affe* "water demon", *apa, ape, ap(h)us* "water, flow, spring", English *ape* "water demon"

> Greek / Thraco-Dacian > *Eur-ope*

PIE **h₂eP-* > PIE **n̥bh-* "fog, cloud" > Skt. *nábhas* "fog, sky", *ambhas* "rain water", *ambu-* "water", Gk. νέφος, -ους "cloud, fog", Lacedaemonian ὀμφά "odor", Arcadian εὔομφος "fragrant", OIr. *nem* "moisten, humidity", NIr. *neamh*, Wales, Cornish *nef* "sky", Hitt. *ne-pi-iš* (*nebis*) "sky", Arm. *amb / amp* "cloud", Lat. *nimbus* "downpour"

> PIE **n̥bh-(lo)-* > OHG *nebul* "fog", OS *nifol* < Germ. **nebulaz*, Skt. *nabhanu-* "spring", Av. *aiwi- naptīm asti* "he stained (moistened) with blood", *napta* "to moisten" (< **nab-ta*), NPers. *neft, Naphta*, Lat. *Neptūnus* "the god of the springs, rivers, and thus of the seas" (< **nebh-tu-s*), Scyth river name *Naparis*, OPers. spring name Νάπας, Dacian *Napoca*

[105] Hunold, 2011, 10.

[106] Hunold, 2011, 189.

[107] Trask, 2008, 100, 217.

[108] Trask, 1995, 84.

[109] Cf. Pokorny, I, 1959, 1: **ab-* with suffixes.

> PIE *n̥bh-(ro)- > *abhro- / *(h)ebhro- >
> Germanic > *Ebrach* and several *Eberbach* in Germany
> Celtic *ābr(o)- > Gaul., It. *Ambrā, Ebro* in Spain, *Irwell* in Great Britain
> ? Basque *ibar* "river, stream"
> Lat. *imber* "shower"
> Skt. *abhrá-* "rain-cloud"
> Thraco-Dacian *ābr(o)-* "river, moving water"> *Abruttus* (Abrud, city in Romania), *Αβρυτος* (Abtat, city in Bulgaria), *Αβρεττηνή* (region in Mysia), *Hebros* (river in Thrace), Serbian river *Ibar* (< *Ibr*), Bulgarian river *Obr* (< *Ibr*), river *Ibr* in Ukraine, river *Ibru* in Romania
> Romanian *abur* "steam"
> Albanian *avull* "steam"
> Greek / Thraco-Dacian > ? *Eur*-ope
> Gk. ? *ἀφρός* "foam", *ὄμβρος* "rain"
> Toch. B *epper* "sky".

Bibliography

Appian. *The Foreign Wars*. Ed. L. Mendelssohn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1879.

Appian. *The Foreign Wars*. Horace White, English edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899.

Bagnall, Roger S., Peter Derow (eds.). *The Hellenistic Period Historical Sources in Translation*. First published, 1981. Blackwell Publishing, 2004. (Published Online: 13 Dec. 2007.)

Baunack, Johannes, Theodor Baunack. *Studien auf dem Gebeite des griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*, Band I. Leipzig: Verlag von V. Hirzel, 1886.

Barnea, Alexandru, Mihai Ionescu, Robert Constantin. "Abrud" (Adamclisi). In: Angelescu, Mircea Victor, Vasilescu, Florela (eds.), *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România – campania 2006*, Institutul de Memorie Culturală, Bucharest, 2007, 27-28.

Beekes, R. S. P. *Pre-Greek. A Language Reconstructed*. Second version. November, 2003.

Beekes, Robert S. P. *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics. An introduction*. Ed. Michiel de Vaan. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011.

Beekes, Robert S. P. *Pre-Greek. Phonology, Morphology, Lexicon*. Series: "Brill Introductions to Indo-European Languages". Volume 2. Brill, 2014.

Boshnakov, Konstantin. "Abrupolis, King of the Thracian Sapaioi / Sapaeans". In: Coskun, Altay (coord.), Sheila L. Ager, Alexandru Avram, Konstantin Boshnakov *et alii*, *Amici Populi Romani. Prosopography of the Foreign Friends of Rome* (APR), No. 04, 30.04.2012. Ontario: University of Trier, University of Waterloo, 2012. At: http://www.amicipopuliromani.com/tiki-index.php?page=Abrupolis – "APR. Amici Populi Romani. Prosopography of the Foreign Friends of Rome". The same at: http://web.uam.es/departamentos/filoyletras/hantymed/hantigua/publicaciones/Viria tus_waterloo.pdf.

Breasted, J. H. *Ancient Records of Egypt: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906.

Cabrejas Iñesta, Enrique. *Karuo - el secreto Íbero*. Enero, 2013, ISBN978-84-9030-665-9, Colección Investigación. Editorial Círculo Rojo, Almeria, Depósito Legal A 1185-2012, 2012. Cf. id., *Ebro River*, 2013, https://www.academia.edu/2971384/Ebro_river.

Cabrejas Iñesta, Enrique. "EBRO. Origen etimológico fijado por Enrique Cabrejas". In: *ResearchGate*, November, 2015, pp. 1-6, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283547686_EBRO_Origen_etimologico_fi jado_por_Enrique_Cabrejas.

Cabrejas Iñesta, Enrique. "El significado de los ríos españoles (Los 4 grandes ríos: Duero, Ebro, Guadiana, Tajo)". In *ResearchGate*, June, 2017, pp. 1-11, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Enrique_Cabrejas.

Castleden, Rodney. *The Mycenaeans*. Routledge, 2012.

Ciorănescu, Alexandru. *Dicționarul etimologic român*, Tenerife: Universidad de Laguna, 1958-1966.

Daicoviciu, C., "Neue Mitteilungen aus Dazien". In: *Dacia*, No. 7-8, Bucharest, 1941, 298-336.

Daniel, Constantin (editor), Athanase Negoiţă (translator). *Gîndirea hittită în texte*. Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1986.

Dennis, John D. "Super-Families. From Indo-European to Nostratic". In: *Bulletin of Hokuriku University*, vol. 26, 2002.

De Vaan, Michiel. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*. "Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series". Edited by Aleksander Lubotsky. Volume 7, Leiden-Boston, 2008.

Dimitrov, Peter A. *Thracian Language and Greek and Thracian Epigraphy*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.

Dittmaier, Heinrich. *Das Apa-Problem. Untersuchung eines westeuropäischen Flussnamentypus*. Bibliotheca Onomastica, No. 1. Louvain (Belgium): International Centre of Onomastics, 1955.

Duridanov, Ivan. *Die Sprache der Thraker*. Neuried: Hieronymus Verlag, 1985.

Duridanov, Ivan. *Thrakische und dakische Namen*. (VIII. *Historische Entwicklung der Namen*.) In: Ernst Eichler, Gerold Hilty, Heinrich Löffler, Hugo Steger, and Ladislav Zgusta (editors), "Namenforschung / Name Studies / Les noms propres – Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik / Aп International Handbook of Onomastics / Manuel international d'onomastique", Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 1995.

Ellis, L., P. Foschi. "Hydroarchaeology program and surveying results using high resolution satellite imagery in the territorium of Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi, SE Romania)". In: Angelescu, Mircea Victor, Vasilescu, Florela (eds.), *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România – campania 2005*, Institutul de Memorie Culturală, Bucharest, 2006, pp. 38-41.

Ernout, Alfred, Antoine Meillet. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. 4^{rne} edition, Troisieme tirage. Paris: Jacques Andre, Klincksieck, 2001.

Georgiev. *Траките и техния език*. София (Sofia): БАН, 1977.

Greule, Albrecht. *Deutsches Gewässernamenbuch. Etymologie der Gewässernamen und derzugehörigen Gebiets-, Siedlungs- und Flurnamen*. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014.

Harrison, Henry. *Surnames of the United Kingdom: A Concise Etymological Dictionary*. Genealogical Publishing Com., 2013.

Hartig, Joachim, Gunter Müller. "Namenkunde" (Literaturchronik). In: William Foerste, Dietrich Hofmann (eds.), *Kleine Beitrage zur niederdeutschen Mundartund Namenkunde*, Band 8, Heft 1/2, Verlag Aschendorff, Münster, 1968, 32-112.

Homer. *Imnuri*. Bilingual edition, ed. Ion Acsan. Bucharest: Teora, 1998.

Hualde, José Ignacio, Joseba A. Lakarra, R. L. Trask (editors). "Towards a History of the Basque Language". In: *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, Series, No. 131. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Companies, 1995.

Hualde, Jose Ignacio, Jon Ortiz de Urbina (editors). *A Grammar of Basque*. In: Georg Bossong, Bernard Comrie, Matthew Dryer (eds.), "Mouton Grammar Library", No. 26. Berlin, New York: Mouton - de Gruyter, 2003.

Huisman, J. A., R. Van Laere. "L'atelier monétaire mérovingien d'Asenappio". In: Paul Naster, Maurice Colaert, Tony Hackens, Luc Smülderen (eds.), *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie*, Bruxelles, No. 9, 1991.

Isidore, of Seville. *The Etymologies*. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof (eds.), collab. Muriel Hall. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Klein, Dr. Ernest. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1971.

Kretschmer, Paul. *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896.

Kortlandt, Frederik. *The Spread of the Indo-Europeans*, 1989 (© Frederik Kortlandt). At: http://www.kortlandt.nl/publications/art111e.pdf.

Lalouette, Claire. *Civilizaţia Egiptului antic*. In 2 vols., transl. Maria Breza. Bucharest: Ed. Meridiane, 1987. French edition: *L'empire des Ramsès*, Fayard, 1985.

Lewy, Heinrich. *Die semitischen Fremwörter im Griechischen*. Berlin: R. Gaertners, 1895.

Livi, Titi. *Ab urbe condita libri*. Recognovit Wilhelm Weissenborn, Pars VI, Fragmenta, Index, Titus Livius. Leipzig: W. Weissenborn, Teubner, 1892.

Livi, Titi. *Ab urbe condita libri*. Editionem priman curavit Guilelmus Weissenborn editio altera auam curavit Mauritius Mueller Pars IV, Libri XLI-CXLII Fragmenta, Index Titus Livius. Leipzig: W. Weissenborn, H. J. Müller, Teubner, 1911.

Livy. *History of Rome by Titus Livius*. William A. McDevitte (editor). London: Henry G. Bohn, John Child and Son, Printers, Bungay, York Street, Covent Garden, 1850.

Livy. *Ab urbe condita*. Berlin: W. Weissenborn, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1876.

Livy. *History of Rome*. English Translation by. Rev. Canon Roberts. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1912.

Livy. *History of Rome, Books XL-XLII, With An English Translation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1938.

Lubotsky, A. *Proto-Indo-European Etymological Dictionary*. Moscow: George Starostin, 2007.

Mallory, J. P., Douglas Q. Adams. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. Taylor & Francis (Eds.), 1997.

Mallory, J. P., D. Q. Adams. *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*. New York: The Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006.

Müller, Gunter. "Ortsnamenforschung in Westfalen". In: Karl Teppe, Karl Heinz Kirchhoff (eds.), *Westfalische Forschungen*, 36 Band, Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Wien 1986.

Muşu, Gheorghe. *Lumini din depărtări*. Bucharest: Ed. Ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1981.

Orel, Vladimir. *A concise historical grammar of the Albanian language: Reconstruction of Proto-Albanian*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000.

Paliga, Sorin. *Etymological Lexicon of the Indigenous (Thracian) Elements in Romanian*, Bucharest: Ed. Evenimentul, 2006.

Paliga, Sorin. "20 de ani de etimologie: 1989-2009". In *Romanoslavica*, vol. XLVI, nr. 1, Editura Universității din București, 2010, pp. 185-197.

Pausanias. *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*. 3 vols., in Greek, Teubner, Leipzig, 1903.

Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. With an English Translation by W. H. S. Jones, and H.A. Ormerod. In 4 Volumes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1918.

Pârvan, Vasile. *Getica*. Edited by Radu Florescu. Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1982. Princeps edition: Cultura Națională, Bucharest, 1926. (Pages of the princeps edition quoted in parantheses.)

Pokorny, Julius. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Band 1-3. Bern und München: Francke Verlag, 1959.

Polybius. *Historiae*. Edited by Theodorus Büttner-Wobst, in Greek, after L. Dindorf. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893-.

Polybius. *Histories*. Edited by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, translated in English.. London, New York: Bloomington, 1962. (Reprint of Macmillan, 1889.)

Popescu, Dorin. "Cercetări arheologice în Transilvania". In: *Materiale şi cercetări arheologice*, vol. 2, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest, 1956, 42-250.

Posener, Georges, Serge Sauneron, Jean Yoyotte. *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*. Paris: Fernand Hazan, 1970. (1ère ed. 1959.)

Ptolemaei, Claudii. *Geographia*. Edited by Claudius Fridericus Augustus Nobbe, editio stereotipa, Graecae. Lipsiae / Leipzig: Carolus Tauchnitus. Tom I (libri I-IV), 1843. Tom II, 1845 (libri V-VIII). Tom III, 1845 (Index), 1843, 1845.

Russu, I. I. *Limba traco-dacilor*. Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică, 1967.

Russu, I. I. *Etnogeneza românilor*. Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1981.

Schmid, Wolfgang P. (ed.). *Linguisticæ scientiæ collectanea*. Ausgewählte Schriften von Wolfgang P. Schmid. Anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages herausgegeben von Joachim Becker, Eckhard Eggers, Jurgen Udolph und Dieter Weber. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994.

Sherk, Robert. *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (RDGE). Baltimore, 1969.

Sihler, Andrew L., *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1995.

Smith, William. "Abrupolis". In: Smith, William, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, 1, Boston, MA, 1867.

Starostin, S. A., A. V. Dybo, O. A. Mudrak, *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*. With the assistance of I. Gruntov and V. Glumov. Leiden, 2003.

Thirlwall, Connop. *The History of Greece*. 8 vols., Vol. 8. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1855.

Tomaschek, Wilhelm. *Die alten Thraker: Ein ethnologische Untersuchung*. I. "Uebersicht der Stämme." II. "Die Sprachreste." Neudruck der Ausgaben von 1893 und 1894. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1975.

Trask, R. L. *Etymological Dictionary of Basque.* Edited for web publication by Max W. Wheeler. University of Sussex, 2008.

Udolf, Jürgen. "Morphologie germanischer Toponyme". In: *Preceedings of the 21st International Congress of Onomastic Sciences,* Band 5, Institut för Sprák och Folkminnen, Uppsala, 2010, 254-267.

Westrem, Scott D. *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends With Commentary.* Brepols, 2001.

Xenopol, A. D. *Istoria Românilor.* 5 vols. Third edition. Edited by I. Vlădescu. Vol. 1. Bucharest: Ed. Cartea Românească, 1925. Previous editions, Bucharest: C. Sfetea, 1893, and 1913-1914.

xxx *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române (DEX).* Second, revised edition. Bucharest: Academia Română, Institutul de lingvistică "Iorgu Iordan", Editura Univers Enciclopedic Gold, 2009.

Online source:

http://www.etymonline.com/.

www.iberianature.com/spainblog/2007/08/the-origin-of-the-river-ebros-name/   (August 30th, 2007 | by nick)

http://www.iberianature.com/material/ebro.html

http://www.palaeolexicon.com/

http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/abroupolis-e101130?s.num=74&s.start=60.

BRĂILA AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE REPORT OF VICE-CONSUL WILLIAM J. NORCOP ON THE YEAR 1899

Cristian Constantin[*]

Abstract: The text proper is preceded by a short historical comment on the activity of the International Trade in the Lower Danube region. The exports and imports of Romania, and her commercial relations with the different European countries had been, from their very beginning, organised on a highly individual basis owing to the initiative and according to the interests of private citizens. The report is an extremely important source for all social aspects related to the Brăila harbour, from statistic dates about export and import, agriculture, navigation, and economic realities in the towns. This document is an alternative to the statistical sources published by the European Commission of the Danube and by the Romanian authorities.

Keywords: Brăila, international trade, grains, statistics, demography.

Modernization is an important change in social life and marks the transition from traditional to industrial society. For the Romanian Maritime ports the contact with the International Traders was the principal key for prosperity after 1829. Starting from a quite modest position of a small port town at about 1800, Brăila made a significant and fast rise in importance during the course of the nineteenth century. The process of modernization reached the Balkans and the Black Sea region in the nineteenth century through the intensification of relations with Western Europe during this time. This paper presents the evolution of the foreign trade of the most important Danubian maritime port, Brăila, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, from the perspective of William J. Norcop, the English Vice-Consul in Brăila.[1]

This Report examines the politics of modernization in the Old Kingdom by focusing on a concrete area of port movement. The report is an extremely important source for all social aspects related to the Maritime Danube, especially for the Brăila harbour, from statistic dates about export and import, agriculture, navigation, and economic realities in the towns. This document is an alternative to the statistical sources published by the European Commission of the Danube and by the Romanian authorities.

---

[*] Phd., Independent Research, Brăila, Romania; e-mail: cristian.constantin@hotmail.com.
[1] Wall, 1903, 35.

          Studies of Romanian's pre-1914 economic, cultural and technological backwardness and of the Old Kingdom's prospects for modernization have led to widely conflicting interpretations. Marxist historiography has concentrated its research on two areas: a highly developed military industrial-financial complex tied firmly to international capital, and "feudal" property relations and technology in the agrarian sector of the economy.

          Dimitrios Kontogeorgis considers that: "The locations of Brăila and Galați on the margins of the Romanian Principalities deprived them from engaging actively with internal trade. Their economy was export-oriented and depended on the maintenance of close relations with the European ports."[2]

          Of pre-Great War European countries, Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria produced more food than was consumed within their borders and exported more than they imported. The other nations of Europe produced less than their requirements and imported more than they exported.[3] According to William J Norcop, in December, 1899, it was ascertained that the total population of the town of Braila amounted to approximately 58,000 souls.[4] What was the cause? The decision of the Romanian government, after 1878, to invest heavily in the economic development of Constanța, aiming to redirect the commercial routes of the country, although not unexpected, could not but cause anxiety or even fear among the merchants of the Danubian cities. In a wider perspective the rivalry between these ports reflected a new economic reality brought about by state building in South-Eastern Europe.[5]

          Local flour industries play a significant role in the life of local population in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Brăila, at the end of the nineteenth century, was a flour mill, the largest in Romania, on the bank of the Danube, in a most favourable position for exporting.[6]

          In the Brăila docks numerous complaints were recorded about unnecessary delays, lack of competent personnel and high rates. The situation was ameliorated by the end of the decade with the introduction of floating docks, both at Brăila and at Galați. The establishment, in 1908, of *The General Direction of Ports and Waterway Communication* responsible for the administration of the docks, was also instrumental in the improvement of their day to day management.[7] The improvement of their infrastructure, during the early 1890s, and the introduction of some innovations in the function of the port, especially in the early twentieth century, such as steam elevators, helped them sustain, in particular Brăila, their predominant position in the exports of cereals and timber. In the long run however this could not prevent the shift of Romania's external trade to the Black Sea port.

---

[2] Kontogeorgis, 2016a, 28.

[3] Taylor, 1922, 447.

[4] See British Parliamentary Papers, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance*, Brăila, 1899, 24.

[5] Kontogeorgis, 2016b, 96.

[6] British Parliamentary Papers, Brăila, 1899, 20–21.

[7] Kontogeorgis, 2016b, 120.

From a commercial point of view, the year 1899 "was very dull and uneventful as regards both crops and exports"[8] in the districts of Braila and Ialomița. The following export product groups represent the key to the prosperity of Brăila: maize (2,736,750 quarters), wheat (838,859 quarters), flour (9,587 tons), bran (4,011 tons), and old iron (3,179 tons). For mechanization of Romanian agriculture, during the year 1899 thirteen portable engines were imported, as well as nineteen threshing machines, 2,883 cases of harvesting machinery, and 302 cases of farm implements.[9]

In 1899, the German company, "Helios", obtained a concession for 35 years from the municipality to run a system of electric tramways in the town of Braila, along the quay to the docks, and to and from the summer resort known as "The Monument" and "Lacu Sărat" (the Salt Lake).[10]

The remarkable success of the Romanian maritime ports in the last decade of nineteen century "not only at a regional, but more broadly at a European an international level, should not overshadow the considerable friction between the various agents of change in the area, which led to the formation of different economic and urban models." The last quarter of nineteenth century constitutes an important chapter in the history of Brăila (town and port). This significant change was not the achievement of only one agent but of a variety, extending from international committees and governments to private capital or local associations.[11]

The *Consular Report* is transcribed as such, without the annotations and comments which could make it more easily understandable by the contemporary people, perhaps less familiarised with the commercial sector from the nineteenth century.

---

[8] British Parliamentary Papers, Brăila, 1899, 20.
[9] British Parliamentary Papers, Brăila, 1899, 20–21.
[10] See example for providing electric light to the town in Beke, 2013.
[11] Kontogeorgis, 2016a, 26–36.

Bibliography

Beke, Philippe. *România şi Belgia, dinamica relaţiilor politico-diplomatice, economice şi culturale în perioada formării şi consolidării statului-naţiune, între 1838 şi 1916.* Bucharest, 2013.

Brăila modernă: cărţi poştale ilustrate. Colecţia Valeriu Avramescu. Brăila: Istros Publishing House, 2006.

British Parliamentary Papers, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance,* Brăila, 1899, pp. 20–24.

Kontogeorgis, Dimitrios M. "Romanian Danubian and Black Sea ports during the 19th century. Between tradition and modernization." In: *Waterfronts Revisited. European Ports in a Historic and Global Persepective,* edit.: Heleni Porfyriou, Marichela Sepe. London: Routledge, 2016a, pp. 26–40.

Kontogeorgis, Dimitrios M. "International" and "National" Ports. The Competition between the Ports of Brăila / Galaţi and Constanţa during the Period 1878–1914". In: *Port Cities of Western Black Sea Coast and the Danube: Economic and Social Development in the Long Nineteenth Century,* edit.: Constantin Ardeleanu, Andreas Lyberatos. Corfu, 2016b, pp. 95–128.

Taylor, Alonzo Englebert. „The Commercial Importance of Russia". In: *The American Economic Review,* XII, 3, 1922, pp. 447–459.

Wall, Edgar G. *The British Empire Year Book, 1903.* London: Edward Stanford, 1903.

APPENDIX

Braila
Mr. Vice-Consul Norcop report as follows: -

<table>
<tr><td>Trade and commerce.</td><td>The year 1899 was very dull and uneventful as regards both crops and exports in the districts of Braila and Jalomita.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Wheat, barley, rye, rapeseed, and oats</td><td>In the spring the wheat, barley, rye, rapeseed, and oat crops looked favourable, but the great drought, which began about April 15, and continued up to July (that is to say, just at the moment when the crops should be gathered), ruined everything; there was not even enough for the next sowing and farmers were compelled to buy seed.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Millet, seed and maize</td><td>The Romanian Government, on account of the great drought, distributed millet seed to the peasants, and rains having fallen in July and August there was a favourable crop. As regards maize, the rains in July and August came too late; consequently there was a small crop, and its quality was not satisfactory, owing to the fact that it could not ripen, having come too late.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Exports</td><td>Collectively, in vessels of all nationalities, the exports from the port of Braila were in quantities as under: -</td></tr>
</table>

Articles		Quantity
Cereals -		
Wheat	Quarters	838,859
Maize	"	2,736,750
Barley	"	283,432
Oats	"	150,179
Rye	"	152,432
Beans	"	96,835
Millet	"	39,104
Rapeseed	"	37,495
Linseed	"	948
Hemp seed	"	3,800
Product from cereals -		
Flour	Tons	9,587
Bran	"	4,011
Product of husbandry -		
Skins	"	40
Cheese	"	170
Butter	"	4
Wool	"	70
Other products and goods -		
Salt	"	210
Tar	"	44
Walnuts	"	20
Alcohol	"	168
Old iron	"	3,179
Sacks	"	205
Fish	"	157
Lentils	"	10
Peas	"	2,702

Pumpkin seed	"	104
Oak sleepers	"	105
Colza	"	2,000
Raw petroleum	"	3,030
Divers goods	"	5,442
And		
Pigs	Head	496
Planks	Pieces	7,955
Shaped wood	Square metres	3,813

Grain stocks in Braila on the last day of the year were estimated at: -

Articles.	Quantity.
	Quarters
Wheat	69,644
Maize	37,894
Barley	16,462
Rye	9,345
Oats	2,686
Beans	2,958

The British coal import amounted to 39,521 tons, showing a decrease of 12,269 tons upon the 1898 returns, this decrease being no doubt attributable to the great rise in price of coal in the United Kingdom, especially towards the latter end of the year, which prevented the usual speculation.

The financial crisis has had the effect of a further tax of 15 bani (1 ½ *d.*) per kilo. being placed on sugar. This, however, affects local-made sugar as well as foreign imports. The same may said as regards petroleum, on which a further tax of 5 bani (½ *d.*) per litre has been imposed on both local and foreign produce.

An association called "Asociatiunei Comerciantilor Braila" was organised last autumn, its object being to further and defend by al lawful means commercial interests generally, and especially as regards all kinds of cereals, as well as shipping, and all operations in connections therewith according to rules and customs prevailing at Braila. This association has been organised for the general good, and not to favour its members specially.

During the year 1899 thirteen portable engines were imported, as well as nineteen threshing machines, 2,883 cases of harvesting machinery, and 302 cases of farm implements.

The year 1899 having proved a worse years for exports than its predecessor, owing to the almost total failure of the crops, consequent on the great drought (such a bad year not having been seen since 1866, I am informed) British shipping shows a falling-off. The return shows, in comparison with 1898, a decrease of 115 ships aggregating 150,113 tons. During the seasons 122 vessels arrived, measuring in the aggregate 166,960 net register tons, and 121 cleared, measuring in the aggregate 165,842 tons, one vessel being in port at the end of the year, ice-bound.

Of the arrivals 40 brought more or less complete general cargoes from the following ports: -

Port.	Number of Vessels.
Antwerp and Liverpool	18
Antwerp and London	12
Liverpool only	6
London only	1
Antwerp only	1
Swansea	2
Total	40

In ballast there arrived 31 vessels from their various outward-bound Mediterranean or Black Sea ports, and 15 with part cargoes of grain loaded at Galatz to complete at Braila. Homewards 67 vessels left fully grain-laden, 43 to complete at the Lower Danube ports, and eight cleared for Galatz in ballast, as well as two for Poti (Russia), and one for Smyrna. Antwerp and Rotterdam attracted more than half the outgoing fleet, Two British steamers arrival with part cargoes of rice from Eastern ports, and two with iron rails from Middlesbrough.

Of the whole fleet of 122 ships three of the masters were foreigners, as were also three chief mates and two second mates. Of the petty officers, 28 boatswains and 43 carpenters were foreigners. There were 373 British engaged as A.B.'s to 294 foreign firemen. In all there appear only five boys and 28 apprentices.

Coal-laden ships numbered 17 from ports as under: -

Port.	Number of Vessels.
Cardiff	12
Penarth	1
Newport	3
Barry	1
Total	17

Shipping, other than British, is to be accounted for as under: -   **Foreign shipping.**

Country.	Numbers of Vessels.	Tons.
Austria-Hungary	55	63,299
Greece	85	94,273
Russia	78	34,554
Italy	51	75,178
Turkey	83	30,085
France	26	28,250
Germany	15	17,846
Belgium	1	2,730
Holland	1	2,036
Spain	1	380
Denmark	2	3,092

Turkey had 8,837 and Greece 3,071 of sailing tonnage included in above figures.   **Freight rates.**
Average rates of freight from Braila per ton season of 1899:-

Months	Rates of Freight.	
	Highest.	Lowest.
	s. d.	s. d.
March-April	10 0	9 6
May-June	11 6	10 6
July-August	10 0	9 6
September-October	12 0	11 6
November-December	10 0	9 6

24 steamers and lighters proceeded up the River Danube from Braila to the Iron Gates   **Up-river traffic.**
in 1899, carrying in all 117,618 kilos. of miscellaneous cargo (other than cereals). Of
these, 11 carrying in all 6,372 kilos. proceeded to Serbia, the remainder to Austria-
Hungary. All these vessels were under the Austro-Hungary flag.

Nine lighters and one sailing vessels took in all 3,374,413 kilos. of millet seed and
maize up the river (2,284,338 kilos. of millet seed, and 1,090,075 kilos. of maize) all for
Austria-Hungary. All were under the Austro-Hungary flag, with the exceptions of the
sailing vessel carrying Greek colours and one lighter with Romanian colours.

The large flour mill (the largest in Romania) on the bank of the Danube, in the   **Industry.**
precincts of town of Braila, in a most favourable position for exporting, mentions of
the directions of which was made by my predecessor in this annual report for 1989,
started in full working order last May. The mill took five years to build, and is of the
most modern type, as well as the machinery, material, electrical plant, &c.

About 150 to 160 tons flour are turned out every 24 hours, with a consumption of only 5 tons of coal per diem. Double this amount can be turned out in case of necessity, by doubling the consumptions of coal and using the reserve boilers. The engines are of 1,000 h.p., and can be worked up to 1,400. There is a large workshop on the premise for repairs to engines, &c. There is a constant provision of 35 quarters of wheat in the store-room. The total staff consists of only 35 persons.

Vessels can load at the quay about 50 yards in front of the mill. Owing to the failure of the crops in 1899 very little flour was exported from this mill, nearly all having been required for Romania.

Population A general census was taken in December, 1899, from which it was ascertained that the total population of the town of Braila amounted to 58,123.

Public health. The total number of births in the town of Braila amounted, during the year 1899, to 2,134, and the total number of deaths in the same period to 1,606. The principal causes of death were: marsh fever, tuberculosis, bronchitis, pneumonia, broncho-pneumonia, meningitis, gastro-enteritis, enteritis, and kidney diseases.

Public works. During the year 1899 consolidation work of the quay of the port of Braila was executed for a length of 700 metres, of which 300 metres were towards the docks, and 400 metres at the upper part of the port.

Consolidation work is also proceeding 100 metres inland from the quay. It is intended to do further work along the quay extending 1,600 metres, but the date of commencement has not been ye fixed.

The company, "Helios" (Electricitäts-actien Gesellschaft), of Kol-Ehrenfeld, Germany, obtained a concession for 35 years from the municipality to run a system of electric tramways in the town of Braila, along the quay to the docks, and to and from the summer resort known as "The Monument" and "Lacu Sarat" (the Salt Lake). The work of laying down the lines began in May, 1899. During the year the lines were laid down, buildings for the central station erected, as well as workshops, a building for the offices of the company, and a shed for the cars. The system employed will be "overhead contact." It is surmised that the total cost of material, buildings, &c. will amount to 5,000,000 dr. al the material is German, and about 110 men will be employed when the electric tramways start in full working order.

The same company has applied for a separate concession (for 30 years) for providing electric light to the town, to public buildings, and to private individuals who may require it. It is anticipated that this concession will be granted, and that the company will be in a position to furnish electric light to consumers by the end of the year 1900.

Crop prospect. The prospects for the year 1900 as regards the crops are, so far, considered good.

[Undated]

Source: British Parliamentary Papers, *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance*, Brăila, 1899, 20-24.

Fig. 1. Electrical tram in Braila, the Railway Station Square, 1900.
Source: *Brăila modernă: cărți poștale ilustrate*, 223.

Fig. 2. Electrical tram in Braila, Galați Street, 1900.
Source: *Brăila modernă: cărți poștale ilustrate*, 224.

PARTY EDUCATION, PROPAGANDA INSTRUMENT FOR THE COLLECTIVIZATION IN ROMANIA. CASE STUDY: ARGEŞ REGION (1950–1952)

Antonio Manuel Tudorache[*]

Abstract: Party education had an important role in the dynamics of the collectivization process in Romania. The enrolment and "education" of a large number of officers, who were willing to implement by any means necessary the policy of the party, were an essential factor in the success of the collectivization campaign. In the meantime, the progress of party education in the rural areas was used in many communities. As such, they were compelled to reorganise their own social and economic mechanisms so that they would correspond to the ones that the communist regime would accept.

Keywords: Propaganda, Collectivization, Romanian Worker's Party, Party Education, Peasant.

Launched and organized after the Soviet model, party education had as its main aim the political and ideological preparation of officers who, after graduation would be assigned important positions in the central or local administration of the Communist Party and state institutions.[1] Therefore, in order to have well prepared and devoted officers of the party, willing to implement at a local level the ideas of the party, the regime needed an educational system that would be parallel with the public one but would serve only the interests of the party. The lack of legitimacy of the Communist regime made necessary the replication of state institutions with its own institutions. Hence, party education became even more important than the public one as it had the main target of creating the central communist apparatus and also the local command at a local level.[2] Evan the communist leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, invoked the importance of party education in the process of building socialism as it had the role of educating people "in the spirit of devotion towards popular democracy and socialism [....], against the oppressive classes, of those that spread rumours, against those that want to impede the construction of socialism in our country[3]".

In Argeş region, party education had an important role in the institution dynamics and the propaganda for the process of socialist transformation of agriculture. On one side, by recruiting and teaching officers (propaganda activists and agitators) from among the peasantry,

---

[1] Radu, 2011, 158; Roşu, 1955, 5.
[2] Denize, 2011, 71.
[3] Ionescu-Gură, 2005, 249.

the main direction was the consolidation of the party's position in the rural areas and therefore preparing the series of transformations that would take place in the Romanian villages. Those that attended the courses of party education were directly exposed to the communist propaganda, becoming easy to manipulate and afterwards appointing them in socialist agricultural units or being part of the explanatory actions which took place in the field. As such, party schools become the main centres of indoctrination, a breeding ground for propaganda.[4]

The management of party education included a well-established hierarchy: primary, secondary and higher education. In the rural areas there were only the basic forms of party education: primary education. Of course, there was a possibility that some members of the party from the village organizations that would be enrolled at the party higher education so that they would be better prepared. The elementary forms of the party education system were run by the propaganda agents, party officers in the party structures, regional or national and included: current policy classes, party evening classes, party activism in villages classes, and clubs for teaching the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.[5] The main courses were held in the rural educational system and were: current policy classes and party evening classes.

Current policy classes were the most frequent form of party education and were located near the local organization.[6] These courses would present the viewpoint of the party on the domestic and international political events. Students would have the obligation to know them closely so that they could debate internal and external matters. The theme was the same for the whole country and was recommended through the party official press.[7] Due to the absence of appropriate personnel in the rural areas, the classes were replaced in some cases with book clubs where everyone could attend (even those who were not part of the party).[8]

Party evening classes had as its main focus helping party activists members of the party, state apparatus or economic structures to study the history of CP (b) of USSR and understand the resolutions and decisions of the party and government. Evening classes on the Party were held near the party regional committees (*raioane*) and functioned on a one year school curricula.[9] The main courses for the evening classes on the party were: history of CP of the Soviet Union, the party politics and the fundamental problems of the socialist construction, mass political work and the work of party organizations in the economic field.[10] Evening classes in the villages had a different program from those that were established in factories and institutions. Hence, the program had to be accessible to the working peasant and also tied to the themes that preoccupied him. The courses were organized in 10 lessons which were scheduled weekly.[11]

---

[4] Ilie, 2014, 138.

[5] ANIC, Fund C.C. al P.C.R., Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 64/1950, f. 19.

[6] ANIC, Fund C.C. al P.C.R., Secția Cancelarie, dosar 80/1950, f. 11.

[7] Ivașcu, 2014, 95.

[8] ANIC, Fund C.C. al P.C.R., Secția Cancelarie, dosar 80/1950, f. 11.

[9] *Regulament de funcționare a Școlilor serale de partid*, 1952, 3.

[10] *Regulament de funcționare a Școlilor serale de partid*, 1952, 5.

[11] ANIC, Fund C.C. al P.C.R., Secția Cancelarie, dosar 80/1950, f. 11.

　　　　Party activism in villages classes were organised during the winter months all over the country with the main purpose of preparing the activists needed in the village party organizations and also those from the administrative apparatus. The courses were three weeks long and had 20 lessons. These classes were intended for the members that had important roles in the party administration at a district (*raion*) level: presidents of GAC-s, officials of the People's Councils.[12]

　　　　The quality of the party education was ensured by the efficient preparation of the propaganda activists. Due to the fact that they had a central role in the party education, the propaganda activist had as a main responsibility the maintenance of the ideological level of the courses and seminars. They had the responsibility of ensuring that the party activists would know the laws for the development of the society and also the know-how of building socialism. At the same time, the propaganda activist would help communists and those from outside the party to fully understand the party decisions and directives and also fight for the manner in which they were applied.[13] Recruiting propaganda activists was supposed to be made "in the spirit of upmost vigilance", as the activist were supposed to be verified at first so that they would have a high political level and with adequate propaganda abilities. The ideological criteria were considered most important so the activists would mainly be recruited from the working class.[14] Their basic training was the course that the regional committee would coordinate (20 days long) and district committee (6 days long).[15] For example, for the year 1956–1957, Argeş Regional Committee ordered that there would be recruited and instructed 1,441 propaganda activists, 600 of which were instructed by the district committee and the rest of 841 by the regional committees. The teaching of the propaganda activists was made through classes taught by activists from the regional committee or central committee. The information was accompanied by presentations organized by the presidents of the socialist agricultural units (GAC, TOZ, SMT, GAS) and also by visits in different collective households (agricultural associations and industrial units). The professional structure of those that were considered adequate to become propaganda activists was the following: 188 workers that came directly from the production site, 190 workers that came from administrative and economic apparatus, 407 intellectuals, 367 officials, 289 peasants.[16] At a first glance, the percentage of the propaganda activists that came from the rural areas was only 20%, but we can assume that the majority of the officials and intellectuals were also from the rural areas as they were mainly employed by the People's Councils or they were teachers. As a result, the preparation of the propaganda activists was not a simple process. The authorities were required to invest considerable resources in order to finalise this important step in shaping party education.

　　　　The selection of the propaganda activists was an extremely difficult task for the authorities. Recruiting the ones that would be enrolled in the party education system was a challenge. The entire responsibility for selecting students by demonstrating "real vigilance" was

---

[12] ANIC, Fund C.C. al P.C.R., Secţia Cancelarie, dosar 80/1950, f. 12.

[13] Roşu, 1955, 29.

[14] ANIC, Fund C.C. al P.C.R., Secţia Cancelarie, dosar 80/1950, f. 4.

[15] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 97/1953, f. 13.

[16] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 76/1956, f. 1.

given to the regional committees and local organizations. The main fear was that some students might have "foreign and malicious elements" but at the same time party education was supposed to enrol elements with a certain standing in the eyes of the masses, with the experience of working in the party, with a well-checked past and future perspectives.[17] Among the subjects that were thought in the party education system in the rural areas, there were: "The basis of Marxism-Leninism", "Party problems", "Building socialism in the countryside (collectivization of agriculture)", "History of C.P. in USSR". As we have already mentioned, the subjects were established at a national level and were used in all the regions of the country. For example, during the evening classes on the party the lessons included subjects as *The work and the life of kolkhoz peasants from The Soviet Union*,[18] *Collectivization of agriculture in U.S.S.R. kolkhoz agriculture, the most advanced agriculture in the world*[19] or *The alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. P.M.R. fight for the construction of socialism in the countryside*.[20] The training of those who attended party schools was made with the help of course materials and seminar discussions. Course materials were distributed through the Party Material Broadcasting Commission, based on the number of students.[21]

From the beginning, party education had a continuous expansion as the number of classes that were held grew each year and the number of students as well. From 1950, party education was organized on the same principles as public education, both of them starting on September 15th.[22] During the 1950–1951 school year, 8,114 students, all party members, were enrolled in the party education system. In rural areas 116 current policy clubs were created with 2,158 students and 60 evening classes with 1,563 students.[23] In the next school year, the number of those enrolled in various forms of party education increased steadily to 14,500 students. Unlike the previous year, besides the large number of students, the novelty is that not less than 4,600 students were not party members. The increase in the number of courses and the number of students also took place in rural areas where 175 current policy clubs were creates with 3,205 students, 128 party evening classes with 2,269 pupils and 77 study clubs of the "Stalinist" biography with 1,265 students. In addition to these classes, there were created 21 study clubs for the research of the biography "Great Lenin" with 352 students and 165 clubs that analysed the history of CPSU with 2,963 students. The last were especially created for the preparation of the teachers in the territory. Unfortunately, there is no reference to how many of the courses took place in the rural area or how many of the students were residents in the countryside, but it is clear that some of the courses were organized at the commune level. Also, in the socialist agricultural units in the region, especially in the collective households, there were 41 clubs and courses with 691 people.[24] According to the internal reports, the clubs attendance

---

[17] Ivașcu, 2014, 77.

[18] See *Programul și bibliografia cursurilor serale de cadre pe anul școlar 1951-1952*, 1951.

[19] *Programul și bibliografia cursurilor serale de cadre pe anul școlar 1951-1952*, 1951.

[20] *Programul și bibliografia cursurilor serale de cadre pe anul școlar 1951-1952*, 1951.

[21] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 31/1951, f. 135.

[22] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 38/1951, f. 13.

[23] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 37/1951, f 27.

[24] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 91/1952, f. 61.

and courses in rural areas was on average 70–80%, on comparison to the attendance at courses organized in cities.[25]

Unfortunately, it is a difficult task to establish the evolution of the party education in rural areas between 1950 and 1962. Firstly, there was no continuation in the party education curriculum. Many of the classes that were organized at the beginning of the '50s were no longer available in the first part of the '60s. In the first years of party education the majority of the courses were on the history of the CPSU or on the biography of the soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, in ten years-time they were replaced by classes on the history of PMR, PMR statute of economic policy.[26] Secondly, there is also the lack of clear information on the number of classes that were held in the rural area and in many situations there was made no distinction between urban and rural areas. However, there is some data that indicates party education become more important in rural areas due to the augmentation of the number of coordinated classes from one year to the next and the gradual growth of the student corpus. For example: if during the school year 1951–1952, party education system in the rural areas was made out of 380 clubs and courses with approximately 6,700 students;[27] during 1956-1957 school year there were 1.017 clubs and classes, with approximately 19.000 students[28]; for the 1961–1962 school year, the total number of courses and clubs would get to 1,075 with 24,000 students.[29] If we take into account the fact that the average period of the courses was of a few months, we can deduce that between 1950 and 1962, the number of those who got political and ideological „education" was impressive and it assured that the Party would get the necessary force so that it may become a relevant in applying the collectivization policies.

Placed somewhat at the bottom of party education, training the agitators was an important part of the system. The students were bound to think and act in the manner in which the Party required. The courses for the agitators had a changing curriculum; it was organized according to the priorities that the regime established (collective household campaign, cultivation campaign, harvest campaign, gathering quotas). Choosing the best agitators was supposed a task to be taken seriously by all the local party organizations. Their schooling was undertaken by the members of the national committees in seminars that were usually from 2 to 10 days, at a commune or district level.[30] The training of the agitators was usually made in the winter season, when there was less agricultural fieldwork and the students were able to attend the courses. As the process of collectivization become more intense, from 1956, recruiting and preparing agitators become a continuous process. The expansion of collectivization, which happened in most districts, needed more and more agitators that would do fieldwork. If in 1951 there were 3,063 agitators.[31] in the rural areas,

---

[25] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 91/1952, f. 62.
[26] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 43/1961, f. 56.
[27] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 91/1952, f. 61.
[28] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 80/1957, f. 6.
[29] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 43/1961, f. 56.
[30] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 42/1961, f. 59.
[31] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 39/1951, f. 1.

in February 1962 there were over 22,000 agitators[32] used in the collectivization process. For example, in December 1951, at a regional level there were coordinated 28 classes for agitators with a total of 325 students, 105 of which were party members and 220 were not. Apart from the new 28 courses that were created, there were another 15 courses that existed in the socialist agricultural units (GAC, GAS, SMT)[33]. Later on, between 27th of November and 3rd of December 1961, in Costești district were organized 65 courses for the preparation of agitators with a total of 964 students. The training was based on the themes: collectivization of agriculture and applying agro-technical methods in agriculture to increase productivity.[34] Identical themes were used in other districts; in Horezu, in the same period of time, were schooled around 400 agitators[35] while in Slatina district 370.[36]

For the teaching of agitators, the main materials that were used were those that presented the problems that were related to agitation work. Agitator's Notebook was an important magazine, but there were also used some articles from the main newspapers, especially Scânteia. For local party organizations, purchasing as many subscriptions as possible for the Agitator's Notebook was one of the most important tasks in training agitators. For example, at the end of 1951 there were 4,600 subscriptions[37] per 6,426 agitators. Surprisingly, the number of subscriptions dropped the next year and in July 1952: there were only 4,541 subscribers to the Agitator's Notebook from a total of 10,268 agitators (8,242 from rural areas).[38] A month later, as the number of agitators in the region grew to 15,000, the number of subscribers also grew to 7,245 subscriptions. There were some complaints regarding to the manner in which some districts were dealing with the distribution of Agitator's Notebook amongst the agitators. For example, in Băbeni – Bistrița district there were only 76 subscribers and in Râmnicu Vâlcea district only 56 subscriptions.[39] Due to the fact that recruiting and the schooling of the agitators was an on-going process, so was the removal of unwanted elements that did not correspond to the political and ideological standards that the regime imposed. Even though the agitators were recruited from among "appropriate elements", there were cases when the selection was incorrect. In the spring of 1953, a decision of the Regional Committee stated that 6,000 agitators would be replaced from a total of 13,400 that were registered.[40]

Appealing to a large number of peasants and enrolling them into party education system has as its main scope the consolidation of the Party's position among the masses in the rural regions. It also had the purpose of facilitating the implementation of collectivization policy by those who were "educated" by the Party in the socialist agricultural units. Then they had to become examples for those around them, thus convincing them of the superiority

---

[32] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Agrară, dosar 59/1962, f. 93.
[33] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, doar 87/1952, f. 29.
[34] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș. Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 42/1961, f. 59.
[35] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș. Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 42/1961, f. 60.
[36] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș. Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 42/1961, f. 63.
[37] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 39/1951, f. 1.
[38] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agtație, dosar 97/1952, f. 45.
[39] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agtație, dosar 97/1952, f. 49.
[40] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 97/1953, f. 17.

of socialist agriculture. The first successes in this respect were recorded in 1951. In several communes in Vedea district, peasants enrolled in party evening classes have applied for GAC enrolment. In Urşi commune 7 students, in Ciomăgeşti commune 8 students, and in Bărăşti de Vede commune 10 students entered in GAC.[41] During the summer of 1952, when the subject of creating a collective household in Mârghia commune, Costeşti district, the first applications for registration were signed by the students at "History of CPSU", the grand majority were teachers in the communes. In fact, the work to attract as many applications as possible was mainly carried out by local teachers, not by party members in local organizations[42]. The results of party education regarding the socialist transformation of agriculture were evident in the first part of 1953. In Găeşti district, 370 peasants who were enrolled in various forms of party education had written applications in order to be accepted into collective households. In Muscel district 290 peasants had also written applications to enter the collective households. Furthermore, 580 out of 704 propaganda activists from the rural area had also made written requests to enter GAC-s[43]. As party education expanded into rural areas and included more and more people, the number of those joining the socialist agricultural sector grew. In 1958, of the 990 participants at the party education in Costesti district, more than 500 were enrolled in GAC-s and collective households. The situation was similar in the other districts. In the village of Isvoarele, Slatina district, all 99 inhabitants enrolled in the party education system and also applied for entrance into the G.A.C. and collective households in the locality.[44]

The progress of party education in rural areas did not guarantee the success of the attempt to consolidate the Party's position within the rural communities. Internal reports were consistent in indicating the increase in the number of courses and the number of students enrolled, but they also reported a number of issues that affected the quality of the education. However, not everything was as the Central and Regional Administration and political leaders desired. In some situations, the lower party structures and the administrative structures were criticized for the disastrous way in which they dealt with the party education on local level. In many communes, there were many problems with party education system: absenteeism of the ones that were enlisted in the classes, the lack of training of the ones that were teaching, the lack of correlation between lessons, great differences from one locality to another and inadequate class space for the lessons. There are many examples in this respect and the internal reports which analyse the activity of the party education highlights the major issues of the system. In many communities, the party courses and clubs did not work properly as they tended to have a formal character and less of an educational and formative one. For example, in 1951, Piteşti district committee was criticized because of the manner in which it managed the party education courses as they were disorganized, in many communes had a low frequency and the lessons were not held on schedule. The outcome was considered a result of the lack of interest that the local party organization showed which did not make

---

[41] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 37/1951, f. 33.
[42] SJAN Argeş, Fund Sfatul Popular Raionul Costeşti, dosar 37/1952, f. 30.
[43] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 97/1953, f. 1.
[44] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 67/1958, f. 2.

any effort in order to ensure the necessary measures so that they could create the best conditions for party education.[45] Costești district committee was also criticized in the spring of 1952 for the lack of involvement in organizing the party education as many of the courses only took place on paper and the ones that actually took place were inefficient.[46] Extremely important were the courses intended for the socialist agricultural sector. The lack of these courses was considered a real problem for the authorities mainly the ones that were responsible for organizing the propaganda apparatus. In an internal report from 1951 it is shown that many of the socialist agricultural units from the region did not create any form of party education.[47] Moreover, the lack of training of the teaching personnel (propaganda activists) was another result of the bad management of the party education. In many cases, the teachers would not attend the classes as they would rather attend to other matters or they were ill-prepared. For example, propaganda activist, Popescu Gheorge, from Valea Mare-Enculești commune, went to solve personal problems instead of teaching the students enrolled in party education. The same offence was found in the case of Rizescu Ion, from Valea-Mărului commune: he was not present for the classes that he was supposed to teach.[48] In the spring of 1953, the district committees were confronted with an acute problem: the lack of professionalism of the ones who were supposed to teach the propaganda courses, mainly because they did not attend the classes. Therefore, out of the 874 courses that were in the school year curricula, only 667 were held, the rest got postponed due to absentee teachers.[49]

Enrolment and participation in party education courses did not automatically ensure the adherence to the ideas transmitted through lessons and seminars. There were even some cases when those enrolled in the courses simply refused to join the socialist agricultural units. For example, Tudor Ion from Izvorul commune, Costești district, member of the local party and propaganda activist in the party education, refused to join the agricultural household and his attitude had a negative impact on the peasants in the commune.[50] Another problem was the lack of involvement in the actions of collectivization of those who were enrolled in different forms of party education. An internal report shows that in Topoloveni district, out of the 62 party organizations, very few succeeded in activating all those enrolled in the party education so that they could carry out discussions with the peasants. In general, each organization was able to convince 4–5 students at best. This was the case in Furduești commune, where only 3 out of the 13 students would do field work and in Negrești

---

[45] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Raional PMR Piteşti, dosar 3/1951, f. 144.

[46] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Organizatorică, dosar 82/1952, f. 20.

[47] At GAC Cuparu, GAC Leordeni, GAS Slatina, SMT, Costeşti, SMT-Stâlpeni şi SMT-Tâmpeni were not organized party courses; see in SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş-Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 37/1951, f. 33.

[48] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Raional PMR Piteşti, dosar 3/1951, f. 144.

[49] SJAN Argeş, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeş, Secţia Propagandă şi Agitaţie, dosar 92/1952, f. 97.

[50] SJAN Argeş, Fund Sfatul Popular Raionul Costeşti, dosar 84/1954, f. 7.

commune where only 4 out of the 16 students were involved with the collectivization propaganda.[51]

The organization and management of party education in rural areas had encountered other problems, not just those related to the lack of involvement of those involved in the system. Sometimes, the lack of spaces specially designed for teaching, the insufficient quality and quantity of the materials made almost impossible conducting the classes in an appropriate manner. Party district committees or regional organizations did not have the necessary conditions in order to maintain all the courses. An internal report from 1956 showed that some districts had difficulties in organizing the party system education. Drăgășani district requested from the regional organization 60 beds so that they could accommodate propaganda activists and fuel to transport propagandists who could not reach the district training centre. Vedea and Curtea de Argeș districts asked for a truck each so that they could for the transport of propaganda activists and Slatina district needed a place for the courses to be held.[52]

Party education played an important role in the process of building socialism in the villages. The organization of a large number of educational forms involved a great number of people and communities, facilitating the Party's contact with the masses. The propaganda apparatus has always been the Party's advance guard in the territory, requiring loyal and well-trained activists willing to make sacrifices for the Party's policy. These propaganda activists were prepared at party schools where they were "educated" in the spirit of the Party, but at the same time they learned how to educate others. Also, party education contributed, through the recruitment and training of a large number of peasants, to the generation and regeneration of Party and administrative apparatus. The graduates of the party courses received positions in the local Party or administrative structures. Access to the important local government points of propaganda activists who supported party politics and a large local party apparatus had an important contribution to the completion of the collectivisation process.

---

[51] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Raional PMR Topoloveni, dosar 3/1953, f. 32.
[52] SJAN Argeș, Fund Comitetul Regional PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație, dosar 91/1952, f. 3.

Bibliography

Archives Documents:
Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale:
Fund CC al PCR, Secția Cancelarie.
Fund CC al PCR, Secția Propagandă și Agitație.
Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Argeș:
Fund Comitetul Central al PMR Argeș, Secția Agrară.
Fund Comitetul Central al PMR Argeș, Secția Propagandă și Agitație.

Publications:
Denize, Eugen. *Propaganda comunistă în România (1948–1953).* Târgoviște: Cetatea de
    Scaun, 2011.
Denize, Eugen; Mâța, Cezar. *România Comunistă. Statul și Propaganda 1948–1951.*
    Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2005.
Ilie, Oana. *Propaganda politică. Tipologii și arii de manifestare 1945–1958.* Târgoviște:
    Cetatea de Scaun, 2014.
Ionescu-Gură, Nicoleta. *Nomenclatura Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc
    Român.* București: Humanitas, 2006.
Ionescu-Gură, Nicoleta. *Stalinizarea României. Republica Populară Română 1948–1950:
    transformări instituționale.* București: BIC ALL, 2005.
Roșu, Gheorghe. *Învățământul de partid, verigă importantă a propagandei marxist-leniniste.*
    București: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură Politică, 1955.
Programul și bibliografia cursurilor serale de cadre pe anul școlar 1951–1952. București:
    Editura Partidului Muncitoresc, 1951.
Regulament de funcționare a Școlilor serale de partid. București: Editura Partidului
    Muncitoresc, 1952.
Radu, Sorin (coord). *Învățământul de partid și școlile de cadre în România comunistă.
    Context național și regional.* Iași: Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan-Cuza", 2014.
Radu, Sorin. „Învățământul de partid în România comunistă. Studiu de caz: Înființarea și
    organizarea școlilor de cadre ale Frontului Plugarilor (1948)" în *Anuarul de Istorie
    „George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca,* Series Historica, L, 2011, pp. 155–170.

ÉTAT ET RELIGION: UNE RÉFLEXION AUTOUR DE LA GESTION DU RELIGIEUX EN ROUMANIE

Elena Cristina Brăgea[*]

Abstract: The issue of religion and Church status in post-communist Romania generates reflections on the elements that legitimize the relationship between the political sphere and the religious phenomenon, as well as the variety of its configurations. One configuration is the normative framework built by the new democratic structures. However, the development of new norms was gradual and presented a certain liquidity. This project aims to examine the reconfiguration of the relations between the political regime and the religious communities through an analysis of the religious presence in the national normative space.

Keywords: religious cults, state, legislation, religious liberty, public order.

Prémices

La question du statut de la religion dans le cadre de l'État articule des réflexions sur les éléments qui légitiment les rapports entre la sphère politique et le phénomène religieux, ainsi que la variété de leurs configurations. Dans l'espace roumain, la collision entre la vision du régime communiste athée et les valeurs religieuses a comme finalité la décomposition des relations entre la sphère religieuse et celle politique[1]. L'effondrement du régime communiste entraîne une reconfiguration de ces rapports qui s'édifient sous l'incidence de la fragilité de nouvelles structures démocratiques. De plus, la sensibilité par rapport au fait religieux d'un peuple libéré du totalitarisme conduit à des enjeux complexes

---

[*] Doctorante en cotutelle de thèse entre la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest et l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales de Paris; e-mail: cristinabragea@yahoo.com.

[1] Le rapport du régime communiste avec l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine s'articule autour de la syntagme panslave *une nation, une religion, un tsar* ainsi que de l'idée de continuité de la symphonie byzantine du pouvoir. En ce qui concerne la confession catholique de rite byzantin, son rapport avec le régime communiste se trouve sous l'incidence d'une prétendue menace de l'unité nationale, déterminée dans l'acception communiste par la division des Roumains entre l'Église Orthodoxe et l'Église Grecque-Catholique. Au catholicisme de rite latin, le régime réclame les liaisons avec une puissance étrangère, vu comme un ennemi du communisme. (Simon, 1989, 231–243).

qui menacent la cohésion de la société[2]. D'ailleurs, la perspective d'une intégration dans les structures européennes pose la question d'une adaptation, voir une imbrication des politiques nationales et des lois et pratiques communautaires. Dans cette dynamique, quelle est la typologie qui s'imposent dans les rapports entre l'État roumain et les communautés religieuses ?

Les différentes acceptions de la gestion du religieux par l'État indiquent trois manières d'actions. D'abord, le modèle libéral, qui considère que l'État et l'Église sont deux sphères bien séparées. Inspiré de la pensée de John Locke[3], le séparatisme affirme que la religion concerne la sphère privée, elle est une affaire individuelle qui n'est pas du ressort de l'État[4]. Le pouvoir étatique doit s'occuper plutôt de la sécurité de individus. Ensuite, l'acception d'inspiration voltairienne est caractérisée par l'anticléricalisme et le rejet des institutions de l'Église[5]. Cette vision exprime une acception *laicarde*[6] et plaide pour la neutralité

---

[2] Après 1989, la réorganisation du catholicisme de rite byzantin détermine des tensions interconfessionnelles à cause de la demande de restitution du patrimoine gréco-catholique, concédé à l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine par le régime communiste. À part de la question du patrimoine ecclésiastique gréco-catholique, la reconstruction de cette ancienne église nationale, à partir d'une identité de martyre, en opposition avec l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine, perçue comme entité d'assimilation et collaboratrice du régime communiste, constitue un obstacle dans le dialogue interconfessionnel de la Roumanie postcommuniste. (Brăgea, 2017, 17–20).

[3] John Locke (1632–1704), philosophe anglais. Premier penseur de la séparation entre le pouvoir de l'État et celle de l'Église (*Lettre sur la tolérance*, 1689), Locke considère qu'il faut marquer les limites entre les droits du gouvernement civile et ceux réservés à la sphère religieuse. Selon lui, l'État ne doit pas s'intéresser aux questions religieuses : la religion concerne la volonté personnelle, donc elle n'est du ressort de l'État. Locke décrit la religion comme une affaire individuelle, d'où la pluralité de croyances et de confessions. Toutefois, il n'accepte pas l'athéisme, car la croyance est sacrée et nécessaire à toute société humaine. (Terestchenko, 2015, 87–95).

[4] Louis Amiable (1837–1897), avocat français, docteur en droit et maire du 5e arrondissement de Paris. En 1882, il publie l'ouvrage *La séparation de l'État et de l'Église* ou il fournit des arguments historiques en faveur de la séparation de ces deux sphères. L'Église est représentée comme une pieuvre dont les tentacules suffoquent la République, la seule solution étant la coupure de ses tentacules. (Guilband, 2004, 163–173).

[5] François-Marie Arouet, dit Voltaire, (1694–1778), écrivain et philosophe français. Voltaire considère que la religion catholique s'impose avec autorité et le despotisme du roi se retrouve dans le despotisme de l'Église catholique. Il cite Angleterre en modèle où toute confession vit en paix dans le cadre de l'État. L'Affaire Jean Calas détermine son positionnement clair par rapport aux relations entre l'État et l'Église. Jean Calas a été un protestant qui après la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes a été jugé pour ses convictions religieuses. Pour le défendre, Voltaire va écrire le *Traité sur la tolérance* (1762). En faisant la critique du catholicisme, il plaide pour que les individus de toute confession soient tolérés afin de vivre-ensemble dans la société. Il considère que l'intolérance est issus de la résurgence du christianisme en Occident – à travers les dogmes et les traditions monacales, le christianisme a créé le fanatisme. Ceux qui pratiquent avec fanatisme leur religion ne méritent pas la tolérance de la société. (Voltaire, 1763, 120–121).

[6] Terme péjoratif qui caractérise une personne qui défend fortement la laïcité, notamment par prise de position anti-religieuse.

religieuse au sein de la société. Finalement, l'acception inspirée par la pensée de Rousseau[7] considère opportune l'intervention dirigée par l'État afin d'assurer l'ordre publique. Dans ce but, le pouvoir politique définit un code moral et les religions sont tolérées dans la mesure où elles acceptent ce code définit pat l'État. Selon cette approche, l'État est légitimé d'intervenir dans la vie des cultes pour interdire toutes pratiques contraires au code civil établit. Par conséquent, l'intervention de l'État dans la sphère religieuse est justifiée par l'obligation positive du pouvoir étatique de garantir son code de valeurs.

Afin d'examiner la place de la religion dans l'État roumain postcommuniste, nous nous proposons d'analyser la présence du religieux dans l'espace normatif national. Les mécanismes de la structure étatique démocratique édifient un cadre normatif qui définit le rapport entre le nouveau régime politique et les communautés religieuses. Néanmoins, l'aménagement de cet espace normatif qui établit le rôle de la religion dans le champ spatial étatique[8] connaît un développement graduel et a une certaine liquidité du pont de vue spatial.

1. L'aménagement du champ de compétence normative de l'État : quelle place pour la religion ?

Suite au changement du régime politique en décembre 1989, une des premières décisions de la nouvelle direction roumaine est l'abrogation du Décret-loi numéro 358/1948. Cet acte représente le support normatif de la dissolution du culte gréco-catholique, en utilisant l'Église Orthodoxe comme entité d'assimilation – une unification instrumentée par le régime communiste qui rattache l'Église Greco-Catholique à l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine au nom de l'unité nationale. L'abrogation du décret de 1948[9] signifie l'annulation d'un acte qui a évacué la liberté de religion[10] de l'espace public, comme manifestation de la vision communiste de gestion du religieux. En raccrochant l'analyse à une lecture juridique, l'insertion de ce décret parmi les actes normatifs abrogés le 31 décembre 1989 indique le positionnement du nouveau régime de Bucarest par rapport à la religion, notamment à la liberté de religion :

---

[7] Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), écrivain, philosophe et musicien francophone. Dans son ouvrage *Du contrat social* (1762), Rousseau décrit le pacte entre ceux qui gouverne et ceux qui sont gouvernés sous la forme d'un accord réciproque fondé sur une religion civile. Chaque État doit définir un code moral et ceux qui acceptent ce code seront admis au corps de la société, ceux qui le rejettent seront proscrits. Son idée c'est d'intégrer les religions dans une profession de foi civile. De plus, il considère que l'État a la permission d'interdire les religions si elles ne respectent pas le code civil. (Durkheim, 1918, 1–23, 129–161).

[8] A ne pas confondre le champ spatial de la compétence normative de l'État avec le territoire de l'État en question.

[9] Le Décret-loi n° 358/1.12.1948 est abrogé par le Décret-loi n° 9/31.12.1989.

[10] En réaction à la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, le protestant Pierre Bayle fait un pas important vers la sacralisation de la *liberté de religion* par le refus de toute contrainte dans le choix de la confession. Il est le premier à dire que l'athéisme ne remet pas en question le bon fonctionnement de la société et de l'État. (McKenna; Paganini, 2004, 40–57)

« Dans le but de l'évacuation immédiate de la législation de notre pays des certaines réglementations légales émises par l'ancien régime communiste autoritaire qui, par leur caractère discriminatoire, injuste, ont apporté de graves préjudices matériaux et moraux au peuple roumain, aux intérêts légitimes des tous les citoyens, au déroulement des relations normales avec les autres États [...] » [11]

Le rôle du fait religieux dans la sphère politique est défini un an plus tard dans la Constitution de la Roumanie[12]. Le texte sera modifié et complété en 2003 par une loi de révision[13], approuvée par le referendum national des 18–19 octobre 2003[14]. En tant qu'acte juridique qui institue l'État dans sa qualité de personne morale, la Constitution trace le contour d'une mosaïque de valeurs et de principes directrices. De ce fait, la Roumanie est définie en tant qu'État « national, souverain et indépendant, unitaire et indivisible »[15], « la patrie commune et indivisible de tous ses citoyens, sans distinction de race, de nationalité, d'origine ethnique, de langue, de religion, de sexe, d'opinion, d'appartenance politique, de fortune ou d'origine sociale »[16]. Ces valeurs et principes construisent un cadre référentiel, tout en délimitant l'ossature de l'État. De ce point de vue, nous pouvons examiner ce cadre de valeurs de la perspective du code moral définit par Rousseau – un code établit par l'État pour encadrer les exigences de l'appartenance au corps de la société. Afin de garantir « l'unité du peuple roumain et la solidarité de ses citoyens[17] », « l'État reconnaît et garantit aux personnes appartenant aux minorités nationales le droit de conserver, de développer et d'exprimer leur identité ethnique, culturelle, linguistique et religieuse. »[18] Ces stipulations définissent le respect par l'État roumain de la pluralité identitaire, ce qui lui donne un caractère multiethnique, multiculturelle, plurilingue et aussi multiconfessionnel. Afin d'intégrer l'ensemble de citoyens dans le corps de la société, l'État multiethnique et multiconfessionnel doit définir des normes qui établissent la place de la religion dans la sphère sociale. De cette manière, il établit ce que Rousseau désigne un *code moral*, un ensemble de valeurs et de principes qui

---

[11] *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, n° 9/31 décembre 1989.

[12] La Constitution de la Roumanie, publiée au *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, I[re] Partie, n° 233/21 novembre 1991, approuvée par le référendum national du 8 décembre 1991.

[13] La Loi de révision de la Constitution de la Roumanie n° 429/2003, publiée au *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, I[re] Partie, n° 758/29 octobre 2003, republiée par le Conseil législatif, en vertu de l'art. 152 de la Constitution, les dénominations y étant mises à jour et les textes renumérotés (l'art. 152 est devenu, dans la forme republiée, l'art. 156).

[14] La Loi est entrée en vigueur à la date de 29 octobre 2003, date de la publication au *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, I[re] Partie, n° 758/29 octobre 2003 de la Décision de la Cour constitutionnelle n° 3/22 octobre 2003 confirmant le résultat du referendum national des 18-19 octobre 2003 sur la Loi de révision de la Constitution de la Roumanie.

[15] La Constitution de la Roumanie, publiée au *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, I[re] Partie, n° 767/31 octobre 2003, art. 1. 1.

[16] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 4. 2.

[17] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 4. 1.

[18] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 6. 1.

font l'objet d'un contrat consenti par l'adhésion positive. Finalement, le rapport entre l'État et la religion est définit par un transfert de la transcendance du champ religieux au champ étatique. Si auparavant c'était l'Église qui concevait le code moral et le pouvoir politique l'appropriait, dans l'acception de Rousseau l'État devient l'acteur qui domine et qui élabore un code, l'Église n'étant que l'acteur qui se rapporte à cette base.

Vu les imbrications dans la sphère publique de cette mosaïque sociale, la Constitution fait preuve de la nécessité de trouver un équilibre entre l'ordre publique et la liberté d'expression, de conscience et d'association. Le législateur roumain garantie la liberté de pensée, d'opinion et de religion[19] mais établit également son cadre de manifestation, définit par « un esprit de tolérance et de respect réciproque »[20], afin d'éviter toutes formes, tous moyens, actes ou actions de discorde religieuse entre les cultes[21]. Le non-respect du code de valeurs de l'État, fondé sur des croyances sociales prédéfinies, justifie une possible interdiction par l'État des manifestations ou même des religions qui sortent du cadre normatif conçu. Cette obligation positive de l'État d'organiser et de garantir l'ordre publique est stipulée également par l'article 9. 2 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme :

« La liberté de manifester sa religion ou ses convictions ne peut faire l'objet d'autres restrictions que celles qui, prévues par la loi, constituent des mesures nécessaires, dans une société démocratique, à la sécurité publique, à la protection de l'ordre, de la santé ou de la morale publiques, ou à la protection des droits et libertés d'autrui. »[22]

En effet, l'État est le cadre dont différentes libertés se manifestent et dans le même temps, il est responsable de la préservation de l'ordre publique. Par conséquent, l'interventionnisme de l'État est nécessaire si certains comportements ou manifestations sont incompatibles avec ses principes ou portent atteinte à la sécurité ou aux intérêts légitimes des autres citoyens.

Si le cadre de manifestation et d'interaction des mouvements religieux est définit et encadré par les normes constitutionnelles, le rapport de l'État avec la religion connaît, lui aussi, une expression juridique dans la Constitution :

« Les cultes religieux sont autonomes par rapport à l'État et jouissent de son soutien, y compris par les facilités accordées pour donner une assistance religieuse dans l'armée, dans les hôpitaux, dans les établissements pénitentiaires, dans les asiles et dans les orphelinats. »[23]

---

[19] « La liberté de pensée et d'opinion, ainsi que la liberté de religion ne peuvent être limitées sous aucune forme. Nul ne peut être contraint à adopter une opinion ou à adhérer à une religion qui soient contraires à ses convictions. » (Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 29.1).
[20] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 29. 2.
[21] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 29. 4.
[22] Convention européenne des droits de l'homme, art. 9. 2.
[23] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 29. 5.

De plus, la Constitution précise la liberté des cultes religieux ainsi que leur droit de s'organiser conformément à leurs propres statuts, dans les conditions fixées par la loi[24]. Le caractère autonome des cultes religieux par rapport à l'État indique la séparation entre la religion et le pouvoir politique. Le fait que le législateur offre un espace d'expression et de manifestation aux cultes religieux c'est une manière de garantir la liberté de religion. Néanmoins, cette liberté ne doit pas être comprise séparément du respect de l'ordre publique. Par conséquent, afin de permettre aux individus issus de divers communautés de vivre ensemble, il faut définir un code qui établisse la place de la religion dans la sphère sociale. Ce positionnement souligne la difficulté de trouver un équilibre entre les enjeux de la liberté, sous toutes ses ramifications, et l'obligation positive de l'État de garantir la liberté de chaque individu tout en assurant l'ordre publique. Cet ensemble de prescriptions qui énoncent des droits et des obligations et qui a comme support formel un acte juridique, la Constitution, montre les valeurs sous entendues de l'État roumain en tant que personne morale ainsi que les constructions qu'elles relèvent[25].

2. Les nouveaux enjeux de la religion : évolutions et perspectives

Les normes constitutionnelles définissent l'espace normatif national. Néanmoins, l'engagement de la Roumanie dans le processus d'intégration dans l'Union Européenne apporte comme élément de nouveauté le droit communautaire. Le rapport juridique entre l'État et la religion peut être dorénavant imaginé comme un espace normatif à double spatialité : d'un côté la dimension nationale, de l'autre côté la dimension externe, européenne et internationale. Le rapport entre la sphère politique et la religion peut être défini comme une imbrication de ces deux espaces normatifs, ayant une intersection au niveau horizontal – les lois nationales – et une superposition au niveau vertical – les traités internationaux. Dans cette perspective, la *Loi concernant la liberté religieuse et le régime général des cultes* peut être regardée comme une transposition des principes communautaires au niveau national. Cette appropriation normative s'opère assez lentement et se concrétise sous la contrainte de la procédure d'adhésion à l'Union Européenne. Après 16 ans de débats, la loi est promulguée le 26 décembre 2006, 5 jours avant l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union Européenne. Le premier article confère à l'État le rôle de garant de la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion.

« L'État roumain respecte et garantit le droit fondamental à la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion pour toute personne vivant sur le territoire de la Roumanie, con-

---

[24] Constitution de la Roumanie, art. 29. 3.
[25] Du point de vue juridique, l'État est une *personne morale* parce qu'il n'existe qu'avec l'acte juridique qui l'institue. En même temps, l'État est un *fait* parce qu'il préexiste, du point de vue territorial, a un acte juridique, à savoir la Constitution.

formément à la Constitution et aux traités internationaux auxquels la Roumanie est partie. »
[26]

  Le fait que l'État roumain *respecte et garantit* la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion en tant que droit fondamental indique son double rapport avec ces valeurs. D'abord, les libertés créditées représentent un principe qui édifie les rapports entre l'État et la religion. Ce principe trouve sa nature juridique dans un droit, à savoir le droit de liberté de religion. L'assurance d'un droit entraîne une obligation juridique de la part l'État. De ce fait, la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion pourrait être examinée en tant que principe mais aussi en tant que responsabilité de nature juridique de la part de l'État. Un autre élément introduit par le premier article est la dimension spatiale. D'un côté la loi définit son champ d'applicabilité, c'est à dire le territoire de la Roumanie, un élément spatial qui a comme caractéristique la fixité ; de l'autre côté, le texte de la loi invoque une double spatialité normative : une première nationale, par l'invocation de la Constitution, donc du champ de compétence normative de l'État roumain, et une deuxième qui renvoie aux traités internationaux auxquels la Roumanie est partie, ce qui indique un espace normatif externe. Cette double dimension révèle la fluidité entre le champ normatif interne et celui international.

  De plus, la loi prévoit l'autonomie des cultes, la neutralité de l'État par rapport à tous les cultes reconnus, son obligation de ne pas favoriser ou promouvoir l'attribution des privilèges ou de créer des discriminations entre les cultes reconnus, en vertu du fait qu'en Roumanie n'existe pas de religion d'État. Le fait que l'État n'a pas de religion est une garantie de sa neutralité par rapport à toute religion, élément essentiel pour la liberté de religion. Ce principe de la neutralité de l'État par rapport à la sphère religieuse est prévu par l'article 9 de la Convention Européenne des Droits de l'Homme, ce qui indique une superposition du champ normatif externe au champ normatif national :

  « Toute personne a droit à la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion ; ce droit implique la liberté de changer de religion ou de conviction, ainsi que la liberté de manifester sa religion ou sa conviction individuellement ou collectivement, en public ou en privé, par le culte, l'enseignement, les pratiques et l'accomplissement des rites. »[27]

  La neutralité l'État par rapport aux cultes est un indicateur de la garantie de la liberté de religion. Cependant, si l'État construit un cadre de manifestation du phénomène religieux, c'est toujours lui qui trace ses limites. Cette intervention est légitimée par l'obligation positive de l'État d'organiser et de garantir l'ordre publique :

  « La liberté de manifester sa croyance religieuse ne peut faire l'objet d'autres restrictions que celles prévues par la loi et qui constituent des mesures nécessaires dans une société

---

[26] Loi n° 489/2006 sur la liberté religieuse et le régime général des cultes, publiée au *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, I[re] Partie, n° 11/08.01.2007, art. 1, 1.

[27] La Convention européenne des droits de l'homme, art. 9.

démocratique à la sécurité publique, à la protection de l'ordre, de la santé ou de la morale publique ou à la protection des droits et des libertés fondamentales de l'homme. »[28]

L'État ne peut pas émettre des jugements de valeur par rapport à la foi des individus. Il doit assurer la libre manifestation des croyances de chacun, mais dans le même temps, il a la tâche d'analyser l'incidence sociale de diverses manifestations religieuses. Dans cette optique, il devient un garant de ses valeurs et principes et doit prendre attitude contre toute atteinte au code moral qui le définit. Par conséquent, l'incompatibilité d'un mouvement ou d'une manifestation avec les principes de la démocratie légitime l'interventionnisme étatique dans la sphère des libertés de ses citoyens.

Une nouveauté législative des rapports juridiques entre l'État roumain et la sphère de la religion est l'attribution des qualités de *partenaires sociaux* et *facteurs de la paix sociale* aux cultes reconnus[29]. Toutefois, la loi suscite un grand nombre de réactions contestataires de toutes les parties. A part de l'imprécision terminologique imputée par les juristes, une forte critique lui est apportée par l'Église Unie à Rome, Gréco-Catholique qui décrit le nouveau projet législatif comme un système juridique favorable aux orthodoxes[30]. Par contre, l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine apprécie que *le système des cultes* adopté par cet acte juridique diminue certains de ses droits fondamentaux[31]. Ce système représente le cadre légal établi par l'État roumain pour la manifestation des cultes. Créé par Napoléon Bonaparte comme solution pour la paix sociale et la stabilité de son État après la révolution de 1789[32], ce système a

---

[28] Loi n°489/2006, art. 2. 2.

[29] Grigoriță, 2007, 178–205.

[30] Grigoriță, 2007, 161–163.

[31] Grigoriță, 2007, 203.

[32] Avant 1789, la religion structurait l'État et la société française. Le catholicisme était la religion du roi, du royaume et des habitants nés sujets du roi, ce qui faisait possible l'accès aux charges et aux honneurs uniquement pour les sujets catholiques. La Révolution apporte la nécessité d'une redéfinition de la place de la religion dans l'État et donc la séparation de la citoyenneté et de la religion catholique. Lorsqu'il s'empare du pouvoir, en 1799, Napoléon hérite d'une situation religieuse critique : la hiérarchie catholique rêve d'un retour au régime de chrétienté (ou catholicité) qui a prévalu jusqu'en 1789, le personnel de la République (consulaire) qui a fait la Révolution est hostile à l'Église catholique. Napoléon doit sortir du conflit destructeur qui oppose l'Église catholique à l'État et qui affaiblit son pouvoir. La solution est l'élaboration d'un compromis partiellement négocié avec la papauté. En 1801, la France négocie une convention internationale avec le Saint-Siège, le concordat, qui admet dans son préambule que le catholicisme est la « religion de la grande majorité des citoyens français ». A cela s'ajoute les Articles organiques : ajoutés unilatéralement par l'État, ils sont très favorables aux droits de l'État (auteur : Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis). Le Concordat et les Articles organiques édifient la loi du 18 germinal an X (8 avril 1802) qui instaure le régime des cultes reconnus. Les cultes reconnus ont un caractère de service public. Elles bénéficient d'honneurs, préséances, privilèges, financement public, donc de la protection de l'État, mais elles se trouvent dans le même temps sous la surveillance étatique (nomination et tutelle administrative). L'originalité de l'État napoléonien est qu'il n'est pas confessionnel, il ne se prononce pas sur la vérité religieuse. Dans cette acception, la religion est le support de la morale commune, donc de l'ordre public. Les quatre cultes reconnus sont : le catholicisme, le protes-

été introduit pour la première fois dans l'espace roumain en 1928. La critique apportée par les orthodoxes vise donc son origine allogène, ce qui la prive d'une *tradition roumaine.* Par ailleurs, cette authenticité nationale est une indication de l'Union Européenne qui conseille chaque État d'établir un système de relations entre la sphère politique et celle religieuse qui soit en consonance avec sa tradition et ses propres réalités. Par conséquent, la vision qui se crayonne dans la presse orthodoxe est que le trait représentatif essentiel du peuple roumain se dégage de la foi orthodoxe et que, « [...] à part de la conservation de l'unité, le prochain millénaire demande du christianisme roumain son apport spécifique à la maison commune européenne. »[33] De cette façon, les orthodoxes pensent que cette spécificité qui manque à la nouvelle loi devrait trouver la réponse dans la doctrine chrétienne orthodoxe concernant la relation État-Église[34]. Par conséquent, les réactions négatives des cultes par rapport à cette loi ont comme noyau la méfiance de l'absence d'une impartialité effective de l'État. De ce fait, le fondement du rapport entre l'État et le fait religieux, à savoir la neutralité, est mis en question par les bénéficiaires de cette loi. Une autre réflexion qui découle de la critique des confessions chrétiennes par rapport à la *Loi sur la liberté religieuse et le régime général des cultes* concerne l'introduction dans le langage de la société roumaine de l'idée d'appartenance à l'Union Européenne. L'aspiration d'intégration dans les structures communautaires est désormais présente dans le discours public et devient une réalité de plus en plus présente dans l'imaginaire collectif. De ce fait, la confession orthodoxe utilise un conseille de l'Union Européenne comme argument justifiant sa vision concernant le système juridique à mettre en place. De plus, cette affinité pour les valeurs constitutives de la construction européenne se reflète dans la transposition des principes communautaires au niveau national.

Conclusions

Après la chute du communisme, l'État roumain commence un processus complexe de mise en place des structures et des mécanismes démocratiques. L'aménagement du champ de compétence normative de l'État implique une reconfiguration des rapports entre la sphère politique et celle religieuse. Toutefois, la gestion du religieux impose de nombreux enjeux pour le gouvernement démocratique à cause d'un héritage sombre du régime communiste. La formule choisie implique une collaboration entre les deux champs qui se rejoignent pour définir l'ossature des valeurs morales de la société roumaine. Selon cette approche, l'État n'est pas légitimé à émettre des jugements de valeurs concernant les fois religieuses ou bien la non-croyance de ses citoyens, il doit uniquement créer un cadre propice à la liberté de conscience. Par contre, l'intervention étatique dans cet espace de liberté est nécessaire et justifiée pour interdire toutes manifestations contraires au code civil établit. Par con-

---

tantisme avec ses deux traditions, le calvinisme et le luthéranisme, et le judaïsme. Quant aux agnostiques et aux athées, ils ne sont pas persécutés mais leur absence de religion les situe en dehors du consensus selon lequel la religion est facteur de moralisation, donc garante du lien social. (Poulat ; Gelbard, 2010, 270–280.)

[33] Dragomir, 1990, 38.

[34] Grigoriţă, 2007, 201–203.

séquent, l'intervention de l'État dans la sphère religieuse est justifiée par l'obligation positive du pouvoir étatique de garantir son code de valeurs.

La consolidation des structures démocratiques entraîne l'aspiration de la Roumanie d'intégration dans l'Union Européenne, concrétisée par la signature du Traité d'adhésion le 25 avril 2005 et qui permet à la Roumanie de rejoindre l'Union Européenne le 1 janvier 2007. Par la suite, le rapport juridique entre l'État roumain et la religion est définit par l'articulation de deux espaces normatifs, celui national et celui communautaire. De ce fait, ce rapport doit trouver une cohérence normative et répondre dans le même temps à la spécificité interne de l'État roumain, ce qui se concrétise dans la compatibilité entre la Constitution, la *Loi sur la liberté religieuse et le régime général des cultes* et la liberté de religion.

Bibliographie

Brăgea, Elena-Cristina. "L'Église Greco-Catholique de Roumanie entre communisme et démocratie". En: *O Odigos. La guida*, n° 2/2017, pp. 17–20.

Dragomir, Silviu, "Primejdia episcopiei greco-catolice maghiare (Le danger du diocèse gréco-catholique hongroise)". En: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, n° 3–4/, 1990, pp. 34–38.

Durkheim, Émile. "Le « Contrat social » de Rousseau". En: *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, tome XXV (1918), pp. 1–23 ; et 129–161.

Grigoriță, Georgică. "Legea nr. 489/2006 și Biserica Ortodoxă Română (La Loi n° 489/2006 et l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine)". En: *Studii Teologice*, n° 2/2007, pp. 178–205.

Guilband, Mathilde. "La loi de séparation de 1905 eu l'impossible rupture". En: *Revue d'histoire du XIXᵉ siècle*, n° 28/2004, pp. 163–173.

La Constitution de la Roumanie. En: *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, Iʳᵉ Partie, n° 767/31 octobre 2003.

Loi n° 489/2006 sur la liberté religieuse et le régime général des cultes. En: *Moniteur officiel de la Roumanie*, Iʳᵉ Partie, n° 11/08.01.2007.

McKenna, Anthony; Paganini, Gianni. *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres. Philosophie, religion, critique*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004.

Poulat Émile; Gelbard Maurice (collab.). *Scruter la loi de 1905. La République française et la religion*. Paris: Fayard, 2010.

Simon, Costantin. "Ortodossia e cattolici nella Romania socialista". En: *La Civiltà Cattolica*, n° 9/1989, pp. 231–243.

Terestchenko, Michel. *L'ère des ténèbres*. Lormont: Éditions Le Bord de l'eau, 2015.

Voltaire. *Traité sur la tolérance*. 1763. www.bibebook.com [Consulté le 27.10.2017].