

• *Personalities in Science and Education* •

APOSTOL ARSAKI: A STATESMANSHIP FILLED WITH TRIALS, AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

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Abstract. Was he Romanian? Was he Greek? A prestigious physician? A Freud forerunner? A Balkan statesman? The main 19th century theoretical adversary of Marx and Marxism? A great reformer of educational systems? Truth to tell, Apostol Arsaki was all these: a famous oculist (the first one in the Balkans to have the relevant university degree) but a right-wing Romanian statesman, who granted large sums of money to Greece, in order to set up girls' schools working along the lines he regarded as being morally (and spiritually) the right ones. The study of his life and achievements is a daunting task; nevertheless is a righteous mission; so let us proceed.

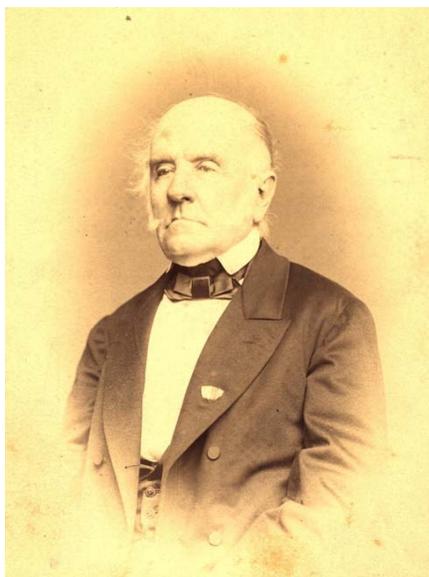
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Preamble

The early years

Apostol Arsaki, a Vlach¹⁾, was born in Hotahova, a small village now in Albania, near Përmet. It was in 1783 or 1784; and the Christian populations

of Epirus were still depressed following the measures the Sublime Porte had taken in order to cope with the menace of Russian troops' landing in the Western Balkans²). The foreseeable corollary was that all the Arsaki family left "stony Epirus"; for material and intellectual progress was no more possible there for not-Muslims, and settled in Bucharest, Wallachia, where prosperity smiled upon them. In point of fact, the Danubian Principalities, namely Wallachia and Moldavia, were under the Sultan's suzerainty only – and not under Ottoman sovereignty as the rest of the Balkan countries were; and the ruling social stratum was formed mostly by Phanariots, i.e. Graecized people from Constantinople, and their autochthonous acolytes. Gheorghe Arsaki, Apostol's uncle, who was the first of the family to migrate to Wallachia, grew rich very rapidly; and also did his brother Chiriac. The latter was the father of Apostol; and so the future statesman was given a good education by private tutors. Nonetheless, uncle George was sagacious enough to grasp at once the extraordinary intellectual gifts his nephew was endowed with; and, accordingly, not only did he suggest that the young Apostol should pursue further studies in Vienna, the famous capital of the Hapsburg Empire, but also he declared that he was ready to undertake the expense.



Apostol Arsaki

Ita factum est: in 1804 Apostol Arsaki was in Vienna. There he studied mainly Philosophy, but not being entirely fulfilled he enrolled, on 17th May, 1810, as a student in the University of Halle, in Germany³). After merely two years, on the 11th March, 1812, he was awarded his doctorate in Medicine and Surgery⁴). After that he traveled in Italy; and it was there that he wrote his famous book with reference to the nervous system of fishes⁵), a subject that was to be investigated by Sigmund Freud as well⁶). It seems that for some time Arsaki had it in mind to follow an academic career – and more specifically to be a professor at the University of Halle, his alma mater. But finally he changed his plans; and after having attended, in Vienna,

the courses of Ophthalmology of Georg Beer, he settled in Bucharest...and opted for a political career.

I

Politics

Arsaki is known mainly for his dispute with Marx and Communists. As a matter of fact, he was the first – and for many decades the last – European to contest the very notion of “proletarian” and “surplus-value”. This dispute took place in two stages: the first one in 1848, the revolutions’ and insurrections’ “Crazy Year” (*année folle*); and the other in 1860/1862, when the Romanian élite tried desperately to find a solution to the agrarian question, the social plague of the Romanian countries.

The 1848 revolution in Wallachia was clearly a radical one – far more radical than the insurrections in other European countries. Gheorghe Bibescu, the prince regnant of Wallachia, abdicated and a Provisional Government was formed under the... Metropolitan Neofit, i.e. the undoubted head of the Orthodox Church⁷). Arsaki was flabbergasted by the event. And much to his surprise, the Sublime Porte, Wallachia’s and Moldavia’s suzerain Power, as well as Russia, Protector of the two Romanian Principalities, were hesitating as to whether intervene and *manu militari* restore the political status quo or not. He sensed, moreover, that revolution in the Romanian Lands was somehow the corollary of the publication, in February of that same year, of the famous *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. He wrote, therefore, two “appeals”, one to the Imperial Court of Russia, and the other to the Ottoman Porte – and he did not mince his words: “If the revolution was triggered off so easily in Wallachia, the fault was that of prince Bibescu, who let the conspiracy be hatched before his very eyes, warranting to everybody that peace in the country was sure”⁸). What then of Bibescu’s thoughtlessness? “The chiefs of the insurrection became the masters of the country and of its resources; their subversive activity was henceforth boundless, for it was –somehow- legitimate”⁹). The impact of this legitimation was apparent: “All the country...[was] in terror. The freedom of Press...[did] exist – but only for their followers and by no means for their opponents. And the peasants [i.e. the enormous majority of the Romanian populations at those times], who used to laugh out loud at revolution and its adepts, ... [finally], terrified, were beginning to regard the whole situation as normal”. And the Parthian shot against (most probably) the metropolitan Neofit: “A fight of those who have something against those who do not have anything is now unavoidable; and the outcome of this fighting will be unhappy in every country in which the government is controlled by Communists”¹⁰). In short, in Arsaki’s opinion, after the 1848 insurrection, Wallachia was a communist

country; and this “source of Communism” would very soon be a real “cancer” that was going to “consume the surrounding countries”¹¹⁾.

Be that as it may; the point is that Arsaki’s appeals had not been fruitless. In September 1848, Ottoman troops crossed the border and overran Wallachia in order to overthrow the left-wing government; and Fuad efendi, their Commander-in-Chief, published an eloquent proclamation: “A revolution, born of the ghost of Communism, against which the whole of Europe is fighting now, was triggered off in your country”¹²⁾. Simultaneously the country was invaded by Russian troops, too. And the Russian general issued a proclamation in which “Anarchy” was pointed out as being the foe to be beaten in Wallachia¹³⁾. Given, moreover, that Moldavia, at the same time, was undergoing the same fate; the 1848 Revolution was over in the Romanian Lands.

“Anarchy...Communism”. As foretold, it is beyond all questions that the 1848 revolution in Wallachia and Moldavia was one of the most radical in Europe¹⁴⁾. It is noteworthy, moreover, that Arsaki was the first among the adversaries of Marxism to use the term: “Communism”; and his assertion that the struggle “of those who have something against those who do not have anything” was henceforth “unavoidable” and must be regarded as a riposte to the axiom of Marx that “our society is divided into two hostile classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat”¹⁵⁾. He was one of the very few in Europe then who grasped what was really going on. That is why, furthermore, the Ottoman and Russian proclamations to the Wallachians have been traced from his brainchild. This 1848 story, nevertheless, was simply the shape of things to come.

* * *

Politically speaking, the tragedy of Arsaki consisted in the very fact that the protagonists of the 1848 insurrection in Wallachia and Moldavia were the ones who vividly advocated the national integration of the Romanian People. It is a matter of fact that Alexandru Ioan Cuza was elected, in 1859, prince regnant of Moldavia first and of Wallachia afterwards¹⁶⁾. Cuza, nonetheless, was a skilled student of the 1848 revolution; it was clear, therefore, that the unification of the Romanian Lands under his – princely- scepter was going to jeopardize the very existence of the social stratum to which Arsaki belonged. It is noteworthy, moreover, that in 1859 Arsaki was the deputy chief of the Conservative Party of Wallachia. Its leader, Barbu Catargiu, was

the only Wallachian Conservative who did not adopt a clearly negative attitude as far as Cuza's election was concerned. But the Party's rank and file was wholeheartedly behind Arsaki. And given that the Conservatives had the majority in the Wallachian Assembly, it was for him to decide whether the Romanian Principalities would be united or not. And last but not least, Arsaki feared Cuza not only on a personal level but on another, i.e. an ideological one, too. As a matter of fact, he was one of the very few European statesmen to see clearly that very often Nationalism was, in those times, the vehicle of Marxism – and vice versa.

But Cuza's protector was Napoleon III, emperor of the French. For Cuza, an officer of the Moldavian Army before his election, had done his studies at Paris and was regarded as an avowed francophile¹⁷). And Arsaki clearly saw (given that the Crimean War was already over and Russia defeated) that France was to be the virtual Protecting Power of the Romanian Principalities. He did not, therefore, prevent the unification process of Wallachia and Moldavia under a unique hospodar¹⁸). On the contrary, he led the Conservative Party in voting in Cuza as Prince of Wallachia¹⁹).

What a paradoxical situation! Arsaki contributed decisively but almost involuntarily to the national integration of the Romanian People; and in doing so he paved the way for the coming to power of the 1848 revolution's surviving protagonists – and their followers and epigones as well. Therefore, an outstanding paradox of Modern European History was born: a “red” prince regnant at odds with two venerable right-wing statesmen. And the situation reached its peak, when, in May 1862, a project of agrarian law came up for consideration in the Assembly of the Unified Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. This project of law was of conservative inspiration; for it was based on a little book that Arsaki had written and published only a couple of years before on “The Question of Property”²⁰).

Although small, Arsaki's “Question of Property” is a very important work. Because it is one of the very few in which the Marxian and Marxist *Weltanschauung* is disputed on purely theoretical grounds (and it goes far beyond the concept of Nationalism as it is in vogue today). As a matter of fact, Arsaki was obsessed with two key ideas of Marxian/Marxist theory, namely the surplus-value and the proletarian ones. As for surplus-value, he underlined the following: “It is indisputable that land has no other value than the one that is given to it by the ploughman's labor. But the labor of the ploughman, too, has no other value than the one which is given to it by the land worked by him. For if there is a lot of land that remains unproductive, because there are not enough men to work on it, there are, on the other hand,

a lot of people who fade away, because there is no enough land to work”²²¹). And as far as the proletarian was concerned: “The peasant’s property consists of his livestock, his wagon, his plough and above all his work that was regarded by Turgot... as the most important, the most sacred, the most imprescriptible of all human properties. And it is the protection of these very properties by the State that makes the peasant able to see that there is a country worthy of his love and a government worthy of his obedience”²²²). In other words, according to Arsaki, wherever the proletarianization of the populace is taking place, ipso facto the State will be to blame.

Truth to tell, Arsaki wrote having in mind ploughmen, i.e. rural workers. It is impossible, nonetheless, to deny that his assertions were valid for workers in general as well²³). In point of fact, he was a follower of the Physiocrats, the French economists who believed that wealth derives mainly from land; and Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727–1781) was a leading authority for him. He was not very hopeful that industry is the key to humankind’s prosperity²⁴); and he believed that commerce may prosper only if engaged in freely, without government interference²⁵). In brief, he was a right-wing statesman; and he was one of the very few who understood what the key difference between Right and Left was. “Men”, he underlined, “must be mature, ready for everything [they want]; and they will be mature enough to own something if they esteem its true worth and acquire it thanks to their toil”²⁶). Otherwise the acquisitions perish – as do those who are not worthy of them²⁷).

* * *

Be that as it may; in May and in June 1862, B. Catargiu, prime minister of the Unified Principalities, spoke four times in favour of the scheme for agrarian legislation already submitted to the Assembly of the Unified Principalities. This project (in law) involved reform similar to the very one emperor Alexander II had put into practice in Russia merely a year earlier, in 1861. The key element in both the Russian and the Romanian reforms was the rural districts²⁸). The project was about to be put to the vote, when, on 8th June, 1862, Catargiu was assassinated. Even today no evidence exists as to his murderer. Most probably, nevertheless, it was Alexandru Ioan Cuza, i.e. the prince regnant, who was the instigator of that “perfect crime”²⁹). After that tragedy, Arsaki assumed the premiership of his country for a couple of weeks³⁰); but he was afraid of meeting with the same sad fate as B. Catargiu. So he resigned;

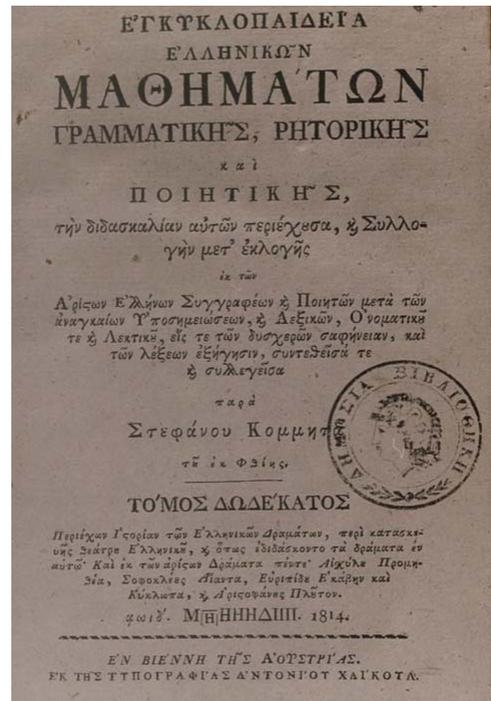
and his successor, Nicolae Kretzulescu, closed the matter. The Catargiu/Arsaki agrarian law was never promulgated; and Arsaki died in 1874.

II The Education of the Women

While still in Vienna and attending the ophthalmology courses of G. Beer, Arsaki had written and published an essay in classical Greek on the gender issue in ancient Sparta and Athens³¹). His findings were astonishing: Women lived on equal terms with men in Sparta but not in Athens. In other words, the democratic régime of the latter was less favourably disposed to the female gender than the authoritarian one of the former was. It was the beginning of his rupture with the Greek/Graecized progressionist intelligentsia who were then preparing for the outbreak of the 1821 revolution. As a matter of fact, A. Arsaki had played absolutely no part in the Alexandru Ipsilanti and Tudor Vladimirescu uprising in Romanian lands; that is why he was not affected by the ‘purge’ of the Greek elements that took place in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Ottoman Porte had again taken control of the Danubian Principalities. Nonetheless, his ‘divorce’ with the left-wing thinkers was absolute. And he was sagacious enough to understand that women are the ‘barometer’ of every society’s moral condition. The situation in Wallachia was already a typical one. The establishment of the Phanariot régime in the Romanian Principalities (in Moldavia in 1711 and in Wallachia in 1715³²) involved many reforms, *because in little more than one hundred years [1711–1821] all domains of social life –finance, agriculture, administration, justice, the church, and culture- were the object of a vast reorganization that led ...to the modernization of Romanian society*³³). This modernization was, nonetheless, very controversial. As pointed out by Nicolae Bălcescu, the leading figure of the 1848 revolution in the Romanian Principalities, the Phanariots³⁴) established a kind of “State serfdom”³⁵), which degraded the Romanian peasantry completely. Simultaneously the Phanariots, strongly backed by the Greek Church, i.e. the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, conveyed the ideas of the Philosophers, who were then paving the way for the French Revolution. The situation of upper class women in Bucharest may be regarded as an eloquent example. The rulers from Phanar, anxious to display their liberalism in the retrograde order prevailing in South-Eastern Europe, gave women a quasi-absolute economic independence. It was mandatory for every *pater familias* to provide his daughter(s) with a dowry corresponding

not to his own means but to the social position of his future son(s)-in-law³⁶). The dowry, moreover, was inalienable. For the husband had absolutely no legal right to it. As a matter of fact, in case of divorce he was obliged to refund *in toto* to his ex wife, who, according to the law, was the only person having the ‘freedom’ to give away a part of her dowry – not to her husband or even to her son(s) but only to her daughter(s). In sum, the women of the Wallachian aristocracy were most privileged. They did not concern themselves with education or families. Their only care was to be always pretty, even beautiful; and so their life was all told a struggle against the “Destructive Time”. Needless to say, this struggle often involved the economic ruin not of the wives but of their husbands – and their fathers as well³⁷).

It was a deplorable situation; and Arsaki had had a personal experience of it. One of his daughters, Elena, had married, under duress, an elderly man who, moreover, was bedridden. Later, while a young man was paying visits to the married couple, the young wife fell in love with him and became his mistress. Even Bucharest, the Enlightenment metropolis, was scandalized; and Arsaki repudiated his girl. No matter! After the bedridden husband’s death, the lovers ‘tied the knot’ anyway³⁸). It was with good reason; therefore, that Arsaki blamed the moral and intellectual climate the Phanariots had created in the Romanian Principalities for his daughter’s disreputable affair. The corollary was that he decided then to found not in Romanian Lands but in Greece -recently liberated from Ottoman sovereignty – conservative girls schools, where not even a trace of Enlightenment philosophy would be taught. And his beacon? A book published in Vienna in the last years of the eighteenth century. Its title was: “The true path to happiness”³⁹), and the author was the famous Dimitrie Darvari, a Vlach from Vlaho-Clisura, in south-western Macedonia, member of a wealthy and influential family, and



Frontispiece of the volume cited in the note 31

a relative of Arsaki's wife⁴⁰). Arsaki regarded D. Darvari as the only intellectual who was sincerely trying to espouse Christian teachings and marry them with the Philosophy of Ancient Greece thus avoiding bitter conflicts between them⁴¹).

And so Arsaki began donating, from 1850, very significant sums of money to the "Athenian Hetaeria of the Friends of Instruction" for his vision to materialize.

* * *

This Hetaeria was famous. It was founded in 1836, i.e. only seven years after the end of the 1821 Revolution in Greece and merely three after the Ottoman troops evacuated the Acropolis. Its foundation was by no means an exclusively philanthropic act. For as early as 1831 John Henry Hill, an American missionary of the Episcopalian Church, established a school for girls in Athens. His intentions were excellent; but he was regarded with suspicion by the – freshly crystallized- Greek establishment. By definition, the "Greek was anybody who was strictly Greek Orthodox"⁴²). It is beyond any doubt that this concept implied simply a rigid ritualism and not, of course, the revitalization of the Christian Faith in the recently liberated lands. But it was the very basis on which modern and contemporary Greek statehood is based. The subsequent? Abrupt abandonment of girls' education in Athens at the hands of an American Episcopalian 'scared' almost 'to death' both the politicians and the intellectuals of the tiny Kingdom of Greece. That is why, as foretold, eminent members of the Athenian society founded in 1836 the "Hetaeria of the Friends of Instruction" in order to promote women's education.

Nevertheless, the only tangible bond between Ancient and Modern Greece was poverty. In point of fact, the Hetaeria had run out of money already in 1846. Arsaki, therefore, was a real *deus ex machina* as regards it. For thanks to his generous donations, it could buy land in the very centre of Athens and build there an impressive "School for Girls". The impressive building stands even today⁴³). But far more important was its rôle during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The Hetaeria in fact was highly favored by almost every Greek government from 1850 on. It was a private association; but as far as its educational programme was concerned it was given the same status as was the government. Thanks to Arsaki's donation, it was able to establish a chain of schools not only throughout the Kingdom of Greece but also regions still under the Ottoman Porte's domination,

which were coveted by the Greeks. The girls, moreover, who had passed through the Hetaeria's primary and secondary schools could attend a special course and obtain a teacher's diploma. And with this very diploma they were able to find teaching posts not only in Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace but sometimes in Asia Minor as well. As a rule, they were paid by the Greek Orthodox communities. What of their mission? Above all – to encourage obedience to the Greek Church.

The point, however, is that A. Arsaki never condescended to visit the country on which he bestowed his money. The only condition, in fact, that he laid down for the disbursement of his money was that the building in the centre of Athens would be named after him (*Arsakeion*). Hetaeria tried to circumvent this condition, and as a result Arsaki's munificence dried up. Finally, everything was put to rights, but Arsaki never came to Athens.

It was up until the 1980s that the Hetaeria kept running its *Arsakeia* schools along the lines drawn up by its benefactor. But in 1981 a socialist party came to power – the first time in the turbulent history of Modern Greece. The corollary was that the socio-political régime changed in practice. The Hetaeria wished to function hand in hand with the New Era in order to maintain its privileged status. In the late 1980s, therefore, a radical change took place: education offered in the *Arsakeia* schools would be no longer solely for girls but for boys, too. It was a blatant violation of Arsaki's will; and nowadays there is an important and lively dispute in Athens whether this extreme change of the Hetaeria's educational character and rôle was a justifiable one. But, in fact, this is a debate on the essence of education to be given to the Greek youth; and a wholehearted and acceptable solution to this burning problem has not been found yet.

Acknowledgments. As usual, many thanks are due to Professor Michael Lumley for having read the manuscript and making many valuable suggestions.

Notes

¹ Most often called *Kouzovlachs* or even *Aromanians*. They are simply Vlachs settled, during the late Middle Ages, in the Southern Balkans. See mainly P. Aravantinos, *Μονογραφία περί Κουτσοβλάχων* (Athens: D. N. Karavias, 2000²), p. 47.

² It is noteworthy that an insurrection broke out in the Morea in 1770 at Russian instigation and that on 24th June of that same year, a Russian fleet, under British

command, destroyed the core of the Ottoman Navy in the waters of Çeşme, in the Archipelago, opposite Chios.

³ Information provided by the Secretariat of the University of Halle.

⁴ Archives of the Martin Luther University (Halle), *Theses Medicae quas consensu ordinis medici in regia Fredericiana Halensi praeside Ioann. Frider. Meckel... pro gradu doctoris summisque in Medicina et Chirurgia honoribus legitime consequendis d. XI. Mart. MDCCCXII publice defendet [sic] Apostolus Arsaky, Epirota*, Halle: Hendel, n.d.

⁵ Apostoli Arsakyi, Epirota, *Commentatio de piscium cerebro et medulla spinali scripta auspiciis et ductu Ioannis Frederici Meckelii denuo edita fragmentis de eadem re additis ab Gustavo Guilielmo Minter. Cum tabulis tribus*, Leipzig , 1836².

⁶ Sigmund Freud, *H ζωή μου και η ψυχανάλυση*. Translated into Greek by Mina Zographou (Athens: Tsogas & Photopoulos, 1950), p. 9.

⁷ Dan Berindei, *La Révolution Roumaine de 1848–1849* (Bucharest : Editura Enciclopedică, 1996), p. 26.

⁸ Cornelia Bodea. *1848 la Români. O istorie în date și mărturii* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1982), p. 828.

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 824–825.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 827–828.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 828.

¹² Academia Română. Publicațiunile Princesa Alina Știrbei, *Acte și documente relative la Istoria Renascerei României publicate de Dimitrie A. Sturdza și C. Colescu-Vartic*, vol. I (Bucharest: Carol Göbl, 1900), p. 354.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 357.

¹⁴ Dan Berindei, *La Révolution Roumaine de 1848–1849*, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁵ Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Translated into Greek by George Kottis (Athens: Themelio, 1982), p. 42.

¹⁶ See mainly Dan Berindei, *L'union des Principautés roumaines*, Bucarest : Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1967; Marcel Emmerit, *Victor Place et la politique française en Roumanie à l'époque de l'union*, Bucarest : E. Marvan, 1931; T.W. Riker, *The making of Romania. The study of an international problem*, Oxford University Press and London: Humphrey Milford, 1931.

¹⁷ Frédéric Damé, *Histoire de la Roumanie contemporaine depuis l'avènement des princes indigènes jusqu'à nos jours (1822–1900)*, Paris : Félix Alcan, 1900, p. 112; Dumitru Vitcu, *Diplomații Unirii* (Bucharest : Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979), p. 103.

¹⁸ Hospodar=a prince regnant under ottoman suzerainty.

¹⁹ G. Z. Petresco, « Le premier oculiste titré en Valachie », *Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine de Roumanie*, fifth year, tome X, No 4, offprint (Bucharest : Culture, 1940), p. 7.

- ²⁰ Ap. Arsake, *La question de la propriété*, Bucharest : Adolf Ulrich, 1860.
- ²¹ Ibidem, p. 18.
- ²² Ibidem, p. 37.
- ²³ Karl Marx, moreover, virtually repeated Arsaki's assertions in the *Capital*: *This was actually occurred in the last colony founded by Englishmen – the Swan River Settlement- where a great mass of capital, of seeds, implements and cattle has perished for want of labourers to use it* (Karl Marx, *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1. Introduced by Ernest Mandel. Translated by Ben Fowkes [Penguin Classics, 1990], p. 934.) It is noteworthy that volume 1 of the *Capital*, was published in 1867, i.e. five years after the publication of Arsaki's small book.
- ²⁴ Ap. Arsake, *La question de la propriété*, op.cit., pp. 47, 54.
- ²⁵ Ibidem, p. 36.
- ²⁶ Ibidem, p. 35.
- ²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 34-35.
- ²⁸ Or parish. As far as the reform of Alexander II is concerned, see mainly *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XI: *Material Progress and World-Wide Problems, 1870–98*. Edited by F. H. Hinsley (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 352 ff.
- ²⁹ See mainly the book by Stelian Neagoe (ed.), *Cazul Barbu Catargiu. O crimă politică perfectă*, Bucharest: Scripta, 1992.
- ³⁰ Stelian Neagoe, *Istoria guvernelor României de la începuturi – 1859 până în zilele noastre – 1999* (Bucharest: Machiavelli, 1999), p. 32.
- ³¹ *Εγκυκλοπαιδεία Ελληνικών Μαθημάτων... συντεθείσα τε και συλλεγείσα παρά Στεφάνου Κομμητά τού εκ Φθίης* (Vienna), vol. XII, pp. οβ'-οδ'.
- ³² See mainly Georges Castellan, *Histoire de la Roumanie* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1984), p. 16.
- ³³ Kurt W. Treptow (ed.), *A History of Romania* (Iași: The Center for Romanian Studies. The Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1996), p. 205.
- ³⁴ "Phanariot" does not mean "Greek". For the Phanariots were simply the wealthy Orthodox Christians, living near the Phanar Patriarchate at Constantinople. See A. N. Goudas, «Γιακωβάκης Ρίζος ο Νερουλός», *Βίοι Παράλληλοι των επί της αναγεννήσεως της Ελλάδος διαπρεμάντων ανδρών*, vol. II (Athens : X. N. Φιλαδελφεύς, 1870), p. 339; N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest : Association internationale d'études du Sud-est européen. Comité National Roumain, 1971), p. 237.
- ³⁵ [Nicolae Bălcescu], *Question économique des Principautés danubiennes* (Paris: Librairie de Charpentier, 1850), p. 17.
- ³⁶ See Félix Colson, *De l'état présent et de l'avenir des principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie* (Paris : A. Pougin, 1839), p. 158.
- ³⁷ Ibidem, pp. 159–160.
- ³⁸ Constantin Bălăceanu-Stolnici, *Saga Bălăcenilor. Șapte secole de istorie* (Bucharest : Editura Vitruviu, 2000²), pp. 267, 268.

³⁹ *Αληθής οδός εις την ευδαιμονίαν... υπό Δημητρίου του Δαρβάρεως ...*, Vienna : Νικόλαος Βενδότης, 1796.

⁴⁰ Truth to tell, of his first wife, Elena Darvari, who died as early as 1832. She was, nonetheless, Elena's, i.e. the bad girl's mother.

⁴¹ See mainly Despoina Loukianou-Mavridou and Ioannis Papadrianos, « Dimitrios Darvaris : sa contribution à l'évolution littéraire bulgare », *Πνευματικές σχέσεις Ελλήνων και Βουλγάρων από τα μέσα του ΙΕ' έως τα μέσα του ΙΘ' αιώνα* (Salonica : Institute for Balkan Studies, 1980), pp. 221–226.

⁴² According to the definition of John Capodistria, the first President of Greece. See Gaston Deschamps, *La Grèce d'aujourd'hui* (Paris : Armand Colin, 1892), p. 318.

⁴³ Now the headquarters of the Council of State, i.e. one of the supreme courts of Greece, are to be found there.

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