

**MUZEUL
NATIONAL
AL UNIRII
ALBA IULIA**



UNIVERSITATEA
1 DECEMBRIE 1918
DIN ALBA IULIA

International Conference

***Royalty and Republic: Europe's Political
Establishments in the Early 1920s***

**Alba Iulia
14 – 18 September 2022**



**This conference is organized with the financial support of
ALBA COUNTY COUNCIL**

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 14 September 2022

Participants' arriving

Thursday, 15 September 2022

9¹⁵ – 10⁰⁰ Participants' registration (Senate Hall, Apor Palace which is the Rectorate Building of Alba Iulia University)

10⁰⁰ – 12⁰⁰ Official opening of the conference
(Senate Hall, Apor Palace)

IOANA URSU, Book presentation

Tudor Roşu, Ioana Rustoiu, Marius Cristea, *Încoronarea de la Alba Iulia* [The coronation in Alba Iulia], Alba Iulia, 2022
(Senate Hall, Apor Palace)

Visiting of the Batthyaneum Library

Visiting of the exhibition:

The Coronation Cathedral: History and Grace

Location: The Coronation Cathedral

12⁰⁰ – 13⁰⁰ Conference papers

13⁰⁰ – 15⁰⁰ Lunch (University Restaurant)

15⁰⁰ – 19⁰⁰ Conference papers

19⁰⁰ – 19⁴⁵ Tour of Alba Iulia Fortress

20⁰⁰ Dinner (Restaurant of Cetate Hotel)

Friday, 16 September 2022

10⁰⁰ – 13⁰⁰ Conference papers.

13⁰⁰ – 14⁴⁰ Lunch (University Restaurant).

14⁴⁰ – 16⁰⁰ Conference papers.

16⁰⁰ – 19⁰⁰ Tour of Union Hall, Union Museum, Coronation Cathedral, Roman-Catholic Cathedral, Museikon, Principia and The Route of Three Fortresses.

20⁰⁰ Dinner (Restaurant of Cetate Hotel).

Saturday, 17 September 2022

9⁰⁰ (meeting point: in front of Cetate Hotel).
Excursion to Sighișoara.

19⁰⁰ Festive dinner.

Sunday, 18 September 2022

Free time for visiting Alba Iulia. Participants' departure.

Monday, 19 September 2022, until 12 o'clock in the noon.
Free time for visiting Alba Iulia. Participants' departure.

Thursday, 15 September 2022

1st Session

Senate Hall, Apor Palace

Chair: **SORIN ARHIRE**

12⁰⁰ – 12²⁰ **EVA FISCHEROVÁ** (University of West Bohemia, Pilsen, Czech Republic), **JAROSLAV VALKOUN** (Charles University of Prague; University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Czech Republic)

The Establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic with Special Regard to The North Bohemian National Unity in the 1920s

12²⁰ – 12⁴⁰ **VÁCLAV HORČIČKA** (Charles University of Prague, Czech Republic)

Czechoslovak Land Reform on the Estates of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Family, 1918–1939

12⁴⁰ – 13⁰⁰ **MILADA POLIŠENSKÁ** (Anglo-American University, Prague, Czech Republic)

How Did the Aristocracy in Czechoslovakia Adapt to the Disintegration of the Monarchy and to the Young Democratic Republic?

2nd Session

Senate Hall, Apor Palace

Chair: **IOANA URSU**

15⁰⁰ – 15²⁰ **MAREK SYRNÝ** (Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica, Slovakia), **MICHAL ŠMIGEL** (Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica, Slovakia)

Between the Monarchy and the Republic. Changes in Slovak Society in the Years 1918–1920 (from the End of the War to the Adoption of the Czechoslovak Constitution)

15²⁰ – 15⁴⁰ **STEFANO SANTORO** (University of Trieste, Italy)

Republican Ideal, Revolution and Nationalism in the North-Eastern Adriatic during the First Post-War Period

15⁴⁰ – 16⁰⁰ **TUDOR ROȘU** (Alba Iulia National Museum of Union, Romania)

Royal Guests at Coronation of King Ferdinand I, 15–17 October 1922

16⁰⁰ – 16²⁰ **ANDREEA DAHLQUIST** (Valahia University of Târgoviște, Romania)

Einar Wirsén – The Swedish Delegate to the Coronation Ceremony in Alba Iulia

16²⁰ – 16⁴⁰ **PAUL-ERSILIAN ROȘCA** (Archdiocese of Vadu, Feleac and Cluj, Romania)

The Laicization of the Coronation Ceremony in Romania during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

16⁴⁰ – 17⁰⁰ Coffee break

17⁰⁰ – 17²⁰ **DRAGOȘ URSU** (Alba Iulia National Museum of Union, Romania)

The Churches in Romania and the Coronation between Religious Diplomacy and Inter-Confessional Tensions

17²⁰ – 17⁴⁰ **ISKANDER E. MAGADEEV** (Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russian Federation)

The “Royal Factor” in the International Politics: Duke of York’s Visit to Belgrade in September 1922

17⁴⁰ – 18⁰⁰ **VICTOR RIZESCU** (Bucharest University, Romania)

A Strand of the Search for the Third Way: the Parliamentary Representation of the Professions in Romania of the 1920’s and the European Drive to Economic Parliaments

18⁰⁰ – 18²⁰ **TILMAN LÜDKE** (Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute of Freiburg, Germany)

Turkey, 1919–1924: Republic for Reform

18²⁰ – 18⁴⁰ **KEZBAN ACAR** (Celal Bayar University of Manisa, Turkey)

Symbols of Regime and Power in Turkey in 1920s and 1930s

18⁴⁰ – 19⁰⁰ **NURI KORKMAZ** (Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, Kyrgyzstan)

From the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey: Patterns of Modernity and Empowerment of Women

Friday, 16 September 2022

3rd Session

Senate Hall, Apor Palace

Chair: **DRAGOȘ URSU**

10⁰⁰ – 10²⁰ **VLASIS VLASIDIS** (University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece), **DIAMANTIA ARVANITI** (University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece)

The Day after Franz Ferdinand’s Murder: Greece and Romania in Dilemma

10²⁰ – 10⁴⁰ **APOSTOLOS PATELAKIS** (Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, Greece)

Monarchy in Greece (1832–1973)

10⁴⁰ – 11⁰⁰ **RADU TUDORANCEA** (Nicolae Iorga History Institute of Bucharest, Romania)

The Romanian-Greek Relations in the Early 20s. From Dynastic (Royal) Inter-marriages to the Proclamation of the Republic in Greece

11⁰⁰ – 11²⁰ **ROBERT-SIMION LUCA** (University of Alba Iulia, Romania)
The Topic of the Coronations in the Romanian Communist Propaganda (1944–1989)

11²⁰ – 11⁴⁰ Coffee break

11⁴⁰ – 12⁰⁰ **ELNUR KALBIZADA** (Institute of Caucasus Studies in Baku, Azerbaijan)

The Attitude of the Gajar Monarchy Rising of Republican Ideas in the South Caucasus and the Establishment of Nation-States

12⁰⁰ – 12²⁰ **JAHANGIR JAHANGIRLI** (Institute of Law and Human Rights in Baku, Azerbaijan)

Europe and the South Caucasus after the First World War: A Parallel Study

12²⁰ – 12⁴⁰ **HALIDA UMBAROVA** (Ariel University, Israel)

The Role of Jews in the Political Establishment in Poland in the 1920s

12⁴⁰ – 13⁰⁰ **IOANA URSU** (Alba Iulia National Museum of Union, Romania)

Poetry, Myths and Mentalities in the Age of the Romanian Sovereigns' Coronation

4th Session

Senate Hall, Apor Palace

Chair: **TUDOR ROȘU**

14⁴⁰ – 15⁰⁰ **BOGDAN POPA** (Nicolae Iorga History Institute of Bucharest, Romania)

Unifying the Soul: Interwar Literature and the Divisions of Greater Romania

15⁰⁰ – 15²⁰ **IRINA KARABULATOVA** (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russian Federation), **TATYANA A. KATTSINA** (Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation)

Socio-Political Discourse of Regional Media on Social Assistance to Refugees and Prisoners of War in Russia in the Post-Imperial Period of the First World War (1917–1921)

(online presentation)

15²⁰ – 15⁴⁰ **NATALIIA ZHUKOVSKAYA** (Tambov State University, Russian Federation)

Changing Identities: Britain and the Dominions in the League of Nations (online presentation)

15⁴⁰ – 16⁰⁰ **VLADIMIR ROMANOV** (Tambov State University, Russian Federation)

«New Europe Architecture»: Robert J. Kerner on the Future of Empires after the Great War (online presentation)

Conclusions
Closing of conference

USEFUL INFORMATION

Accommodation (inclusive breakfast) for the participants is offered by organizers at the CETATE HOTEL.

<http://alba.imparatulromanilor.ro/en/>

Conference papers will be presented at the Rectorate Building of Alba Iulia University (Apor Palace).

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ABSTRACTS

EVA FISCHEROVÁ, JAROSLAV VALKOUN, *The Establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic with Special Regard to The North Bohemian National Unity in the 1920s*

The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in the autumn of 1918 was accompanied by a wave of general enthusiasm. However, the initial euphoria soon faded and the new state had to deal with the hardships and difficulties caused by a very complex national issue. While the Czechs and Slovaks became the “ruling group”, the Germans lost their former privileged position and tried to reverse this situation by separating the four self-governing regions from Czechoslovakia.

Therefore, the situation during the First Republic was partly aided by national associations and unions, which had been active in economic and cultural activities since the end of the 19th century. However, it should be noted that in the first days of the new state’s existence, it seemed that the work of the defence associations would be futile, as all the tasks of the unions would be carried out by the government itself. But contrary to this, national unity in Bohemia and Moravia reached its greatest significance after the birth of the independent state. One such organisation was the North Bohemian National Unity.

The activities of the Unity were very diverse, the members of the association applied themselves in national political, economic, social and cultural areas. After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, the Unity’s activity turned, for example, to the nationalisation of Czech German property (mines, railways, industry, etc.), and Unity was also active during the land reforms, by which it sought to strengthen the economic position of the Czech population through land allocation. One of the other successful steps of Unity regarding the life of border guards was the establishment of Czech minority schools. Despite the fact, on account of its statutes, the North Bohemian National Unity excluded itself from any interference in the political affairs of the state, the Unity was namely active in elections (municipal, provincial and even in those for the National Assembly). The Unity was also actively involved in the First Republic population census.

The North Bohemian National Unity became an important Czech defence community operating in the area of north-western, northern and north-eastern Bohemia during the course of the existence of the entire First Czechoslovak Republic.

VÁCLAV HORČIČKA, *Czechoslovak Land Reform on the Estates of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Family, 1918–1939*

This paper will discuss the course and broader context of the land reform on the estates of Prince Wilhelm von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (+1927) and his heirs, including the Romanian King Carol II. Although Germany lost the First World War, the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen family was still in a better position than its relatives settled in Prussia. The younger branch of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen family ascended the Romanian throne in 1866 through Prince and later King Carol I. After the monarch’s death in October 1914, his nephew Ferdinand I, the younger brother of the head of the family, Wilhelm, Prince von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, ascended the throne. As will be shown, Wilhelm and Ferdinand were both vested in the Bohemian lands through their properties. The prince owned extensive latifundia of about 14,000 hectares in Czechoslovakia. The case had an important foreign policy dimension and an impact on Czechoslovak-Romanian relations. The lecture will analyze to what extent Czechoslovakia was willing to accommodate the interests of the Romanian king, or whether and in what respects the land reform on the estates of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen family differed from the way it was carried out on

similar estates in Czechoslovakia. It will be shown that, thanks mainly to the benevolence of the first phase of the reform and later the discount on inheritance fees, the family came out of the land reform financially much better off than the Czechoslovak estate owners who did not enjoy the protection of a foreign state.

MILADA POLIŠENSKÁ, *How Did the Aristocracy in Czechoslovakia Adapt to the Disintegration of the Monarchy and to the Young Democratic Republic?*

The Czech national identity has been always impacted by a historical awareness. The traditional, deep-rooted and charismatic narrative of Czech national identity contains themes such as significance of the medieval Czech Kingdom, Jan Hus and his fight for the truth, the Hussites wars „against all“, re-Catholicization after the defeat at White Mountain in 1620 - a synonym for a national catastrophe, loss of national elites and plebeization of Czech nation. And from this foundation, a national revival emerged, by its nature anti-German, anti-Catholic, anti-Habsburg, anti-Austrian and anti-Austro-Hungarian, and essentially peasant and bourgeois. This narrative later became the driving force behind the independence of Czechoslovakia and explains a large support and positive response to democracy and the republic by the Czech population. This narrative nourished the so-called Idea of the Czechoslovak State, whose main protagonist was T. G. Masaryk and Edvard Beneš.

However, there was no place for the nobility in this "Idea of the Czechoslovak State", although the so-called nationally conscious nobility historically played a major role in the national revival and was a significant factor in the efforts for the Czech cultural, economic and political recognition.

My paper intends to address the attitudes of the aristocracy in Czechoslovakia towards the disintegration of Austria-Hungary and towards the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic in the early 1920s. Specifically, I will focus on three target groups of my interest: 1. on the aristocracy which stayed in Czechoslovakia where it lost its privileged position and suffered politically, economically and socially; 2. on foreign diplomats assigned as the first diplomatic representatives of their countries to Czechoslovakia after the establishment of diplomatic relations; 3. on the aristocrats - Czechoslovak citizens who were admitted to the Czechoslovak foreign service and served the Czechoslovak Republic.

MAREK SYRNÝ, MICHAL ŠMIGEL, *Between the Monarchy and the Republic. Changes in Slovak Society in the Years 1918–1920 (From the End of the War to the Adoption of the Czechoslovak Constitution)*

Until 1918, Slovakia was a component of the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Central European monarchy, as a relatively industrially developed, but politically inefficient and socially unrecognized part of the state. With the military defeat in the war comes the disorganization and disintegration of the monarchy, and in its Slovak case comes the newly created Czechoslovak Republic. The paper focuses on the political, social and cultural struggle of these two basic models of governance and existence of the then Slovak society - old, monarchist, Hungarian, conservative and traditionalist in opposition to the new, republican, Czechoslovak, liberal and progressive. The article will be a plastic depiction of the pros and cons of both major political and social approaches of the time and their "cultural struggle for the minds and hearts" of the population of Slovakia. It will draw mainly from period propaganda, official administration statements or memoirs and letters from leading figures of the time, as well as from situational reports of various social and territorial origins. It will look for the causes of the inclination of various groups and structures of the population to a particular model of corporate governance and will also point out monarchist, conservative or "Hungarian" residuals in Slovak politics and society in the later interwar period.

STEFANO SANTORO, *Republican Ideal, Revolution and Nationalism in the North-Eastern Adriatic during the First Post-War Period*

This paper examines the ideal parable of some political and cultural exponents of republican orientation who acted in the north-eastern Adriatic area between the end of WWI and the early 1920s. The investigation will concern not only those who played in the Italian Republican Party, but will extend to sectors belonging to the broader republican area, in particular the revolutionary left and the nascent fascist movement, also in a first phase on republican positions. The lands of the north-eastern Adriatic constituted a particularly interesting laboratory of new political ideas and institutional achievements: with the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the pre-existing conflict between the opposing Italian and Slavic nationalisms became increasingly radicalized with regard to the control of the border territories. The republican orientation had constituted a not marginal position in the Italian patriotic and irredentist currents of the eastern lands, greatly permeable, among other things, by the penetration of the Masonic ideal. The war had, moreover, been presented by interventionist propaganda as a natural completion of the Italian Risorgimento and the figures of Mazzini and Garibaldi were an obligatory ideal reference for this political area. The process of radicalization triggered by the war and the complex post-war situation, with the strong appeal exerted by the Bolshevik ideology on the popular masses on the one hand and, as a reaction, a generic subversivism of a mainly petty and middle bourgeois matrix, fuelled by radical nationalism and by early fascism, led to the synthesis of a national-revolutionary option of republican orientation. In this context, the experience of the Italian Regency of Carnaro established in Fiume/Rijeka by Gabriele D'Annunzio between 1919 and 1920 and whose republican constitution was written by an exponent of the revolutionary left, is certainly the most interesting case and will constitute the core of this paper.

TUDOR ROȘU, *Royal Guests at Coronation of King Ferdinand, 15–17 October 1922*

The Coronation festivities of King Ferdinand I of Romania and Queen Marie lasted for three days: 15 October in Alba Iulia, and 16–17 October in Bucharest.

Besides the impressive image of Romania's King and Queen, there were many other important characters present at the ceremonies, which captured the interest of Romanian media, as Queen Elisabeth of Greece and Queen Mary of Serbs, Croats and Slovans, both daughters of the Romanian Royal couple. At that time, second in line to the British throne, the Duke of York – the future king and emperor of India, George VI – travelled through France, where Marshal Foch (France being represented on the highest level as well) joined him, and they came to Romania on the same train. The Duke of Genoa, the delegate of Victor Emanuel, King of Italy, joined them on the border with Italy. These personalities were greeted at the Romanian border by delegates of the Romanian royal court and after that, they were escorted to the country. The train arrived in Sinaia on 13 October at 9:30. King Ferdinand, Prince Carol and a few ministers were waiting on the platform. The marching band sang the English national anthem, and then the representative of the Great Britain presented the entire Mission to the Romanian sovereign.

Other royal representatives were also present: the sisters of Queen Mary – Beatrice, with her husband Alfonso, infant of Spain, and Victoria Melita, (ex) Grand Duchess of Russia.

ANDREEA DAHLQUIST, *Einar Wirsén – The Swedish Delegate to the Coronation Ceremony in Alba Iulia*

The history of the Swedish-Romanian diplomatic relations was established at the rank of Legation on October 1st, 1916, when Romania opened its first diplomatic mission in Northern Europe in Stockholm. During the interwar period, the Kingdom of Sweden took a similar decision and inaugurated its Legation in Bucharest year

1921. The first Swedish Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister in Romania was Einar Carl Thure Wirsén. While he resided in Bucharest, Wirsén was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary in Athen and Belgrad. Wirsén knew Romania and Southeastern Europe long before he was appointed Plenipotentiary Minister to Bucharest. He had learned some Romanian as a child from his father, Carl David Wirsén, a poet, literary critic and lover of the Romance languages.

Moreover, Einar Wirsén was appointed military attaché in Constantinople and Sofia, took part in military operations during The First World War in Macedonia and Dardanelles, and was a member of the commission that established borders between Bulgaria and Turkey at the end of the war. However, the Swedish diplomat did not develop close relations with the Romanian governors, about whom he did not have a high opinion. It seems that Wirsén was one of the reasons why the Swedish King Gustaf V Adolf did not travel to Alba-Iulia to participate in King Ferdinand's coronation ceremony and Queen Mary.

The royal houses of Sweden and Romania were related, Queen Elisabeth of Romania being the granddaughter of Queen Sophia, the mother of King Gustaf V Adolf. Consequently, the presence of the Swedish sovereign was significant for the event. The coronation ceremony should have consolidated the bilateral Romanian-Swedish relations, but the event did not have the expected result. King Gustaf V decided to remain in Sweden and delegated Einar Wirsén to represent his country at the coronation ceremony of the two Romanian sovereigns.

PAUL-ERSILIAN ROȘCA, *The Laicization of the Coronation Ceremony in Romania during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*

The coronation of King Ferdinand I and Queen Marie of Romania on the 15th of October 1922 at Alba Iulia represented not only a solemn and important event, but also marked a new episode in which the religious component of the ceremony faded into the background. Deviating from the Byzantine tradition, which we encounter in the case of Romanian princes for several centuries, even in the Phanariot period, the coronations of Kings Carol I and Ferdinand I, to whom we may add Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, symbolically transferred the main role to the civil-political dimension. This reminds us to a certain extent of Emperor Napoleon's auto-coronation, which marks the end of the conditionality of papal will and the assumption of control over the fundamental principle of legitimacy. In a subtle manner, starting this historical turning point, the king or the emperor did not only rule in virtue of his quality as being anointed by God, as being chosen by Divinity, or as a person with special gifts (as evidenced by the example of French thaumaturgical kings), not even as a „Vicarius Christi”, but the monarch started relying mainly on the support of the nation and especially that of the army. Thus, the new reality of obtaining power in a less transcendental manner gradually settled the dispute between Monarchy and Church regarding the preeminent position of one or the other in validating the accession to the throne. Far from intending to label the new type of validation with antagonistic terms such as good or bad, we bear witness to a reality that becomes more and more visible in time: the old "Byzantine Symphony" model had become, in broad terms, history.

DRAGOȘ URSU, *The Churches in Romania and the Coronation, between Religious Diplomacy and Inter-Confessional Tension*

The article aims to address the religious context of the Coronation, focusing on the consequences that the distinct positions of the churches (Orthodox, Greek-Catholic and Catholic) had regarding the religious ceremonial of the Coronation of Kings Ferdinand and Marie on 15 October 1922 in Alba Iulia.

Originally designed as a neo-Byzantine coronation, with the anointing of the king and the placing of the crowns in the church by the Orthodox primate metropolitan,

the ceremony evolved into a hybrid formula: on the morning of 15 October, the Te-Deum service (a thanksgiving service) was performed in the church, and the crowns were consecrated by the Orthodox hierarchy; the civil coronation ceremony then took place in front of the church bell tower, with the king crowning himself and then crowning Queen Marie.

An expression of the negotiations between the civil authorities (Royal House, Government) and the religious ones (the Orthodox, Catholic and Greek-Catholic Churches), the ceremony of the coronation ceremony represents one of the research objectives of the article, which aims to reconstruct the political-diplomatic process through which the 15 October 1922 formula was reached.

The article also aims to explore the impact that the Coronation had on the subsequent evolutions of the relations between the different churches and between the churches and the state, with a focus on the special situation of the relations between the Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church, respectively the status and identity repositionings which the latter had during the interwar period.

ISKANDER E. MAGADEEV, *The “Royal Factor” in the International Politics: Duke of York’s Visit to Belgrade in September 1922*

This essay tries to discern the role of the “royal factor” in the British-Yugoslavian relations in the beginning of the 1920s, using one important example, namely, the visit to Belgrade paid in September 1922 by Albert Windsor, Duke of York, son of the King George V, and the future King of the Great Britain and the Dominions, known as George VI. This visit was timed to the spectacular royal wedding between the Yugoslavian King Aleksandar I Karađorđević and Princess Maria of Romania, daughter of King Ferdinand I and Queen Marie. This circumstance links the subject of this paper to the theme of the conference even closer.

Basing on the documents of the British Foreign Office (FO) and on the contemporary British press, the author inserts Duke of York’s visit into the double context. First, into the international context of Autumn 1922, marked, inter alia, by growing Anglo-French contradictions in the Balkans and the Middle East; second, into the context of the British perceptions of the Yugoslavian politics, where the impact of so-called “Balkanism”, if to use the term coined by the Bulgarian historian Maria Todorova, was perceptible. The special attention is paid to the interesting document written in May 1922, before Duke of York’s visit, by the one of the leading FO expert on Balkans, Allen Leeper. It gives revealing sketches of the Yugoslavian political leaders, members of the religious and cultural élites.

This essay concludes that Duke of York’s visit was a success and an important step aiming to strengthen the relations between London and Belgrade; it demonstrated the continuing importance of the “royal factor” in the international politics even after World War I as well. In the same time, this visit couldn’t eradicate and even reinforced the heritage of the “Balkanism” in the British perceptions. These stereotypes didn’t deny the pragmatism of London’s approach aiming to defend its interests, but they influenced seriously the character of their realisation.

VICTOR RIZESCU, *A Strand of the Search for the Third Way: the Parliamentary Representation of the Professions in Romania of the 1920’s and the European Drive to Economic Parliaments*

The period following the First World War witnessed the spread all throughout Europe of a wide welter of ideas regarding the identification of a Third Way variety of politics, able to redress the shortcomings of parliamentary democracy while avoiding the relapse into Soviet communism. One influential strand of these searches was represented by the calls for the replacement of the allegedly parasitic and corrupt party-based parliamentarianism by a new kind of politics, resting on the parliamentary representation of the professional bodies. Alongside the emerging hardcore corporatist doctrines, there were articulated over those years, accordingly, sustained inquiries meant to discover sensible ways of striking a middle ground

between the demands of individualistic liberal constitutionalism and the vindications for grounding politics on the social realities of professional life, or else for the supplementation of the regular electoral patterns leading to the structuring the legislative assemblies and state structures through the mechanisms of nationwide and individualistically-based voting processes by the creation of specific electoral channels meant to allow the representation of segmental interests circumscribed by criteria of professional allegiance. The conceptions of the kind reverted, in Romania, to the institutions of the professional chambers, whose special representation in the Senate, alongside the other constituted bodies of the universities and of the organs of provincial administration, is laid down by the new constitution of 1923. The paper proposed places the Romanian debates and legislative provisions involved in the comparative framework of the general European drive towards the shaping of economic parliaments.

TILMAN LÜDKE, *Turkey, 1919–1924: Republic for Reform*

The Turkish Republic is the first Muslim Republic. This sounds strange, as its founder – Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) – is renowned to have been a fervent secularist, and that laicism (*laiklik*) came to form one of the „six arrows“ of the Kemalist ideology formulated in the course of the 1930s. Still, it is justified to call it so, for being Muslim was considered one of the main aspects of being a “proper” Turk – Turkish citizens belonging to other religions enjoyed equal rights on paper, but not in reality.

This Muslim Turkish nationalism would have commanded a more respectful treatment of both sultanate and caliphate; in fact, by abolishing both in 1922 and 1924 respectively, the Turkish nationalists forewent the possibility of hiding their reforms under a Muslim mantle; the sultan-caliph, already under the control of the Young Turk government during the war years, would have been able to rubber-stamp these and supposedly satisfy Muslim opinion as to their legality.

In fact, the Turkish War of Independence did not begin as a war for an independent republic. The original intention was to liberate the “lawful sultan-caliph” from the control of the allied powers. Only when sultan Mehmed VI Vahdettin (r. 1918–1922) threw in his lot with the allies, had the Turkish nationalists condemned as traitors, Muslim jurists issue verdicts condemning the struggle for independence as high treason and Mustafa Kemal sentenced to death in absentia did this attitude change. While a sultan-caliph under nationalist control would have been a great asset, a recalcitrant sultan was at least as great a danger.

The paper argues that the Turkish nationalists by choosing republicanism displayed great confidence in their hold on state-power. By removing first the sultanate and then the caliphate they neutralised potential obstacles to their deep-cutting reform project. Thus, in the Turkish case, republicanism did not lead to greater popular participation (particularly of non-Muslim, non-Turkish groups), but allowed more effective nationalisation and Westernisation of the Turkish state than would have been the case if monarchy and caliphate would have been retained.

The paper also argues that in spite of the republican system Turkey became a quasi-monarchy under the rule of the almost deified figure of Mustafa Kemal; his comparably early demise made him into a kind of “true king” watching over the country; the observation that incumbent president Recep Tayyip Erdogan wishes to become a “second Atatürk” (with rather limited success in recent years) attests to this quasi-monarchical status of the founding figure of the republic.

KEZBAN ACAR, *Symbols of Regime and Power in Turkey in 1920s and 1930s*

Following World War I, Ottoman Empire began to dissolve and, with the annulation of sultanate, ended in November 1922. When the ruling elite established a new state and announced Republic of Turkey later, they used many new symbols and ways to foster a new state and create a new society.

Some scholars argue that even though they looked “new”, many institutions and symbols Turkish Republic used had Ottoman origins. While explaining symbols of power and regime, this paper will also touch upon those arguments.

The first thing Mustafa Kemal and republic's cadres did was to establish a nation-state. Inspired mainly by the French Revolution and intellectuals, Mustafa Kemal underlined that sovereignty lies upon nation with no condition whatsoever. This was a radical shift from the sultanate. Considering that, Ottoman Empire was a multi-national state, Turkey had an ethnically diverse population, including Kurds, Lazs, etc., the idea of nation-state brought up also some arguments on whom the nation was consisted of.

They also came up with a new notion of motherland. Since the Ottoman Empire was dissolved at the end of the World War I, Anatolia was the biggest territory that new state inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a new concept of motherland around Anatolia developed. Archeological studies and historical theories aimed to prove that Anatolia was a Turkish land from the very beginning. Accordingly, language policies or studies argued that Turkish was the source of many world languages and was quite like languages spoken in Anatolia in ancient times.

Besides all these, the main symbol of Turkish Republic was six arrows indicating republicanism, populism, nationalism, secularism/laicism, statism and revolutionism. These symbols had reflections policies in education, religion, language, and economy.

Based on written and visual sources such as official addresses/speeches, notes, some archival documents, newspapers clips, etc., this paper aims to examine and underline what symbols and phrases Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Turkish Republic and his cadres used to define new state and society.

NURI KORKMAZ, *From the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey: Patterns of Modernity and Empowerment of Women*

Having a six hundred years long history the Ottoman Empire managed to leave its trace in the world. Being one of the defeated and occupied states in the post World War I period, the Ottoman Empire collapsed and Modern Turkey was established as its successor. The reforms that were conducted by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk are still being considered as radical reforms. Without a doubt, the biggest and most significant reform was the rights provided to women as equal citizens in contemporary Turkey. Suffrage right allowed Turkish women to be among the first in Europe to vote in the elections and to get elected to the national parliament. Atatürk's idea on the contemporary Turkey and the way how he decided to implement will be the topic of this paper.

During the implementation of the reforms to establish contemporary Turkey, Atatürk followed different methodology. He had close circle of friends who knew what would be his next step. Because he did not want to upset the supporters of the Ottoman Empire and therefore, adopted new strategy. The aim of this paper is to show what type of internal challenges Atatürk had while he was preparing the declaration of the republic. To keep the reforms ongoing, Atatürk constantly tried to have friends who would be his close circle in order to explain them his final aim. Nevertheless, even to his close circle of friends they he was cautious.

VLASIS VLASIDIS, DIAMANTIA ARVANITI, *The Day after Franz Ferdinand's Murder, Greece and Romania in Dilemma*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the similarities in the political and diplomatic decisions of Greece and Romania at the beginning of World War I as well as to analyze whether the institutions of the monarchy and the elected government were responsible for the fate of the two states or if specific personalities (such as kings Carol I and Constantine I) were the ones influencing the situation. The opinion of the authors is that in both Greece and Romania there were kings who represented

and expressed the conservative ideas of the time in both the political and social fields. At the same time, they had developed family relationships, friendships and cooperation with the German states, the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. When World War I began, the two monarchs wanted either cooperation with the Triple Alliance or neutrality. However, the two liberal parties of Greece and Romania which included important political figures as leaders (Ion Bratianu and Eleftherios Venizelos) expressed other, more liberal ideas about politics, the economy and the social life and wanted to enter the war by the side of Entente in order to achieve the national integration. The political conflict seemed inevitable in both cases. However, the death of Carol I at the end of 1914 gave the solution to the “Romanian problem”. In the case of Greece, the developments were achieved by the outburst of the National Schism. In the end of the war, both Greece and Romania were between the victors. This result further highlights the questions about the fate of the two countries. Was that the result due to the dominance of the new ideas at the expense of the monarchy or was it because of the successors of the two kings (Carol I and Constantine I) who did not want to pursue the foreign policy?

APOSTOLOS PATELAKIS, *Monarchy in Greece, 1832–1973*

The work aims to recognize some general features of the life and activities of the kings of Greece, for a period of 140 years that corresponds roughly to the modern and contemporary history of Greece. Until now, there are a few scientific works that approach the theme of monarchy in Greece. There is no serious monograph description regarding the 7 monarchs of Greece, even though these kings played an important part in the unfolding of the historic events of Greece in the period 1832–1973.

There were two royal families along the history. The House of Wittelsbach of German origin was the first important family, represented by the king Othon (1832–1862) and the House of Glucksburg, of Danish origin, was the second one, represented by six monarchs (1862–1973).

Even today, 49 years after the abolition of the monarchy by the referendum dated 29 July 1973 that was organized by the military junta, the discussions about monarchy provoke ideological and sentimental debates. The issues of monarchy still represents an untouchable topic, whereas those who publicly discuss about it are considered sympathizers of the old regime. Nevertheless, today the monarchy in Greece is considered an obsolete institution.

RADU TUDORANCEA, *The Romanian-Greek Relations in the Early 20s: From Dynastic (Royal) Inter marriages to the Proclamation of the Republic in Greece*

During the interwar decades, Romanian-Greek relations have followed – particularly between the end of World War I and the genesis of Balkan Entente rather a winding course, being influenced either by internal political changes in the two states, or by the many international events of that time. Before WWI, the moments of rapprochement alternated with various differends which have occurred between Bucharest and Athens. After First World War, the ties between the two Royal Houses, materializing in the Romanian–Greek dynastic marriages, had initially seemed likely to influence positively the bilateral relations. However, very soon the contrary happened, as Greece gave up the monarchic regime and proclaimed the Republic; the new political evolutions in Athens, as well as the differences that cropped up in the two dynastic couples affected the initial positive path. A renewal of friendly relations occurred at the time of the Lausanne talks as well as during the next months, when Greece was somehow feeling isolated internationally after the debacle of the campaign in Asia Minor (the so-called *Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή*). Overall, the proclamation of the Republic in Athens was the reason of a significant plunge in the Romanian-Hellenic relations; that chilly course was interrupted in the latter half of 1924, with the arrival in Athens of Romania's new diplomatic

representative, Constantin Langa Rășcanu, a diplomat whose experience and continuity in the Balkan area was to help put the relations between Romania and Greece back on favorable track.

Based particularly on archival documents, the paper will assess the main evolutions and dimensions of bilateral relations between Romania and Greece during the early 20s.

ROBERT-SIMION LUCA, *The Topic of the Coronations in the Romanian Communist Propaganda (1944–1989)*

This study aims to analyze the evolution of the image of the coronation of kings Carol I and Ferdinand I, thus trying to bring new perspectives on what the rehabilitation of the monarchy truly meant during the communist regime in Romania. Fundamentally, the two regimes are completely distinct, which meant that the coronations had to be treated carefully. Still, in trying to legitimize itself historically even more through the continuity leitmotif, the communist historiography introduced the two coronations in the natural course of Romanian history. In the end, this worked against the concept of monarchy as one may see today from several factors of inexplicable superficiality and historical errors that still reign supreme. In treating this subject, we've used a preliminary chronology resulted from previous research, which is accompanied by a strong bibliographic list made up of historical works which treated this subject back in the communist days, textbooks, *Revista de Istorie (Studii)* [*The History Journal (Studies)*], *Magazin Istoric* [*A Historical Magazine*], the Party's newspaper *Scânteia*, and also some interviews of the former director of Alba Iulia's museum, Gheorghe Anghel, who was directly involved in some aspects of the proposed topic during the communist regime.

ELNUR KALBIZADA, *The Attitude of the Gajar Monarchy Rising of Republican Ideas in the South Caucasus and the Establishment of Nation-States*

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the development of political thought accelerated in the South Caucasus, which was colony of the tsarist Russia. The bourgeois revolution of February 1917 in Russia gave further impetus to the rise of the ideas of nation-state and republicanism in the South Caucasus. Azerbaijani, Georgian and Armenian politicians and political parties, who previously fought only for the protection of the rights of nations, began to discuss more openly about the establishment of republican nation-states after 1917. In May 1918, three republican nation-states (Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the Ararat (Armenian) Republic) were established in the South Caucasus.

The establishment of independent and republican states in the South Caucasus attracted the attention of the Gajar monarchy, which existed in Persia (Iran) at that time. First of all, because despite the democratic changes in Europe and neighboring regions, the Gajars still ruled Iran as a royalty. The changes taking place in the neighboring countries, the establishment of democratic republics inevitably affected Persia (Iran). On the other hand, the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which declared its independence, was an enough strong center of attraction for Azerbaijani Turks living in the territory of the Gajar state. Another point was that, in fact, before Tsarist Russia invaded the South Caucasus in the early 19th century, these territories were the territory of the Gajar Empire. Under the terms of the Gulustan Treaty of 1813 and the Turkmenchay Treaty of 1828, the Ghajar monarchy recognized the rule of Tsarist Russia over these territories. In this sense, the collapse of Tsarist Russia was also seen as an opportunity by the Gajar state for the reuniting these territories. However, the realities of the period, the fact that the monarchy in Persia itself was not strong enough did not allow the realization of these intentions.

The study analyzes the emergence of the idea of building a republic-state among the nations of the South Caucasus in the early twentieth century, the impact of

European political thought on this process, as well as the attitude of the neighboring Gajar monarchy to these processes.

JAHANGIR JAHANGIRLI, *Europe and the South Caucasus after the First World War: A Parallel Study*

The First World War was a turning point in the history of Europe, leading to the collapse of great empires. The impact of this war, which has resulted in the emergence of new states in Europe and the Middle East and the gradual formation of today's Europe, is not limited to Europe. The effects of this war were felt in Africa, the Middle East, and the South Caucasus. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the subsequent emergence of independent republics in the South Caucasus in 1918 are linked to the First World War. Our research focuses on the processes that took place in the South Caucasus. With the collapse of the Russian Empire, three democratic republics were established in the South Caucasus, and despite in Armenia the seizure of power by ultra-nationalist forces, in Georgia and Azerbaijan liberal democrats formed a parliamentary republic. After the establishment of these three republics, they became closely interested in the course of events in the West and tried to take advantage of the situation in Europe. At the same time, they were looking for an ally in Europe against the new Russian threat from the north. In this regard, our article examines similar situations in Europe and the South Caucasus after the First World War, analyzes similarities and differences, and focuses on the relations of the South Caucasus countries with European countries in the period covering 1918–1920. The article also touches on the role of Europe in the adoption of democratic ideals by the countries of the South Caucasus during this period.

HALIDA UMBAROVA, *The Role of Jews in the Political Establishment in Poland in the 1920s*

A minority can consciously and intentionally influence on a majority on condition if the majority allows it. Unconscious influence is adopted by majority without conditions, yet by time, the source of influence could be recognized as it reflects in the actions of majority. This influence could be generated on the base of politics, culture, ideas, experience, knowledge, day-to-day practices, and transferred through actions of minority. These actions in the case of conscious influence are based on understanding of aim or mission, while in the case of unconscious influence, actions are based on mode of life and practiced norms both of majority and minority. The main point here to emphasize is that this influence is collective and all consequences and responsibility are also on whole minority.

Jewish minority influenced on political establishments in Europe. This influence propelled progress, nationalism, and nationalization in the region through engagement of Jews into administration, politics, culture, and economy. It is more noticeable in the beginning of the 1920s in Poland. Though the same engagement was practiced in Lithuania, Germany, Russia, Britain, France. For sure, capital cities were always spots of political and cultural development and meeting of opportunities. Thus, Jews favored Warsaw as it was compliant field for inserting changes. In 1920, the Jewish community in Warsaw varied from 310,000 to 350,000 Jews, making a good third of population of Warsaw and taking the second place in numbers after New York.

Consequences for involvement appeared through antisemitism, because “all peoples understood that a thunderstorm hung over nations from the side of Jews.” However, there were those who justified them: “Jews were eager to work not for the sake of faith in their dominion over the world, nor their faith gave them intelligence, dexterity, practicality skills – these qualities were as innate as acquired by the conditions of everyday life. Jews were guided by a practical view of everyday

relationships, usually, they took the side of moral and physical strength, capable of guaranteeing a normal order of affairs, property rights, and inner peace.” Both expressions are proof of conscious and unconscious influence of Jews on dominant population.

IOANA URSU, *Poetry, Myths and Mentalities in the Age of the Romanian Sovereigns' Coronation*

The solemn atmosphere of the coronation of sovereigns Ferdinand and Marie as Kings of Greater Romania in 1922 was reflected not only in the extensive technical and administrative preparations, and the immense number of participants to the festivities, but also in the press materials that dedicated eulogies to the sovereigns, mirroring and illustrating the generally enthusiastic atmosphere.

Apart from the encomiastic editorials and panegyrics, a particular type of eulogy is represented by poetry: on occasion of the coronation, newspapers publish poetry that uses the coronation act as a context, motif or lyrical theme.

The present paper proposes to explore poems found in the newspapers edited during the days of the coronation and to analyse their content, while attempting to explain, through the images and themes employed by the lyrics, the people's perceptions and mentalities concerning the kings of Greater Romania and their coronation.

Reverential lyrics will be considered as a direct source of researching mentalities, as it is written on the occasion of a historical event – and generated by the historical event itself. Moreover, the myths and symbols that contribute to the construction of the discourse on the kings, the coronation and the Romanian nation will be emphasized.

BOGDAN POPA, *Unifying the Soul: Interwar Literature and the Divisions of Greater Romania*

At a first glance, the 1922 Coronation of King Ferdinand and Queen Maria and the 1923 Constitution had ended a historical process with deep roots: the establishment of the all-Romanian national state. However, the short-lived 'Greater Romania' was far from being as united as it was presented, mostly during the communist decades. The internal divisions were difficult to overcome and the attempts of the central government were mainly noticeable in different legislative areas (finance, education, military, work legislation).

“The Unification of the Soul of the Romanian nation” was a phrase coined in the sports milieu, in order to justify different positive or negative decisions. However, sport was only a marginal issue in the interwar debates on the actual level of unity and understanding between the 'old' and 'new' provinces of the Romanian state.

This paper is an attempt to understand the depth of these debates by looking, from the perspective of social history, to the literary works which questioned the depth, nature, and perspective healing of the internal divisions of Greater Romania.

IRINA S. KARABULATOVA, TATIANA A. KATTSINA, *Socio-political discourse of regional media on social assistance to refugees and prisoners of war in Russia in the post-Imperial period of the First World War (1917–1921)*

The big game of the redistribution of the world stigmatized the problem of forced migration during the First World War, focusing on historical, political, sociological, economic aspects, ignoring the linguistic aspect of the transformation of the matrix of human behavior in a traumatic situation of hostilities. The authors consider the problem of providing social assistance to refugees and prisoners of war through the prism of the ethnopsycholinguistic spectrum in the study of forced military migration, which gives an understanding of the inner experiences of a military migrant, refugee, prisoner of war, as well as civil society in chronotope. Any migration shows the full range of emotional assessments of people, which often leads to behavioral destructions. This aspect is widely represented in the socio-

political discourse of the early twentieth century in the era of the collapse of the Russian Empire. The authors focus on the verbal markers of the personality profile of a forced military migrant, which was reflected in the press of that time.

NATALIA ZHUKOVSKAYA, *Changing Identities: Britain and the Dominions in the League of Nations*

The British Empire was able to save itself from collapse after the First World War. However, in the 1920s, it underwent changes that largely determined its future fate. An important indicator of these changes was Britain's relations with the Dominions.

Remaining part of the Empire, the Dominions during this period begin to realize their own identity, different from the British one. The Dominions tried to realize and define their place and interests in world politics through participation in the work of the League of Nations. In the early 1920s, the Dominions continued to adhere to the principle of "diplomatic unity of the British Empire." However, more and more often their own interests forced the Dominions to declare their own position on various issues of international relations.

VLADIMIR ROMANOV, *"New Europe Architecture": Robert J. Kerner on the Future of Empires after the Great War*

The problem of the political prospects of the multinational empires of Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War has been the subject of much discussion. The delegates of the Paris Peace Conference 1919-1920 devoted their close attention to this issue. The most extensive discussion of the fate of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires took place in the expert community. One of the active participants in the academic debates of the future development of the «imperial space» of Europe was the American scientist Robert J. Kerner (1887-1956). He taught Slavic history first at the University of Missouri, and then at the University of California, Berkeley (1928-1956), where he founded Berkeley's Institute of Slavic Studies.

During the preparation of the American program for the post-war world, he was an «Inquiry» employee, where he developed proposals on the problems of Austria-Hungary. He defended the idea of forming democratic republics on its territory. At the same time, Kerner was a supporter of the pan-Slavic cultural and political integration. The transformation of his approaches to the future of the post-imperial space have changed only after the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia.



Fig. 1-2. The Coronation of King Ferdinand I and Queen Maria (Alba Iulia, 15 October 1922)

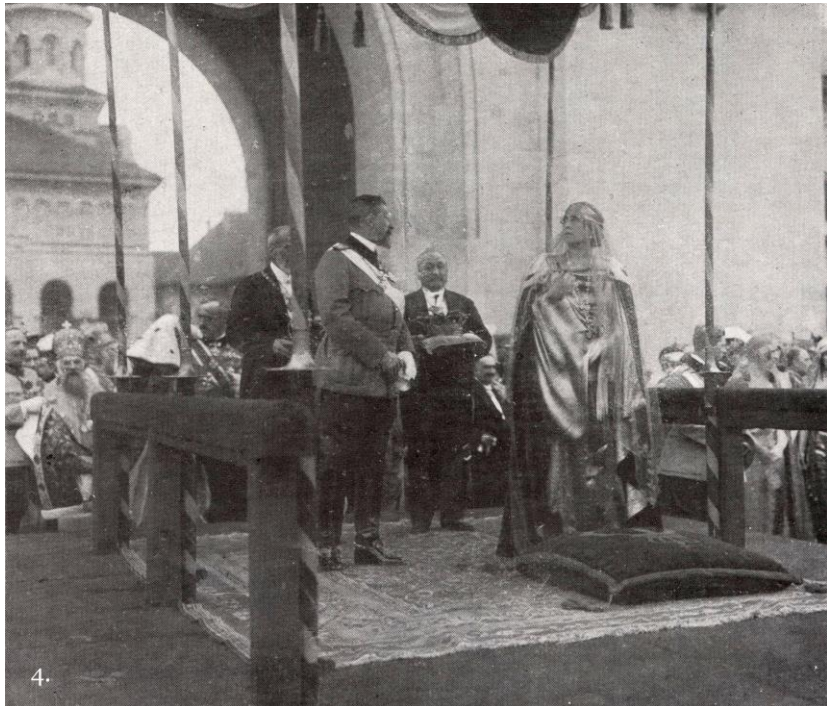


Fig. 3-4. The Coronation of King Ferdinand I and Queen Maria (Alba Iulia, 15 October 1922)



Fig. 5-6. Silver medal created for the Coronation in Alba Iulia



Fig. 7-8. King Ferdinand I and Queen Maria: Re-enactment