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Le congrès de Bucarest (1924) et l'internationalisation des études byzantines

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Andrei Timotin et Mihail Mitrea

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The Development of Byzantine Studies in Italy in the First Decades of the Twentieth Century Facing the International Context

Andrea Paribeni

Abstract: Although the growth of Byzantine studies in Italy has generally been hindered by a deep-seated prejudice against a historical period viewed as an era of servitude and antithetical to the values of ancestral Roman identity, starting from the early decades of the twentieth century both cultural institutions and scholars from various disciplines – literature, history, archaeology – began to dedicate their studies to the world of Byzantium. This article aims to shed light on this cultural phenomenon – one that was not devoid of political interests – by tracing the growing participation of Italian scholars in the early international Byzantine congresses, from the inaugural meeting in Bucharest to the fifth congress held in Rome, with particular attention to the conduct of the Italian delegation at the Third Congress in Athens.

Keywords: Byzantine studies in Italy, cultural policy under Fascism, Italian occupation of the Dodecanese

International congresses, periodically held in prestigious academic venues, often pursue some political aims alongside their primary scholarly objectives. In this respect, the International Congresses of Byzantine Studies are no exception: precisely because of their subject matter, which brings together scholars of diverse nationalities, cultural backgrounds, and political or religious orientations, these gatherings have often provided fertile ground for controversy and debate.[1] Recent studies by Florina

[1] It suffices to recall how profoundly the Cold War influenced both the organization of and participation in the Byzantine Congresses held in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. See P. Lemerle, "Les VI^{e} et VII^{e} Congrès internationaux d'études byzantines", *Revue historique* 202, 1949, p. 52-58;

Fodac, Marie Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, Sandrine Maufroy, and Aleksandar Ignjatović devoted to the early International Congresses of Byzantine Studies – that is, those held before the Second World War – have emphasized that these meetings were conceived as instruments for stimulating and ensuring the continuity of scholarly research across the various branches of Byzantine studies, with the explicit goal of fostering international collaboration.[2] They were also regarded as opportunities to re-establish relations among countries that had been on opposing sides during the First World War and whose borders – particularly in the Balkan region, which significantly hosted the first congresses – had been redrawn in the aftermath of the peace treaties.[3]

At first glance, Italian scholars might appear to have stood on the margins of this international context. Byzantine culture – generally regarded as the legacy of an era of servitude and as the antithesis of the identity values of Roman ancestry – had long suffered from deep-seated distrust, a sentiment that intensified during the Fascist period.[4] Nevertheless, Italian academic and political institutions were aware of the need

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V. Laurent, "Le VIII[e] Congrès international des études byzantines", *Revue des études byzantines* 8, 1950, p. 297-299; H. Grégoire, "Le IX[e] Congrès des études byzantines, Thessalonique, 12-25 Avril 1953", *Byzantion* 22, 1952, p. 405-436. For the particular case of the congresses held – or planned to be held – in Istanbul, see B. Kitapçı Bayrı, "The 10th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Istanbul, September 15-21, 1955", *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1, 2019, p. 123-144; Ş. Dönbekci, B. Bayram, and Z. Olgun, "Byzantium in Exile", in B. Anderson and M. Ivanova (eds.), *Is Byzantine Studies a Colonialist Discipline? Toward a Critical Historiography*, University Park, PA, 2023, p. 58-72; K. Durak, "The Archive of the Organizing Committee for the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Organizing a Congress in Istanbul and the State of Byzantine Studies in Turkey in 1950s", in E. Akyürek and M. Özkılıç (eds.), *A Century of Byzantine Studies in Turkey: Papers from the Sixth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 22-24 June 2023*, Istanbul, 2024, p. 33-68.

[2] F. Fodac, "Le premier Congrès International d'études byzantines (Bucarest, 14-20 avril 1924). Prémisses et contexte historique d'organisation", *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 5, 2006, p. 509-522; M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, "L'histoire des congrès internationaux des études byzantines – première partie", *Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα* 18, 2008, p. 11-34; S. Maufroy, "Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines: entre nationalisme scientifique et construction internationale d'une discipline", *Revue germanique internationale* 12, 2010, p. 229-240; A. Ignjatović, "Affecting Consonance, Striving for Dominance: Scholarship and Politics at the Congresses of Byzantine Studies in the Balkans, 1924-1934", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21, 2019, p. 696-715.

[3] The awareness of a profound shift in the geopolitical balance of Europe – and particularly of the Balkan region – is clearly articulated in a 1924 document entitled "Proposal by the Romanian Delegation Regarding the Submission to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the Question of a Loan for Intellectual Purposes": "Dans les nouveaux États institués au Centre et au Sud-Est de l'Europe, où la guerre a produit d'importants changements et suscité l'apparition de problèmes extrêmement complexes, toute la conception de la vie doit être adaptée aux Nouvelles circonstances et parfois même entièrement réinventée". See D. Laqua, "Internationalisme ou affirmation de la nation? La coopération intellectuelle transnationale dans l'entre-deux-guerres", *Critique internationale* 52, 2011, p. 51-67, at p. 57.

[4] The censorious attitude toward Byzantine art, which became even harsher during the Fascist regime, is well illustrated by M. Bernabò, *Ossessioni bizantine e cultura artistica in Italia. Tra D'Annunzio, fascismo e dopoguerra*, Naples, 2003. By contrast, the myth of ancient Rome represented one of the

to expand and consolidate the nation's prestige and authority vis-à-vis the newly formed Balkan states through the instruments of cultural diplomacy. With the ultimate aim of establishing research centres that could both open avenues for the development of cultural spheres relevant to foreign policy and lay the foundations for future economic prospects, a group of Italian scholars founded the *Istituto per l'Europa Orientale* in 1921, together with its official journal, *L'Europa Orientale*. The inaugural issue included an article by Giuseppe Cammelli offering a nuanced overview of Byzantine studies in Italy.[5] Although the institute was primarily devoted to Russian and Slavic linguistic and literary studies, it also promoted research in other related fields.[6] In this spirit, three years later, the first volume of *Studi bizantini* appeared (fig. 1). This publication was closely linked to the Bucharest Congress since, according to the editors' intentions, it was meant to represent Italy's contribution to the Congress – had it been released in time.[7]

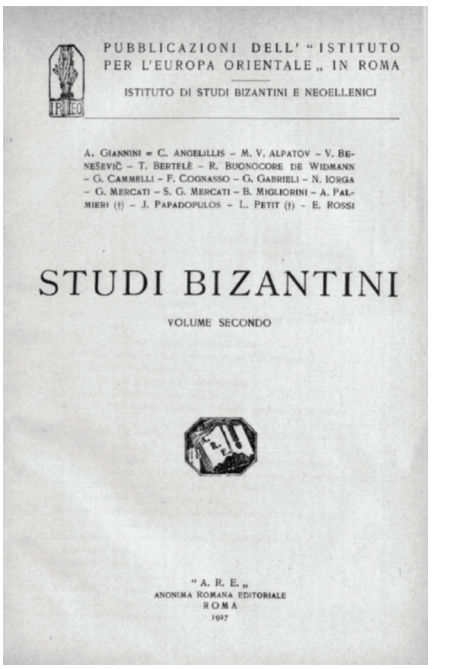

Fig. 1. Cover of *Studi bizantini* 1, 1924

most pervasive aspects of Fascist ideology and propaganda; for an overview, see now F. Oppedisano, P. S. Salvatori, and F. Santangelo (eds.), *Costruire la nuova Italia: Miti di Roma e fascismo*, Rome, 2023.

[5] G. Cammelli, "Gli studi bizantini in Italia", *L'Europa Orientale* 1, 1921, p. 17-28; for a portrait of the scholar, see A. Bonvini, "'Atene risorta […] sulle rive dell'Arno'. Giuseppe Cammelli tra scuola e filologia", *History of Classical Scholarship* 5, 2023, p. 17-45.

[6] In the editorial published in the first issue of *L'Europa Orientale*, Nicola Festa declared that the journal was "veramente rispondente a un bisogno dei tempi", because "tra le novità che la grande guerra ha portato sulla carta geografica dell'Europa, merita il primo posto una costellazione di Stati nazionali che, tra il Baltico e il Mar Caspio, tra l'Adriatico e l'Egeo, si è formata, in gran parte ex novo, dai frantumi di due colossali Imperi. Popoli che ebbero comune con l'Italia il servaggio politico, che tentarono con lei la riscossa nei moti insurrezionali del nostro Risorgimento, ma meno fortunati di noi, rimasero più a lungo sotto il giogo detestato, sono ora risorti anch'essi e si volgono con naturale simpatia alla patria di Mazzini e di Garibaldi, al paese che sognò la libertà e l'indipendenza per tutte le nazioni, e senza risparmio diede il sangue dei suoi figli perché quel sogno divenisse realtà, com'è oggi divenuto" (N. Festa, "Ai lettori", *L'Europa Orientale* 1, 1921, p. 1). On Festa's role in the development of Byzantine philology in Italy, see N. Bianchi (ed.), *Nicola Festa (1866-1940): Documenti, lettere, libri*, Bari, 2024. For a critical assessment of the *Istituto per l'Europa Orientale*, see S. Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale: diplomazia culturale e propaganda, 1918-1943*, Milan, 2005.

[7] See A. Giannini, "Proemio", *Studi bizantini* 1, 1924, p. i-iii. As Sévérien Salaville observed, technical

At Bucharest, despite the solid and recently strengthened cultural ties between Romania and Italy,[8] only one Italian scholar was present: the legal historian Andrea Guarneri Citati, who presented "Le scuole e i diritti orientali nella formazione del diritto romano", a controversial paper that sparked a heated debate with the French scholar Paul Collinet.[9] Confronted with the exaggerations of recent scholarship, which tended to contrast classical and Justinian law both in form and in substance and to explain their divergences by invoking the influence of the eastern legal schools, Guarneri responded by proposing an alternative framework. In his view, it was not the local legal traditions that had prevailed over the Roman model, but rather the Roman legal school itself that had evolved and adapted over the centuries – a perspective which, to paraphrase Quintilian – amounted to a kind of "lex tota nostra est". This minor incident exemplifies a broader attitude prevalent in the Italian academic milieu of the time – one characterized by a certain intolerance toward critical assessments by foreign scholars that might challenge the centrality of the Roman and Italian tradition. Far more significant, however, was the earlier controversy at the turn of the century, when Italian scholars, afflicted by what could be described as a "Sèvres syndrome", rose up against Josef Strzygowski's theories, which denied Rome the pride of being the cradle of Christian Art.[10]

A countervailing voice was that of Giuseppe Cammelli who, in the paper mentioned above, while calling for the consolidation and expansion of academic training among Italian scholars, acknowledged the hegemony of the German and French schools in Byzantine studies.[11] Although older journals such as *Bessarione. Rivista di studi orientali* ceased publication in early 1920s,[12] the appearance of volumes

difficulties and other setbacks notwithstanding, "il est certain que la 'contribution' totale de l'Istituto per l'Europa Orientale eût pu difficilement entrer dans le compte rendu du Congrès sans rompre vraiment par trop l'équilibre des nationalités représentées" (S. Salaville, "Bulletin d'études byzantines", *Échos d'Orient* 26, 1927, p. 57-75, at p. 65-66).

[8] Romania's participation in the celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the Unification of Italy, the publication of volumes such as N. Iorga (ed.), *Studi sulla Romania*, Naples, 1923, and the gift of bronze statues depicting the Roman *Lupa* to Romanian cities such as Bucharest and Cluj – see *Orme di Roma tra Italia e Romania all'insegna di Roma antica*, Rome, 2014 (*Bollettino di Numismatica* 2, 2014) – were tangible expressions of the cordial relations between the two countries. These ties were further consolidated by the inauguration of the Institute of Italian Culture, directed by Ramiro Ortiz, on 7 April 1924, just one week before the opening of the Congress.

[9] For the summaries of the lectures by Guarneri Citati and Collinet, as well as the ensuing debate see C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 1924*, Bucharest, 1925, p. 16-20; N. Iorga, "Il Primo Congresso di Studi Bizantini a Bucarest (considerazioni e appunti)", *Studi bizantini* 1, 1924, p. 1-5, at p. 5.

[10] See M. Bernabò, *Ossessioni bizantine…*, p. 79-83, and, in a broader perspective, the essays in I. Foletti and F. Lovino (eds.), *Orient oder Rom? History and Reception of a Historiographical Myth (1901-1970)*, Rome, 2018.

[11] G. Cammelli, "Gli studi bizantini..." (see above n. 5).

[12] *Bessarione* ceased publication in 1923, following the death of its director, Cardinal Niccolò Marini.

celebrating the artistic masterpieces of Byzantium,[13] the foundation in 1924 of *Studi bizantini* – later renamed *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* – and the establishment in 1925 of a Chair of Byzantine Philology and History at the University of Rome, held by Silvio Giuseppe Mercati,[14] all seemed to respond to Cammelli's appeal by stimulating further research in the field.

Perhaps as a result of these developments, a larger group of scholars represented Italy at the Second International Congress, held in Belgrade in 1927. The delegation was headed by the art historian Antonio Muñoz and included the philologist Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, the glottologist Carlo Tagliavini, the Slavist Giovanni Maver, the historian of law Giannino Ferrari, and the epigraphist Luigi Cantarelli.[15] Among the various papers presented by the Italian participants, special mention should be made of Cantarelli's contribution, in which he proposed the ambitious project of compiling a corpus of Byzantine inscriptions[16] – not so much for its practical impact as for its attempt to engage scholars of all nationalities, in the spirit of cooperation that characterized many of the initiatives promoted during the Congress.[17]

Despite an overall unfavourable climate, and while prominent figures such as Antonio Muñoz were gradually distancing themselves from Byzantine studies,[18] the

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[13] See, e.g., A. Colasanti, *L'arte bisantina in Italia*, Milan, 1924. For a recent critical assessment of this pioneering study, see S. Moretti, "Arduino Colasanti e 'l'arte bisantina' in Italia", in A. Iacobini, M. L. Fobelli, S. Moretti, and M. De Giorgi (eds.), *Navigare nell'Italia bizantina. Arte, musei, mostre web*, forthcoming.

[14] E. Follieri, "La filologia bizantina nel secolo XX", in *La filologia medievale e umanistica greca e latina nel secolo XX. Atti del Congresso internazionale, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Università La Sapienza, 11-15 dicembre 1989*, Rome, 1993, vol. 1, p. 389-431, at p. 393-396.

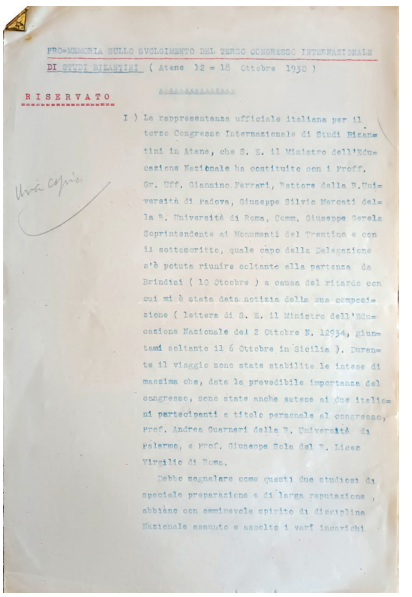
[15] A. Muñoz, "Il Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini", *Nuova antologia* 62, fasc. 1324, 1927, p. 248-253. On the Congress in Belgrade, see also G. Ferrari, "Il II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 85 (serie 7, vol. 8), n° 4 (324), 1927, p. 285-293; S. Salaville, "Le II^{e} Congrès international d'études byzantines à Belgrade (11-16 avril 1927)", *Échos d'Orient* 27, 1928, p. 78-110.

[16] L. Cantarelli, "Proposta di un *Corpus Inscriptionum Byzantinarum*", in D. Anastasijević and Ph. Granić (eds.), *Deuxième Congrès International des études byzantines, Belgrade, 1927: compte-rendu*, Belgrade, 1929, p. 173-175; A. Rhoby, "A Short History of Byzantine Epigraphy", in id. (ed.), *Inscriptions in Byzantium and Beyond. Methods – Projects – Case Studies*, Vienna, 2015, p. 17-29, at p. 22.

[17] As Gabriel Millet stated in his inaugural address at the Belgrade Congress: "Nous comprenons maintenant plus que jamais que la science demande la collaboration, l'organisation du travail, la coordination des efforts" (S. Salaville, "Le II^{e} Congrès...", p. 80-81).

[18] The juvenile interests of Antonio Muñoz towards Byzantine art are examined by G. Gasbarri, *Riscoprire Bisanzio. Lo studio dell'arte bizantina a Roma e in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Rome, 2015, p. 173-199; id., "Antonio Muñoz (1884-1960) and the History of Byzantine Illumination. A New Field of Research in Italy under the Aegis of Adolfo Venturi", *Journal of Art Historiography* 13, 2015, p. 1-17; A. Iacobini and G. Gasbarri, "La scoperta di 'Roma bizantina' (1880-1910): nuove prospettive per la genesi dell'arte medievale fra Europa e Mediterraneo", in *L'Italia e l'arte straniera. Atti del convegno "La storia dell'arte e le sue frontiere: a cento anni dal X Congresso Internazionale*

Fig. 2. Biagio Pace on board the "Corvin" in sight of Rhodes, 17 June 1926



PROMEMORIA SULLO SVOLGIMENTO DEL TERZO CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI BIZANTINI (Atene 12 - 18 Ottobre 1930)

RISERVATO

I) La Rappresentanza ufficiale italiana per il terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini in Atene, che S. E. il Ministro dell'Educazione Nazionale ha costituito con i Proff. Gr. Uff. Giannino Ferrari, Rettore della R.Università di Padova, Giuseppe Silvio Mercati della R. Università di Roma, Comm. Giuseppe Gerola Soprintendente ai Monumenti del Trentino e con il sottoscritto, quale capo della Delegazione s'è potuta riunire soltanto alla partenza da Brindisi (10 Ottobre) a causa del ritardo con cui mi è stata data notizia della sua composizione (lettera di S. E. il Ministro dell'Educazione Nazionale del 2 Ottobre N. 12634, giuntami soltanto il 6 Ottobre in Sicilia). Durante il viaggio sono state stabilite le intese di massima che, data la prevedibile importanza del congresso, sono state anche estese ai due italiani partecipanti a titolo personale al congresso, Prof. Andrea Guarneri della R. Università di Palermo, e Prof. Giuseppe Sola del R. Liceo Virgilio di Roma.

Debbo segnalare come questi due studiosi di speciale preparazione e di larga reputazione, abbiano con esemplare spirito di disciplina Nazionale assunto e assolto i vari incarichi

Fig. 3. *Promemoria sullo svolgimento del congresso 12-18 ottobre 1930* (ACS, Busta 238)

years preceding the Third International Congress nonetheless witnessed renewed efforts to promote the Byzantine cultural heritage in Italy, most notably through the establishment of the *Istituto di Studi Bizantini* in Ravenna, thanks to the initiatives of Corrado Ricci and Renato Bartoccini.[19]

At Athens, the Italian delegation was headed by Biagio Pace (fig. 2), to whom we owe a detailed report – preserved, together with other relevant documents, in the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato* – that deserves careful analysis, as it offers a rare glimpse behind the scenes of the Congress.[20] The report, labelled *Riservato* (fig. 3), is a typescript entitled *Promemoria sullo svolgimento del congresso 12-18 ottobre 1930*, written and signed by the archaeologist Biagio Pace who, like Nicolae Iorga, Josep Puig i Cadafalch,[21] and other regular participants in international conferences, combined

di Storia dell'Arte in Roma (1912). Un bilancio storiografico e una riflessione del presente", Roma, 23-24 novembre 2012, Rome, 2015, p. 127-154; G. Calanna, *Antonio Muñoz storico dell'arte e collezionista La fotografia per la ricerca e la didattica*, Bologna, 2018, p. 61-83.

[19] P. Novara, "Corrado Ricci e i Corsi Bizantini", *Libro Aperto* 35.75, 2014, p. 150-156. From 1930 until 1939, the Istituto organized spring courses – with the participation of Italian and, sometimes, foreign scholars – and exhibitions such as that displaying copies of the mosaics of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus, held between 10-20 May 1930; see *ibid.*, p. 150. After several exhibitions in Europe and the United States, the copies of those lush mosaics were bequeathed to the Louvre in 1950; see L. Simonis, *Les relevés des mosaïques de la grande mosquée de Damas*, Paris, 2012, p. 17-19.

[20] Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II, 1929-1933, Busta 238 fascicolo non numerato, *Atene 1930 3° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini* (henceforth ACS, Busta 238).

[21] See in this same volume the contribution by Lucilla Mallart.

the dual roles of scholar and politician.[22] In these notes, addressed to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of National Education, Biagio Pace recounts the activities of the Italian delegation from its establishment to its first meeting in Brindisi – only two days before the opening of the Congress.[23] Considering how lengthy and complex the organizational process of modern international congresses typically is, such a last-minute planning of the Athenian expedition could seem exceedingly casual.[24] The failure to meet the deadlines set by the Congress Committee as early as June 1928 can, at least in part, be attributed to the limited interest that Byzantine studies then enjoyed in Italy. It is worth recalling that, for participation in other international congresses – such as the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments, held in Athens in 1931 – the Italian authorities were far more meticulous both in planning and in selecting the delegates.[25]

In addition to Biagio Pace, the official Italian delegation included Giannino Ferrari, rector of the University of Padua, Silvio Giuseppe Mercati of the University of Rome, and Giuseppe Gerola, superintendent of Trentino.[26] Two other Italians, Andrea

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[22] On Biagio Pace, see P. E. Arias, *Quattro archeologi del nostro secolo: Paolo Orsi, Biagio Pace, Alessandro della Seta, Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli*, Pisa, 1976, p. 31-42; P. Giammellaro, "Biagio Pace", in G. Brands and M. Maischberger (eds.), *Lebensbilder: klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus*, Rahden, 2016, vol. 2, p. 237-250. For his contributions to the field of Byzantine studies, see B. Lavagnini, "Biagio Pace e gli studi bizantini", *Κώκαλος. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Palermo* 33, 1987, p. 211-212 (where Pace's participation in the Athens Congress is not mentioned).

[23] Note that only on 2 October did the Ministry send to Pace the official letter confirming his appointment of head of the delegation; see ACS, Busta 238.

[24] National committees most committed to Byzantine studies usually began forming their teams of delegates well in advance; see T. Kioussopoulou, "La délégation grecque au II^{e} Congrès international des études byzantines (Belgrade, 1927)", in O. Delouis, A. Couderc, and P. Guran (eds.), *Héritages de Byzance en Europe du Sud-Est à l'époque moderne et contemporaine*, Athens, 2013, p. 403-411.

[25] Further relevant material is preserved in another dossier from the same archive: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II, 1929-1933, Busta 238, fascicolo non numerato, *Atene 1931 Convegno Internazionale per il metodo del restauro ai monumenti*. On Italian involvement in this fundamental stage in the history of cultural heritage conservation, see S. Caccia Gherardini, "Prima di Atene. Cooperazione intellettuale e illusione elitaria, atmosfera de *La Conférence d'Athènes sur la conservation des monuments* del 1931", *Restauro archeologico* 29, 2021, p. 4-17. In these years, Athens frequently served as the venue for international conferences of wide resonance. In addition to those mentioned in the text, see the 27th Universal Congress of Peace (6-10 October 1929) and the 4th CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne), held in July 1933 aboard the *S. S. Patris*, a Greek steamer travelling from Marseilles to Athens, during which Le Corbusier drafted another Athens Charter on urban planning; see D. N. Karidis, *Athens from 1920 to 1940: A True and Just Account of How History Was Enveloped by a Modern City and the Place Became an Event*, Oxford, 2015, p. 59-100; G. Calandra di Roccolino, "La nave come metafora. Nota sul piroscafo *Patris II* e sul film *Architects' Congress* di László Moholy-Nagy, a proposito del IV CIAM di Atene (1933)", *La rivista di engramma* 174, 2020, p. 143-156; M. Tassopoulou, "Shifting over Athens: A Deep Dive into the Inner Mechanics of CIAM IV", *Architectural Histories* 12.1, 2024, p. 1-19.

[26] In the Archive of Giuseppe Gerola, held at the Fondazione Biblioteca San Bernardino di Trento, some

Guarneri of the University of Palermo and Giuseppe Sola of the Liceo Ginnasio "Virgilio" in Rome, attended the Congress.[27] To this Italian contingent must also be added Evaristo Breccia, then serving as director of the Museum of Alexandria.[28] Pace proudly praised the high quality of the papers presented by the Italian scholars,[29] yet the primary purpose of his report was to highlight the delegates' effort to defend the cultural and political interests of the nation against the manœuvres of potential adversaries. Given the coincidence with the First Balkan Conference, held in Athens on 5-12 October,[30] he maintained that the Byzantine Congress had assumed a distinctly political character, since Byzantine history and civilization were being used to provide a historical foundation for pan-Balkan ideals.[31] According to Pace, papers such as those of Petar Skok – on the relationship between inter-Balkan linguistics and Byzantinology – and of Nikola Vulić – on the nationality of the Dardanians[32] – as well as the frequent allusions made in the speeches of Nicolae Iorga (whom Pace bluntly described as a "noto buffone internazionale") clearly revealed the "devious plot" of the members of the so-called Little Entente.[33] He also regarded the overwhelming French presence, led

documents related to the Athens Congress are preserved (Ger.3.8.1.48).

[27] Sola was appointed to represent the *Comitato Nazionale di Scienze Storiche*; see the letter sent to him by Secretary Ottorino Bertolini in the Archive of the Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici. Fondo Istituzionale 12. Congressi – Atti generali, 18 July 1927 – 1 September 1959, file 2.11.

[28] A communication by Carlo Cecchelli, who was not present at Athens, was read by Giacomo Caputo, a member of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana ad Atene, see *Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 3.

[29] "I proff. Ferrari, Gerola, Guarneri, Mercati, Sola sono stati ammirevoli per la disciplina e per la dottrina con cui hanno preso parte ai lavori, secondo il piano prestabilito" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 4).

[30] F. Häberlin, *La première conférence balkanique* (*Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 13.145), Geneva, 1931. On the origin of the Balkan Conferences, see R. J. Kerner and H. N. Howard, *The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente, 1930-1935: A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples*, Berkeley, 1936; Th. L. Geshkoff, *Balkan Union: A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe*, New York, 1940, p. 77-90.

[31] "Il Congresso, per la sua coincidenza con il Congresso panbalcanico e per alcuni temi annunciati, si presentava manifestamente come di speciale contenuto politico. Evidentemente, attraverso la storia e le civiltà bizantina, si è cercato di provare una base storica interbalcanica" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 2).

[32] P. Skok, "La linguistique interbalkanique et la byzantinologie", in A. C. Orlandos (ed.), *Troisième Congrès international des études byzantines: Athènes, 1930*, Athens, 1932, p. 73-76; N. Vulić, "La nationalité des Dardanes", in *ibid*., p. 162-164.

[33] Pace's remarks stand in stark contrast to the demonstrations of friendship and cooperation with Italy shown by Iorga – labelled in the document as "ex Ministro romeno" – who, on 2 April 1930, inaugurated the Romanian Historical and Artistic Institute in Venice. On the diplomatic and cultural relations between Italy and Romania in the interwar period, see S. Santoro, "La diplomazia culturale dell'Italia fascista e la Romania", *Annuario dell'Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia* 14-15, 2012-2013, p. 235-247.

by Charles Diehl, as intrusive and domineering.[34] Seeking to counter these nationalistic tendencies, Pace stressed in his opening address the medieval universality of Byzantine civilization, which, he argued, extended far beyond the borders of the Balkans and accorded a prominent role to Italy. He also took care to ensure the active participation of the Italian delegates in every session, organizing an actual system of duty shifts among them.[35]

During the Congress, a thorny debate arose with several Greek scholars concerning the question of the Dodecanese – the archipelago conquered by Italy during the Italo-Turkish War of 1912. Skeuos Zervos, the well-known historian of Byzantine medicine and a native of Kalymnos, one of the islands of the archipelago, had prepared a paper on Byzantine surgery[36] that contained a few polemical allusions to the condition of the Dodecanesian Greeks under Italian rule.[37] A fierce and determined opponent of the Italian domination,[38] Zervos complained that, owing to the restrictions on movement imposed upon the inhabitants of Dodecanese, he had been unable to consult certain manuscripts. In the abstract, written in French, that he circulated among the audience during his presentation (fig. 4), Zervos stated that "pour des motifs connus dans tout le monde et concernant le Dodécanèse", it had been impossible for him to examine a codex preserved in the University Library of Bologna.[39] In his speech,

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[34] "Schiacciante la presenza dei Francesi, il cui primo delegato sig. Diehl, nonostante la sue rinomanza nel campo di questi studi, ha finito con lo stancare per il suo ostentato e non sempre apprezzabile intervento in ogni occasione" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 2-3).

[35] Pace had planned his colleagues' work – and his own as well – "con interventi originali e prendendo parte sostanziale (e mai fatua e formale) alle discussioni" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 3).

[36] S. Zervos, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἰατρικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν", in A. C. Orlandos (ed.), *Troisième Congrès…*, p. 348-362.

[37] "Episodio dodecanesino: era annunziata una comunicazione del noto agitatore S. Zervos sulla chirurgia bizantina, poco prima che egli la facesse è stato distribuito un opuscolo contenente un riassunto del quale si allega una copia, con accenni politici forzatamente introdotti e un ordine del giorno assolutamente inaccettabile" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 4-5).

[38] As early as 1920, Zervos – together with Paris Roussos, as the Executive Committee of the Dodecanesians – had signed the *White Book: The Dodecanese; Resolutions and Documents Concerning the Dodecanese 1912-1919*, London, 1920, demanding recognition of Greek primacy and the right to self-determination for the islands. See A. Guidi, "School Protests and the Making of the Post-Ottoman Mediterranean: Student Politicization as a Challenge to Italian Colonialism in Rhodes, 1915-1937", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 54.1, 2022, p. 21-39. For a biographical profile of Zervos, see L. E. Vladimiros, *Σκεύος Ζερβός - Πρωτοπόρος Γιατρός, Ερευνητής, Συγγραφέας, Εθνικός Ευεργέτης & Πολιτικός*, Athens, 2018.

[39] "Je n'ai pas vu le code (*Iatrosophion*, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 3632) de mes propres yeux et je ne l'ai pas examiné en personne car, pour des motifs connus dans tout le monde et concernant le Dodécanèse, l'entrée en Italie m'est formellement interdite" (*Contribution à l'histoire de la médicine des byzantins avec présentations d'images, d'objets archéologiques, etc., par le dr. Skevos G. Zervos*, in ACS, Busta 238). In the same abstract, Zervos also mentioned several surgical instruments from a fourth-century A.D. tomb in Kos that he had purchased "sous un déguisement" and kept with the intention of donating them to the island's archaeological museum "lorsque le ciel

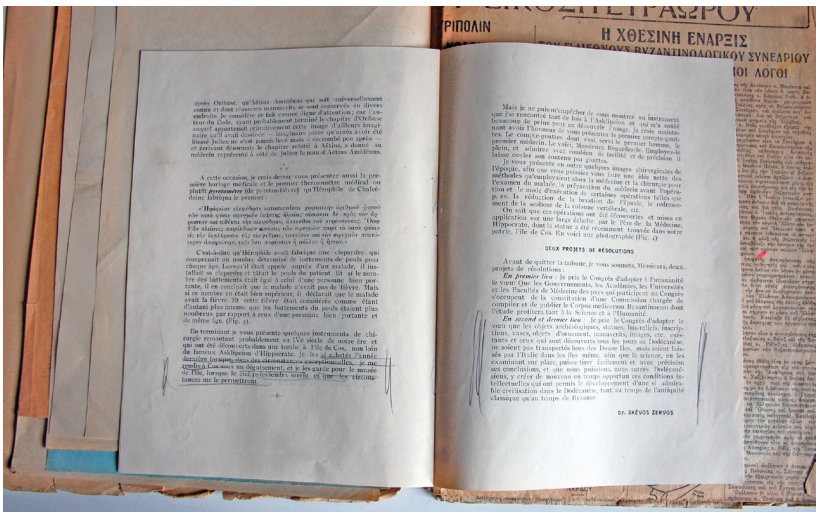

Fig. 4. *Contribution à l'histoire de la médicine des Byzantins avec présentations d'images, d'objets archéologiques, etc., par le dr. Skevos G. Zervos* (ACS, Busta 238)

he also managed to express the hope that the archaeological materials discovered in excavations in the Dodecanese would not once again be transferred to Italy, as had happened in the past.[40] Pace, in his report, portrayed the outcome of the incident as a complete success of the Italian delegates: forewarned of the contents of Zervos' abstract, Gerola, he claimed, replied to the Greek scholar's remarks with dignity and firmness, while the session's president sided with him, bowing – so Pace wrote –to the science and civilization of Italy.[41] Although we cannot know precisely how the exchange unfolded, the fact remains that in the proceedings edited by Orlandos in 1932, Zervos' paper was published in its entirety, including his complaints against Italy.[42]

The Athens Congress took place at a moment when official relations between Greece and Italy had markedly improved, owing in part to the new Venizelos

redeviendra serein et que les circonstances me le permettront".

[40] For a recent discussion of Italian archaeological activity in the Levantine colonies, see M. Santi, *Sguardo a Levante. La politica culturale italiana sul patrimonio archeologico e monumentale del Dodecaneso 1912-1945*, Milan, 2018; and S. Troilo, *Pietre d'oltremare. Scavare, conservare, immaginare l'impero (1899-1940)*, Bari, 2021.

[41] "Essendo intervenuto presso la Presidenza del Congresso, ho fatto ritirare gli opuscoli, stampati e distribuiti a sua insaputa (e difatti sono di un formato diverso dalle pubblicazioni ufficiali) e ho invitato categoricamente lo Zervos ad astenersi da quell'ordine del giorno. Ho provveduto inoltre a che i nostri fossero presenti alla sezione dando istruzioni al prof. Gerola per un'eventuale risposta, ritenendo inopportuno un intervento diretto del capo della delegazione, che avrebbe dato rilievo allo Zervos. Questi non ha svolto l'ordine del giorno, ma ha accennato al suo contenuto, al che il Gerola ha ribattuto con dignità e fermezza, cui il presidente della sezione ha fatto eco, inchinandosi alla scienza e alla civiltà d'Italia" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 5).

[42] S. Zervos, "Συμβολὴ...", p. 362.

government.[43] A sign of this shift in atmosphere is offered by an episode of art diplomacy that occurred between 1927 and 1929: the gift of a copy of the bronze satyr from the Casa del Centenario at Pompeii, originally intended for Minister Theologos Nikoloudis but ultimately retained by the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.[44] It must be assumed, however, that the sensitivity of the central Greek government to the political situation of the Dodecanese – Venizelos declared in 1929 that "no Dodecanesian question exist between Greece and Italy"[45] – was not shared by the local population under Italian rule. This difference in perspective helps to explain Zervos' harsh reaction during the Congress.

During their presentations, the Italian delegates occasionally took the opportunity to promote recent developments in Italian scholarship to the international academic community. For instance, at the conclusion of his paper on the Byzantine churches of Sicily, Biagio Pace presented to the audience the first issue of Corrado Ricci's *Tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna* and Giuseppe Galassi's *Roma o Bisanzio: I mosaici di Ravenna e le origini dell'arte italiana* – a study that revisited the well-known antinomy *Orient oder Rom*, with a clear bias toward the latter term of the dilemma. He also announced the publication of the inaugural issue (1929) of the *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*.[46]

This editorial promotion – also practiced by other national delegations to showcase their most recent publications or to support scholars who, for reasons beyond their control, were unable to attend the international gathering[47] – was intended to strengthen Italy's bid to host the Fifth Congress of Byzantine Studies (the Fourth having already been assigned to Bulgaria). This initiative directly opposed French efforts to secure the venue for Paris or for Syria, then under French mandate – a plan which, according to Pace, would have turned the Byzantine Congresses into

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[43] F. A. Ogg, "The Greco-Italian Rapprochement", *Current History* 29, 1928, p. 339-341; A. Klapsis, "Greek Diplomacy Towards Fascist Italy, 1922-1940", *Thetis. Mannheimer Beiträge zur Klassischen Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns* 20, 2013, p. 293-302, at p. 296-297.

[44] See Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II, 1929-1933, Busta 238, fascicolo non numerato, *R. Scuola Italiana Calco in bronzo del Satiro di Pompei che versa vino dall'otre da donare al ministro dell'Istruzione di Grecia*.

[45] See W. Miller, "Greece since the Return of Venizelos", *Foreign Affairs* 7.3, 1929, p. 468-476, at p. 468.

[46] C. Ricci, *Tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna*, vol. 1: *Sepolcro di Galla Placidia*, Rome, 1930; G. Galassi, *Roma o Bisanzio: I mosaici di Ravenna e le origini dell'arte italiana*, Rome, 1930; *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 1, 1929.

[47] See also the case of F. Uspenskij and V. Beneševič, *Les Actes de Vazélon. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la propriété rurale et monastique à Byzance aux XIII^e^-XV^e^ siècles*, Leningrad, 1927, presented at the Belgrade Congress. See D. Anastasijević and Ph. Granić, *Deuxième Congrès International des études byzantines, Belgrade, 1927: compte-rendu*, Belgrade, 1929, p. xxvi-xxvii; M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, "L'histoire des congrès…", p. 24.

instruments of French political influence.[48] Pace's proposal for the Italian Congress, formulated in agreement with the Italian Minister Plenipotentiary Giuseppe Bastianini, envisaged Ravenna as the principal venue, alongside other cities rich in Byzantine heritage such as Venice, Rome, and Palermo.[49] Italy's candidacy to host the Fifth International Congress was later presented with greater emphasis – and with a more favourable outcome – by Silvio Giuseppe Mercati during the closing session of the Sofia Congress in 1934,[50] where the Italian delegation included both veterans such as Gerola and newcomers such as Alba Medea, one of the very few female scholars admitted at the Congress.[51]

The long and detailed report written by Pace was accompanied by a series of newspaper clippings (fig. 5), in Greek and French, containing articles on the proceedings of the Congress.[52] Leafing through the many items in this press review, one cannot help but notice that, from a broader perspective, the incidents which had so troubled Biagio Pace and his colleagues tend to fade into the background, while figures such as Nicolae Iorga, Henri Grégoire, and Charles Diehl – whom the Italian archaeologist had described in often markedly scornful tones – once again

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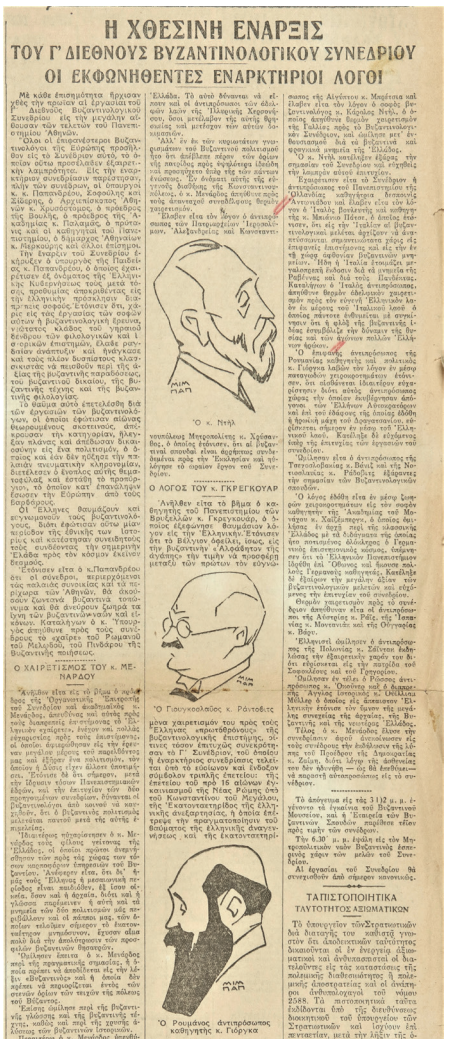
[48] "La delegazione ha trovato sostanzialmente deciso che il prossimo congresso dovesse tenersi a Sofia. Ma si cominciava a parlare anche questa volta di impegni per il quinto. Di fronte a voci relative a Monaco, quale centro internazionale di studi bizantini, aveva preso rapida consistenza l'idea, caldeggiata naturalmente da parte francese, che il quinto congresso si tenesse o a Praga [perhaps a misleading reading of the manuscript, likely Paris] o in Siria. Mentre non mi è parso opportuno, d'intesa con S.E. il Ministro d'Italia Bastianini, attraversare [maybe avversare] la richiesta bulgara, ho ritenuto che si dovesse assolutamente scartare l'altra proposta [...] che avrebbe minacciato di trasformare i Congressi bizantini in una istituzione al servizio della politica francese" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 6). The Syrian proposal (more exactly, Beirut) was renewed for the Sixth Congress, scheduled for 1939. Owing to the political instability that followed the French government's decision to cede the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey, the Congress was moved to Algiers, then under French control, but the outbreak of World War II prevented it from taking place (M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, "L'histoire des congrès…", p. 14). Plans for a Congress in Budapest were also advanced; see E. Juhász, "A Budapesti Nemzetközi Bizantinológiai Kongresszus Története", *Antik Tanulmányok* 68.1, 2024, p. 23-45.

[49] "Preparato il terreno, varavo così, nella seduta di chiusura, la proposta d'un congresso in Italia con sede principale a Ravenna e secondarie in altri centri di arte bizantina da Palermo a Venezia, portando l'invito del governo d'Italia accolto da largo entusiasmo" (*Promemoria*, in ACS, Busta 238, p. 6).

[50] B. D. Filov (ed.), *Actes du II^e Congrès International des études byzantines, Sofia, Septembre 1934*, Sofia, 1935, vol. 1, p. 44-46. In advocating for Italy's candidacy, Mercati linked the first four congresses to the next with the words: "Questi quattro congressi hanno tracciato un quadrilatero: ora moviamo a tracciare la linea del timone dell'Orsa".

[51] Alba Medea remains a relatively obscure figure among twentieth-century Italian scholars. A first assessment is offered by M. De Giorgi, "Gli archivi della pittura rupestre in Puglia: da Alba Medea a Cosimo Damiano Fonseca", in A. Iacobini and L. Bevilacqua (eds.), *Fotografare Bisanzio. Arte bizantina e dell'Oriente mediterraneo negli archivi italiani*, Rome, 2022, p. 221-239, at p. 222-224.

[52] See ACS, Busta 238. Among the newspapers preserved are *Ἡ Πρωΐα*, *Le Messager d'Athènes*, *Ἐλεύθερον Βῆμα*, and *Καθημερινή*, all dated 13 October 1930.



occupy centre stage. This minor episode of Italy's participation in the Athens Congress, however, reveals something more. Fascist political culture, wholly grounded in the cult of *Romanitas*, certainly did not hold the culture of Byzantium in high esteem, as noted above. Yet whenever questions of national prestige arose, and international competition demanded it, such prejudices were temporarily set aside in the name of a common objective: to assert the nation's efficiency and superiority in every field – so that, as the session president quoted earlier put it, all would have to bow to the science and civilization of Italy.[53]

Η ΧΘΕΣΙΝΗ ΕΝΑΡΞΙΣ
ΤΟΥ Γ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ
ΟΙ ΕΚΦΩΝΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΕΝΑΡΚΤΗΡΙΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ

Μὲ κάθε ἐπισημότητα ἤρχισαν χθὲς τὴν πρωΐαν αἱ ἐργασίαι τοῦ Γ΄ Διεθνοῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου εἰς τὴν μεγάλην αἴθουσαν τῶν τελετῶν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν.

Ὅλοι οἱ ἐπιφανέστεροι Βυζαντινολόγοι τῆς Εὐρώπης προσῆλθον εἰς τὸ Συνέδριον αὐτό, τὸ ὁποῖον οὕτω προσέλαβεν ἐξαιρετικὴν λαμπρότητα. Εἰς τὴν εναρκτήριον συνεδρίασιν παρέστησαν, πλὴν τῶν συνέδρων, οἱ ὑπουργοὶ κ. κ. Παπανδρέου, Σοφούλης καὶ Σίδερης, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν κ. Χρυσόστομος, ὁ πρόεδρος τῆς Βουλῆς, ὁ πρόεδρος τῆς Ἀκαδημίας κ. Παλαμᾶς, ὁ πρύτανις καὶ οἱ καθηγηταὶ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου, ὁ δήμαρχος Ἀθηναίων κ. Μερκούρης καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπίσημοι.

Τὴν ἔναρξιν τοῦ Συνεδρίου ἐκήρυξεν ὁ ὑπουργὸς τῆς Παιδείας κ. Παπανδρέου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐχαιρέτισεν ἐξ ὀνόματος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως τοὺς μετὰ τόσης προθυμίας ἀποκριθέντας εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πρόσκλησιν διαπρεπεῖς σοφούς. Ἐτόνισεν ὅτι, χάρις εἰς τὰς ἐργασίας τῶν σοφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βυζαντινολογικὴ ἔρευνα, νεώτατος κλάδος τοῦ γηραιοῦ δένδρου τῶν φιλολογικῶν καὶ ἱστορικῶν ἐπιστημῶν, ἔλαβε ραγδαίαν ἀνάπτυξιν καὶ ἠνάγκασε καὶ τοὺς πλέον δυσπίστους κλασσικιστὰς νὰ πεισθοῦν περὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς βυζαντινῆς παραδόσεως, τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ δικαίου, τῆς βυζαντινῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς φιλολογίας.

Τὸ θαῦμα αὐτὸ ἐπετελέσθη διὰ τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῶν βυζαντινολόγων, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐφώτισαν αἰῶνας θεωρουμένους σκοτεινούς, ἀπέκρουσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἤλεγξαν πλάνας καὶ ἀπέδωσαν δικαιοσύνην εἰς ἕνα πολιτισμόν, ὁ ὁποῖος καὶ ἐὰν δὲν ηὔξησε τὴν παλαιὰν πνευματικὴν κληρονομίαν, διετέλεσεν ὁ ἔνοπλος αὐτῆς θεματοφύλαξ καὶ ἐστάθη τὸ προπύργιον, τὸ ὁποῖον κατ' ἐπανάληψιν ἔσωσεν τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπὸ τοὺς Βαρβάρους.

Οἱ Ἕλληνες θαυμάζουν καὶ εὐγνωμονοῦν τοὺς βυζαντινολόγους, διότι ἐφώτισαν οὕτω μίαν περίοδον τῆς ἐθνικῆς των ἱστορίας καὶ κατέστησαν συνειδητοὺς τοὺς συνδέοντας τὴν σημερινὴν Ἑλάδα πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἐκεῖνον δεσμούς.

Ἐτόνισεν εἶτα ὁ κ. Παπανδρέου ὅτι οἱ σύνεδροι, περιερχόμενοι τὰς παλαιὰς συνοικίας καὶ τὰ περίχωρα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, θὰ ἀκούσουν ζωντανὰ βυζαντινὰ τοπώνυμα καὶ θὰ ἀνεύρουν ζωηρὰ τα ἴχνη τῶν βυζαντινῶν ναῶν καὶ εἰκόνων. Καταλήγων ὁ κ. Ὑπουργὸς ἀπηύθυνε πρὸς τοὺς συνέδρους τὸ «χαῖρε» τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ, τοῦ Πινδάρου τῆς Βυζαντινῆς ποιήσεως.

Ο ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ κ. ΜΕΝΑΡΔΟΥ

Ἀνῆλθεν εἶτα εἰς τὸ βῆμα ὁ πρόεδρος τῆς Ὀργανωτικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ Συνεδρίου καὶ ἀκαδημαϊκὸς κ. Μενάρδος, ἀπευθύνας καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοὺς διαπρεπεῖς ἐπιστήμονας τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν «χαίρετε», ἐνέχον καὶ πολλὰς εὐχαριστίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιστήμονας, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀφιερώθησαν εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν μεγάλου μέρους τοῦ παρελθόντος μας καὶ ἐξῆραν ἕνα πολιτισμόν, τὸν ὁποῖον ἡ Δύσις εἶχεν ἄλλοτε ὑποτιμήσει. Ἐτόνισε δὲ ὅτι σήμερον, μετὰ τὴν ἵδρυσιν τόσων Πανεπιστημιακῶν ἑδρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν δύο προηγουμένων συνεδρίων, δύνανται οἱ βυζαντινολόγοι ἀπὸ κοινοῦ νὰ καυχηθοῦν, ὅτι ὁ βυζαντινὸς πολιτισμὸς μελετᾶται παντοῦ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιμελείας.

Ἰδιαιτέρως ηὐχαρίστησεν ὁ κ. Μενάρδος τοὺς φίλους γείτονας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οἱ ὁποῖοι πρῶτοι ἀνεμνήσθησαν τῶν πρὸς τὰς χώρας των τόσων καρποφόρων ὑπηρεσιῶν τοῦ Βυζαντίου. Ἀνέφερεν εἶτα, ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡ μεσαιωνικὴ περίοδος εἶναι παιδιόθεν, ἐξ ἴσου οἰκεία, ὅσον καὶ ἡ ἀρχαία, διότι καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα παρέμεινεν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν δύο πολιτισμῶν μᾶς περιβάλλουν καὶ οἱ πάπποι μας, τῶν ὁποίων τελοῦμεν σήμερον τὸ ἑκατονταέτηρον μνημόσυνον, ἔχυσαν αἷμα πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν προσφιλῶν βυζαντινῶν θησαυρῶν.

Ὡμίλησεν ἔπειτα ὁ κ. Μενάρδος περὶ τῆς πραγματικῆς σημασίας, ἡ ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ἀποδίδεται εἰς τὴν λέξιν «Βυζαντινὸς» καὶ ἡ ὁποία δὲν πρέπει νὰ περιορίζεται ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν ὁρίων τῶν τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Βύζαντος.

Ἐπίσης ὡμίλησε περὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς γλώσσης καὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς τέχνης, καθὼς καὶ περὶ τῆς χρυσῆς ἁλύσεως τῶν βυζαντινῶν ἱστορικῶν.

Περαιτέρω ὁ κ. Μενάρδος ὑπενθύμισεν, ὅτι οἱ σημερινοὶ Ἕλληνες γεννῶνται, ζοῦν, διοικοῦνται καὶ ἀποθνήσκουν μὲ τοὺς τύπους, τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθιμα τοῦ Βυζαντίου, συνδεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς μεσαιωνικούς των πατέρας πολὺ στενώτερον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐθνικούς των προπάππους.

Η ΕΛΛΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑΣ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣ

Ἀνέφερεν εἶτα, ὅτι ἡ μικρὰ Ἑλλάς, παρὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς της πόρους ἔπραξεν ἀπέναντι τῶν δύο πολιτισμῶν τῆς ἱστορίας της πᾶν ὅ,τι ἠδύνατο χάρις εἰς τὰς ἐργασίας τῶν Πανεπιστημίων της, τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἑταιρείας καὶ τῶν ἁρμοδίων ὑπηρεσιῶν τοῦ ὑπουργείου τῆς Παιδείας.

Ἀνέφερε τὰς ἐκδόσεις τοῦ «Ὁδηγοῦ» καὶ τοῦ «Εὑρετηρίου» τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τῆς Ἑταιρείας τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Ἡμερολόγια τοῦ καθηγητοῦ κ. Βέη, τὸ Λεύκωμα τῶν ἀειμνήστων Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ Λάμπρου τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκδίδεται ἤδη καθὼς καὶ τὸν κατάλογον τῶν μνημείων τῆς Μακεδονίας.

Ἰδιαιτέρως ὅμως ἐτόνισε τὴν ἀποφασισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας παρασκευὴν τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Λεξικοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδρύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τοῦ 1800.

Ἐπίσης ὡμίλησε διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἐργασίαν περὶ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ διὰ τὴν συντελεσθεῖσαν δημιουργίαν τοῦ νέου Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου.

Καταλήγων ὁ κ. Μενάρδος ἐτόνισεν ὅτι αἱ βυζαντιναὶ εἰκόνες αἱ δακρύουσαι ὄπισθεν μιᾶς ἀμυδρᾶς κανδήλας ἐπετέλεσαν ἕνα μεγάλον ἱστορικὸν βῆμα συντηρήσασαι τὴν ἱστορικὴν συνείδησιν τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὴν νύκτα τῆς δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπο-

Ἑλλάδα. Τὸ αὐτὸ δύνανται νὰ εἴπουν καὶ οἱ ἀντιπρόσωποι τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαῶν τῆς Ἰλλυρικῆς Χερσονήσου, ὅσοι μετέλαβον τῆς αὐτῆς θρησκείας καὶ μετέσχον τῶν αὐτῶν δοκιμασιῶν.

Ἀλλ' ἓν ἐκ τῶν κυριωτάτων γνωρισμάτων τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ πολιτισμοῦ ἦτο ὅτι ἀπέβλεπε πέραν τῶν ὁρίων τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς ὑψηλότερα ἰδεώδη καὶ προσηύχετο ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως. Ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτῆς τῆς εὐγενοῦς διαθήκης τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὁ κ. Μενάρδος ἀπηύθυνε πρὸς τοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ συναδέλφους θερμὸν χαιρετισμόν.

Ἔλαβεν εἶτα τὸν λόγον ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῶν Πατριαρχείων Ἱεροσολύμων, Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Μητροπολίτης κ. Χρύσανθος, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐτόνισεν, ὅτι αἱ βυζαντιναὶ σπουδαὶ εἶναι ἀρρήκτως συνδεδεμέναι πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ηὐλόγησε τὸ ὡραῖον ἔργον τοῦ Συνεδρίου.

Ὁ κ. Ντὴλ

Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ κ. ΓΚΡΕΓΚΟΥΑΡ

Ἀνῆλθεν εἶτα τὸ βῆμα ὁ καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῶν Βρυξελλῶν κ. Γκρεγκουάρ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐξεφώνησε θαυμάσιον λόγον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικήν. Ἐτόνισεν ὅτι τὸ Βέλγιον ὀφείλει, ἴσως, εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν «Ἀλφάβητον τῆς ἀγάπης» τὴν τιμὴν νὰ προσφέρῃ μεταξὺ τῶν πρώτων τὸν εὐγνώμονα χαιρετισμόν του πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας «πρωτοθρόνους» τῆς βυζαντινολογικῆς ἐπιστήμης, οἵτινες τόσον ἐπιτυχῶς συνεκρότησαν τὸ Γ΄ Συνέδριον, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ ἐναρκτήριος συνεδρίασις τελεῖται ὑπὸ τὸ εὐοίωνον καὶ ἔνδοξον σύμβολον τριπλῆς ἐπετείου: τῆς ἐπετείου τοῦ πρὸ 16 αἰώνων ἐγκαινιασμοῦ τῆς Νέας Ρώμης ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μεγάλου, τῆς Ἑκατονταετηρίδος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀνεξαρτησίας, ἡ ὁποία ἐπέτρεψε τὴν πραγματοποίησιν τοῦ θαύματος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀναγεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἑκατονταετηρίδος τῆς βελγικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, τῆς ὁποίας ὁ ὕμνος δὲν ἦτο παρὰ ἡ ἠχὼ τοῦ σαλπίσματος τοῦ Ρήγα, ἡ μετάφρασις τοῦ ὕμνου τοῦ Σολωμοῦ. Ἐβεβαίωσεν εἶτα ὁ κ. Γκρεγκουάρ, ὅτι τὸ Βέλγιον, ἐπανελθὸν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην του παράδοσιν τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνος, ἐπεδόθη μὲ ὅλας του τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν καὶ φιλολογικὴν μελέτην καὶ μετὰ ἐξαιρετικῆς χαρᾶς ἐντρυφᾷ εἰς τὰ «λειμωνάρια» τοὺς ποιητικοὺς λειμῶνας τῆς τερπνῆς βυζαντινῆς φιλολογίας καὶ ἱστορίας.

Ὁ Γιουγκοσλαῦος κ. Ράντοβιτς

Ὁ Ρουμάνος ἀντιπρόσωπος καθηγητὴς κ. Γιόργκα

«Δέξασθε σήμερον, κατέληξεν ὁ κ. Γκρεγκουάρ, ὡς εἰρηνικοὺς συνεργάτας εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ μεσαίωνος τοὺς ἀπογόνους ἐκείνων οἵτινες πρὸ ὀκτὼ αἰώνων ἐλεηλάτησαν τὴν Ἑπτάλοφον καὶ ἥρπασαν τὸν Μωρέαν. Ἡ Εὐρώπη μας ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐξέπνευσε καὶ ἐσβέσθη, ὀλίγου δεῖν ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν πολιτισμὸς ἕνεκα τῆς μακραίωνος διχοτομίας μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως. Μελετῶντες μετ' ἀγάπης τὴν βυζαντινὴν ἱστορίαν ἔχομεν τὴν πεποίθησιν ὄχι μόνον ὅτι ἐκτελοῦμεν ἐπιστημονικὸν καθῆκον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξυπηρετοῦμεν τὸν ὑψηλότερον τῶν σκοπῶν, ὅτι ἐκπληροῦμεν τὸν προαιώνιον πόθον τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ τῶν καρδιῶν.»

Παταγώδη χειροκροτήματα ἐκάλυψαν τὸ τέλος τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Βέλγου φιλέλληνος.

Ο κ. ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ ΝΤΗΛ

Ὡμίλησε εἶτα ὁ Βούλγαρος ἀντιπρόσωπος κ. Σλατάσκυ χαιρετήσας τὸ Συνέδριον ὡς ἀντιπρόσωπος χώρας ἡ ὁποία τόσον στενῶς συνεδέθη μὲ τὸν βυζαντινὸν πολιτισμὸν καὶ τόσα ὀφείλει εἰς αὐτόν. Ἐπίσης ἐχαιρέτισε δι' ὀλίγων τὸ Συνέδριον ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῆς Αἰγύπτου κ. Μπρέτσια καὶ ἔλαβεν εἶτα τὸν λόγον ὁ σοφὸς βυζαντινολόγος κ. Κάρολος Ντήλ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀπηύθυνε θερμὸν χαιρετισμὸν τῆς Γαλλίας πρὸς τὸ Βυζαντινολογικὸν Συνέδριον, καὶ ὡμίλησε μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ διὰ τὰ βυζαντινὰ καὶ φραγκικὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ὁ κ. Ντὴλ κατέληξεν ἐξάρας τὴν σημασίαν τοῦ Συνεδρίου καὶ εὐχηθεὶς τὴν λαμπρὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτυχίαν.

Ἐχαιρέτισεν εἶτα τὸ Συνέδριον ἡ ἀντιπρόσωπος τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Ὀλλανδίας καθηγήτρια δεσποινὶς Ἀντωνιάδου καὶ ἔλαβεν εἶτα τὸν λόγον ὁ Ἰταλὸς βουλευτὴς καὶ καθηγητὴς κ. Μπιάνκο Πάτσε, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐτόνισεν, ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αἱ βυζαντινολογικαὶ μελέται ἀρχίζουν νὰ ἀναπτύσσωνται σημαντικώτατα χάρις εἰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπιστήμονας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀφθονίαν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων. Ἤδη ἡ Ἰταλία ἑτοιμάζει μεγαλοπρεπῆ ἔκδοσιν διὰ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ραβέννας καὶ διὰ τοὺς Πανδέκτας. Καταλήγων ὁ Ἰταλὸς ἀντιπρόσωπος, ἀπηύθυνε θερμὸν ἀδελφικὸν χαιρετισμὸν πρὸς τὸν εὐγενῆ Ἑλληνικὸν λαὸν ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ λαοῦ ὁ ὁποῖος πάντοτε ἐνθυμεῖται μὲ συγκίνησιν ὅτι ἡ φλὸξ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἰδέας ἐσυμβόλιζε τὴν δύναμιν τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡρώων.

Ὁ ἐπιφανὴς ἀντιπρόσωπος τῆς Ρουμανίας καθηγητὴς καὶ πολιτικὸς κ. Γιόργκα λαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἐν μέσῳ παταγωδῶν χειροκροτημάτων ἐτόνισεν, ὅτι αἰσθάνεται ἰδιαιτέραν εὐχαρίστησιν διότι αὐτὸς ἀντιπρόσωπος χώρας τὴν ὁποίαν ἐκυβέρνησαν ἀπόγονοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς ὁποίας ἐδόθη ἡ ἡρωϊκὴ μάχη τοῦ Δραγατσανίου, εὑρίσκεται σήμερον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ. Κατέληξε δὲ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἐργασιῶν τοῦ συνεδρίου.

Ὡμίλησαν εἶτα ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῆς Τσεχοσλοβακίας κ. Βάνιξ καὶ τῆς Νοτιοσλαυΐας κ. Ράδοβιτς ἐξάραντες τὴν σημασίαν τῶν Βυζαντινολογικῶν σπουδῶν.

Ὁ λόγος ἐδόθη εἶτα ἐν μέσῳ ζωηρῶν χειροκροτημάτων εἰς τὸν σοφὸν καθηγητὴν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας τοῦ Μονάχου κ. Χαϊζέμπεργκ, ὁ ὁποῖος ὁμιλήσας ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τῆς κλασσικῆς Ἑλλάδος μὲ τὰ διδάγματα τῆς ὁποίας ἦτο ποτισμένος ὁλόκληρος ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐπιστημονικὸς κόσμος, ὑπέμνησεν ὅτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Πανεπιστήμιον ἱδρύθη ἐπὶ Ὄθωνος καὶ ἤκουσε πολλοὺς Γερμανοὺς καθηγητάς. Κατέληξε δὲ ἐξαίρων τὴν μεγάλην ἀξίαν τῶν βυζαντινολογικῶν μελετῶν καὶ εὐχόμενος τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τοῦ συνεδρίου.

Θερμὸν χαιρετισμὸν πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἀπηύθυναν εἶτα οἱ ἀντιπρόσωποι τῆς Αὐστρίας κ. Ράϊς, τῆς Ἱσπανίας κ. Μοντανιὰκ καὶ τῆς Οὐγγαρίας κ. Βάρυ.

Ἑλληνιστὶ ὡμίλησεν ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῆς Πολωνίας κ. Σάϊντακ ἐκδηλώσας τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴν χαράν του διότι εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τοῦ Σοφοκλέους καὶ τοῦ Γρηγορίου.

Ὡμίλησαν ἐν τέλει ὁ Ρῶσσος ἀντιπρόσωπος κ. Ὀκοῦνερ καὶ ὁ διαπρεπὴς Ἄγγλος ἱστορικὸς κ. Οὐΐλλιαμ Μύλλερ ὁ ὁποῖος εἰς ἄπταιστον Ἑλληνικὴν ἐτόνισε τὸν ὕμνον τῆς μεγάλης συνεχείας τῆς ἀρχαίας, τῆς Βυζαντινῆς καὶ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλλάδος.

Τέλος ὁ κ. Μενάρδος ἔλυσε τὴν συνεδρίασιν ἀφοῦ ἀνεκοίνωσεν εἰς τοὺς συνέδρους τὴν ἐκδήλωσιν τῆς λύπης τοῦ Προέδρου τῆς Δημοκρατίας κ. Ζαΐμη, διότι λόγῳ τῆς ἀσθενείας του δὲν ἠδυνήθη — ὡς θὰ ἐπεθύμει — νὰ παραστῇ αὐτοπροσώπως εἰς τὸ συνέδριον.

Τὸ ἀπόγευμα εἰς τὰς 3 1)2 μ. μ. ἐγένοντο τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου, καὶ ἡ Ἑταιρεία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν παρέθεσε τέϊον πρὸς τιμὴν τῶν συνέδρων.

Τὴν 6.30΄ μ. μ. ἐψάλη εἰς τὸν Μητροπολιτικὸν ναὸν Βυζαντινὸς ἑσπερινὸς χάριν τῶν μελῶν τοῦ Συνεδρίου.

Αἱ ἐργασίαι τοῦ Συνεδρίου θὰ συνεχισθοῦν ἀπὸ σήμερον κανονικῶς.

ΤΑ ΠΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΑ
ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΞΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ

Τὸ ὑπουργεῖον τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν διὰ διαταγῆς του καθιστᾷ γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀποδεικτικῶν ταὐτότητος δικαιοῦνται οἱ ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ ἀνθυπασπισταὶ οἱ διατελοῦντες εἰς τὰς καταστάσεις τῆς πολεμικῆς διαθεσιμότητος ἢ πολεμικῆς ἀποστρατείας καὶ οἱ ἀνάπηροι ἀνθυπολοχαγοὶ τοῦ νόμου 2588. Τὰ πιστοποιητικὰ ταῦτα ἐκδίδονται ὑπὸ τῆς διευθύνσεως διοικητικοῦ τοῦ ὑπουργείου τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν καὶ ἰσχύουν ἐπὶ πενταετίαν, μετὰ τὴν λῆξιν τῆς ὁποίας ἀνανεοῦνται.

ΤΟ ΑΝΩΤΑΤΟΝ
ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ

Ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον πρόκειται νὰ ἀρχίσουν αἱ ἐργασίαι τοῦ μονίμου πυρῆνος τοῦ Ἀνωτάτου Στρατιωτικοῦ Συμβουλίου, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ ἐπιληφθῇ διαφόρων ἐκκρεμῶν στρατιωτικῶν ζητημάτων.

ΑΙ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΥΡΩ

ΣΥΡΟΣ, 12. (Τοῦ ἀνταποκριτοῦ μας). — Μετὰ πάσης μεγαλοπρεπείας ἐτελέσθησαν σήμερον αἱ ἑορταὶ τῆς Ἑκατονταετηρίδος Σύρου. Τὴν 8ην πρωϊνὴν κατέπλευσε εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὸ εὔδρομον «Ἕλλη», τοῦ ὁποίου ἐπέβαινεν ὁ Ὑπουργὸς τῶν Ναυτικῶν, ὡς ἀντιπρόσωπος τῆς Κυβερνήσεως, ὁ κ. Π. Μαζαράκης καὶ ἄλλοι.

ΣΥΓΚΡΟΥΣΙΣ ΒΕΝΖΙΝΟΠΛΟΙΩΝ

ΘΕΣ)ΝΙΚΗ, 12. (Τοῦ ἀνταποκριτοῦ μας). — Εἰς τὸν λιμένα Θεσσαλονίκης συνεκρούσθησαν σήμερον δύο βενζινόπλοια πλήρη ἐπιβατῶν ἐπισκεπτόμενα τὰ ἰταλικὰ πολεμικά. Ἐκ τούτων τὸ ἓν ἐβυθίσθη τῶν ἐπιβατῶν του διασωθέντων ὑπὸ Ἰταλῶν ναυτῶν.

Fig. 5. Clipping from *Ἡ Πρωΐα*, 13 October 1930 (ACS, Busta 238)

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[53] See above n. 41. The desire to assert national prestige was evident during the Fifth Congress: although financial and logistical concerns discouraged the idea of a traveling congress amid Italy's artistic landmarks, as envisaged in the speeches of Pace and Mercati at Athens and Sofia, the sessions held in Rome at the Città Universitaria nonetheless recorded unprecedented numbers of participants (450) and speakers (215). See V. Laurent, "Le V^e Congrès international des études byzantines à Rome (20-27 septembre 1936)", *Échos d'Orient* 36, 1937, p. 95-107.