



64

ALEXANDRU DUȚU

European
Intellectual Movements
and
Modernization
of
Romanian Culture

EDITURA ACADEMIEI REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMÂNIA

EUROPEAN INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS
AND
MODERNIZATION OF ROMANIAN CULTURE

Profesorului și Eruditului
Eugen Stănescu,
această carte în care s-a
este prezent, așa cum este
în meditația autorului,

Omagiu,

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EDITURA ACADEMIEI REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMÂNIA
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UNITY, AND DIVERSITY IN THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN HUMANISM

In contrast to the impressive blossoming of the printing activities and the spectacular flowering of the fine arts in Western societies, the 16th—18th century literature and painting in Southeast Europe seem to be thrown into a deep sleep by the magic stick of an ill-wishing wizard. In this period, Western Europe is convulsed by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, is dynamized by the gradual progress of the sciences investigating nature, goes through the transformations brought about by the expansion of the capitalist economy, while its map is changed with the grouping and re-grouping of centralized states which are careful to organize the life of their subjects but also to cut it on numerous battlefields. Now, is Southeast Europe slumbering under the colourful cover which marks on the maps the expansion and decay of empires? In relation to the Baroque, Classicism, Rococo and Neo-Classicism, do South-European artists perpetuate the painting developed only in the once-famous centres by merely a mechanical imitation? Are the same symbols accepted without any hesitation for centuries on end?

Lacking first-hand evidence, autobiographies, letters and memoirs, we had to resort to what foreign travellers have left us. But, as a rule they passed indifferently by the frescoes and would not peruse the manuscripts and books written in unfamiliar letters. The brevity of their records entitles us to remark that they did not say much about the intellectual life in this region for the mere reason that they did not understand too much of it¹. Diplomats, officers or merchants, they would only cast a glance at architectural monu-

¹ Concerning the Western travellers' low interest in the Romanian thinking see my book *Synthesis and Originality in Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. enciclopedică română, 1972, especially the chapter "Patriotic Enlightenment": see also Paul Cernovodeanu, "Les voyageurs français en présence des réalités roumaines de la période phanariote", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 1974, pp. 735—753.

ments and at books produced in printing centres some of which were even outside their routes; their attention was focused on the moves of the Ottoman troops, on commercial ways and economic resources. When they did take a primordial interest in cultural phenomena, their views were distorted by their confessional purposes: they could not understand how it happened that clergymen went out to till the land instead of performing works of erudition; they mistook the rituals consolidating human solidarity with the manifestations that had led to strange deviations in their own societies. To some of them, church festivals seemed to be on the point of turning into the kind of shows given by flagellants but who would have been washed in cold well water by Romanian peasants. Images already imprinted on their minds prevented their knowledge of the nuances of new realities which obviously differed from the ones they knew. Men of culture, responsive to new ideas, could hardly travel the roads watched by Ottoman guards and purposely made inhospitable by the latter; after a few official interviews, they would return to Italy or direct their steps to the Lower Countries. This source is not generous, neither does it open a deep course; it rather attests mental disparities.

The expressions in the language of images and the written evidence which we possess today are more numerous than those known to our predecessors thanks to the reconstruction efforts and the work deployed by philologists. Thus, we have all reasons to discard the explanation offered by reputed authors of textbooks of history of the arts or history of writing who assign an overwhelming importance to a single group of cultures and who state that post-Byzantine painting continued to be practised by teams of artisans and not by artists possessing a personal vision, that it declined being invaded, as it was, by expressions which failed to equal the "quality" of the prototype, and it decayed under the irresistible impact of Western art; for these reasons, they say, post-Byzantine painting has found no place in the textbooks printed in impressive number of copies.

If intellectual experience is not to be reduced to a single model, then we may legitimate questions like to what extent writing has facilitated the actions of people in all societies, what needs it satisfied and what causes it served or prejudiced². We may also ask what precisely have people expressed by their language of images,

² See Lucien Febvre, "Préface" to L. Febvre et Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1971, pp. 11–16.

the more so since history of art does not present a linear development of mankind as a single entity going through the same stages to the same end — “the realism of the vision and of knowledge”³.

As expressions of mental patterns and as means serving a permanently renewed “paideia”, writing and painting speak of the unity and diversity of a civilization having the same foundation and similar purposes, but giving responses to problems arisen under differing conditions of existence.

The place of Southeast Europe in the civilization of the continent and the way in which European cultures did articulate in a single whole can neither be defined by the unilateral study of “influences” nor by magic formulas. To speak of “influences” means very often to look for “contributions” to a “world culture” perceived on such a high plane that works seem to be no longer elaborated by people and for people. The recourse to magic formulas like “retardation” or “rejection of reality” discreetly shifts the debate away from the duties of an analysis to a comfortable labelling. The starting point must be the evidence, the document and the first question to raise is in which way a work has suggested a reshaping of our existence and offered solutions for everyday life. Culture is not the totality of works collected in museums, libraries or performing centres, but images of the world and man which feed thinking and action, hence artistic work. A gratuitous aestheticism, well placed historically in an epoch not far from us, seeks to persuade us that the work is “created” by a genius and expresses the “beauty” which is enjoyed by those having a special training, therefore belonging to an elite, different from the ignorant mass; but, whenever art has been governed by principles and not by the “taste” of small groups which accepted or rejected works and ideas according to what “pleasure” or “displeasure” recommended, it has met unanimous intellectual needs. In any comparative study, investigation has to proceed from evidence to mentality, in order to reach the source of cultural activity. This means that intellectual life in a period under investigation is to be studied starting from the dialogue between human mind and changing realities, a dialogue which always follows a pattern, a “cultural model”.

Starting from documents — texts, paintings, sculptures, architecture — , we might observe that at a given moment there prevails a certain kind of texts and iconographic themes which may offer

³ Pierre Francastel, *La réalité figurative* (Romanian translation by Mircea Tomuş), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1972, pp. 300.— 301, where the author comments the work of E. H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art* which he qualifies “a disaster”.

us an indication as to the way in which writers and artists, but also the public, articulated their knowledge. In the ensemble of written works we identify a spectrum of genres which form a literary structure; a thorough analysis of the writings will lead us to the statements, concepts, visions about man and world held by writers, artists and public alike. Thus, a mental structure specific of a civilization is revealed⁴. In writings, just like in painting, we can then identify dominant concepts and images which help us understand the motives of the actions taken by the people of a given society at a given moment. Very instructive are two series of images: the image society forms of itself — the image of its past, of its future development — and the image it forms of others (the image of the “other”). The dominant images and concepts throw light on the mental pattern directing the cultural action at a certain moment: this is what we can call “the cultural model”⁵. The cultural model may have a special capacity of diffusion particularly when the society which has elaborated it has a highly-developed learning system and printing presses with a rich production, and can cause imitation, i.e. it can serve as a model to other cultural activities in other societies. There are models in full expansion and models of a low irradiation capacity, concentration models⁶.

In order to reconstruct literary structures, mental structures, cultural models, the historian necessarily must make researches into the literature of the epoch, he has to study painting and architecture, and, to the extent to which it is possible, the spectrum of oral communication. The cultural model cannot be reconstituted unless all cultural manifestations in a given society are taken into consideration.

The problem we are approaching — the relation between literature and art in Romanian culture — has been set on new foundations by a whole range of studies published recently. In the first place, those which have shifted the centre of gravity from the process

⁴ See Gaston Bouthoul, *Les mentalités*, Paris, P.U.F., 1971, p. 30: “Si nous procédons par élimination, nous constatons que derrière toutes les différences et les nuances individuelles il subsiste une sorte de résidu psychologique irréductible, stable, fait de jugements, de concepts et de croyances auxquels adhèrent au fond tous les individus d’une même société. Cet ensemble constitue la structure mentale spécifique de chaque civilisation”.

⁵ More details in my article “Modèles, images, comparaisons”, in *Synthesis*, III, 1976, pp. 5–10 and in my book *Models, Images, Sights* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1979. Details on the relation between the heuristic and the historical models in my article in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1979, 4, pp. 715–722.

⁶ See my book *Romanian Humanists and European Culture*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1977, the chapter “Expansion and Concentration”.

of writing and printing books (by white-bearded scholars who looked in previous histories of Romanian literature 'like a "requiem for former days") to the circulation of books and the readers' reponse. I am referring to the stimulating books written by Octavian Șchiau, Gabriel Cocora, Florian Dudaș⁷ and many others, who have reproduced notes found in old printings and have made researches in isolated areas; George and Cătălina Velculescu, as well as George Em. Marica have studied the lists of subscribers to books and reviews in the first part of the 19th century which shed light also on the various cultural strata interested in books in previous decades⁸. We are now aware of the many ways taken by the printed word in order to reach people in the towns or living in mountainous regions like Munții Apuseni or Maramureș in Transylvania, the Bistrița Valley in Moldavia or the Olt Valley in Walachia, we can see now how the book penetrated into the villages and the role it played in communities which were formerly described as worlds plunged into immovable visions.

Secondly, we must take into account the explorations into the literary theory which prevailed in the centuries before Romanticism and which all emphasize the predominant role of rhetoric in Romanian culture⁹. Finally, we must point out the new manner in which specialists began to understand the complex relationships between culture and existence, art and society, intellectual and practical activities; it becomes quite clear that each society has built up its own cultural frame, each work of art giving a response to specific intellectual, political, and economic realities.

Each culture has a specific structure of literature which makes us understand how people classified, at a given moment, their knowledge and established their scale of values. This structure leads us to specific mental patterns. Since we refer to a longer period — from the 17th to the 19th century — it is quite clear that these structures cannot be regarded as immobile; we have to pay attention to the

⁷ See Octavian Șchiau, *Scholars and Books in Medieval Romania* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1978; Gabriel Cocora, *Printing Presses and Scholars* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Litera, 1977; Florian Dudaș, *Old Romanian Printings in the Bihor Churches* (in Romanian), Oradea, 1979.

⁸ See the articles of George and Cătălina Velculescu in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1974 and in *Synthesis*, II, 1975; George Em. Marica, *Studies of the History and Sociology of the 19th-Century Transylvanian Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia 1977, two volumes.

⁹ See *Eulogy to Rhetoric* in Zoe Dumitrescu-Bușulenga, *Humanist Values and Equivalences* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Eminescu, 1973, pp. 303–309.

relation between temporal levels (the long duration and the new exigencies) and between cultural levels (court versus country, written versus oral literature).

Thus we can identify several basic intellectual attitudes which enable us to outline the Romanian contribution to the European cultural trends of the time we are discussing. The diagram we are presenting, relying on diagrammatic arguments cannot exhaust the problem; it only attempts to point out a number of aspects which cannot be overlooked.

There is a series of statements made by Romanian intellectuals of that time which reveal the way they were classifying the writings according to the needs they were bound to meet: the book was designed to record wisdom and spread it among the readers; to record significant events; to describe uncommon happenings, "adventures" worth being read at festivities where games were associated with work, where life was interpreted and explained anew. There were books of wisdom, of history and of delectation. They were grouped in two circles pursuing the concentric motion of cognition: the inner circle encompassed the writings dealing with principles, with "beginnings", whereas the outer circle included the books that set forth the contact of principles with reality. In this way, the writings were observing the mind busy with "inner" problems and "external" problems without confusing them. (One might remark that this distinction has been abolished only recently judging by the feminine fashion which recommends now to wear a "pyjama" dress in the street.) Each literature included writings pertaining to the inner and outer circle. For instance, historical literature included in the inner circle chronological records and in the outer one, the *Alexander Romance*; the books of wisdom comprised in the inner circle selections of maxims, of guidance offered by highly respected persons, models for humanity, and in the outer circles books like *Barlaam and Josaphat* or *Syntipas the Philosopher*; the literature of delectation preserved in the inner circle pieces of verse, and in the outer circle *Heliodorus' Aethiopica*. As the concern for social and political realities was growing, the inner circle books were driven to a lower level and labelled "folk books". I suggested on another occasion that the relation between the two circles can be observed also in the relation between the inner and outer painting of our monuments. The categories of books as well as pictorial pat-

terns underwent a change throughout the centuries under consideration ¹⁰.

If one examines the relations between temporal levels — between the “long duration”, and the moment’s requirements —, one grows aware that a first diversification in the world of books occurred at the time of Humanism when historical literature was transformed and when baroque elements penetrated poetry and delectation prose, as in *Istoria ieroglică* (the Hieroglyphic History), a would-be novel ¹¹. (The role of the novel in reshaping at that time European literature which had been dominated by tragedy and epos is well known). The second diversification occurred in the days of the Enlightenment when wisdom literature was altered by the penetration of the rational, philosophical spirit in great favour with the Transylvanian School (*Școala Ardeleană*). The third diversification induced by the romantic “mutation” brought about a spectacular development of belles-lettres ¹². But until this mutation occurred, the categories of books had not been sharply separated due also to the fact that they were observing the principles of rhetoric. The same thing happened in the 17th century French culture where the fact was expounded by Le Moyne: history and poetry are both bound to abide by the rules of eloquence “but the former had better avoid certain locutions and figures of speech just like a decent woman avoids doing things that may shock propriety and modesty” ¹³. In the 17th century, boyars (like Udriște Năsturel in Walachia) and clergymen (like the metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia, a candidate to the seat of patriarch in Constantinople) embarked upon a strong polemic against the Reformation. This Orthodox Counter-Reformation favoured the penetration of Baroque elements in prose, poetry, eloquence; as it has been suggested, these elements should be compared with those of another Latin culture which had close connections with Eastern civilizations — the Spanish culture ¹⁴.

¹⁰ For these “literatures”, see my book *Les livres de sagesse dans la culture roumaine*, Bucharest, A.I.E.S.E.E., 1971 and my article “Les livres de délectation dans la culture roumaine” in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1973, 2, pp. 307—325; Paul Cernovodeanu, “Préoccupations en matière d’histoire universelle dans l’historiographie roumaine au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles” in *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, 1970, 4, 1971, 2, 4; 1972, 1; 1974, 1.

¹¹ Commentaries on this work in *Cahiers roumains d’études littéraires*, 1974 and in *Dacoromania*, 11, 1974.

¹² The theme is developed in my article “La mutation romantique: l’exemple roumain” in *Cahiers roumains d’études littéraires*, 1978, 2, pp. 17—26.

¹³ See Klaus Heitmann, “Das Verhältnis von Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung in älterer Theorie” in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 52, Heft 2.

¹⁴ See Mihai Moraru’s intervention to the round table published in *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 1978, 1.

There was a permanent interaction between the aulic level and the culture developed in villages, mostly because "new men" — like the Movilă family or Vasile Lupu — climbed rapidly the social ladder¹⁵, but also because peasants' music and dances pervaded the court festivities which were not completely different from those taking place in villages. Writings reproduced the speech of peasants and craftsmen; legends were integrated into historical literature¹⁶ and tales into chronicle compilations even when writers were not of rural stock. The aulic productions did not develop vigorously and did not stifle folk culture as it happened in France, for example, where the absolutist monarch broke all small regional centres in order to bring all his subjects in direct obedience to his "divine" will¹⁷. On the contrary, in the Romanian countries, the role of the princely court diminished from the beginning of the 18th century onwards and educated people continued to participate in popular forms of culture. The comparison with the French model which was in expansion at that time enables us to highlight the original features of the Romanian model in which printed works and great frescoes expressed values shared by people in court, town and village. The withdrawal of the educated people from this participation took place later, after the middle of the 19th century. Up to that moment, traditional concepts transmitted mostly by patristical works prevailed in all types of writings and in the language of images.

What seems evident is that in the Romanian model the intellectual values were predominant; the imagination gathered from the tangible world the elements that consolidated the authority of intelligence but gradually assuming an ever greater role, it forced intelligence to take account of the multifarious aspects of the material tangible world. Yet the proportions were not reversed before the emergence of Romanticism. The prevalence of intellectual values promoted a *unifying vision of the world and man*; the diversification of intellectual preoccupations did not bring about a complete separation of the fields of intellectual activity. Of course, this phenomenon can be explained to a certain extent by the material background of the cultural activity, a rather poor basis — subject to foreign exploitation, — which could not favour, even over a longer

¹⁵ Răzvan Theodorescu, *Medieval Itineraries* (in Romanian), Ed. Meridiane, 1979.

¹⁶ On the unity and variety in popular culture, in general, see the brilliant book *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* by Peter Burke (London, Temple Smith, 1979). On the concrete aspect evoked here, see Cătălina Velculescu, "Legends: Reflexes in Historiography" (in Romanian) in *Revista de istorie si teorie literară*, 1978, 1, pp. 23—33.

¹⁷ See Robert Muchembled, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne*, Paris, Flammarion, 1978.

period of time, such achievements as Le Louvre, the cathedral of Köln or the Cambridge colleges. The Romanian model was a model of "concentration" and not a model in "expansion" like the French or the British ones. Blending tradition with newness, observing the perennial principles of life, combining the aulic level with the village one, adding to the political spirit of the humanists and enlightened men love of the native land and respect for work, the Romanian model acquired an original character and attracted those who were molded in the prestigious Byzantine tradition but who lacked the cultural initiative which was never strangled in Romania. A model for Southeast European cultures, it also played a bigger European role through the intellectual links it set up between Central Europe and the Levant and by bringing to light in the 19th century the function a small culture can fulfil when a new society of peoples comes into being, the "Europe of Nations".

We may conclude by saying that the 17th and 18th centuries witnessed a process of gradual modernization of the written culture. A decisive role in this modernization was played by the gradual advance of reason in the problems of the "inner" and "outer" circles. This mental scheme inherited from the Byzantines who had singled out an "outer" wisdom — "the learning outside the door, the wisdom of the Hellenes" — and an "inner" wisdom — to which theology was leading¹⁸ — was gradually blurred: first by the analysis of the political questions, then by the expansion of philosophy. In the first stage of Romanian humanism, reason reflecting chiefly on the historical destiny of the Romanian people did not discard the Byzantine discrimination. Humanists made mental excursions into the "outer" world and subjected it to the scrutiny of their reason. Since "inner" wisdom was not negated, we described this moment as the assertion of an *Orthodox rationalism* — a rationalism which did not attack straightly Orthodox patristics. One century later, in the Age of Enlightenment, reason made a stronger inroad into the inner circle and started reviewing and revisiting the principles. The decomposition of the traditional intellectual scheme started already in the 17th century when the *Orthodox rationalism* produced a first sensible diversification of intellectual concerns, particularly under the impact of the analysis of political phenomena; the humanists' keen interest in social and political matters lent a dominant feature to Romanian humanism — its civic spirit (in the acceptance of civic activities about which Hans Baron, spoke in 1938).

¹⁸ See Donald M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 31–65.

In the other Southeast European cultures, this modernization did not take place at a faster rate, either. In the 16th — 18th centuries, Southeast European painting appears as having a traditional character, observing the indications of the Byzantine cultural model; this readily observable feature prompted specialists to define the whole painting of this period as “post-Byzantine”. At the same time, a permanent assimilation is noticeable of Oriental and Western elements, a frequent “individualization” of the manner, a sensible change of the themes and symbols, as well as an eloquent intertwining of writing and painting, both ways of expression organized in structures corresponding to mental patterns based on deep-seated life principles; “post-Byzantine” painting ceased to be considered merely a provincial art or, even worse, a decadent one¹⁹. The evolution of the system of figurative expression, which proves by itself that style was not in a state of slumber becomes quite obvious as soon as the historian starts considering the whole spectrum of the language of images-miniature, engraving, painting. Text illustration with miniatures and engravings throws light on the close connection between writing and the language of images.

But this connection is not one of dependence; it is not “ut pictura poesis” that justifies a simultaneous analysis of writing and painting. The two means of expression influence each other, but they move like in a see-saw along the centuries in relation to the path followed by intellectual activity: the language of images is prevailing in the epochs in which the effort for synthesis is preeminent while writing flourishes in the epochs when analytic undertakings are gathering momentum. The fact that in Southeast Europe painting continues to be spread on large areas, offering a vision of the world, points not to a conservative spirit, but to the effort to grasp man’s destiny and put it into a synthetic form. At the same time, by means of miniature and engraving, the historian can get

¹⁹ Here and henceforth we refer to the reports delivered at the Sofia Congress of Southeast European Studies, published in *Actes...*, Sofia, 1969, vol. II, pp. 705—802: M. Chatzidakis, “Considérations sur la peinture postbyzantine en Grèce”; S. Petković “Painting in Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro from the Middle of the 15th until the End of the 17th Century”; V. Vătășianu, “Roumanie”; T. Popa, “Considérations générales sur la peinture postbyzantine en Albanie”; A. Božkov, “Les monuments d’art en Bulgarie; Discussions”. About the humanistic character of the presence of ancient philosophers in frescoes in Romania see Grigore Nandriș, “Christian Humanism Expressed in the Neo-Byzantine Mural Painting of the Churches in Bucovina (Romania) and in other Orthodox Centres in Eastern Europe (Mount Athos)” in *Revue des études roumaines*, XI — XII, 1969, pp. 7—19. For the traditional criteria, different from the current 20th century ones, see Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art*, Dover Publications, 1956.

an image of the bridges linking the two languages and rendering evident both the changes occurred in the groups benefitting by these means of communication and the transformations in the system of figurative expression and the structure of written culture.

In all the genres we have identified — history books, wisdom books, delectation books, to which we could add some minor genres (letters, prognostics, etc.) — the evolution of written culture in these centuries is obvious. The maxims taken over from ancient authors are ever more frequently combined with those offered by the works of contemporary Western authors, but also with proverbs. Chronicles are replaced by erudite history or the history pleading the cause of the peoples; the new works were written by Greek scholars, by Paisi of Khilendar, Jovan Rajić, or Romanian humanists. The literature of delectation developed spectacularly in the 18th century in Neo-Greek, Serbian and Romanian cultures, in the wake of the Cretan blossoming from which most Southeast European cultures had benefitted. This evolution can also be traced back in painting where a number of themes were borrowed directly from books: parables from wisdom books, historical events from chronicles by the insertion of scenes or their transposition into symbols; the steady presentation of aspects from the surrounding reality under the influence of delectation books. A close connection exists between the imagery in hymnographic poetry and iconographic themes; the *Akathistos Hymnos* lends itself perfectly to imaginative illustration, as Kurt Weitzmann noticed. On the narthex ceilings showing Virgin Mary, the reference to the authors of hymns — Joseph, Kosmas or John of Damascus — is direct, while the representation of the *Annunciation Akathistos* or of *St. Nicholas' Akathistos* faithfully observes the cadence of the stanzas.

The shift in the language of images was stimulated by the development of written culture but it did not depend exclusively on the transformations occurred in the content of the books or in the structure of written culture. Gradually, both languages transferred to the passive stock images whose significance got withered through use and composed new images with the help of new data about man and the world. Perhaps the most telling element in the painting presenting human faces was the vanishing of the contemplative type, which actually was never predominant, and the ever greater interest in the man of action, which in turn had never appeared in highly dramatic compositions like those owed to Tintoretto or Rubens. The modifications are sensible but they are made in a classical framework which remained faithful to human dimensions and to the rules of composition handed down by tradition.

Certainly, a salient feature in the whole European culture of the 16th — 18th centuries can be considered the veneration of and attachment to the model offered by Antiquity. The insistent reference to the texts of the Greek and Latin authors produced a shift in thinking and provided the bases for the emerging cultural trend which was humanism. After the Middle Ages had preserved concepts and patterns of thought integrated in the theological doctrine, the humanist scholars brought to the fore not characters from a well-known drama but authorities coming to support the people holding a new world outlook. Plato's destiny is revelatory if we think of the sources he offered to Marsilio Ficino and Petrarch, to the whole 15th-century Florentine trend, or the humanist model offered through the agency of Socrates, canonized by Erasmus who used to say: "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis" (Saint Socrates, pray for us) and whom Montaigne set as an example to his readers. Other ancient authors were introduced in the laboratory of modern writers: Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* were translated into French in the 16th century by Jacques Amyot — whose version was the source of Montaigne's essays — and then into English by Thomas North — version which fed Shakespeare's dramas. From 1540, when Primaticcio, sent by king Francis I of France, brought to Paris 130 boxes with models after Roman works of art, until 1785 when Felice Fontana and Paolo Mascagni made 1,192 anatomic dummies after the works of the Florentine maestros for the Vienna academy of military medicine founded by Joseph II, the Antiquity rediscovered and reproduced by the Renaissance artists offered a worthy model which played the role of a stabilizer and of a guide for both the rules of classical compositions and those of the revolt against classicism. Romanticism disentangled itself from this model and delimited classicism both as a style and an historical period. To Stendhal, as he states in his *Racine et Shakespeare* in 1823, classical literature was "the literature which delighted our great grandfathers". But, until the 19th century, a set of rules dictated what was "normal" and what was "abnormal"; the rules were similar both in the West and in the Southeast of Europe.

Here, the attachment to tradition was stronger and it cannot be explained only as a manifestation of stubborn conservatism. The stagnant economy in Southeast European societies preserved monuments on a modest scale; the lack of substantial investment possibilities explains why churches did not become cathedrals and the dwellings of the wealthy classes did not grow into impressive buildings with donjons and large gardens. Serving military purposes, the Ottoman economy allowed the Balkan peoples to invest in archi-

ecture, painting, written culture, only to a small extent. The areas on which painting developed were not very extended, and this favoured repetition and imitation. The Byzantine canon, which preserved a large part of the lessons offered by Antiquity, was perpetuated just as the works of Dionysius the Areopagite preserved alive part of Plato's and Plotinus' philosophy, while Aristotelianism was systematically studied in the "Great school" supported by the patriarchy in Constantinople and in the princely academies in Bucharest and Iași. The resuscitation of Antiquity did not take the form of a Renaissance, but the Greek works taught people in the 17th — 18th centuries how to think; the students of Theophilus Corydalleus put forward a vivid image of the "golden age" which often offered certitudes at a time of dramatic vicissitudes. On the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment, Aristotelianism came even to obstruct modern thinking just as the artists molded in highly traditional centres, mostly in monasteries, were taught to conserve the consecrated artistic programme through the model books; more than that, the formation of painters went through a phase of decline in the 18th century. But, despite all this, any reader or looker can note a sensible difference between the thought contained in the 16th-century written text or painted icon and the works achieved in the latter half of the 18th century.

In the figurative system, changes can more frequently and clearly be noted in the lower range of the exposition and more slowly and obscurely in the higher range. But, important is to follow the whole, as it was composed and sought to put forth a global vision and not to select elements from various part which allegedly point to how "reality" got into post-Byzantine painting. This reality was permanently integrated in the composition and it is not a caravel in the *St. Nicholas' Akatistos* painted at Roman or a character with a Florentine hat in a scene of synaxaire painted in Bulgaria which can prove the painter's wish to speak of the surrounding world; suchlike elements have a revealing force when they disclose a shift in mentality.

Less subject to change is the core of the principles governing the central apse and the surface of the dome; more frequent are the changes in the theory of faces and scenes depicting the tradition through the figures of prophets, hierarchs, martyrs. More unstable — but at considerable time intervals — is the part of the artistic programme showing how principles worked into history, i.e. the synaxaire scenes, the parables, the Akathistos Hymnos, in the narthex. Here, the invasion of everyday elements can be noted in the 17th — 18th centuries, in the form of accumulation of dates, of the

narrative intended to express the very flow of thoughts like in Bach's music. A significant fact is that gradually the figures of the national saints are no longer presented in the long range of monks and soldiers, but are strongly individualized and acquire the size of national symbols. This was the case of the Nemanjić "holy dynasty" which, after having been presented at Dečani as a tree imitating the "tree of Jesse", was disseminated in the form of engravings among villagers; so it happened with other national saints like Prokhor or Pčinja and Joachim of Sarantopov. In the 18th century, icons used to evoke persons canonized for preeminently political reasons, the process going in parallel with the intensification of the struggle against foreign domination. At the end of the 16th century, when Sinan Pasha, the enemy of Michael the Brave, stifled the Serbs' revolt, he took the relics of Saint Sava of Mileševa to Belgrade and ordered them to be burned; but, shortly afterwards, the monks unearthed the relics of Sava's brother, king Stephen, and composed his hymn meant to perpetuate an historical tradition and to feed the hope in "political miracles"²⁰.

Suchlike canonizations continued to be performed by the Greek and south-Slav churches until the 19th century; in the Romanian society they did not occur, since the development of national consciousness was stimulated in the principalities mostly by the court and by cultural centres located in Transylvanian towns.

Differently, the Greeks and South Slavs defended their rights within the institution which had survived the annihilation of the state apparatus in Byzantium and of the tsarates — the church. The Ottomans would refer to the Christian nations within their empire as to "millet" without distinguishing between them: "rum millet" was used to designate all the Orthodox Christians in the Empire under the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarch²¹. In the Habsburg Empire, the Serbs and the Romanians posed political problems until late in the 19th century within the "schismatic" church within which they had been grouped together. More than that, the central authority set up eparchies and administrative units precisely in order to set apart those of the same language and confession, such an example being the separation of Maramureş and Banat from the rest of Transylvania. Prior to the mid-18th century, as Emanuel Turczynski put it, a phase of "pre-national socializa-

²⁰ See Frank Kämpfer, "Nationalheilige in der Geschichte der Serben", in *Forschungen zur ost-europäischen Geschichte*. Werner Philipp zum 65. Geburtstag von seinen Schülern, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1973, pp. 7—22.

²¹ See Ion Matei, "Modernisation de la terminologie politique turque: patric, nation, peuple" in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1979, 4, pp. 746—750.

tion" took place in which the representatives of the Serbs and the Romanians "proud of their Byzantine culture" uttered their interests opposed to the military and feudal defenders of the social and mental structures of Central Europe. Yet, the dialogue could not be developed since the feudals disregarded the "schismatic Raizen and Walachen", attitude which is part of a deliberate distortion of Byzantine civilization in Europe, perpetuated by Herder, Hegel and Harnak. A second phase was marked by the emergence of local authorities in political struggles, towards the middle of the century; they gave a strong reply to feudal abuses while the hierarchy in confessional communities was making an increasingly systematic approach to juridical argumentation. All this led to the Edict of Toleration issued by the Vienna court in 1781. Very important is the moment immediately following the middle of the century since then the efforts of the two peoples' leaders converged with the Viennese court's willingness to provide conditions for a better education to the Romanians and Serbs; through the agency of the schools, renewing ideas could circulate faster and a coherent programme of political action be elaborated by the young graduates. It was the moment at which the mass became aware that it represented a force. After 1760, there developed an ever closer connection between the religious consciousness and the ethnical one and the denominations of "Raize, Walache, orthodox or orientalisch" were gradually discarded, to make room for such terms as "griechisch-orientalisch" and then "Serb, Romanian"²². But it was only in 1864 that the Romanians were granted the right to set up their own metropolitan church. At the same time, a new breath had been brought among the Transylvanian Romanians by the intellectuals trained in Vienna and Rome schools a century earlier. These intellectuals "had undertaken, perhaps without being fully conscious of the magnitude of their task, to reconcile East and West, that is to harmonize the rural, Orthodox tradition of their native soil with the intellectual dynamism of Europe and to bring into being a new entity composed of an amalgam of Romanianness, Latinity and Western, essentially Roman Catholic, culture". But, they systematically opposed a stronger Jesuit control and a firmer incorporation in the Catholic church; "such paradoxical behaviour exemplified, on the one hand by pride in the union as a return to Roman origins and, on the other, by the refusal to make the Uniate Church more Roman, suggests an ethnic-cultural

²² Emanuel Turczynski, *Konfession und Nation. Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationsbildung*, Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1976.

conception of nation close to the modern usage”²³. In the formation of this modern conception, a decisive role was played by Transylvania’s relations with Moldavia and Walachia; it was from these two principalities that books in Romanian, printed under the patronage of the court spread to Transylvania, a phenomenon similar to the construction of establishments in this province by the Romanian ruling princes. The books used in church services in Maramureş and Bihor had been printed in Iaşi and Bucharest; then, we should not forget the role played in the consolidation of the common national consciousness by copyists, binders, itinerant book-sellers who used to cross the mountains even after the Habsburg authorities forbade the access of the Walachian books to Transylvania in the early 18th century. The works of Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir, compilations of chronicles were intensely circulated in all the regions inhabited by Romanians. Civic humanism expressed in works written in Iaşi and Bucharest provided ferments to the movement of ideas in Transylvania which, owing to the Transylvanian School contributed to the modernization of the whole Romanian culture.

If we wish to get a clearer image of the process of cultural renewal in Southeast Europe, we have to follow the relation established between functional reading and institutional painting, on the one hand, and non-functional reading and pictorial innovation, on the other. Until towards the 17th century, reading was practised with a set category of books which fulfilled a precise social function: to infuse norms of conduct, to outline mankind’s destiny, to teach writing for chancellory purposes.

The improvement of educational methods and matters in the patriarchal schools or in the Romanian princely academies, the rise of book production in Romanian centres and in Venice and Vienna, as well as the reinvigorated commerce with books which supplied some large libraries like that of Constantin Brâncoveanu or of the Mavrocordat family, all this contributed to promoting the reading of books which did not “teach” strictly useful practices. The non-functional reading favoured the flow of ideas and, in the last analysis, the change of the world view. In the latter half of the 18th century when the network of Serbian, Greek and Romanian schools became larger, the non-functional reading got predominant²⁴; new mental

²³ Keith Hitchins, “Religion and Romanian National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania”, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 57, 1979, 2, pp. 236, 237.

²⁴ See Sp. Asdrachas, “Faits économiques et choix culturels : à propos du commerce de livres entre Venise et la Méditerranée orientale au 18^e siècle”, in *Studi Veneziani*, XIII, 1971, pp. 597–621.

attitudes emerged and were expressed also by the language of images which no longer observed strictly the scheme imposed by textbooks like the one elaborated by Denys of Furna at the beginning of the century with the intention to perpetuate traditional norms. It was not only reading but also engraving originating in the Venetian centre or Central Europe that caused a change in the symbols which had separated the Orthodox East from the Catholic or Protestant West; in the book of models of Radu the painter, a number of themes betray their inspiration from Dürer's engravings²⁵. The Russian books, the dissemination of which increased in the 18th century, particularly in South-Slav cultures, offered not only new iconographic solutions but also lent considerable impulse to sapiential and didactic literatures.

The language of images had expressed the traditional world outlook through the creations of artists from Crete, Peć or Montenegro, from the Bulgarian centres, or from Berat or Korçe. Now it brought to light themes and artistic qualities which not only enlarged the range of expressiveness but also attest to the discovery of new data about the psychic and physical universe. Eloquent in this respect are the achievements of the Greek painters who resorted to new models like Panayotis Doxaras of Corfu who imitated Veronese; the painters in the group at Berat who composed a "Jesus trifaces"; the artists of the "Hurez school" who refined the expression and imparted new dimensions to the theory of portraits in the gallery of church founders. In the latter half of the 18th century, when, significantly, the number of lay painters grew, the figurative programme became dependent on the desiderata of certain new social groups, whose presence in culture was felt in the north of Greece, in Serbia, in Bulgarian urban centres, particularly in the Romanian countries where the books of models of the Tirgoviște painters, for instance, prove that the scenes and faces were often made according to the provisions of the contracts²⁶. The figurative system started disintegrating with the individualization of certain saints — patrons of guilds or societies — or of certain scenes which had a direct appeal on the founders or painters: the ensemble turned into a series of pictures. The evolution of the icon followed the same course, assimilating narrative elements. And it is significant that the moment at which this programme fell into decay and authentic portraits

²⁵ See Teodora Voinescu, "A Copybook of Models of Medieval Romanian Painting" in "Pages of Old Romanian Art" (in Romanian), III, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1974, pp. 159—160.

²⁶ See the contract of Avram Zugravul (the Painter) of 1862 reproduced by Teodora Voinescu in *op. cit.*, p. 197—198.

and elements from everyday life steadily got into the system is precisely the moment of blossoming of the delectation literature represented by original writings and also by translations from Gesner, Campe, Francesco Loredano, Marmontel, Florian or Metastasio. Books and paintings were obviously supposed to instruct, but now the accent fell on the didactic side, with the purpose to make intelligible the norms of conduct. At the same time, they had to provide a relaxation offering joy and beauty; thus, artistic activity started to assert its autonomy within the intellectual activity which previously had a homogenous character and gave impetus to belles-lettres and belle-arte. The emergence of daily newspapers to the end of the period contributed tremendously to the diversification of intellectual activities.

The Age of Enlightenment brought within the relationships between writing and figurative arts a change with decisive consequences: books gained priority in the system of communication. Now, books were meant to replace the traditional transmission of knowledge, by word of mouth and by "seeing — doing"; the continuous proliferation of intellectual activities enhanced the role of books which enjoyed an ever larger audience, disentagling them from the consecrated system of "reading out-listening to" and of that of instructing through images.

Here the student of cultural history has to pay attention to the relation between town and village, between the townsfolk involved in vigorous cultural activities — urban festivities, assimilation of topical information provided by pamphlets, booklets and newspapers — and the rural layers liable to receive every influence, yet sticking to a tradition which fairs, the circulation of broadsides or pamphlets could not annihilate²⁷. Other aspects to be taken into consideration are the programme of philosophers oscillating between esoterism and full enlightenment by books and schooling²⁸; the culture-public relation seen in the context of living realities. The formation of the Enlightenment programme depended on the social structures in which it was integrated and to the cultural traditions it intended to reshape; "civilization" as the "philosophers" meant it was the outcome of a confrontation between intellectual centres

²⁷ See Robert Mandrou, *La France aux 17^e et 18^e siècles*, Paris, P.U.F., 1967, chapter "Culture et traditions populaires: une culture immobile?" pp. 139—145.

²⁸ See Roland Mortier, *Clartés et ombres du siècle des Lumières*, Genève, Droz, 1969, chapters "Esotérisme et lumière: un dilemme de la pensée du XVIII^e siècle" and "Les philosophes français et l'éducation publique", pp. 60—113.

and political power which prompted the selective tradition to reject concepts and adopt new values ²⁹.

In Europe, the cultural programme was elaborated by people living in societies with different structures: these structures were more dynamic in the West and less mobile in the Balkans. In this part of the continent, prevailing was the rural mass, while a small bourgeoisie was developing in the towns of the Habsburg Empire founding schools, learned societies and contributing to the appearance of books in the national languages in printing houses led by foreigners but staffed with Balkan printers. This "substitute" bourgeoisie, whose main pursuit was the transit commerce, brought the Central European way of life into the Balkans through clothes, customs, architecture, interior decoration of dwellings, oriental and rococo designs intertwining on ceilings and walls. In the Hungarian society, the nobility continued to command the fashion in culture, holding a very 'high percentage on a European scale, comparable to that of the Polish nobility ³⁰; a large part of the clergy was of noble origin. In the Romanian countries, the cultural levels were not sharply separated: the boyars' way of life did not favour the formation of a closed culture while teachers, some of them clergymen of peasant stock, and the groups of tradesmen played an ever increasing role in the cultural movement.

The delimitation of these structures throws light on the place held by the promoters of new ideas in Central and Southeast Europe ³¹, but the programme formulated by them got crystallized as a result of the confrontation with the cultural programme established by the Vienna court and with the political domination exerted by Istanbul. The units whose life was guided by the Empire grew ever more aware of their identity — the Balkan peoples, Czechs and Slovaks, Serbs and Croats, Hungarians, Italians, Romanians — while history and philology revealed other social ties and another "civilization" than the imposed one ³². The reply given to imperial programmes was grounded on the nobility's consciousness which defended feudal privileges, or on the consciousness which gave a new life to folk traditions. Romanian humanists, who had not expressed the doctrine of a class but a body of arguments built on the image of ancient Dacia,

²⁹ See Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 24.

³⁰ See Kalman Benda, "La société hongroise au XVIII^e siècle", in *Les Lumières en Hongrie*, Budapest, 1971, p. 24.

³¹ See the volume *Structure sociale et développement culturel des villes sud-est européennes et adriatiques aux XVII^e — XVIII^e siècles*, Bucharest, AIESEE, 1975.

³² About the Josephinian programme, see the conclusion of Victor L. Tapié in *Monarchie et peuples du Danube*, Paris, Fayard, 1969, pp. 260—265.

offered an intermediary formula, closer to the Italian one³³. This formulation of the cultural programme in contrast to the imperial programme is a salient feature of the intellectual processes which took place in these zones as compared to processes occurring in England or France

The cultural programme incorporated all values present in the sphere of oral expression, of writing and the language of images. Whereas in Western societies, oral communication had been driven back and images had ceased to make sense in a system of intellectual coordinates set by tradition man's knowledge and its applications, and man had deliberately entered, particularly from the 17th century onward, into a direct dialogue with nature³⁴, in Central and Southeast Europe the forms of communication were more complex. In general, communication continued to use on all levels orality and the language of images; traditional principles were maintained and thinking continued to capture significations of events or natural phenomena; priority was given to the wise man, very often an "initiated" or an "old" man. At the same moment, another variant appeared and attached importance to writing and the language of images; thinking tried to reveal the role of virtues; priority was held by the scholar, the cultivated man. A third variant gave pride of place to writing; the world was seen as dominated by laws and reason was called to make them work seeking the establishment of order into existence; priority was granted to the scientist. We might call the first trend prophetic, the second humanistic, the third naturalistic. All coexisted in Southeast European cultures in the 18th centuries.

The intellectuals working in schools and printing houses organized libraries and gathered in "societies of thinking", wishing to impose the last variant in the cultural life of society: the book was *par excellence* the tool of enlightenment meant to put an end to the prophetic orientation and lend a new course to the humanistic one. It is significant that they paid the greatest attention to the role of books in society; as writers, they were interested in their audience, seen not only as readers of their products but also as people who could be molded through this means of communication. To the protagonists of Enlightenment in Central and South Europe, writing appeared as having virtues lacked by the language of images and by orality. As a matter of fact, the figurative system underwent a deep change and the fine arts no longer provided a global image

³³ See my book *Romanian Humanists and European Culture*, pp. 160–165.

³⁴ Pierre Francastel, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

of the world and of existence. Orality itself was no longer regarded as a regular means of communication, but as a repository of historical testimonies or as source of literary creations. The relationship between the language of images and writing was not broken since both forms of expression depended on similar mental orientations; but, in the process of diversification of intellectual activities, the figurative system did no longer cover the whole realm dominated by writing, but confined itself to a particular domain related to the one occupied by artistic writing, the belles-lettres. Between writing and orality, relations became more complex; they can nowadays be investigated starting from the relationships between the levels of writing and those of the spoken language³⁵.

In either respect, Romanian culture offers instructive evidence, since in Romanian society, the aristocratic and the clerical culture were not distinctly separated from the "popular" one, while the language in printed books resembled the spoken one to a great extent.

The setting up of printing presses in the Romanian area in the early 16th century and the continuation of their activity despite the vicissitudes associated with the imperial economic exploitation and the frequent armed conflicts account for the organic evolution of Romanian writing unknown by other Southeast European societies. The introduction of the Romanian language in religious printed book from the end of the 16th century onward, ensured a broad dissemination of these printings in the whole Carpatho-Danubian area; a similar, but obviously slower course was followed by the dissemination of manuscripts. The historical works of the humanists in particular were widely circulated in all cultural centres; Dimitrie Cantemir's works were read at Blaj, in Transylvania, those of Miron Costin in Walachia and Transylvania. Sapiential literature had the same destiny, produced at that time by the printing presses in Braşov and Sibiu. Didactic literature was produced in Iaşi, Bucharest, Sibiu and Braşov, as well as in Vienna, or in the university printing press of Buda where among the readers of Romanian books were champions of the Transylvanian School like Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Şincai and Petru Maior. To the readers trained in the country schools in Walachia and Moldavia and in the network of schools set up in Transylvania under Maria Theresa's act, the book provided "enlightenment"

By proposing new rules for the deportment in society, appealing to history to support the struggle for political rights, by disseminating

³⁵ Pierre Chaunu distinguishes four levels of writing, from the treaty elaborated in Latin to the applications submitted to authorities in the vernacular (*La civilisation de l'Europe des Lumières*, Paris, Arthaud, 1971, pp. 20–21).

useful knowledge for agriculture, crafts, hygiene, by regulating the language, the book penetrated in all fields of activity and emphasized the social and political meaning of culture. It designated solidarities guided by the concepts prevailing in the Age of Enlightenment such as "happiness", "prosperity", "liberty". Books were produced by enlightened clergymen involved in printing and educational activities like Grigore Rîmniceanu, Veniamin Costache or Samuil Vulcan, by boyars who founded schools, like the Golescu brothers, or elaborated reform bills like Ioniță Tăutu, by professors like Gheorghe Sîncal, Petru Maior, Eufrosin Poteca or Gheorghe Asachi. All of them recommended the extensive instead of the traditional intensive reading but did not subserve their activity to purely philanthropic ends as happened in other societies ³⁶.

At that stage, the offensive against oral tradition is obvious: the means of transmitting knowledge by word of mouth had to be superseded just as a number of traditional customs had to be demoted to the censured chapter of superstitions. In 1812, when he translated Dositej Obradović's book *Sfaturi înțelegerii sănătoase* (Advice for Sound Understanding), Dimitrie Țichindeal added a significant fragment to the original text: a series of rural customs were mere superstitions, he said, and had to be given up in daily life, being recorded only for historical value, as a heritage of Latin civilization and since they attested to historical continuity. The authors of enlightened books made a careful selection: they retained proverbs for their philosophical value, but recommended the learning of the maxims produced by ancient and modern philosophers; they recorded artistic creations and encouraged the elaboration of literary works according to "European" canons. Oral tradition was divided into fragments which could fit into the written culture and subjected to the critical spirit. It lost its homogeneity but was not essentially changed due particularly to the fact that the cultivated language and the colloquial one were not separated by a gap (as was the case in Greek culture) which would have demanded the elaboration of a new literary language, and also because there was no mental cleavage between the peasant and the intellectual (as in the case of the cultures with highly different dialects or in which intellectuals had studied in foreign centres).

³⁶ In connection with the programme of the German Enlightenment and its problems see Reinhard Witmann's study "Der lesende Landmann. Zur Rezeption aufklärerischer Bemühungen durch die bäuerliche Bevölkerung im 18. Jahrhundert" in *Der Bauer Mittel- und Osteuropas im sozio-ökonomischen Wandel des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Böhlau Verlag, 1973, pp. 142—196.

The expansion of the printed word points to the formation of a new mental structure and this shift throws light on the inner dynamics of Romanian culture. Similar aspects might be found in other Southeast European cultures³⁷. In all these cultures, the visual arts and the literatures did not remain set in the same canons in the 16th—18th centuries. But their evolution differed from that in Western societies. Was it a matter of distinct traditions or of differing development rhythms? The answer does not have to choose this alternative if the analysis takes into consideration primarily the different types of relations between social levels and temporal levels which might be identified in European cultures of this time.

Obviously, Western intellectual experience in the 16th — 18th centuries is dependent on the major shift which occurred at the time of the Renaissance. Since Southeast European cultures did not go through an age of the Renaissance and no new man appeared here, can we draw any comparison at all? As stressed with justified insistence by Delio Cantimori, a Renaissance man has never existed in historical reality; he was created by interpreters who sought to delimit the Middle Ages for throwing light on the Renaissance. In exchange, the European intellectual life from the Quattrocento onward was populated with artists, philosophers, poets, political theoreticians, men of science who investigated the surrounding world and were interested in the value of practical life, paying attention to man in his natural environment. From Petrarch to Goethe, the humanists produced their ideas in ever more clearly delimited social units; they would work in cities in which people used to speak the same language, observe the same customs and aspire to the same things. The humanists' attention was riveted to the new relations developing in the interval between mercantile precapitalism and the outbreak of the industrial revolution, suggesting new solutions in the course of the debates between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, correlating the results offered by the investigation of nature, elaborating projects and theories destined to harmonize in a whole individual and collective aspirations; their activity, sprung from the new realities and having an obvious influence on the thinking and feeling of their contemporaries, lent a common character to the European intellectual movement, with its numerous

³⁷ More about the simultaneous analysis of the "internal dynamics" and of the "forms of universality" in European cultures at moments of intellectual effervescence in the report delivered at the Third Congress of Southeast European Studies by Zoe Dumitrescu-Buşulenga and Alexandru Duţu, *L'étude comparée des littératures du Sud-Est européen, problèmes et méthodes*, Bucharest, 1974, 26 pages.

branches and it is due to this character that the period may be referred to with the generic term of the humanistic epoch ³⁸.

In the West, the humanistic epoch covered the period from the emergence of the free Italian cities to the French Revolution; in the history of Southeast Europe, it coincided with the interval between the final battles of the Balkan peoples against Ottoman expansion and the Serbian, Greek, Romanian revolutions and the epoch of the Tanzimat which changed the Empire. Yet, the evolution appears obviously different in the two cultural variants.

What led to these marked disparities was the West's orientation towards the Atlantic; European consciousness, relying until then on the concept of "Christianity", vainly invoked by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, discovered new foundations with the West's expansion ³⁹, turning its back on the Orient which seemed to have plunged into stagnant contemplation and to be disinterested in action; action prevailed over meditation and the passion of knowledge intertwined with the passion to possess — "libido noscendi" and "libido habendi" as put by Francis Bacon. Ships started to sail to the New World and Asia from the Italian cities and especially from the countries bordering on the Atlantic, avoiding the territories occupied by the Ottomans. The riches amassed in towns, free cities or capitals allowed ever larger sections to organize a new mode of living, in a renewed architectonic setting reminding them of the ancient city; painting and literature were addressing the elite of societies and the aristocracy standing apart from the "uncultivated" mass of the villages. The peasant culture reverted to the values kept alive by the oral tradition and the itinerant booksellers which maintained the prevalence of moral values and encouraged too feebly the assertion of aesthetic dominants ⁴⁰. In the urban environment, in exchange, the data about the world were subjected to a rational reorganization and the communities adopted a cultural programme which was the product of a highly systematizing spirit; solidarity found new fulcra in urban existence and manifested itself by those "civil liturgies" Francastel referred to, increasingly held in closed spaces in which the elite would not mingle with the crowds : man started regarding himself "an actor on the stage of

³⁸ Delio Cantimori, *Storici e storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1971, ch. "La periodizzazione dell'età del Rinascimento", pp. 553—577. Arguments of a demographic and ecological nature in favour of delimiting this period, see in Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "L'histoire immobile", in *Annales*, 29, 1974, 3, pp. 673—692.

³⁹ See Jean Delumeau, *La civilisation de la Renaissance*, Paris, Arthaud, 1967, ch. II : "Asie, Amérique et conjoncture européenne", pp. 55—94.

⁴⁰ Robert Mandrou, "Littérature de colportage et mentalités paysannes, XVII^e—XVIII^e siècles", in *Études rurales*, 1964, 15, pp. 72—95.

the world”⁴¹. The merchant who knew that anything was better expressed by figures than by adjectives, gave way to the banker and the political man who founded their power on the circulation of wealth⁴². The instauration of the State — which did without the acclaim of the populace — and the transformation of society from chivalrous and sporting into intellectual, largely contributed to the triumph of the new formulas⁴³. Art started to be given a theoretical foundation since it no longer was a mere craft placed in the service of a generally accepted convention: “the happy relationship of equilibrium between subject and object was, for sure, irrevocably disrupted, and the artistic spirit — in that situation of liberty but also of instability due precisely to this liberty created progressively in the latter half of the 16th century — began to become conscious of being at the same time *confident* and *uncertain* in face of reality”⁴⁴. Artistic and literary creations were highly diverse, but they can be re-grouped by the forms elaborated by the humanistic thinking rooted in the Western social and political realities. Recapturing this thinking and its achievements, the thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment defined “civilization” grounded on the investigations of rational activity and on the conclusions offered by the evolution of “people’s city” along five centuries.

Nothing spectacular is to be detected in the 16th century Southeast European cultures; realities did not change sensibly and people would not suddenly turn to new horizons. Modes of living in towns were not too different from those in villages; but this was not exactly stagnation. The large architectural and pictorial ensembles evince an evolution of the Byzantine cultural programme which had been adjusted to the realities of the Serb and Bulgarian states, of Byzantium reconstructed on an ethnos or developed in the Romanian society with an autonomous political status; the programme was not closed off but remained open to cover an as wide as possible audience. The movement seems to be steered to another direction than that adopted by the Renaissance, as long as the language of images sought to keep a permanent dialogue with the masses. As a matter of fact, the humanism developed in the 15th — 16th centuries in the areas of closer contact with the West — Dalmatia, the Romanian countries, the Greek islands — starting with the

⁴¹ P. Francastel, *La Réalité* ... p. 315.

⁴² P. Francastel, *La figure et le lieu*. (I quote Radu Nicolau’s Romanian translation), Bucharest, Ed. Univers, 1971, pp. 218—219, 225.

⁴³ P. Francastel, *La Réalité* ..., p. 313.

⁴⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *The Idea* (Romanian translation by Amelia Pavel), Bucharest, Ed. Univers, 1975, p. 47.

17th century focused on history which dynamized the national consciousness and on the book written for everybody⁴⁵. This humanism did not promote individualism, but remained dependent on collective experience; it did not open up the prospect of a separation of the subject who contemplates and creates from the object which reflects the subject. While in Western literature, the theatre and especially the novel were to mirror man's new position in the world, in Southeast European literatures the new data can be identified in the traditional categories of books which would get enriched, changed, but would not abruptly make room to new genres until the age of Romanticism. The change is operated from the inside and is effected to consecrated patterns. In painting, the fragmentation of the ensemble and the expression of new relations between man and nature did not take place at the rate obvious in the West, in Italian or Flemish painting.

Art and literature evolved permanently in both Southeast Europe and the West, having a common foundation: the ancient civilization with its specific mode of thinking which people today use to term "archaic". The different rate of evolution and the existence of disparities emerged strongly into light and arrested the attention of the interpreters of Southeast European cultures. What connection might it be between *The Last Supper* made by a Balkan painter and that painted by Leonardo da Vinci, between the icon of the Cretan artist showing St. George in the forefront and Tintoretto's painting which placed the battle in the background and brought to the fore the voluptuous and refined princess in her Venetian costume? Or between Corneille's plays and the *Erofili* by Georgios Chortatzis translated by Dosoftei? Can we compare the votive portraits in the Balkans with the paintings of Van Dyck or details on the synaxaires in the narthex with the pastoral scenes proposed by Pieter Bruegel the Old? To these questions, the interpreters of Southeast European cultures gave the simplest answer: Byzantine painting and the traditional books were gradually transformed by the influences coming from the West. Whenever the interpreter would discover that a Balkan painter could contemplate a Tizian painting or a scholar read La Rochefoucault, he was certain to exclaim triumphantly: "et in Arcadia ego", we too are Europeans! What

⁴⁵ See Virgil Gândea, "L'évolution des idées en Europe du Sud-Est", in *Tradition et innovation dans la culture des pays du Sud-Est européen*, Bucharest, AIESEE; 1969, pp. 53-65. In the same volume, Mihai Berza's paper, "Les grandes étapes de l'histoire du Sud-Est européen" and that of C. Th. Dimaras, "L'évolution des idées du XVI^e au XIX^e siècles".

Southeast interpreters have done to too little an extent was to analyze the mental patterns, the only ones capable to explain the persistence of certain modes of expression and the adoption of others. It is not the abundance of testimonies in Western societies that should from the very beginning block the researches into Southeast pieces of evidence which are scanty, but very dense. The rediscovery of the mental patterns in paintings, books, orality, made simultaneously with the reconstitution of the patterns in Western testimonies could cast light on the thinking schemes in the two variants. Shall the schemes be not entirely different, then we may conclude that while the West plunged into a large-scale economic and social expansion, changing all the time the patterns of thinking and the system of values, the Southeast European cultures returned to century-old values lending them new meanings.

What is undisputable is that post-Byzantine painting continued to convey a universal message and gradually acquire universality. Given all this, we should try to start not only from details — comparing scenes from Bruegel's paintings to those on synaxaires in the Balkans — but also from more general aspects which might lead us afterwards to particular ones. Regarding, with a certain amount of arbitrariness, the West and the Southeast as two distinct entities, we may wonder how the forms of universality produced by the two variants coexisted and if they ever alternated.

By the end of the first millennium, the language of images in Italy had a solid tradition which, particularly in the central region had sprung from two sources: on the one hand, the remote Etruscan past, on the other the “huge Oriental contributions” as stressed by Georges Duby: “la chape splendide de mosaïques et d'icônes que Byzance avait déposée là, en strates successives, pendant tout le haut moyen âge et jusqu'au XII^e siècle et qui demeurerait chose vivante”⁴⁶. This presence can be traced today in the whole Venetian zone, in Verona, Padua or Vicenza, where Byzantine icons are interspersed among Renaissance frescoes; this holds especially true of Venice which for a long time “copied” Byzantine civilization. St. Mark's reproduced the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, just as interior mosaics re-created a typically Byzantine setting. As a matter of fact, in 1204 when the “Latins” conquered

⁴⁶ Georges Duby, *Fondements d'un nouvel humanisme, 1280—1440*, Geneva, Skira, 1966, p. 53. Interesting data on the influence of Byzantine art on Western and Central Europe in Charles Delvoye, *Byzantine Art* (in Romanian, with a preface by Vasile Drăguț), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1976, two volumes.

Constantinople, the city of the lagoons aspired to the title of "another Rome" as proved by the proposal dating from 1222 that the authorities of the Republic should establish their residence in Constantinople⁴⁷. Byzantine civilization spread to the north, and, in the cathedral at Aachen, the very capital of Charlemagne, one finds large Byzantine mosaics resembling those which can be contemplated in numerous Roman cathedrals down to the southern pole of this vital spread — Sicily.

The ascent of the Western imperial power provided new cultural conditions to the language of images which progressively disengaged itself from the universal Byzantine model. At the beginning of the second millennium, the Papacy encouraged the appearance of a new form to suit the new mentality: concomitantly, a new culture started flourishing at princely courts. Two castles situated at a short distance from each other, not far from Bolzano, in Northern Italy, offer one of the most precious proofs: in Hocheppan, the chapel, painted around 1150, is in a fine Byzantine style, but the exterior wall shows a prince in a hunt scene; the rooms at Runkelstein are decorated with hunt scenes or figures suggesting an audience enthralled by the troubadours' show within the castle, while the wall of the balcony overlooking the yard shows scenes from the Round Table cycle. The painters who worked here discarded the "Greek manner" cultivated by the artists arrived from Byzantium and by the native Italians⁴⁸ to express new concerns and intellectual solutions.

At the beginning of the second millennium, the global worldview proposed by the "archaic" thinking began to disintegrate under the impact of changes in the social structure which introduced new concepts into people's mentality: nature and supernature became two distinct notions in people's minds who started differentiating ever more clearly between the things of the world and the problems of the spirit. At Torcello, in the cathedral erected in 639 by the natives who had taken refuge in face of the "barbarians" in the Venetian lagoon, the masters inspired by the blossoming art in Ravenna had produced exquisite mosaics; some centuries later in the 12th — 13th centuries in episcopal seats less attached to tradition, much like at the courts of the nobles who deliberately showed their independence from the King's court, new tendencies were presaging that the centralized authority was on the wane. Dante's work provides a clear

⁴⁷ See D. S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380—1580*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1970, p. 18.

⁴⁸ E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renaissances in Western Art* (Romanian translation by Sorin Mărculescu), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1974, pp. 43—44.

testimony in this respect, the great Florentine often pleading with warmth for the remaking of "unity" under the authority of the emperor. In the 12th — 13th centuries, two worlds, equally interested in material and spiritual existence got clear-cut contours: the knighthood which initially had been interested in social and political action, started showing an interest for philosophical and religious matters as well, with the intention to elaborate a comprehensive global system explaining the world; at the same time, the world of the clergy, which had preeminently been interested in philosophical and theological speculations, began to be ever more present in political and social debates, seeking to work out its own explanation of the world. Thus, two "civitates permixtae" emerged which could not avoid open confrontation; the conflict was to leave its mark on Western humanism and Enlightenment⁴⁹. Within scholasticism, a philosophy was developed which placed "nature" in the focus and pushed into the background patristics, the body of writings which revived the doctrine of the Church fathers, while the philosophy embraced by the laymen took over scholastic concepts. Concomitantly with the separation of the secular domain from the religious one, two powers started vying for supremacy — the imperial power and the papacy; either of them engaged in both lay and spiritual activities, claiming that it had the exclusive right to manage the life of the subjects and "sanctify" the city. In the 13th century, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen ran into open conflict with Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV who excommunicated him, while the emperor tried to organize a schismatic church. To buttress his position, he provided a new foundation to his power with the assistance of the Bolognese jurists: while the popes' power was grounded on canonic law, he founded his power on Roman law. More than that, he assumed the mission to restore the "golden age", equivalent to a "terrestrial paradise", developing what Frances Yates called "secular mysticism". The double function assumed by the imperial power lent a strong impetus to imperial claims to supremacy which

⁴⁹ See Georges Duby, *op. cit.*, pp. 30—36. Also for this replacement in the 12th—13th centuries, attributed to a young aristocracy which could not base its titles on inherited nobility, whence its insistence to give a new meaning to "nobleness" — in the first centuries with a pagan meaning to a great extent — and to "virtue", as well as to the consecrated attributes of nobility, see Karl Bosch, *Leitbilder und Wertvorstellungen des Adels von der Merowingerzeit bis zur Höhe der feudalen Gesellschaft*, Munich, 1974 (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften) and Erich Köhler, "Die Rolle des niederen Rittertums bei der Entstehung der Trobadorlyrik" in *Esprit und arkadische Freiheit*, Athenäum Verlag, 1966, pp. 9—27. For the two "civitates permixtae", see Otto Brunner, *Per una nuova storia costituzionale e sociale*, translated by P. Schiera, Milan, 1970, p. 64.

reached a climax in the time of Charles V, the new Charlemagne, who in 1527 sacked Rome and took the Pope prisoner. The imperial idea was perpetuated in Elizabethan England and in 16th century France. Dante, who had doomed Frederick II to Inferno for his vices — though he had an unconcealed admiration for him — fed, directly or indirectly this tradition ⁵⁰.

At the time when new cultural trends emerged from the confrontation of the aristocratic or papal ideology with that of the bourgeois which had taken hold of important sectors of the economic and social life, the new normative aesthetics widened the gap between spirit and nature, suggesting ways of reducing it on the plane of ideas ⁵¹, by taking over part of Platonic philosophy. The intense flow of ideas in the epoch of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, largely encouraged by the results obtained in the investigation of nature, with its immediate consequence on everyday life, accounts for the marked tendency evinced by theoretical activity to become autonomous. This separation made a decisive contribution to the progress of debates on social topics, as inferable from the ever more frequent appearance of “utopias” starting with the age of the Renaissance: to an equal extent, this separation led to a clear distinction between ideas and daily existence, as revealed by the survival of alchemist conceptions in the Age of the Enlightenment or the independence of reality claimed by the systems of ideas like the one built by Descartes. By the end of the humanist epoch, the tension between the individual aware of his capacity to think and society which encouraged the easy passage from “to be” to “to seem” absorbed for a long time the philosophers of the Enlightenment ⁵². The harmonization of theoretical activity with the practical one demanded now a thorough reconsideration of tradition: the principles produced in the epoch of the Renaissance were reconsidered in the light of the new social realities and wisdom was subserved to the steady imperative of securing the development of personality, on the new foundations of human “nature” and to ensure the binding material of the social life at the time of the absolutist state. The wise man who was a philosopher, was prompted by Rousseau to become a

⁵⁰ In connection with “the imperial translation” reflected by art and literature, see the documented and pertinent book by Frances A. Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

⁵¹ E. Panofsky, *The Idea*, p. 47.

⁵² On this chapter, which aroused the interest of many an exegetist see Lucien Goldmann's systematic study “La pensée des Lumières”, in *Annales*, 22, 1967, 4, pp. 752—779.

good citizen to set an example to people and to force society to achieve a correspondence between words and deeds⁵³.

The innovations in the written culture and the language of images are ever more vigorous in Southeast Europe from the mid-17th century onward and, besides other coordinates, they change tradition as well.

First, due to the fact that a secular culture and a clerical one did not appear as autonomous spheres of intellectual activity in Byzantine civilization, no tension can be perceived between "actual" and "ideal" in the language of images which depicts a sequence of episodes starting at a well-defined time and evolving definitely towards the moment when the roll of time will have been wrapped up; the episodes included those recounting gathering of synods or interventions of the lay power. Faces were transfigured into "the forms of a world, at the same time resembling and differing from ours", dominated towards the decline of Byzantium by the ever more conspicuous presence of Wisdom⁵⁴; celebrated by hymns and icons, in close interrelation, wisdom embodied in the symbol enthroned in the top place of the painted space, the truth explaining everything. The world is regarded from a centre and is not divided into autonomous sections; the disposition of the themes in the narthex, naos and altar suggested the fact that man's psychic and physical dimensions were exactly reproduced in the edifice, as upheld by Maxim the Confessor or Nil Cabasilas or as told by Antim Ivireanul in *Curîntul la Vovedenie, noiembrie 21* (Speech at Our Lady's Presentation to the Temple, on November 21). Although it maintained man in a static position, concentrating the rich range of actions in one exemplary deed, Byzantine painting permanently placed him in an ensemble reflecting a sophisticated idea of man and mankind.

Secondly, we should stress that the heritage of Antiquity was not subjected to the same transfiguration as in medieval Western culture; in Byzantium, tradition did not reach such a nadir in relation to the Hellenic heritage as to produce a Renaissance⁵⁵. Incorporated in neo-Aristotelianism and neo-Platonism, Antiquity was a source feeding the thinking of scholars and the work of painters

⁵³ See Guy Besse, "Le sage et le citoyen selon J. J. Rousseau", in *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, 78, 1973, 1, pp. 18—31.

⁵⁴ Manolis Chatzidakis, "La peinture byzantine", in *La peinture byzantine du haut Moyen Age*, Paris, Pont Royal, 1965, p. 11. A rich bibliography on the treatment of wisdom which was recurrent from the 13th century onward — as noted by Suzy Dufrenne — in Dora Panayotova, "Le Christ Verbe, Sagesse et Lumière sur les fresques de la tour de Chreľju au monastère Rila", in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1976, vol. III, pp. 405—410.

⁵⁵ E. Panofsky, *Renaissance ...*, pp. 64—65.

who included the Ancient philosophers in the exposition proving the coherence of tradition, "the tree of Jesse". This primordial concern to emphasize the perfect continuity in mankind's destiny accounts for the privileged place of historical literature within written culture: history opened the door to the values produced by Mediterranean Antiquity into contemporaneity. The scholarly study of ancient works preserved in Byzantium contributed directly to the transmission of ancient thought as a living presence in Italian Renaissance and afterwards. The treasure of Antiquity was also instilled through the political ethics expressed in the Byzantine historical and sapiential writing and amplified by Southeast European cultures, the Romanian and the neo-Greek ones in particular. Let us add that the sizes of the human body, taken up from Greek and Latin artists, were maintained in the Byzantine canons.

The preoccupation to demonstrate the flawless continuity of a vision of man and world was not isolated in a system mirroring the ideology of a caste. From this third viewpoint can we explain the continuous assimilation of data supplied by everyday existence into the language of images and writing. Meant for a large audience, painting and writing instilled in people's minds the cultural programme of the upper classes of the feudal society; but they did not reflect the doctrine of one exclusive group which was reconstituting its own tradition. This explains why scholars and painters preserved as well an interest in the main problems of human destiny, as an opening to the elements steadily appearing in the surrounding world. The fact that the abstract scheme of figurative thinking did not arrest the analytic trend⁵⁶ allows us to grasp the impulses which, within the same figurative system, led to the change of the themes, concepts, symbols and the superseding of classical programmes.

This language was primarily meant to "edify", to hand down a world-view; eventually, it became part of the "patron's" programme meeting the exigencies of local rulers who commissioned the decoration and the painters' own talent who started having an ever more watchful eye for the "artistic" qualities of the things represented; lastly, it acquired a "votive" character when called to express the desiderata or taste of new groups financing the work of painters with a well-established manner⁵⁷. Of course, these three

⁵⁶ See Lena Grigoriadou, "Tradition et création. Notes sur le système figuratif byzantin", in *Annales*, 29, 1974, 2, pp. 337–348.

⁵⁷ More about the three kinds of pictorial programmes in our book *Synthesis and Originality in Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), pp. 65–69. In connection with tradition and innovation in Southeast European fine arts, see also the studies of Răzvan Theodorescu, Corina Nicolescu, Aurora M. Nasta, Ion Solcanu, Maria Ana Musicescu in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1976, 1.

salient features do not characterize certain stages which succeeded one another like chapters in a book: "edification" persisted and it may not be dissociated from the perpetuation of the "prophetic" orientation until late in the Age of Enlightenment. But it is no less evident that the modification of the figurative system followed the course of an evolution which can be comprehended by looking at the frescoes found in one and the same place. Thus, the differences are most noticeable between the coherent display of scenes as presented by the painters of the infirmary at Bistrița monastery in Oltenia in the 16th—17th centuries and the series of pictures made by Tătărescu who repainted the church in the same monastery in the 19th century after it had been reconstructed by Austrian architects. But, in order to grasp this evolution, each stage of innovation must be analyzed in relation to the previous one, within one and the same tradition rooted as it was in the times of "the beginnings". A merely synchronical comparison can only record mental disparities, as the British traveller Robert Bargrave makes us understand; entering the princess' chapel in the palace at Iași at mid-17th century, he noted that the portraits had been painted in "the old and imperfect manner" that is in "Greek manner"!

The Byzantine model never appeared to post-Byzantine painters as a rigid model. The new trend, represented by Manuel Panselinos, whose name is recurrent in the handbooks used by Romanian painters even in the 18th—19th centuries, and the refinement of the whole Byzantine painting in the 14th century made them understand the full richness of the Byzantine model. In its last phase, Byzantine painting had offered an example of an art rendering the images of a society which no longer believed in the grandeur and stability of things but which, cultivating attachment to Antiquity, knew to take as models those which better suited its taste for elegance and grace, for fantasy and humaneness⁵⁸. This richness favoured the "inventiveness" of the painters who worked at the request of patrons living in societies with structures and orientation different from the Byzantine one; inventiveness fed the composition and colours of the fine frescoes painted by Dragoș Coman at the Moldavian Arbore church in 1541 or the dramatic presentation of Crucifixion at the Tismana church in Oltenia in the 18th century. Here, the differences of languages between the paintings in the narthex, dating from 1564, when Dobromir finished his work, and those in the naos, made by a team led by Rănite Grigorie in 1732 and restored excellently in recent years, help us understand the evolution

⁵⁸ Manolis Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

of "post-Byzantine painting" — from mannerism to Baroque — in terms much clearer than those provided by classical handbooks.

If we confine ourselves to the northern region of Oltenia, we can follow the evolution of the world-view in the 17th–18th centuries which is revealed by the taking over of themes from romances and other printings, by the flourishing of a taste for narrative and historical painting, by the wide spread of floral decoration, by the transformation of the votive portrait of an "aulic" character into large family portraits⁵⁹. We can grasp here the mentality of the emerging groups of the 18th century — petty dignitaries with functions in the administrative apparatus, merchants, craftsmen, free peasants⁶⁰. In this region, in which the boyards founded strong monasteries, at Bistrița or Tismana, the Măldărești family rose now to prominence, building solid towers and the church nearby; besides them, another rising group is that of merchants in Tirgu Jiu who erected the church in the centre of the town. On the exterior walls, the gallery of personalities from the history of the "chosen" people was completed with sybils and philosophers in Tirgu Jiu where an active group of painters was working, as well as at Hurezu, Genuneni, Urșani. In 1807, at Tirgu Hurezu, Manole and his team painted on the southern wall sybils and philosophers in costumes of the time. The characters are here individualized and no longer belong to a "tree of Jesse"; they acquire the identity of a group of philosophers, as shown in the handbook by Denys of Furna: "Seven philosophers gathered among themselves in a house of Athens and started uttering the wisest words . . . The first was Apollo, the second Solon, the third Thucydides, the fourth Plato, the fifth Plutarch, the sixth Aristotle and the seventh Chilon the philosopher, who was also called philologist, that is a lover of words"⁶¹. We cannot dissociate this presentation of the philosophers from the interest taken in books and schools by the groups of dignitaries and merchants, from their aspiration to establish new social relations and new links with the

⁵⁹ See Teodora Voinescu, *Painting in History of Fine Arts in Romania* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1970, vol. II, p. 61. See also Dan Simonescu, *The Sybils in Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1928; Vasile Grecu, *Pagan Philosophers and Sybils*, in "Artă și tehnică grafică" (in Romanian), 1939, no. 10; Radu Crețeanu, "L'influence des livres populaires sur les beaux-arts en Valachie au XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles", in *Synthesis*, III, 1976, pp. 101–120.

⁶⁰ T. Voinescu, *ibidem*, p. 74.

⁶¹ See the text edited by Vasile Grecu in "Books of Byzantine Church Painting", in *Candela*, 1935, p. 12, p. 253.

political power which, in this late feudal epoch proved quite incapable to offer new solutions to people living in a commercial epoch ⁶².

This was the mentality shared by large groups with initiative and spirit of independence, which were to support in 1821 the revolutionary movement of Tudor Vladimirescu, painted with considerable lifelikeness in the fresco at Clejani.

Undoubtedly, the traditional figurative system was not smoothly discarded from public debate and got secluded in an institution, the Church. It did not give way without resentment for a new system brought along by new social groups. By the end of the 18th century the doctrine providing the basis for the system was defended by a caste which knew no other solutions beyond conformism and which had no doubt that it held the last version of truth; principles became buttresses against the new emerging groups and offered reasons for all the attacks directed against those who would not observe the established privileges and rights. The attachment to this vision which seemed to have stemmed from the centre of the world was manifest not only within the old group of the privileged but also in the closed rural media which, in the name of this system, proclaimed their particularities and denied the achievements of other peoples convinced that nothing perfect could have appeared outside the place in which the anonymous painter had worked, a creator of exemplary faces for all places and times, speaking, through scrolls, a once international language.

At this point it would be interesting to compare the testimonies left by the supporters of the Byzantine form, prior to the fall of the Empire, with those belonging to the promoters of the official doctrine assaulted by "Voltairists"; we could hear over the centuries the voice of Joseph Bryennios, whose letters reappeared in Leipzig in 1783: "I live in the much honoured monastery of Studion, no barbarian sees my face, no woman hears my voice . . . I spend my time in a cell which is a palace to me. Garden and paradise, olive trees and vineyards surround me, and before my eyes are tall, slender cypress trees. Here the city and the agora, there the mother of churches and the kingdom of the world" ⁶³. The same voice might be heard in the writings of those who, actuated by the wish of consolidating new national solidarities, subserved all the achievements

⁶² About the centralized Ottoman economy see Robert Mantran, "Centralisation administrative et financière. Problèmes de revêtement d'Istanbul aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles", in *Bulletin de l'AIESEE*, 1974, 1, pp. 59—68; about the reforms and failures of Joseph II, see Victor L. Tapié, *op. cit.*, pp. 233—265.

⁶³ See the letter included in that edition, vol. III, pp. 178—179.

of the past to one and the same unity. The opening towards a new form of universality was no easy thing in the societies in which the movement of ideas gathered momentum all too suddenly under the impact of groups with a new mentality molded in the diaspora. To an equal extent, the resistance put up by the privileged and the closed rural media to the renewals of the Age of Enlightenment contributed to amplifying the impact produced by the opening towards new cultural relationships with the Western societies, much more advanced from the social and economic viewpoints.

In the course of three centuries, post-Byzantine painting evoked the destiny of man as it was seen by those who had accepted a form of universality elaborated by a "world centre", which was situated in Byzantium which had died a violent death. The wide dissemination of the history of Constantinople's Fall in Southeast European cultures kept alive the idea of a forthcoming revival of the civilization which had incorporated the series of exemplary figures besides Constantine the Great, the "Latins" Ambrosius or Benedict, the Persians Manuil, Savel and Ismail or Moses the Arab; in the fire river, the painters had immersed the tyrants, dishonest merchants and simoniac clergymen from all parts⁶⁴. New human relations got shape in the years in which the economic system of the Ottoman empire started disintegrating, and the struggle against the central authority, whose position was growing ever more precarious, brought to light new solidarities. The system of intellectual values guiding the written culture and language of images changed gradually: the alteration can be seen in concepts which were perpetuated but acquired a different meaning — like "passions", "salvation", "happiness" — as well as in the relation between values, ethics occupying now the top place. "The lives of saints" and "the parables" in the language of images were "updated" to an increasing extent at a rate similar to that at which the "scholar's vademecum" became a textbook of the citizen.

The impulses received from cultures in which the rights of the individual were constantly asserted and the absolutist power did not reject the recommendations of "philosophers" were strong in the 18th century. The contacts of the Greek humanists with the

⁶⁴ The scene of the Last Judgement in Romanian monasteries, in which there are groups of Jews, Turks, Armenians and Tartars, do not trigger suppressed enmities, neither do they illustrate a criminal code, but stress the universal character of Orthodox Church which is open to all "kins"; see in this respect also G. Nandriș, *art. cit.* p. 15, which cuts out, much too severely, the social and patriotic significance of the scenes of the exterior painting, patriotic significance which this kind of universality did not annihilate.

European cultural achievements, better known to them due to the extension of the trading routes into the heart of the continent, or of the Yugoslav humanists with the civilization of Central Europe were favoured also by the Russian books reflecting the ongoing intellectual processes in a changing society, change brought especially by Peter the Great's reforms. In Russian society, the form of Byzantine universality was transformed quite fast and thus, a marked tension appeared between the spiritual and the secular power, prefiguring a new cultural model. Thus, the Russian experience offered numerous reference points to the Balkan cultures which were assimilating new elements due to the frequent travels undertaken by scholars and through the mediacy of books in particular. Book illustration betrayed new forms of expression like the "Russian rococo" or the "classicism" suggested by N. I. Novikov's printings engaged in the struggle for new social relations; more than that, a whole series of "art albums" and books of artistic theory could advise the painters to ignore the recommendations of traditional handbooks⁶⁵.

The direct contacts with the cultures of Central and Western Europe played an important part. The great Serb migration under the leadership of the Metropolitan of Peć, Arsenije III Černojević, in 1690 in the regions dominated by Austrians resulted in the emergence of a cultural centre at Karlowitz, with a new orientation, since it no longer gave a response to Islamic propaganda, but to that inspired by the Counter-Reformation. In Ottoman society, Greek shipowners and merchants got control of an increasing number of economic routes leading to the heart of the continent. Western decorative elements started penetrating into the houses of the merchants while engravings followed the style of the baroque. In the 18th century, the engravings showing national saints or cultural centres glorified for centuries were spread among the masses and influenced the evolution of taste. One of the most active and multilateral Serbian scholars, Zaharije Orfelin worked at Karlowitz, Novi Sad and Timișoara and produced engravings, schoolbooks of calligraphy like that dating from 1778 which included plates referring to the "new Romanian chancellory handwriting"⁶⁶. In 1741, Christofor Jefarović

⁶⁵ See A. A. Sidorov, *History of Russian Book Engravings*, Moscow, 1946, Rotary-printed Romanian translation, Bucharest, 1956, p. 94 et seq. Concerning the production, dissemination and reading of books in this part of Europe, in small states and empires, see the volume *Buch- und Verlagswesen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Ulrich Camen, 1977.

⁶⁶ See Alexandru Elian, "The First Handbook of Romanian Cyrillic Calligraphy" in *The First Scientific Session on Bibliology and Documentation* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1957, pp. 181–190.

published his *Stematographia* depicting the Serbian national saints placed in a baroque setting; the textbook reflected the political and cultural programme of the Karlowitz centre and in a short time superseded the handbook of Denys of Furna, changing in this way, if not the scheme, the traditional style at least ⁶⁷. Knez Lazar and the other spiritual leaders left the hieratic setting and appeared dressed in floating folds to call to struggle those who were listening to their deeds recounted by prayers and ballads ⁶⁸.

The form of Byzantine universality adjusted to the intellectual necessities of the Balkan peoples acquired ever more particular characteristics to the extent to which their national awareness grew. Highly interesting is the fact that with all these peoples the language of images preserved its universal character, particularly due to the fact that it incorporated an all-embracing vision of time and space, of existence and change which the study of contingencies did not contradict. The perpetuation of this form is explainable by the fact that the authority of the founders of the church as a socially active institution was neither denied nor pushed to the background; under these circumstances, the global vision did not give way to the details as one may conclude from comparing the representation of the Last Judgement at the Voroneţ church with the treatment of the same scene in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo.

In Southeast European cultures, the perpetuation of the figurative system and of the written culture structure highlights the major tendency to place contingencies in an overall vision while in Western societies analyses of events gained priority. The vast frescoes made by painters working in groups and producing ensembles of acknowledged artistic value were consonant with the synthetical expression to be found in books and manuscripts dominated by the same plea in favour of wisdom. Collective experience left its mark on a certain "paideia" concerned to define the fundamental solidarities and the traits of the model man. New solidarities, mostly those inspired by the growing national consciousness produced ever stronger impulses which changed themes in painting and in books, while the general framework remained apparently unchanged; the upsurge of the patriotic spirit was decisive.

From this angle, post-Byzantine culture appears as a form of universality and not as a perpetuation of forms; this form is comparable to that proposed by the Western Renaissance and Humanism. We can compare classicism and baroque in post-Renaissance

⁶⁷ See Verena Han, "The Impact of the Eighteenth Century Enlightenment on the Fine Arts in the Balkans", in *East European Quarterly*, IX (1975), 4, pp. 445–446.

⁶⁸ See Frank Kämpfer, *art. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

universality with classicism and baroque in post-Byzantine universality, both forms being grounded on the same heritage of the Antiquity and of medieval culture. In the whole European culture, the two variants channelled towards integrating in an open system the elements of changing realities or towards analyzing systematically the reality for deriving laws and general principles reserved a central place to man, and this provided the ground for reciprocal communication at moments of intellectual effervescence. In such stages as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, the Southeast European cultures assimilated the architectural or pictorial solutions or those suggested by writings coming from Central and West Europe to the extent to which they proved to be developing the "European" tradition. Thus, it is possible to find Western gothic, baroque or rococo borrowings not as mere accepted "influences" but as assimilated tendencies which were corresponding to Southeast European cultural trends, to directions fed by impulses coming from the pre-existing movement of ideas and which could get crystallized since they met with formulas clearly expressed in societies with a wider and more diversified cultural activity. The study of the steadily evolving Southeast European tradition casts strong light on this assimilation which if analyzed in portions, in short historical periods lacking historical depth, appear as an influence producing a strange "resistance" often attributed to a regrettable conservative spirit. The communication of the two variants got more intense in the early 19th century but this was not the outcome of the "awakening" of the Southeast European scholars, but of the deep-going changes which commerce and industrial development brought in all European societies ⁶⁹.

More obvious is this process of steady integration of elements in a culture like the Romanian one where the aulic and folk spheres interpenetrated continuously and the intellectual movement was dynamized by a high spirit of initiative, acquiring an evident character of continuity due to political and social conditions non-specific of the Balkan peoples. The cultivation of wisdom and the progress of the patriotic spirit account for the originality of Romanian culture as a cultural model. New concepts and symbols penetrated

⁶⁹ In connection with the progress made by the Western scholarly circles in knowing Southeast Europe, particularly after the secularization of thought, and of the reaction to the Ottoman danger, and also with the persistence of distorted images, particularly in the plans of imperial chancelleries, see Mathias Bernath, "Südosteuropäische Geschichte als gesonderte Disziplin", in *Forschungen zur osteuropäische geschichte*, Berlin, 1973, pp. 135–144.

permanently the traditional language. While in the Balkan cultures the "updating" of figures of the past recreated, in the 19th century, the remote age of independence, in the Romanian culture the process of steady reconsideration and enrichment of tradition has been continuous. We cite as a proof, the crypt at Războieni which stretched as far as the slabs of the altar to evoke the "martyrs" fallen in 1476 while defending the ancestors' land ⁷⁰, the scenes interspersed in the frescoes on the interior and exterior walls of the monuments erected in the 16th—17th centuries ⁷¹ and the tombstone at the Dealu monastery which reminded of the unifier of the Romanian countries in 1600. The impact of such monuments, which were all the time in use, on collective consciousness contributed to developing the image of the moments of heroic struggle. New monuments were built like those in the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu, recalled during winter evenings by singers who recounted his dramatic death. At the same time, oriental elements continued to be taken over at moments of creative synthesis as proved by the Trei Ierarhi church or the decoration of the Fundenii Doamnei or the Potlogi palace. The language of images preserved the opening of its beginnings, when it had been elaborated in a zone of East-West confluence; it provided new solutions by combining various elements into an original model. The programme of the Romanian Enlightenment carried to completion an intellectual tradition and channelled it towards a new form of universality. The example offered by Romanian culture imparts intelligibility to the perpetuation of the form of universality which gave shape to post-Byzantine painting and the books produced in the 16th—18th centuries in Southeast Europe, also marking the place of the Romanian model inbetween this zone and Central Europe.

⁷⁰ Thanks are due to prof. Vasile Drăguț who drew our attention to this architectural element of great significance for the history of mentalities.

⁷¹ New paths have been opened in this interpretation by Sorin Ulea particularly in his article "Origin and Ideological Significance of Moldavian Exterior Painting", in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 1963, no. 1 (in Romanian).

SHAPING THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE PATRIOT

Remember the bust of Voltaire made by Houdon in 1778: the fine, lively face gives you the impression that the philosopher has just torn himself away from the group of admirers with whom he was talking to indulge in his permanent pleasure of thinking. The keen eyes and especially the smile are unforgettable; the passion of investigation coupled with that kind of scepticism which moderates the too rash acceptance of consecrated theories or of rapidly established forms commands your attention. Houdon's bust has been recorded by the memory of posterity and, a few decades later, Alfred de Musset was to wonder whether the "hideous smile" was still lingering on the fleshless bones of the philosopher. We can hardly imagine how a 21st century poet will comment on the portrait of our contemporaneous scientist rendered by a couple of intersecting circles and triangles assorted with a few spots of colour. What is certain is that the figures which seem to concentrate the major intellectual trends of an epoch produce different responses along the centuries. This mere fact is an indication that the image of the ideal man given as an example to people changes in time.

Portraits created by painters and sculptors interested in an authentic reproduction of concrete persons¹, the faces of the Enlightened philosophers possess no less this quality of an effigy; those men who were active participants in re-shaping knowledge and moulding people gradually formed an illustrative gallery which became familiar to the 18th century people, to posterity, to ourselves. Busts, painted portraits and engravings made known to the many the faces of those who embodied the searches and aspirations of a century. Kant's temperance and rigour have come to be associated

¹ See E. H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, London, Phaidon, 1972, p. 373, reproducing and commenting Houdon's bust. About the "psychological portrait" in the 18th century, Galienne Francastel speaks in *Le Portrait* (Romanian translation), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1973, pp. 150 et seq.

in our minds with the dreamy eyes of solitary J. J. Rousseau, with the solemn face of Leibniz and with the scrutinizing look of Newton². The philosopher was willing to recognize himself in the engravings which seemed to be nearer to what he sought to be; Greuze's portrait did not satisfy Diderot: "I have a mask which deceives the artist; either because too many things are mixed together or because too many impressions succeed one another too fast and appear concomitantly in my face, the painter's eye fails to retain my image from one moment to another and thus his task is much more difficult than he imagined it. I have been made properly only by a contemptible fellow called Garand who captured my image as a fool utters a mot d'esprit. In Garand's portrait one can see me. *Ecco il vero Pulcinella*"³.

More than that, philosophy itself made its appearance taking either the shape of a woman in bones and flesh (like in Greuze's *Philosophy Asleep*, which represents the painter's wife) or of an allegorical character, tearing the veil of darkness off the face of truth; it appeared as a redoubtable force which breaks up an old mythology and gives life to immediate reality⁴. Surrounded by a halo, it started on a victorious road to dispell the darkness enveloping people's minds after long centuries of apathy and oppression.

The confidence philosophers had in their ideas and conceptions, the awareness that their activity would change the course of history is proved by unambiguous statements concerning the role of the Enlightenment in the life of humanity. It is obvious that the 18th century intellectuals, la société des gens de lettres, were quite aware of their role and deliberately asserted it: to guide the life of society by a new conception of the world and state and by the programme of shaping a new man, following the model of the philosopher⁵.

² The illustration and commentaries grouped under the title "Au service de l'esprit" in Pierre Chaunu, *La civilisation de l'Europe des Lumières*, pp. 228—229.

³ Text reproduced in Charly Guyot, *Diderot par lui-même*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1966, p. 94 with illustrations.

⁴ See Georges May, "Diderot et l'allégorie" in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, LXXXIX, 1972, pp. 1049—1067 with illustrations.

⁵ "Le XVIII^e siècle est sans doute le premier, dans l'histoire de la conscience collective, à s'être défini lui-même comme une entité spécifique, douée d'une volonté propre et tendant à la réalisation d'objectifs clairement formulés. Jamais on n'avait vu les penseurs d'un siècle affirmer pareille solidarité, en même temps qu'une perception aussi aiguë de leur situation dans l'histoire, même si cette « situation » reste prisonnière de cadres idéologiques abstraits et d'un découpage encore traditionnel" states Roland Mortier in his thorough study "Lumière et Lumières. Histoire d'une image et d'une idée au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle" in his volume *Clartés et ombres du siècle des Lumières*, p. 13. In much the same sense, Otto Bruner, *Das Zeitalter der Ideologien, Anfang und Ende* (I rely on the Italian translation in the volume *Per una nuova storia costituzionale e sociale*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1970, pp. 221, 229).

Nevertheless, there is a marked diversity in late 18th and early 19th century European intellectual life due to both the fact that changes succeeded one another faster than before and to the variety of traditions which left distinct marks on the conceptions making up the ideology of the Enlightenment and of the emerging Romanticism. Hence, the variety one may note in the ideas put forth in various cultural areas of the European continent at that time and which reflect the way in which ideologies responded to the changes occurred in the life of society, the mode of living and the social structures, just as in the re-shaping of cultural traditions. Thus, the human model originated in the searches of the philosophers who lived in societies developing at different paces both economically and socially and channelling their intellectual concerns towards objectives imposed by different socio-political circumstances. In turn, the course of intellectual activities was influenced by the cultural traditions formed along the centuries.

The most cursory analysis of the intellectual groupings in European societies throws light on the fact that from the latter half of the 18th century onward the possibilities of action enjoyed by these groups changed sensibly. In the first half of the century, there had been a continuation of the trends adopted in the 17th century. The Royal Society, founded in 1662 with the support of the Royal Court, yet enjoying an acknowledged independence shown by the fact that its members paid subscriptions and received no subsidies, started enjoying ever greater scientific prestige. *The Philosophical Transactions* mirror the Society's activity from 1665 onward. Founded in 1666, the Academy of Sciences of Paris was more tied to the Royal Court and *Journal des savants* reflects only partially the concerns of the academicians. By Leibniz' endeavour, starting 1682, *Acta eruditorum* were published in Leipzig ⁶. In 1727, the publishing house of the Russian Academy of Sciences was founded and, by the middle of the century, it enlarged its activities having two printing presses; besides scientific and popularization works, scientific publications were brought out as well. These publications became famous in European learned circles for they informed their readers of the results of scientific research and commented newly-published works. Thus, to the relations which had in the past favoured the contacts among intellectuals — correspondence, exchange of publications, of visits which, to a certain extent, presaged scientific congresses —

⁶ Pierre Chaunu, *op. cit.*, pp. 241—242. The German periodical carried pertinent commentaries on Dimitrie Cantemir's work, see Paul Cernovodeanu, "Les Œuvres de Démètre Cantemir présentées par • Acta Eruditorum • de Leipzig, 1714—1738" in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1974, 4, pp. 537—550.

there were added now the more solid links ensured by the institutional setting of the societies and academies.

But, different from the intellectuals of the clergy who enjoyed a well-defined status, lay intellectuals could not get an autonomous position in society. The decline of the ecclesiastical cultural framework did not lead to the fast emergence of a new intellectual setting, and the "republic of the letters" had not acquired, in the early 18th century, a definite social status (which made Leibniz state that this republic was rather invisible)⁷. The absence of a large audience did not allow the intellectuals to make a living from publications which, as a matter of fact, could appear only if the monarchic authority gave them the licence; that is why in most instances they had to complete journalism with another job either as tutors in noble or bourgeois families or as state functionaries. The philosopher had become a respected or feared adviser but he did not possess the desired means of action.

In the countries where the emerging bourgeoisie supported them, as is the case of England the intellectuals' presence is more vigorous and the openness to scientific investigations is broader. Where social structures underwent a slower change, they had to adjust to the existing conditions of activity. The Academy which Leibniz conceived as a forum of debate on educational, economic and cultural development matters, was guided by Frederick II towards pure philosophical speculation and erudite debate⁸. The academies founded in Prague, 1776, Budapest, 1825 and Agram, 1836, only in 1848 were completed with a similar institution in Vienna⁹. But there were other groups which, in the organized form of societies, played a notable role despite their ephemeral existence, such as *Societas incognitorum* founded in Olomouc in 1747¹⁰. In the Ottoman-dominated Southeast Europe, the resistance to learned societies was even more stubborn and the first of them grouping intellectuals from the Balkan peoples appeared beyond the frontiers of

⁷ Robert Mandrou, *Des humanistes aux hommes de science, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1973, pp. 229—230. About the philosophers' pleas for their own cause, confined too strictly within the limits of criticism, see thorough commentaries in the chapter "The Climate of Criticism" in Peter Gay's book *The Enlightenment. An Interpretation*, New York, Knopf, 1967, vol. 1.

⁸ Hajo Holborn, *Deutsche Geschichte in der Neuzeit*, Band 2, München—Wien, R. Oldenbourg, 1970, p. 5.

⁹ Mayer — Kaendl — Pirchegger — Klein, *Geschichte und Kulturleben Österreichs III*, Wien — Stuttgart, W. Braumüller, 1965, p. 124.

¹⁰ See L. V. Tapié, *Monarchies et peuples du Danube*, Paris, Fayard, 1969, pp. 221—222, and Eduard Wondrak's study "Die Oltmützer « Societas incognitorum »" in the volume *Die Aufklärung in Ost-und Südsteuropa*, Redaktion Heinz Ischreyt, Köln—Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1972.

the Empire like that "society of the Greeks", set up in 1720 by tradesmen of the Companies¹¹. In central Europe, the intellectuals found propitious ground for activity in printing centres which proliferated by the end of the 18th century and in the schools that developed in the wake of Maria Theresa's reforms. The Philosophical Society in Transylvania had as purpose the publication of a series of books strictly necessary for "enlightenment".

At the turn of the 18th century, the reaction against the political programme of the Enlightenment grew in intensity; the control exercised by the state apparatus in the time of Joseph II to the end of streamlining cultural activity to serve the monarchy willing to carry out a number of reforms took on the character of overt opposition to new ideas in the time of Napoleon's campaigns and of the Holy Alliance. Emperor Francis Joseph flatly stated his attachment to the consecrated intellectual structures and his hostility towards innovations before a group of professors in 1821: "With the so-called geniuses and the so-called scholars you can never come to terms; they will always know everything perfectly, check the course of things or be dissatisfied with everyday activity. Sound knowledge and sensible stability, this is the best thing!"¹²

Despite suchlike sovereign pieces of advice, the changes occurred in the curricula, on the line of encouraging the dissemination of scientific discoveries, attracted to the German university of Göttingen, in particular, and to those in Halle, Jena or Leipzig, numerous young people who then contributed to the renewal of knowledge in the intellectual circles in Central and Southeast Europe. Much to the same purpose worked the famous Theresianum, the universities of Vienna and Prague, just as those in Graz and Innsbruck which regained the status of universities in 1826 and 1827. The highschools organized by Joseph II contributed in turn to enlarging the number of intellectuals. The fact that in the Habsburg Empire there were no departments of philosophy in this period¹³ and that the general orientation imprinted to education was to shape clergymen, state officers and surgeons, orientation which also bore on the activity of the printing presses like that in Buda for instance, accounts for the preeminently practical character of scientific con-

¹¹ This society was intended to include all the merchants in the Habsburg Empire — see Z. N. Tsirpanli, 'Η «ΣOCIETÀ ΤΩΝ ΓΡΑΙΚΩΝ» ΣΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΨΒΟΥΡΓΩΝ Ioannina, 1974.

¹² Mayer — Kaindl — Pirchegger — Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹³ *Idem*, p. 101. For the previous decades, see Victor-L. Tapié, *L'Europe de Marie-Thérèse. Du baroque aux Lumières*, Paris, Fayard, 1973, chapter 9: "La civilisation au temps de Marie-Thérèse".

cerns. But, in comparison with the major role played by science in the West, its seemingly minor role in the intellectual activity in Central and Southeast Europe demands an explanation.

In both the Habsburg Empire and Prussia, education was closely related to the objectives of the state. The Prussian university reform inspired by Wilhelm von Humboldt was aimed at training people who were then called to serve the state seen not as abstract government but as common benefit — the ethical state of Lutheran origin ¹⁴. In the 19th century, the scientist grew into an exemplary individual; until the beginning of this century, due to the slow expansion of the scientific disciplines with a decisive influence on mentality like genetics, science could not occupy the leading position in the system of human knowledge. Since the time of the Renaissance until the end of the 18th century, science and philosophy alike stood for knowledge ¹⁵, but the former was constantly subordinated to the latter in the hierarchy of disciplines, as it had been shaped by philosophers like Bacon and d'Alembert and as may be inferred from the schemes of education reforms in the Age of Enlightenment. Therefore, when we speak about the role of science in the intellectual life of the 18th century Western societies, we refer to the preponderance the investigation of nature had gradually gained over mentalities ¹⁶ and not to its priority in the hierarchy of disciplines which can be noted only from the 19th century onward. This preponderance was marked by the progress the natural sciences had made starting with Galilei and by the soul-body dualism which was the centrepiece of philosophical debates from Descartes onwards ¹⁷. But, until the end of the 18th century, the humanist orientation was prevalent and, starting from this fact, we can state that the scientist was not among the human models proposed to the Enlightened; the exemplary man combining all the qualities given by knowledge and by his participation in social life was the philosopher; it was a tran-

¹⁴ See Delio Cantimori. *Conversando di storia*, Bari, Laterza, 1967, pp. 30–31.

¹⁵ See Georges Boas, "Philosophies of Science in Florentine Platonism" in *Art, Science and History in the Renaissance*, edited by Charles S. Singleton, The John Hopkins Press, 1967, p. 244.

¹⁶ In this respect, see especially Paolo Casini, *Introduzione all' illuminismo. Da Newton a Rousseau*, Bari, Laterza, 1973. About the progress of science in intellectual life — rendered difficult by amateurs who intermingled among scientists, on the defects of the scientific equipment, on the by-guess-and-by-god manner of making statements which explains how Pluche could affirm that water absorbs fire as the sponge absorbs water — see the dense chapter in Jean Ehrard's book *Le XVIII^e siècle, 1720–1750*, Paris, Arthaud, 1974, pp. 40–44.

¹⁷ See Julien Freund, *Les théories des sciences humaines*, Paris, P.U.F., 1973, pp. 9–27.

sition model between the one shaped by the upsurge of the intelligence and the norms elaborated under the conditions of the absolutist states and the model proposed by the new concepts and rules of conduct ripened by revolutionary events. Between *l'honnête homme* and the gentleman, on the one hand, and the citizen, on the other, the philosopher appeared as a model which was not defined exclusively on the ground of scientific progress, but especially in relation to the stand taken by this bearer of advanced ideas in social life.

These ideas were not the same everywhere as one may note if analysing the cultural and temporal levels which made up the structure of 18th century intellectual life of the continent.

Following an imaginary line from Hamburg to Istanbul, the structure of the cultural levels appears to be in motion, but this is ever slower as we approach the southeast end. The predominance of an agrarian economy, the slow progress of industrialization in the Habsburg Empire and, to a certain extent, in Prussia, did not free the cultural life from the state control established by the absolute monarchy¹⁸. The strong trends which ended in social revolutions in England and France had acquired there the character of a movement aimed especially at enthroning individual liberty, tolerance, correct enforcement of laws, free enterprise¹⁹. In the central and southeast part, education facilitated the ascent of individuals originating in the middle or lower social strata, but the final purpose was to integrate them in the intelligentsia which was serving the state. As remarked by Hajo Holborn "the extent to which the university fulfilled the function of social selection can be seen from the fact that the letters « Dr » had officially been included in the composition of the name as a substitute for « von », the symbol of nobility"²⁰. The princely academies in Bucharest and Iași played a similar

¹⁸ See H. Holborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5; Akos Paulinyi, "Der sogenannte aufgeklärte Absolutismus und die freie Industrialisierung", in *Die Aufklärung in Ost- und Südost-europa*; Kalman Benda, "La société hongroise au XVIII^e siècle", in the volume *Les Lumières en Hongrie . . .*, Budapest, 1971. The situation of the peasantry in Central and Southeast Europe was harsh and that of the Transylvanian Romanian peasants was even more oppressive for, although they represented the majority in the principality, they did not enjoy the same rights as the other "receptac" nationalities. The rise of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals in this epoch played a decisive role in changing the situation — see in this respect, Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780–1840*, Harvard University Press, 1969. For the Southeast European area see also *Structure sociale et développement culturel des villes balkano-adriatiques aux XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Actes du Colloque organisé à Venise, May 1971, Bucharest, AIESEE, 1975.

¹⁹ Georg G. Iggers, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft*, Munich, 1971, pp. 32.

²⁰ H. Holborn, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

role, their graduates being mainly employed in the state apparatus of the Principalities or in the Ottoman bureaucracy, and this role was changed only when they were replaced by national schools, in 1813 in Iași and in 1818 in Bucharest. While the philosophers ascended in the limelight in France, asserting themselves as a group and as ideologists ²¹, in Central and Southeast Europe, their activity was more evidently marked by the vigorous impact of political power on social life.

Under suchlike conditions, the patriotic spirit, varied in content and orientation. Lord Bolingbroke published *The Patriot King* in 1738, but with him patriotism had a meaning differing from the one current in Southeast Europe; in the period in which the chain of revolutions spread throughout the continent bringing into light the mentality of the people bound to the land and to one another on the ground of lineage (stronger than the relations suggested by "mother Nature", such as common sense) — at this moment patriotism got everywhere a similar meaning. The Fatherland gathered momentum at a time when societies became dominated by the idea of "nation"; these were the years of struggle of "la Grande Nation", blamed for her nationalism which had taken the place of universal love in the writings of the notorious counter-revolutionary who was abbot Barruel in 1798, whereas nationalism was defined in warm terms in an article published by Giuseppe Mazzini in "La Jeune Suisse" ²². In the first years of the 19th century, the national spirit animated the German writers who, by 1813, had become aware of the gap yawning between the nation and the principalities, between the princes and the people ²³. It became preeminent in the cultures dynamized by the imperative of accomplishing national unity and removing foreign domination; the harmony which the Vienna court sought to establish through its Nationalbildung, intended to shape enlightened people, was superseded by the programmes asserting the new unions supported by patriots. In the Ottoman

²¹ In this matter see Furio Diaz, *Filosofia e politica nel Settecento francese*, Turin, Einaudi, 1962 and by the same *Per una storia illuministica*, Naples, Guida, 1973, parte seconda, ch. VIII.

²² Jacques Godechot, *Les Révolutions de 1848*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1971, pp. 155—156. It is interesting that in its inceptive stage, nationalism appeared as a force capable to rally peoples dominated by foreign powers; hence the plans to set up a Balkan confederation made at the end of the 18th century or Herder's statement: "Vaterländer gegen Vaterländer im Blutkampf ist der ärgste Barbarismus der menschlichen Sprache", quoted in Georg G. Iggers, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

²³ Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1972, p. 409.

Empire, the movement is the same and of greater intensity in those parts having contacts with the West, in Yugoslavia, Greece and the Romanian Principalities, which had never been incorporated in the Empire. The Serbs' revolution, just as the revolutions in Walachia and Greece lent undeniable impetus to cultural life.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the societies of intellectuals grew in number and started focusing on the improvement of education and the diversification of book production to the end of offering the best possible equipment to the patriots who were to participate in the "national resurrection". Scientific discoveries were rapidly assimilated, especially their practical aspects, to the end of bettering material production and living conditions. The effective participation of Southeast European societies in the advancement of scientific research was still limited, but their interest in scientific achievements was steadily growing, since applied science, particularly in agriculture, appeared as one of the main means coming to support these peoples' assertion in the family of European nations. The intellectuals' grouping in learned societies and academies just as the development of higher learning got more marked all along the suggested line as we advance towards the 19th century.

The philosopher was not a patriot everywhere much like the patriot was not shaped in all societies by an age of revolt against the wisdom handed down by his predecessors. What provides an explanation are the time levels referred to in the former chapter.

As a human model, the philosopher was elaborated by the thinkers aware of their place in society. The results of laboratory and workshop experiments in particular account for the growing prestige of the intellectuals interested in the study of nature and in finding means to improve social life. In those places where their researches were supported by groups directly interested in practical results, progress was fast as in the Greenwich observatory where scientists were consulted by sailors. Practical results changed slowly yet steadily the world-view which since the time of the Reformation had relied less on the authority of tradition and more on a revision of the principles, particularly due to the role assigned to experience in questions of knowledge and to the authority of conscience in moral matters. The intellectual revolution of the 17th century with its manifold consequences lent a mediated character to knowledge, as it happened with astronomy, where the contact with the surrounding reality was achieved through the mediacy of technology and

in history, where the source acquired supreme authority and the historian thought he could transcend all space and time limits²⁴.

In those parts where the circles interested in trade and industry could not influence directly the official policy shaped by a caste concerned only with its power, as it happened in the Ottoman Empire, scientific investigation was sporadic and inefficient. But, the changes occurred in the material life of the Western societies arrested the attention of intellectuals everywhere. Either by taking direct part in research, or by assimilating the results obtained, the European intellectuals grew aware of the importance of the data offered by mechanics and mathematics, later on by biology, for immediate thinking and action. In the intellectual movement which captured the interest of intellectuals everywhere, the new results opened up new fields of activity for human reason²⁵ or started changing the traditional categories with which tinkering was operating.

At the end of the Age of Enlightenment, science was on the point of acquiring a decisive role in the intellectual life of the European societies and to become a model for thinking²⁶; the contact with immediate reality implanted the idea that practical attestation is an irrefutable proof of truth, trend which put an end to the proliferation of symbols, omnipresent in the medieval and humanistic epochs. At the same time, the exemplary man was proposed to concrete communities instead of being proclaimed before the "whole world" as a universal man (*uomo universale*). This wide-scope shift in intellectual activity made the intellectuals state that the Enlightenment tore the mask of superstition off the face of truth; Condorcet proclaimed triumphantly that, off all the advantages of science, the most important is that of having annihilated prejudices and of having to a certain extent restored human intelligence forced to yield to the false trends imprinted on it by the absurd beliefs acquired in childhood from previous generations together with the superstitions and fears inspired by tyranny²⁷. Condorcet was referring to progress thinking especially of the new data provided by the sciences directly connected with life, following the

²⁴ See Christopher Hill, "Science, Religion and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, pp. 280–283 and 180; see also Krzysztof Pomian, "L'histoire de la science et l'histoire de l'histoire", in *Annales*, 30 (1975), 5, pp. 935–952.

²⁵ See for instance Jacques Marx, "Alchimie et Palingénésie", in *Isis*, 62 (1971), 213, pp. 275–289.

²⁶ Jacques Roger, "Science et Lumières" in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1972, 2–3, p. 159.

²⁷ "Esquisse d'un tableau historique...", excerpt quoted by J. Roger in the quoted article, p. 163.

shift of interest from celestial mechanics to chemistry, to the sciences investigating the earth and life. Thus, the germs of evolutionism appeared and this was to change radically the idea of man.

Therefore, the model offered by science was gradually acknowledged by the intellectuals who participated or witnessed the progress made by rational investigation on the dawn of the 19th century. But it was not only the different degree of involvement in this intellectual undertaking which decided a more vigorous or a fainter outline of the philosopher's portrait, but especially the way in which the model provided by science was grafted on the various traditions of thought, the way in which the new acquisitions were reshaped by the conceptions circulated by "the long duration". This because any new model, built in a "short duration" range as an outcome of fast successive acquisitions, may be defined by the relations it establishes, in people's mentality, with the models preserved by the time measured by cycles and with those conveyed by "the long duration" which contain concepts and visions molded along the centuries ²⁸.

But, the thorough review done by European societies in the epoch of Romanticism in continuation of the comprehensive reconsiderations made during the Age of Enlightenment, brought again into focus "the long term trends"; the decisions taken on the basis of the proofs provided by scientific investigation did not ignore the impulses coming from the strong philosophical trends which had become mature in the centuries which preceded the modern times. Thus, a great impact came from the scission occurred in the Western world in the 11th–14th centuries between spirit and matter. The appearance of two coexisting worlds as an outcome of the conflict between the spiritual power of the papacy and the secular power of the Empire continued in the form of two "civitates permixtae", each of which, as remarked by Otto Brunner, aspired to metaphysical dignity ²⁹. The continuous recoil of Catholic dogmatism left free ground for development to metaphysical systems which grew rapidly on the basis of the partial data communicated by science and in the continuation of the trends of ideas which had undertaken to explain the universe and man guiding themselves only by the "spirit" which gave life to matter.

But, as Otto Brunner further remarks, this kind of idealism is specifically Western and we shall find it neither in the Byzantine

²⁸ In this respect, see Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et sciences sociales. La longue durée" in his volume *Ecrits sur l'histoire*, Paris, Flammarion, 1969, pp. 41–83.

²⁹ Otto Bruner, *Abendländisches Geschichtsdenken*, quoted from the same volume, p. 64.

or old Russian historiography nor in Islam ³⁰, where, indeed, no quarrel took place between the spiritual and lay power as proved by competent researchers into Byzantine civilization ³¹. No unsolvable conflict appeared between court and ecclesiastical culture and this explains why the monk and the knight stand side by side in Byzantine frescoes, much like the works of Antiquity first preserved in patriarchal and episcopal collections inspired the lay thinkers who instilled life in the Italian Renaissance. Another significant fact is that "the conviction widely held in the Middle Ages in France and England that the king possesses in his lifetime certain healing powers has no parallel wither in Byzantium or in the other lands of Eastern Europe" ³²; this is significant since the healing gift was claimed by "gladius materialis" precisely for combating "gladius spiritualis" on its own ground. As a matter of fact, when princes started to assume royal prerogatives in 11th century France, they claimed all of them "except annointment and miraculous power" ³³.

Lay power did not get consolidated by a conflict with the spiritual power in the South-Slav tsardoms and the Romanian countries either. In Romanian culture, the church supported the princes' struggle and the authority of the former institution did not superimpose itself on the authority of the court. With these relations in mind did the Romanian humanists attack the papal authority, likened to a monarchic one (as in High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino's writings ³⁴) or seen as an usurper of the monarchic power (as stated by Dimitrie Cantemir ³⁵). More than that, different from the phenomena characteristic of the South-Slav cultures, no national leaders were canonized in Romanian culture ³⁶. The gradual secularization of thinking was, under suchlike conditions, the result not of a conflict between two powers, but of the expansion

³⁰ *Idem*, p. 69.

³¹ Hans Georg Back, "Byzanz. Der Weg zu seinem geschichtlichen Verständnis", in *Saeculum*, 1954, 1., pp. 87—103 who notes that "es ist bei Kaiser und Patriarch der eine selbe Geist, ἐν πνεύμα, nur die χαρίσματα sind verschieden".

³² See Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500—1453*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971, p. 313.

³³ See Georges Duby, "L'image du Prince de France au début du XI^e siècle", in *Cahiers d'Histoire*, 1972, 3, pp. 211—216.

³⁴ More at length in my book *Romanian Humanists and European Culture*, p. 155 et seq.

³⁵ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1973, p. 127; "the (Romanian) ruling prince entrusts with his own hand to the new elected metropolitan the sceptre of shepherd which, removed by the schemes of the popes from the Roman emperors, was preserved by no other prince of the Christians except for the Emperor of Russia". See also note 28 by Nicolae Stoicescu, p. 132.

³⁶ Cf. D. Obolensky, *op. cit.*, pp. 308—313.

of political spirit favoured by new social forces, the citadel being thus conquered from the inside. Besides, the analysis of this process can explain the reason why the Romanians did not produce the "great darkness polished like diamonds: metaphysics"—the absence of which was regretted by Lucian Blaga; it is not the interruption of the "organic destiny of our people" at the time of Stephen the Great³⁷, that explains the absence of metaphysical systems in the Romanian humanistic period, but the attachment to "sofia" which fed Romanian thought. Yet, in order to elucidate this interesting question, the historian must not confine his inquiry to a single period but pay attention to the relation between "the long duration" and "the short duration" throughout the life of a civilization.

In most of Southeast European societies, the cultural trends were not turned over by breaks or ebbing and flowing movements like the Reformation and Counter-Reformation: the "long duration" played here a determinant role in cultural continuity and the borrowings from the Western cultures, particularly in the humanistic period — the latter half of the 17th century and the Age of Enlightenment — were integrated without violent shocks by the progressively secularized tradition. Of course, this process did meet with the opposition of the feudal conception focused on the preservation of the inherited mental structures; like in any culture, secularization was the product of dramatic tensions, but, essential is that in opposing the feudal conception, Humanism and Enlightenment did not undertake to elaborate doctrines inspired by "the free assertion of the spirit" but continued to accept the symbolical thinking blending it with the analysis of the changing realities. Under these conditions, we can easily understand why intellectuals trained in clerical schools thirstily assimilated scientific data in the Age of Enlightenment and how the "legendary" figures turned into national heroes.

Much like in the rest of Europe, the six decades of cultural life (1770—1830) represented for the Southeast European societies a period of assessing the past and making important decisions. Like their Western confrères, the intellectuals in this area subserved truth to utilitarian and welfare purposes, producing a moral doctrine for the members of the entire community. But, since they did not deny the achievements of the past in favour of an exclusivist historical present, this doctrine could, on the one hand, be open to a large audience, while on the other hindered a mechanical integration into

³⁷ Ideas expounded in "*The Stratum of «Moliers»*" (in Romanian) in *Izvoade*, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1972, pp. 203—206.

the European world which would have resulted in uniformization. Much like in the Western cultures, the lay spirit made obvious progress, without the gradual "unhooking" of theology³⁸ to leave an empty space for the immediate accommodation of metaphysics of the "lay culture". Steady interest in the elements which could ensure conceptual homogeneity (and which can be defined as a manifestation of a "unifying thinking") permitted that, also in the phases of marked diversification of intellectual concerns, specialization should not take the line of absolutization of the data supplied by a discipline. Like in the Western cultures, art took the place of religion on the plane of collective solidarity, but did not dissociate itself from the political and social problems. For these reasons, the gradual secularization of the tradition cannot be regarded as a fast, smooth adjustment to the Western Enlightenment³⁹.

Undeniably, the progress of the Western societies was a remarkable reference phenomenon with a great force of attraction. But the involvement of the rising social forces in the solution of acute political and social questions streamlines the movement of ideas chiefly to those Western solutions which seemed closer to their own concerns. The intellectuals engaged in an activity with immediate social purposes, in printing shops or in schools, started grouping in societies which were also cultural and political in character. For these intellectuals, the significance attributed by Leibniz to "science" which combined the investigation of nature with the liberal arts⁴⁰ suited better their goals than the "science" devoted only to the study of nature as in the French or English conception. Faintly attracted by the natural order which revealed general aspects of the universe and mankind, they were more responsive to Herder's theories of humanity⁴¹ and then discovered an ally in Vico whose

³⁸ Jean Stengers, "L'église et la science", in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1971, 4, pp. 446–464.

³⁹ This opinion of Fritz Valjavec, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1963, p. 66 was commented in my book *Coordinates of 18th Century Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1968, p. 360 et seq. In connection with the intellectual movements in the 17th century, see also Virgil Căndea's study "Les intellectuels du Sud-Est européen au XVII^e siècle", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1970, nos. 2 and 4. For the assimilation of scientific data, the article by the same author "William Harvey, Anthime Gazis et les débuts de la science roumaine moderne", in *Balkan Studies*, 1964.

⁴⁰ G. Iggers, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴¹ See Holm Sundhaussen, *Der Einfluß der Herderschen Ideen auf die Nationalbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburger Monarchie*, Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1973; for Romanian culture, data on Herder's presence, in D. Popovici's *Romanian Romanticism* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1969 and in Zoe Dumitrescu Buşulenga's "Herder and the Romanian 1848 Generation" (in Romanian) in her volume *Humanist Values and Equivalences*, Bucharest, Ed. Eminescu, 1973, pp. 21–27 who notes that "the entire (1848) generation knew, directly or indirectly, Herder's ideas on language and folklore".

vision was embracing the formation of myths and the progress of thought⁴². The ideas assimilated in this period came from various sources, but it is not the identification of the source that throws light on the process of shaping a new human model but rather the description of the way in which the assimilated ideas came to make sense in the literature of the epoch. To refer to the impact produced on consciences by the purchase of the French *Encyclopaédie* by a scholar or the achievement of a contact with Lalande's theory would be tantamount to reducing cultural history to textology and the concerns of men to amusing caprices. Certainly, texts do offer the safest starting point, on condition that their placing in one trend of ideas or another should not start from simplistic schemes. In this sense, we could reopen the discussion on the presence of Voltaire's work in Romanian and Neo-Greek cultures for singling out the contribution of the Voltarian ideas to the elaboration of a conception which changed the traditional model proposed to men, into a type with features similar to or distinct from the one proposed by the French thinker.

A pertinent remark was made that between the evolution of Greek culture and Voltaire's destiny there is perfect parallelism: "in the beginning, the philosopher's work is assimilated by scholars who at the same time, are representatives of religious thought; in a second phase, the church and the clergy react violently and finally, the new ideas, symbolized by Voltaire, are definitively predominant. Fifty years of Greek intellectual life are contained in this scheme. What is less out of the ordinary yet equally interesting is the absolute correspondence between the political history and the cultural history of Greece during the Ottoman domination: the relations of the Greek church with Russia, those of Catherine II with the philosophers controlled the interplay of action and reaction in Hellenic thought. These two remarks — the correspondence between the history of Voltairianism and the history of ideas in Greece and the correspondence between Greek political history and cultural history — enhance the interest of the comparison . . . At the time of the war for independence and of the emergence of the Hellenic state, new conditions were created for the intellectual life and they ushered in a new epoch in the country's cultural history", concludes C.T. Dimaras⁴³.

⁴² For the similarities between the conception of the Romanian humanists and Vico's system, a number of commentaries are in my book *Romanian Humanists* . . . In connection with Vico and Heliade, see D. Popovici, *Literary Studies* (in Romanian), III, 1977. For neo-Greek culture, see C. Th. Dimaras, "L'heure de Vico pour la Grèce", in *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Geneva, Droz, 1969, pp. 133–152.

⁴³ *La fortune de Voltaire en Grèce*, in *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

The similarities with Voltaire's destiny in Romanian culture are striking also due to the fact that many significant episodes of Greek culture took place in Bucharest, Iași, Brașov or Sibiu. Yet, a difference does exist, since the Romanian Church did not assume the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchy which, at the time of the opposition to Voltairianism, returned to the safe traditional cultural form, the only one capable to express it: the Romanian clergy branding the atheist "Voltir" whose writings they certainly did not read, were actually echoing the patriarchy's pamphlets against the philosopher, yet no printed book or manuscript written by a Romanian scholar was attacking Voltaire. The destiny of the French philosopher in Romanian and Greek cultures was landmarked by a multitude of forms of reception⁴⁴: his work became part of the readings of the cultured strata and of the booklets for loud reading in villages, enriched historical literature and penetrated in the newly-founded theatres. It certainly fed non-conformism, freedom of thought, disregard of the authorities "this spirit or incredulity represented what abbot Defontaines called Voltairomania (1739) and what we call Voltairianism"⁴⁵.

If the translations of Voltaire's works and, generally, the recourse to his authority, express a spirit of fronde which called itself Voltairianism to mark its adhesion to the most caustic philosophical mind of the Age of Enlightenment, we may next wonder to what extent did Voltairianism participate, in the two cultures⁴⁶, in the transformation of the traditional human model. Did it determine the appearance of the new model of the philosopher?

It is obvious that the attacks against the philosopher refer to an attitude when we find such phrases as "worshipper of Voltaire"

⁴⁴ Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *The French Revolutionary Spirit and Voltaire in Greek and Romanian* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1946. Her interpretations can be accepted only partially: for instance, the book of Papadopoulos, translated by Veniamin, was no global refutation of Voltaire (pp. 57–58); the translators' not mentioning Voltaire's name did not prove their fear of "appearing to the world as admirers of the philosopher" (pp. 173–174) since in that epoch authors were frequently not mentioned; the first Romanian versions were not made "on order" (p. 140); in his "Epistle to Voltaire", Grigore Alexandrescu has more to say than to deplore that "the Romanian language was not formed" (p. 135) since he is attesting to an interesting form of Voltairianism through this poetry; the relation between Voltaire's work and the revolutionary spirit certainly was not so close as that presented by the author, etc.

⁴⁵ Louis Trenard, "L'influence de Voltaire à Lille au XVIII^e siècle", in *Studies on Voltaire*, LVIII, 1967, pp. 1607–1634.

⁴⁶ See Dimaras, *op. cit.*, p. 94 and my study "Voltairianism and Rousseauism", in *Explorations into the History of Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1969, pp. 65–85.

or “thinker à la Voltaire” in Greek texts, and this indicates that the accused Voltairianism meant not only Voltaire as an individual but also the spirit of liberty, the deistic concepts or the materialist ideas circulated more systematically by other Western thinkers. But, since the work of the French philosopher was better known in the two cultures than the works of the English deists, the French materialists or the libertines, we can keep our analysis within the range of Voltaire’s ideas of the individual.

The literature which best serves us in this comparison is that circulated by sapiential books which had a long-standing tradition in Southeast Europe and which saw a strong flourishing precisely in that time. This is the more so as in the Greek book *The Flower of Virtue and Knowledge* printed in Vienna in 1794, Voltaire is quoted several times without reservations⁴⁷ just as he was in other books of conduct like Dimitrie Nicolae Darvari’s *Collection of Wisdom* printed in Greek in Vienna in 1811 and in Romanian in 1827; in this latter book, Voltaire is in the company of the “famous French philosopher of the past century”, Helvetius⁴⁸.

In Romanian culture, sapiential literature continued, until the Age of Enlightenment, to offer advice to princes and teachings to all readers, in the form of mirrors of princes and florilegia of maxims and parables; both relied substantially on Byzantine models and their content had been steadily enriched, without rejecting the concepts elaborated by the great civilization revolving around Constantinople. These works did not follow a tradition of mechanical imitation but permanently incorporated new norms and did not remain the preference of a public clinging to a time of unforgettable tragedy. The seventy-two *Hortatory Chapters* by the Byzantine Agapetus which were rendered in Neo-Greek by the students of the princely academies in Bucharest and Iași, and translated into Romanian in the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu, had enjoyed appreciation in other societies as well: in Russia, where they were printed for the first time in 1628 in the rendering of Petru Movilă; in England, where they were made available for the Royal Court in the time of James II, and in France in the time of Louis XIV. Photios’ maxims written for the Bulgarian king Mikhail (and studied in the Bucharest academies) were also reded in French verse and presented to the king by Bernard Theatin in 1718. In the preface, the translator assured the sovereign that he would benefit by the ideas of patriarch Photios, although he had been a schis-

⁴⁷ Dimaras, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁴⁸ A presentation of the content in my book *Les livres de sagesse dans la culture roumaine*, Bucharest, AIESEE, 1971.

matic (for which he urged the king to pity him), and that "what was written for the Bulgarian king was suitable for the French monarch, too". In the books of conduct, the maxims taken over from patristic literature and ancient writings sounded much like the sentences in similar Western books. The tradition reconstituted in this literature was and proved to be common. Thus, Nicholas Cabasilas' work would have been accepted by the Western readers, had the blame thrown upon "schismatics" not affected it too; the "inter-twining of the ancient ideal and the Christian tradition of asceticism with the attachment to bourgeois welfare could, to a certain extent, suggest the type of the 17th century «honnête homme»"⁴⁹.

In Western books of good conduct, the maxims of ancient authors had been subjected to a new selection and new sentences had been worked for the people "on the stage of the world"; the play of mirrors and the permanently changing contours of the courtier's portrait are striking features in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*⁵⁰. Despised by Ariosto and the humanists who were proposing to their readers a more generous ideal of life, the courtier remained isolated in the world of the court; he was followed by "l'honnête homme" and the gentleman shaped on the same social level on which the aristocracy met the bourgeoisie, but offered for consideration to a much larger audience. Thus, these models exhibited the desiderata of the ruling class and of the rising class and took a different shape in European societies; living in closed circles, where the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie were participating in the "civil liturgies" described by Francastel, these exemplary men dissociated themselves from the crowd. At the same time, they cast a shadow on the "traditional" patterns of man: the sage and the knight. Yet, the virtues they were proclaiming account for their authority not only in the urban but also in the rural milieus.

The re-shaping of the "classical" models was brought about by the new idea of man emerged in Western cultures after the Reformation, the English Revolution and the expansion of the scientific spirit.

Characteristic of the French thought in the Age of Enlightenment is the will to order into a new scheme the previously amassed knowledge. Under the impact of science, nature became an entity,

⁴⁹ J. Gouillard, "L'autoportrait d'un sage du XIV^e siècle" in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1975, vol. II, p. 108. See also Ihor Sevcenko, "Agapetus East and West: the Fate of a Byzantine "Mirror of Princes", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1978, 1.

⁵⁰ See Marianne Shapiro, "Mirror and Portrait: the Structure of *Il libro del Cortegiano*", in *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 5, 1975, pp. 37–61.

a compulsory reference term for human nature : ethics rejected both heroism and asceticism, avoiding also the indifferentism professed by the libertine spirit. Pleasure, previously repressed, was now given a top place and got associated with the most laudable springs of action. The ambivalence of "the natural ethics", expansive and restrictive at the same time, should be connected to the propelling role of commercial capitalism in the French economic development and with its marginal place in the rural France practising, in a proportion of over 80 percent, a closed economy ⁵¹. This ethics was proclaiming that the individual had to refer his thoughts and actions to the "moralized nature" and those living in similar conditions ; the individual is malleable ⁵² but he occupies a definite place on the scale of existence, position which obliges him to comply with a well-determined type without aspiring to exceed this position (which did not mean acceptance of a subordinate position to the other individuals but a specification of his place in the universe) ⁵³

The philosopher, the common figure now in dictionaries and treatises, is an individual who relates everything to his principles, cautious yet willing to be of service to society, as defined by the *Encyclopédie*. But the entry philosopher in the great 18th century work had taken over, with significant deletions, a text printed in 1743 in *Nouvelles libertés de pensée* ; there the definition had been unambiguous — the civil society in which the philosopher lives is his only God ⁵⁴. The compromise made by the *Encyclopédie*, by dropping this fragment, speaks once again of the indefinite place of the philosopher in a society which he wished to steer according to his principles but in which his status was not yet well defined. The philosopher embodied the scholar permanently engrossed in investigation in a perfectly ordered world in which "everything goes well" for it is governed by natural laws. He had the cautious attitude of the wise, was fully involved in the problems of permanent concern to society, but his capacity of action, in the epoch of absolutism, was limited. He hesitated in face of the revolutionary events and would

⁵¹ Jean Ehrard, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁵² See Jean Ehrard, *L'idée de nature en France à l'aube des Lumières*, Paris, Flammarion, 1970 ; J. A. Passmore, "The Malleability of Man in Eighteenth-Century Thought", in *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century*, The John Hopkins Press, 1967, pp. 21—46.

⁵³ Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 200—207.

⁵⁴ Jean Ehrard, *Le XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 54—56.

not participate in them⁵⁵; he was the initiator of a critical spirit and rejected the theories which gave free ground for action to fanaticism, intolerance, despotism but did not manage to draw up a coherent charter as was done by the French Revolution in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. "Know then thyself, presume God not to scan", did Alexander Pope urge in his *Essay on Man*, translated into Romanian by Ioan Cantacuzino. "Take Nature's path and mad Opinion's leave. All states can reach it, and all heads conceive"⁵⁶.

Pope's idea of man which inspired Voltaire for his *Discours sur l'Homme*⁵⁷ was not taken as such in the Southeast European sapiential literature which continued to be dominated by the idea of personality — of the man building himself by overmastering his irrational faculties. This idea was kept alive by folk literature — legends, proverbs, stories, riddles — and by the sapiential literature which expressed both the sublime character of virtues and, at the same moment, the doubt that human nature was sublime⁵⁸; this literature moulded a large part of the scholars who, originating in rural milieus, carried further and renewed written culture. The image was instilled into consciences especially through the books of teachings and sermons which had taken over the Aristotelian scheme of virtues. Thus, the teachings of Peter Damaschinos, widely circulated in neo-Greek, the South-Slav languages and Romanian (probably from the 17th century on) contained a scheme with four virtues stemming from three faculties of the soul: "from reason or mind two — judgement and righteousness or discrimination; from the concupiscent faculty — purity; from the irascible faculty — manliness. Each of them comes in between two passions contradicting nature. Judgement has above it overjudgement and below it recklessness; purity is flanked above by indifference and below

⁵⁵ Roland Mortier, "Les héritiers des philosophes devant l'expérience révolutionnaire", in *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, Paris, 6, 1974, pp. 45—57. Like any interpretation suggesting a revision of accepted ideas, the article aroused the protests of historians involved in didactic activities, but they could not annihilate Roland Mortier's conclusions — the appearance of a flat separation between reformist thought and revolutionary action during the Directory and the Consulate (see *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 7, 1975, pp. 435—436.)

⁵⁶ Fragments from Ioan Cantacuzino's translation of *Essay on Man* made at the end of the 18th century in my book *Coordinates of 18th Century Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), pp. 199—212.

⁵⁷ See the documented study of George R. Havens, "Voltaire and Alexander Pope", in *Essays on Diderot and the Enlightenment in Honor of Otis Fellows*, Geneva, Droz, 1974, pp. 124—150.

⁵⁸ In connection with man's image in Romanian folk literature, see Ovidiu Papadima, *Romanian Folk Literature. From Its History and Poetics* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1968; on a general plane, Max Luthi's book *Volksliteratur und Hochliteratur*, Francke Verlag, 1970, ch. "Das Bild des Menschen in der Volksliteratur", pp. 9—21.

by debauchery; manliness has above it temerity and below cowardice; righteousness has above it the wish to possess too little and below the wish to possess too much”⁵⁹. The same “faculties of the soul” which are concupiscence and irascibility, mastered (or not) by the mind are also the subject matter of the *Chapters* (centuriae) of Maximus the Confessor, also widely circulated in Southeast Europe, just as of other writings read by scholars and then put to good use in both written texts and speeches. In this view, a good control of the soul’s faculties meant also a good use of things since man established relations with things through the mediacy of his ideas. Things are neither good nor bad; good or bad are the ideas about things, since ideas might be controlled by concupiscence or irascibility or might be not and let man use things in a moderate way. The precept was also known to Hamlet who told Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, sent to spy on him, that “there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so”; it was also known to his enemy Claudius who pitied Ophelia “Divided from herself and her fair judgement. Without which we are pictures or mere beasts”.

The intellectual revolution of the 17th century, when science cast light on a new face of things, when theorization asserted its autonomy and fine arts started their dialogue with the surrounding world, shifted the centre of gravitation of thinking from the restricted framework observed by the Renaissance to the material “infinite”, from the interior world of the individual to the outer world. The individual started to be contemplated from the outside, his powers being defined in relation to the reaction produced by things. Man’s image acquired new dimensions in the writings of John Locke. This revolution can be compared to that produced in the 20th century when the earth began to be seen from the outside, from spacecraft and satellites.

The results of scientific investigations did not spread instantly, nor did they change abruptly the terms of man’s dialogue with himself and with the world; but paideia started changing. In this connection, one may note that the Greek manuscripts written by pupils in the Romanian princely academies and the sapiential books printed in Romanian pleaded the cause of the strong connection between thinking and acting. Traditional philosophy had never accepted discussions on principles which would lead to no practical consequence. Readers of the *Paterikon* remembered the answer given by a wise man to a group of “theoreticians”: “those are of the heavenly ones and utter heavenly things while I am of the

⁵⁹ *Philokalia*, vol. 5, translated by D. Stăniloae, Bucharest, 1976, p. 62.

earthly ones and utter earthly things. If they had told me about the passions of the soul, I would have answered them. But about heavenly things, I am not able to speak". In Romanian culture, man had never been proclaimed the centre of the universe as the Renaissance humanists had done. Thus, ideas put forward by German or French enlightened philosophers were rapidly assimilated whenever they referred to "practical" aspects of life. The more so, since in the 18th century the material world started to interest the Southeast European scholar by its manifold manifestations. A teacher in school where he made experiments in what looked like laboratories, a clergyman in touch with the sufferings of his folk, a dignitary involved in diplomatic affairs, this scholar payed a growing attention to the contingent world. Like his colleague in Western societies who engrossed in the investigation of nature inclined towards idealistic or materialistic formulas, so the lover of eternal Wisdom tried to understand by a thorough study the relationship between man and the changing things or simply withdrew behind the traditional concepts in a world which shrank continuously. The wise man got involved in everyday matters to an increasing extent and spoke ever more frequently and systematically about social virtues and welfare; happiness and salvation got a new meaning, the last term signifying liberation from foreign oppression. The wise man was attracted by the problems put forward by the philosopher and analyzed the desiderata of the homeland much as the philosopher put again into circulation the precepts of the wise man and identified the place of the citizen in enlightened society. The relations with the political power determined the course of the intellectual concerns and where despotic authorities accepted no reform, the wise man joined the vigorous forces which could defeat them.

Like the Greek scholar and political man active in Walachia, Dimitrie Catargi, who brought in the focus of the political debate the cultural questions directly linked to the socio-political conditions, he took interest in the books which, written in the language of the people, could penetrate into the most isolated communities. In Γνωθὶ σαῦτον (Know Yourself) he spoke about the wise man and the ignorant and about the way in which education in common can be carried through so that the Greek people "might have its own books like all the Europeans" and the individual might assimilate "the sciences and liberal arts, becoming, thus, a philosopher and a good citizen"⁶⁰. Rigas Velesinlis who was formed in the circle of this enlightened Phanariot, proved that a good citizen had

⁶⁰ The text was edited by C. Th. Dimaras with a substantial preface, in 1964.

the duty to place his life in the service of the homeland, in the period in which, under the impact of revolutionary events the Enlightenment, started to be dominated by major responsibilities and dramatic questions. The Serbs' enlightened man, Dositej Obradović, disseminated encouraging pieces of advice through his renewing books, affirming that "all wisdom and beautiful works pursue this goal — to make the human race wiser and more prosperous"⁶¹. In *Țiganiada* (The Gipsies' Epic), Budai Deleanu brought into focus the ideological confrontations of that end of period when expounding the various views on the organization of social life, mirrored by the minds of the commentators of his poem, as many masks of philosophy which claimed to stem from "long temptations" or from what "experience" teaches: the obtuseness of Idiotiseanul, the deliberate self-sufficiency of Arhonda Suspuseanul, the fits of intuition of Politicos were amended by Eruditian, Criticos and all the embodiments of contemporaneous ideological trends. The popular knight is not presented in a ridiculous light since he still embodies the aspirations of the many; he is a reality as inferrable from the community tales. Nevertheless, concludes the author, valour must be controlled by wisdom as urged by the Romanian humanist scholars who were the poet's predecessors; now, this wisdom is guided by "light".

In this poem, the exemplary individual is shaped not in the abstract world of disputes but in action; he does not come into existence only in the minds of the commentators but especially in the aspirations of the masses. And so, it is only natural that "to him, the homeland is sweet mother"⁶².

Thus, the philosopher appears to be linked to those who speak the same language, have the same customs and pattern of thinking, the same enemy — the oppressor thirsty to dominate the world from the centre of the empire where he has gathered all the privileged and conservatives. "A philosopher", wrote Daniil Philippides in 1801, "must not confine his writing to the sphere of his people, he has a duty to the whole mankind", to add a few lines further that "any genuine study begins with the mother tongue"⁶³; Dinicu Golescu states, in the same order of ideas, that the philosopher's fundamental concern is "to watch over the duties of mankind and

⁶¹ I refer to the book *Advice for Sound Understanding* translated into Romanian by D. Țichindeal in 1802.

⁶² See especially the beginning of "Canto XI" and of "Canto XII" in *Țiganiada*, re-edited by Ed. Minerva, 1973, p. 295 et seq. and pp. 176—177.

⁶³ See the letter to Barbié de Bocage in the volume *Ἀλληλογραφία*, Athens, 1966, pp. 40—42.

honesty" and to do something "for the happiness of mankind and even more of his nation in particular"⁶⁴

The sapiential books which contributed immensely to the shaping of people and the dissemination of the new humanist model point to a permanent assimilation of the qualities which impart to the wise man the status of a philosopher and those which prefigure the citizen. The emerging portrait is that of an "enlightened patriot", a man who cultivated his heart and mind for working for the benefit of his homeland; the knowledge of the laws of nature no longer demands a mere betterment of community life but it intertwines with the renewal of the social structures and with the programme of moral and intellectual improvement of all those inhabiting the same land defended in old heroic ages. A less known writer, high steward Voinescu, who was very close to the initiator of the course of philosophy in Romanian in Bucharest, Eufrosin Poteca, speaks about a very interesting model. Proclaiming that the blessing of schooling should be shared by all the members of society, he states his belief that, through philosophy, people will acquire a nobleness which feudal ranks can never lend them and will know the great purposes "always followed by the philosopher-man"⁶⁵.

This concern to develop a many-sided human personality and to place the achievements of science in the service of a man who asserts himself freely within a community aware of its rights and duties is based, in our opinion, on the most generous results of the investigations undertaken in that period. Within this process, the critical orientation and that aimed at enriching the individual's psyche blended in a "classic" system of norms handed down by tradition. On the one hand, the criticism levelled against short-sighted conformism and the ossified cultural forms relied on Voltairianism, which went sometimes even further suggesting the full imitation of the modes of living in the advanced Western societies when it set to serve the mentality of the rising tradesmen. On the other hand, the concern to enrich the individual psychical life found an ally in the German human ideal disseminated by the intensely read textbooks at a time when sapiential and didactic literature developed spectacularly; this trend was fed especially by the pietism promoted by the University of Halle and contributed to the assimilation of the protestant ethics just when ethical values ga-

⁶⁴ Text from the *Collection of Parables*, Buda, 1826, pp. 333–334 and p. 342 commented in my work *Les livres de sagesse ...*, p. 79–81.

⁶⁵ See N. Isar, "An Unknown Enlightened Thinker of the 1821 Epoch: Steward Voinescu", (in Romanian) in *Studii*, 1972, 1, pp. 125–135.

thered momentum in the system of values in most Southeast European cultures. This trend favoured individualism which produced tension between the citizen and society, either of these two terms being reduced to schematic, rationalized entities⁶⁶.

In the elaboration of the philosopher-patriot, a special role was played by the Rousseauist ideas which cast strong light on the "intersecting interests" in the societies dominated by appearances, where "both the master and the servant are slaves, and the intellect of the 'philosophers' is in the bondage of passions under the guise of submitting them to norms, an accomplice of lying, a war machine camouflaged under the green foliage of peace"⁶⁷. Jean Jacques' ideas were more greedily assimilated in the years in which the critical spirit became sharper following somehow the example of revolutionary France. These were especially the years prior to 1848; yet, Rousseau inspired also Ionică Tăutu who in a 1829 manifesto asserted that the prince himself must obey the laws⁶⁸.

A comparison can also be drawn between the attachment to concrete questions and the "practical humanism"⁶⁹ proposed by the classical English literature which pursued to unite rather than divide the people and to revive the message of ancient wisdom. We can also compare the philosopher-man in Romanian culture with the similar portrait which appeared in Milan and Modena in this period.

The borrowings did not disintegrate the "classic" systems of norms existing in Romanian culture but opened it to various imperatives of the time insistently brought into focus by the new class, the bourgeoisie, which assumed the role to organize social life and sought to harmonize the ideal of individual accomplishment, the personality, with the objectives of community life, the dignified existence of all. The precepts inherited from Ancient and Byzantine authors and re-moulded in the epoch of the 17th century humanism were blended with those conveyed by popular wisdom: in the Age of Enlightenment the florilegia combined ancient and modern maxims

⁶⁶ About "Das Humanitätsideal" see I. Iggers, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 49, 54 and the rich study of Nicolao Merker *L'illuminismo tedesco*, Bari, Laterza, 1971, especially pp. 244–259. On the Romanian contacts with the German Aufklärung, some data in my *Books of Wisdom* ... (in Romanian), 1972, pp. 131–135.

⁶⁷ See Guy Besse, *art. cit.*

⁶⁸ See the text from Ionică Tăutu's *Socio-Political Writings* (in Romanian), edited by Emil Virtosu, Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1974, p. 284. Tăutu refers to Montesquieu and the *Encyclopédie* as well.

⁶⁹ See A. R. Humphreys, "The Social Setting" in *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, Penguin Books, 1966, vol. IV, p. 19. More extensively in my article "Gentlemanliness and Patriotism – Two Forms of Enlightened Moralism", in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires*, 1976, 1.

with proverbs and sayings. In this way, the products of wisdom were perpetuated into the 19th century when the desiderata of improving the state apparatus and social relations became a top priority. In this epoch of crystallization of the Romanian cultural patrimony, concepts loaded with the wisdom of the scholars and of the land tillers were given an exemplary brilliance in the works of such representative writers as Eminescu or Creangă; "the inward nature" <firea> which had escaped the "objective representation also escaped freezing, thus being more than object and material" much as "external nature" <natura> had become⁷⁰. Other key concepts reveal also the undertaking of thinking which had not become the slave of its own image and which knew, due to its permanent contact with essences and motion how to step over the other side of the mirror. The norms imposed on the citizen by the new social relations were steadily reconsidered by the intellectuals attached to the concepts of personality and "community".

The philosopher's image differed from one place to another and so did the patriot's. Therefore, in order to single out the human experience concentrated in each model, we have to dwell not only on what thinkers and artists proposed, but also on the responses given by social groups or even the whole society to changing realities. Speaking about intellectual life, we cannot reduce everything to the activity of a single group or class; any group got integrated into a social structure, met with resistance and found means of action precisely because it acted in a milieu and tried to change it. Referring to Southeast European societies and to some situated in the centre of the continent, the historian has to take into consideration the popular contribution to the elaboration of concepts expressing collective aspirations and to the shaping of a pattern of man; such a contribution is to be found in concepts and images circulated by folk creations and peasant painters (very active, in the second part of the 18th century, in Maramureş and in northern Oltenia) and to a certain degree in the "popular books" written by men trained in urban schools or monasteries.

Thus, we may perceive clearly that at this moment, as in other periods of intellectual density, there appears, besides the dominant model proposed by the official culture, by the literature and painting directly linked to political power, a potential pattern of an ideal man. Kept alive mostly in peasant milieus, this ideal man had virtues which the selective tradition put into motion by

⁷⁰ See Constantin Noica, "On Nature in the Romanian Language", in *Eminescu or Thoughts about the Complete Man of Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Eminescu, 1975, p. 11.

the dominant social group did not preserve. In Southeast European cultures, the image of the knight, kept alive by the collective memory and embodied again and again by "outlaws" and leaders of revolt (like Horea in Transylvania) played an important role on the dawn of the century. In Romanian culture, the gallery of the "founders of the country" and of the great knights who had fought for liberty and independence, evoked in chronicles, histories and frescoes, transmitted to the ideal man shaped by the Aufklärers a patriotic feeling. The "philosophe" received impulses as well from the intellectuals as from the traditional cultural centres: the combination of old and new is most striking⁷¹.

Everywhere in Europe, the philosopher was animated by the wish to guide the people, inheriting thus the humanist's ambition to become an "uomo universale". Less complicated than Gracian's hero, paying less attention to the finesse of conduct recommended by the gentleman, attracted by more easily achievable virtues than those guiding "l'honnête homme", the "philosophe" became a more universal model than his predecessors, recalling the portrait of the humanist or the medieval models⁷². But the crisis of the "old régime" brought rapidly to the fore other models — the citizen and the patriot. In Romanian culture, the "philosophe" assimilated from the very beginning traits belonging to the patriot: on one side, because the traditional models had not faded away, on the other, because innovation came about rapidly. The wise man and the knight, the prototypes of all models elaborated everywhere, had not suffered a deep retouching; but now, writers and carriers of the oral tradition were proclaiming that life had to be conducted in view of the new social and political standards, as shown by "Enlightened Europe". Norms of thinking and deportment learned in schools, where Aristotelian and Neoplatonic texts were thoroughly studied, the relationship between truth and beauty derived from liturgical poetry, as well as the relationship between changes and permanences as shown by the fascinating frescoes got new significances when compared to the norms, ideas and theories found out in European books and gazettes. The philosopher well understood that old ways of life were suffocating the minds and the social body: anachronistic forms of government and the negative effects of foreign domi-

⁷¹ No analysis has been made so far concerning the way in which the portrait of the knight in Southeast European frescoes evolved synchronically or not with the figure of the hero in written and oral literatures.

⁷² More at length in my book *Essay on the History of Models for Humanity. The Image of Man in Literature and Painting* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1972.

nation had to be brought to an end. But the philosopher did not reject traditional principles mostly derived from the Cataphatic Theology and which enabled him to understand that which maintains the cohesion of the whole and that which maintains the difference between things; the well-ordered universe did not cover what was still unknown and what remained invisible. He also knew that man is "malleable" not only in a social sense, but also as a person called to reach perfection by practice of virtues and the pursuit of wisdom. Long-term trends born in the Byzantine culture ⁷³ met new exigencies. We are fairly well informed concerning the portrait of the "philosophe", but we still need information on other models; we may wonder how would have the bust of the "philosophe-man" looked like.

⁷³ On these intellectual trends which contributed to the parting of the ways between east and west in Christianity and continued to be active till late, in the Age of Enlightenment, see the papers included in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, edited by Derek Baker, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976, and mostly Peter Brown's study; on the Romanian centres which became "important for the whole Orthodox world within the Ottoman empire", see Eric Tappe's contribution. On St. Maximus the Confessor's writings and ideas (widely circulated in Romanian culture in the 17th–18th centuries) see *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, 1970, part VI, chapter 32.

MODELS AND IMAGES IN THE SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN ENLIGHTENMENT

The evolution of the language of images and of writing reached a turning point, in all Southeast European cultures, by the end of the 18th century. Looking at frescoes and reading new books, people of this age were no doubt under the impression that new means of shaping the individual and the collective were at work. Intellectual trends which had their roots in the deep past met movements which are still in progress in our days. Sensible differences might be noticed between the changes which occurred in Western societies and those taking place in Southeast Europe. But whenever one speaks of this area as if it had been one single reality, a question is lurking all the time in the background : do the cultures flourishing in this zone make up one and the same entity? An answer may be given by the study of this very period precisely because it brings to the fore an astonishing complexity. But first of all, the student of this period has to leave aside the conventional image of European Enlightenment which flattens the relief of the continent and reduces all phenomena to a simplifying scheme. Starting from what the documents say, the student may recapture the dialogue which took place between tradition and innovation in this part of the continent.

In all Southeast European cultures intellectual activity multiplied spectacularly and set out towards new goals during the Age of Enlightenment. By the beginning of the 19th century new forms were prevalent in the Romanian, Greek or Serbian cultures. These forms differed sensibly from those accepted in previous centuries and were apparently similar to contemporary Western ones. A clear explanation was at hand : during this period Southeast European cultures reached a new civilized level by imitation and therefore one may speak of their "Westernization". This label is often used in specialized works and famous handbooks mostly because it is comfortable : the historian pays attention to the elements which

confirm the diffusion of what he knows best and ignores the elements which seem rather alien. Seen from this angle, the entire area, with no exception, appears to have slumbered intellectually prior to the generous inflow of the Western Enlightenment.

It is obvious that the internal movement of Southeast European cultures gained momentum in the Age of Enlightenment, and the example offered by the expanding Western cultures had a greater force of attraction. But it is also obvious that these profound and various transformations do not fit into a simplistic and partial scheme in which adoption of new forms depends on rejection of old ones. Such a scheme excessively simplifies the very substance of European culture and favours the appearance of abstract formulas which disregard human thoughts and feelings. The Western Enlightenment did not suddenly cover a flat and colourless map. It is evident that "men are not made by the age in which they live, but, as far as cultural history is concerned, they make it ...". We can see "how one can be influenced by an idea, either influenced in its favour or against it; but how one can be influenced by a time is too mysterious to be treated rationally"¹.

The above-mentioned tendency to schematize is chiefly due to certain literary historians in Southeast societies who, in the past century, exalted, in the Romantic fashion, popular productions and investigated old monuments of culture only for spotlighting the progress made by the literary language; written culture was no longer reconstituted globally and one could not find in the predecessors' effort an intense participation in the intellectual debate which focused the attention of all European societies in the humanistic period². By the middle of the past century, there were no comprehensive national libraries, bodies of documents and precise inventories of artistic monuments; interpreters relied on a restricted amount of evidence. At the same time interpreters included all the vestiges of the past in an "old time" which they hoped to replace as fast as possible; the new cultural programme was designated as an "awa-

¹ George Boas, "In Search of the Age of Reason", in *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century*, The John Hopkins Press, 1967, pp. 4, 2.

² See Léandros Vranoussis, "Les étapes successives et l'état actuel des études sur la littérature néo-hellénique" in *Actes du II^e Congrès International des Etudes du Sud-Est Européen*, Athènes, 1972, tome I^{er}, pp. 217-232 and my book *Synthesis and Originality in Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. enciclopedică română, 1972, pp. 7-38, chapter "Trends in the Historiography of Culture". About the restricted selection of cultural phenomena of the past, made by the generation of Romantic historians in Yugoslavia, see Radovan Samardžić, "Stages of Development of Balkan Culture and Education under the Ottomans in the Eighteenth Century", in *East European Quarterly*, IX (1975), 4, p. 406.

kening". But the use of this term for a period which seemed to reiterate, after almost five centuries, the Western intellectual movement, not only created the image of "young" cultures which set in motion after century-long conservation in an unnatural state of adolescence, but also entailed the characterization of the previous centuries as a "stagnation".

Today, we have valuable tools and a method of interpretation which enable us to understand the evolution of cultural processes and of the major epochs of Southeast European cultures. The epochs do not correspond in time and differ in content, too. We may thus note that the political situation of each society and local traditions of thought bore considerably on the formation of the Romanian or Greek Enlightenment, in the latter half of the 18th century, or of the Albanian one at a later time, or of the Yugoslav Enlightenment whose features differed from those of the Ottoman one. For these reasons, the opposition between Eastern stagnation and Western dynamism, circulated by Western historians of culture, in the Age of Enlightenment, should be discarded as useless. The investigation of Southeast European cultures can no longer be subserved to the scheme proposed by those who initiated the study of modern cultures for building a new edifice, meant to replace the previous one, in which a certain concept of "civilization" was the cornerstone.

It is extremely important to talk here about the starting point of Western historians, since their major concepts were taken over by the first historians of Southeast European cultures and applied then to processes with particular features which had not been exhaustively inventoried.

To enlightened philosophers, Voltaire in particular, civilization meant "besides mores and laws, the arts, sciences, philosophy and all human achievements which, far from being more or less inborn qualities of the individual, represented the laborious and tangible sum of multiple efforts of a collective nature. This means that, seen this way, civilization had, for the first time, a history"³. The emphasis laid on becoming, manifested in a certain sphere of human activity — that one which was incorporating "all human achievements" — appears as a natural conclusion of a whole intellectual enterprise put in motion by the Renaissance. Enlightened thinkers recorded the progress made by human activity in organizing terrestrial cities and amplified the key concepts of the Renaissance

³ See Antoine Pelletier, "The Notion of Civilization", in *Historical Materialism and the History of Civilizations* (Romanian translation), Bucharest, Ed. politică, 1973, p. 17.

thought, delimiting thus the territory in which the actions contributing to the shaping of modern man and collectivities were rooted : the culture of Antiquity, the Renaissance, the Age of Enlightenment appeared as a continuous process which ended by imparting a new look to the polis and the social individual. The Enlightenment completed the major trend of thought stemming from the Renaissance and incorporated in the term of civilization all the deeds thought useful by the humanists for consolidating urban solidarities. Thus, the Enlightenment rounded off the "humanist epoch" and drew an image of the human universe, flatly opposed to the image shaped by medieval civilization before its decline in the 13th—14th centuries.

The civilization proposed by the philosophes was founded on human achievements in urban centres and dissociated itself from the cultural life of villages : "rusticus" was used in connection with the unpolished man, unfamiliar with "polite manners" of the polis. Civilization developed in centralized states in which authority was not equated with the sovereign's sweet will ; the enlightened condemned Eastern despotism which threw whole societies into stagnation. As a human achievement, civilization opposed those manifestations pursuing objectives which did not serve the essential problems of the organization of the modern polis ; those manifestations were applied the general label of Gothic barbarisms and rejected. The place of the medieval universality was taken by the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment. The Southeast European intellectuals who reconstituted in the 19th century the history of the civilization of the peoples in this region, did not take over the Enlightenment's discriminations as a whole, but corrected them under the impact of the emerging universality promoted by the revolutionary Romanticism. But their attack on the caste which had proved incapable to understand the essentials of international politics and contributed to arresting economic advance — the economic gap between this region and the West being obvious — obscured part of the achievements of thought which had not been put in the service of the rulers and their disciples. The Balkan intellectuals started to reconstitute their national cultures at a time when national state structures appeared for the first time after a long period of cultural life within an empire. The cultural achievements of the past sprang not from a well-delimited society but from communities forming nuclei in the vast territories under Ottoman rule. To explain these achievements, interpreters resorted to the Western model : themes and symbols from the "old" culture were discarded to make room for those created during the Western Renaissance and Reform-

mation, since the "European" character of Balkan cultures could only be demonstrated by emphasizing certain ways of participation in Western trends.

Thus, the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment was given posthumous justification by Balkan historiography which sometimes neglected the study of realities which did not fit into the accepted conceptual scheme, the one taken from Western works. More than that, the very realities were adapted to this scheme which had a source completely alien to Southeast European tradition : in Western Europe, the history of ideas stemmed from the conflict between the sacred and the secular cities⁴. Thus, in order to explain why secularization of thought had to follow suit, historians pretended that such a conflict did exist in the Byzantine civilization and named what they forged "Byzantine caesaro-papism"; the protagonists of the Enlightenment were invited to continue this tremendous experience which, in fact, had never taken place.

Local traditions were broken off in parts by comparisons which never took into consideration broader movements or aspects belonging to long term trends; in order to explain why there was such a "gap" between Balkan societies and the "advanced" ones, interpreters always fell back upon the unforgivable Ottoman rule which hindered perfect "synchronization" with Western Europe. In such a view, modernization in cultural matters was considered a mere improvement of techniques : it was a question of systematically importing intellectual goods and of advertizing the own products which could be easily sold.

Romanian historiography disentangled itself from this scheme thanks to the progress made by the national bibliography and the study of historical monuments. By the end of the 19th century, a better knowledge of styles and cultural forms was taking shape. Nicolae Iorga organized, in 1924, the first Congress of Byzantine studies and published, in 1935, his famous *Byzance après Byzance*. Since then other works which came out in various centres have demonstrated that the modernization is to be understood by putting together the will to renovate and the secret ties with the past. It is a project adopted by all historians willing to reconstitute the whole and not fragments of it.

⁴ See Leonard Krieger, "The Autonomy of Intellectual History", in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34 (1973), 4. p. 501.

The alternance and coexistence of the forms of universality reveal elements overlooked by Romantic or Positivist interpreters. In this respect, one can investigate the simultaneous existence of several variants in modern European culture, which has recently focused the attention of interpreters⁵. A simultaneous existence which does not exclude alternance. For the progress made in the cultural realm by the Western centralized states whose economies developed considerably following the expansion across the Atlantic, favoured the movement of the centre of civilization from the Mediterranean basin to the north of the continent. But, while corseted in political formations of a marked feudal character, the Mediterranean cultural units bestowed on the West a rich heritage which they continued to feed and deepen at the time when intellectual life was flourishing in France, England or the Lower Countries. In the first millennium, Byzantine civilization had been the most "advanced". When Constantinople was conquered by "Latin" crusaders, interpenetration took place on a large scale and this is proved by the Byzantine borrowings from Western modes of thinking and living⁶, just as by Western borrowings from vigorous Byzantium⁷. Interpenetration continued in Venice, where the baroque left its mark on post-Byzantine literature and art without bringing about the abandonment of tradition; in Vienna, where Southeast European intellectuals found conditions for studying the history and language of the peoples to which they belonged.

In the Romanian countries, interpenetration was rich and the history of printing supplies us convincing data about it. Be they books for the popularization of science or philosophical books, be they translations from world literature or ABC books, all printings brought out in the late 18th century had the mission to enlighten. Pathetical urges to readers can be found in most of the Romanian books printed at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. Six years after the appearance of Molnar's *Romanian-German Grammar*, intended to contribute to disseminating "les lumières", as confessed by its author, Dimitrie Iercovici, imperial translator "in the great principality of Transylvania", scolded the read-

⁵ About two types of civilization — Western and Southeast European — more in Dan Zamfirescu's "Romanian Culture, a European Synthesis", in his volume *History and Culture* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Eminescu, 1974, pp. 50—61.

⁶ See Speros Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1967, pp. 162—164.

⁷ Concrete data and convincing interpretations in Hans-Georg Beck's "Byzanz und der Westen im 12. Jahrhundert", in his volume *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1972, VIII, pp. 240—241.

ers, for their indifference to this grammar and the didactic books of Dimitrie Eustatievici and Gheorghe Șincai: "Tell me, reader, what use, joy, satisfaction and contentment will the Blaj group have for their skills, effort and patience to make books for the benefit of the community, praised all over Transylvania, if they see that the products of their hands remain unused?". But this lack of interest in the activity of the strong Romanian cultural centre in the heart of Transylvania, acquires impressive proportions as soon as Dimitrie Iercovici places the appeal to reading in a European context: "Pray you, good and wise reader, think by yourself what will say the other peoples which honour now, through learning and uninterrupted reading of useful books not only their law but all the other works, about our people". This appeal was contained not in a preface to a philosophical treatise or a book of history of civilization, but in *Alexandria* (The Alexander Romance) brought out by Petru Barth in Sibiu⁸.

Similar texts may be found in Greek or South-Slav books of the time: the book ceased to conserve fundamental principles and became a stimulus for thinking, while reading was no longer considered an accidental pastime but a permanent pursuit, turning from the appanage of a group of scholars, into a collective obligation; reading contributed directly to setting human capabilities in motion for serving society. "What a fine thing printing is. It made books cheaper, so that the ordinary man buy them", wrote merchant Ioannis Pringos who, in 1762, while in Amsterdam, donated 800 books to his native town, Zagora, in eastern Thessaly. "Reading opens the eyes of the reader and makes him a learned man", he added without any hesitation, while metropolitan Ignatie, who had founded the Greek literary society in Bucharest, wrote in 1816 to the Greek community in Livorno: "What the homeland expects of us today are teachers and books. These two alone enlighten the youth who ardently aspires to learning, to be one day capable to serve the homeland"⁹. In his Collection of Ethics, Dositej Obradović devoted a full chapter to the "physiology" of reading, recommending systematic reading in the morning and conversation in the afternoon, as well as the alternation of various kinds of books;

⁸ Ioan Mălnar's and Dimitrie Iercovici's prefaces are reproduced in Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș's *Old Romanian Bibliography, 1508–1830* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1910, vol. II, pp. 324–326, 362–365.

⁹ Texts quoted by Georg Veloudis *Das griechische Druck- und Verlagshaus Glikis in Venedig (1670–1854)*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, p. 90.

books are meant not only for the initiate, but can equally be appreciated by the ploughman or the shepherd, he states ¹⁰.

Obviously, all these urges and words of advice impart a new position to books in everyday life, following the diversification of book production in specialized centres and the emergence of new cultural establishments. The assimilation of the knowledge amassed by European thought in the period in which the Balkan peoples had been under the sway of the conservative Ottoman spirit was to cause the establishment of new relations between the dominated peoples and the imperial power. The intellectuals had no doubt in this respect and for this reason they welcomed the dissemination of books as a phenomenon heralding the "moral revolution", as put by the prominent Greek scholar Adamantios Corays. In this way, new relationships were established between the traditional categories of books and the new ones which imposed their individuality, and this is attested by the growing number of new titles as compared to re-printings of old titles; prior to the Independence War, new titles accounted for 57.5 percent of the production of neo-Greek books, as compared to the 42.4 percent of re-edited ones. From this perspective, one can follow the ossification of religious humanism, the establishment of the reactionary doctrine, the shaping of the liberal spirit and the gradual emancipation of secular thought ¹¹.

The new titles were the symptoms of the emergence of new categories of books; whereas during the previous period, liturgical books were used both in the church and in parochial schools (as *Octoiul* — The Hymn Book — and *Psaltirea* — Psalter — were), the tremendous multiplication of school books decisively narrowed down the area of dissemination of the religious book. The upsurge of didactic literature had major consequences on the transformation of mentalities. Another consequential expansion is that of almanachs, calendars and leaflets which proliferated especially during the Napoleonic wars; read at public meetings, they captured the masses' interest in events and stirred the appetite for newspapers which started appearing regularly at the beginning of the 19th century. This interest grew steadily and changed people's habits, if we accept Hegel's remark that newspaper reading replaced the morning pray-

¹⁰ Commentaries on this text, translated into Romanian in 1808, in my book *Coordinates of 18th-Century Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), pp. 315–317.

¹¹ Sée Philippe Iliou, "Pour une étude quantitative du public des lecteurs grecs à l'époque des Lumières et de la révolution", in *Actes du 1er Congrès International des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, Sofia, 1969, vol. IV, pp. 475–480; C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, cap. V.

er. Historical literature evolved in turn, thanks to the progress of learning and of the critical spirit, sapiential books enriched their content with norms of urbane conduct, while the literature of delectation developed steadily up to the point at which the poem, short story, novel and drama assumed the role of expressing the deepest aspirations of the collectivity — a collectivity defined in social and political terms.

The change in the structure of written culture brought about a new relation between functional reading, practised in the previous period by those who had to be conversant with reading and writing for their activity in the Establishment — churches and chancelleries — and non-functional reading, practised during the Enlightenment by all literate people called upon to participate in the modification of the Establishment¹². But non-functional reading also imposed a change in the technique of reading from intensive to extensive, as proposed by the enlightened everywhere¹³. Illustrative in this respect is the advice offered in 1700 by Gheorghe Radovici in his preface to *Invățăturile creștinești* (Christian Teachings) printed at Snagov: books can be read by everybody during their spare time, one chapter in the morning or evening. Important was the reading which could feed meditation. In 1794, Dimitrie Iercovici rejected the arguments of those complaining of lack of time for reading grammars, books popularizing science, books of history or even his *Alexandria*, wondering: but, in wintertime when they are not out in the field, what are they doing?

The urges to read were backed by people molded in the schools set up in the wake of Maria Theresa's and Joseph's reforms, or in the schools subjected to thorough reforms in Moldavia, Walachia or Istanbul. At the beginning of the 19th century, new schools emerged throughout the Balkan area, particularly in Yugoslav and Greek territory. But, most of the Balkan intellectuals completed their studies in university centres outside this area. In the same centres, they had possibilities to publish their works. Therefore, the student of this period must, first of all, locate precisely the places of their activity and wherefrom support came for printing their books which were meant to amplify non-functional reading and favour extensive reading.

¹² See Spyros Asdrahas, "Faits économiques et choix culturels: à propos du commerce de livres entre Venise et la Méditerranée orientale au 18^e siècle", in *Studi veneziani*, XIII, 1971, pp. 587—621.

¹³ See Reinhard Wittmann, "Der lesende Landmann" in *Der Bauer Mittel- und Osteuropas im sozioökonomischen Wandel des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Redaktion Heinz Ischreyt, Böhlau Verlag, 1973, pp. 169—173 (chap. "Zum bäuerlichen Erwartungshorizont").

In the Turkish language, printing gathered some momentum as late as the 19th century, after the short-lived 1727 attempt of Ibrahim Muteferrika, former student of the Calvinist collegium in Cluj, to set it in motion. Ossified in the oral and manuscript tradition, Ottoman culture rejected the printed book which favoured intellectual debate and reconsideration of dogmas. Only in 1864, the reformer Midhat-pasha founded in Ruse a centre which seemed to have been inspired by the Habsburg cultural policy: here, he brought out publications in several Balkan languages. But, in the meantime, Bulgarian scholars had printed books in the vernacular at Rimnic and Bucharest, Belgrade and Pesta; in the Serbian Principality, the printing press at Kragujevac, set up in 1832, had been moved to Belgrade in 1835, while in the young Greek state, printing press had started working in Khios, Kydonies and other places, sometimes with the support of Western Grecophiles, British as a rule. The Albanian intellectuals printed their books at Smirna and in the Romanian countries. But, until the third decade of the 19th century, the Balkan peoples did not possess printing presses working on their national territories and functioning on a regular basis.

Under suchlike circumstances, Balkan cultures were supplied with books printed elsewhere: in Venice, where the Glykis brothers founded a famous publishing house in 1650 which lasted until 1854¹⁴, and where Dimitrios Theodosiou opened in 1755 a printing shop which functioned until 1824¹⁵, reproducing, besides the few hundred Greek books, 80 books in Serbian; in Vienna, where after persevering efforts by the Serb bishops¹⁶, Joseph von Kurzböck started printing books in "Illyrian" and Greek in 1770, activity carried further by Stefan Novaković and taken over in 1795 by the University of Buda; in Vienna, too, where books in Balkan languages were brought out in the house of Matthias Trattner, J. Bartholomeus Zweck, Leopold Grund, J. Snirer or Joseph Geistinger; in Kiev and Moscow, books were produced mostly for the South-Slav people. At Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel produced books in Greek and Cyrillic; they brought out the first issue of a Romanian periodical *Făma Lipscăi pentru Dachia*, in 1827.

Throughout this period, the printing presses in Walachia produced, besides Romanian books, works in Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and, later on, in Albanian. This activity was well known abroad:

¹⁴ See Georg Veloudis's monograph quoted above.

¹⁵ See G. Ploumidis, Τὸ βενετικὸν τυπογραφεῖον τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τοῦ Πάνου Θεοδοσίου, Athens, 1969.

¹⁶ See Dr. Nikola Gavrilović, *History of Cyrillic Print in the Habsburg Empire in the 18th Century* (in Serbian), Novi Sad, 1974.

in 1717, Giovanni Maria Bertolli, censor of Greek books printed in Venice, recommended the licensing body — Riformatori dello Studio di Padova — to refrain from hindering the printing “of schismatic” books in Venice, since such an act would encourage the dissemination of the Greek books printed in Bucharest¹⁷; by the end of the century, Kurzbock and Novacović reprinted Romanian books which had been previously brought out by the workshops from Bucharest and Iași¹⁸. The presses produced more books and a greater variety of texts in the last decade of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, when several private workshops became active in Romanian towns¹⁹; at the beginning, such presses worked in Sibiu, namely those owned by Martin Hochmeister or by Petru Barth, and in Brașov, where Franz Schobeln let appear texts for elementary schools and ecclesiastical books. It is very interesting to note that the merchant brothers Boghici from Brașov have printed in this town books for the Walachian churches (one of them translated by a monk from Moldavia!).

Forewords and prefaces to books printed during this period make us understand that financial problems were very intricate: it was easier to produce a book meant for functional reading, than a new type of work. For the “enlightened” literature — medical or economical advices —, authors had always to appeal to the “collective Maecenas”, to subscription; in the early 19th century, the most active Romanian subscribers were mostly the clergymen interested in liturgical books, didactical and sapiential literatures, joined by the boyars whose share grew concomitantly with that of the group of professors; after 1830, there was a marked ascent of the merchants, craftsmen and people who did not declare their profession, and this coincided with the period in which delectation was preferred to didacticism²⁰. Any author who would appeal to the financial assistance of a merchant or of subscribers would warmly advocate the cause of reading. In order to see printed his *History of Dacia*, Dionysos

¹⁷ Document reproduced by G. Veloudis, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–146.

¹⁸ See the 1771 *Bucvar* (a sort of Cyrillic ABC book), which reproduces Iacov Putneanul's book printed in Iași in 1755 and *The Christian Teachings* (in Romanian) of 1785, reprint of the book put out at Snagov in 1700.

¹⁹ See Mircea Tomescu, *A History of Romanian Books*, (in Romanian), 1968 and my study “I rinnovamenti della cultura romena scritta e le strutture sociali nel periodo dei Lumi”, in *Structure sociale et développement culturel des villes sud-est européennes et adriatiques aux XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*, pp. 133–141; see also Doina Nagler, “Die Tätigkeit der Buchdruckerfamilie Barth (1690–1840),” in *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, Sibiu, 1973, 2, pp. 48–52.

²⁰ See Cătălina et Victor George Velculescu, “Livres roumains à listes de souscripteurs. Première moitié du XIX^e siècle”, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1974, 2, pp. 205–220.

Photinos offered numerous cultural arguments to the merchant and banker Zenovie Pop whose support he was seeking²¹; Dimitrie Iercovici's appeal to his conationals to practice intense reading and buy his version of the Alexander Romance had also in view his other manuscripts ready for print.

It makes a difference, however, the fact that, as a rule, books for Balkan people were printed outside the Southeast European zone, with the support of bankers and commercial companies with headquarters in the Habsburg Empire, in Italy or in the German states or Russia, whereas the great majority of Romanian books came out in offices working in Romanian towns. It is significant that only seven percent of the Greek subscribers in the first two decades of the 19th century were living on the Greek territory²² and that the most substantial aid came from the merchants engaged in overseas trade²³.

The impact of these books was strong and readers were captivated by the social, political and cultural achievements of "enlightened Europe". But the fact that this image of civilized Europe was drawn by people living outside the area in which the national states emerged and that a great part of the villagers could not practise the recommended extensive reading had unforeseen consequences on the 19th century Balkan cultures. The intellectual gap between village and town got wider and the image of Europe produced strong tensions between the inherited ideas and the new objectives. This is the reason why the cultural heritage could turn into a myth of a "Golden Age" — of Hellenic Antiquity or of the flourishing first South-Slavic kingdoms which acquired the size of empires stretching on large areas which they actually could never control — or the cultural project could start sometimes from the idea that "the centre of the world" had never been translated from this part of Europe. This tension grew in intensity in the young states in which the group of merchants and, in general, the bourgeoisie assumed a leading role in cultural problems; this mental strain was evident in the debates on the literary language and the cultural development, since some literary historians either rejected the intellectual frame provided by scholars during the *Tourkokratia* or imparted modern proportions to feudal culture. In their effort to define the individuality of their

²¹ See M. Caratașu, "Dionysios Photinos de Patras et son Histoire de l'Ancienne Dacie", in *Transactions of the First Congress of Peloponnesian Studies*.

²² See Philippe Iliou, *op. cit.* For the Bulgarian subscribers, see Manio Stoianov, "Les syndromites bulgares de livres grecs au cours de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle", in *Byzantinische Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Athènes, 19, 1966, pp. 373–406.

²³ Philippe Iliou, intervention in the vol. *Structure sociale...*, p. 174.

people, the writers often concocted myths and rejected what they considered obsolete; but simultaneously they tried to write about what they knew very well — about concrete reality not vague generalities. This intellectual process developed owing to the necessity of establishing national cultural entities in place of imperial ones. The protagonists of Enlightenment defined their position through opposition to other groups.

In this intellectual effervescence, one can perceive three pre-eminent images which reveal mental cues to concrete experience and explain men's options: society's image of its own past, people's image of the real world (in our case, Europe), and the image of future cultural developments. All three of these images may be detected in the documentary material now made available by literary and art historians; all images shed light on a transformation which was not the outcome of a "spirit of the century".

The image of the past got crystallized with the help of a selective tradition which brought into focus or pushed into the background past works and concepts. But, there is a great difference between the flourishing of printing in neo-Greek culture, the way the stock of books was renewed in other cultures and the insignificant role played by printing in Islamic culture. Equally obvious is the difference between trends developed in the Serbian engraving and painting and those in the Romanian or Bulgarian ones. The past appeared as being dominated by Antiquity to the eyes of Greek scholars, by the flourishing period of medieval Slav culture to Paisii Chilandari, by the prestige of Latinity to Romanian scholars; the past is seen as an uninterrupted succession of years by Ottoman scholars or by Romanian ones, while the peoples formerly subjugated by the Sublime Porte viewed it as a line broken by foreign domination. Selective tradition works in a variety of ways; the importance of the "beginnings" and the impact of assimilations impart it various characters. Decisive is the domain in which it operates. Where the Golden Age is seen as an unsurpassed acme, and assimilations are gradual or even fast but are made in a restricted area, the propensity to enlightenment acquires the proportions of a genuine Renaissance, as it happened in most Balkan cultures, where the Golden Age is regarded as a starting point and assimilations are incorporated in established cultural structures, the propensity to enlightenment is equivalent with an awakening — like in Romanian culture.

Both in Southeast and Central Europe, history and philology became major disciplines. But, the evocation of the remote epoch of independence served national assertion just as the justification of nobility privileges, as happened in Hungarian culture where national

consciousness was for a long time equated with that of the nobility. In this situation, the intellectuals continued to resort to concepts stemming from the feudal mentality — the suzerain-vassal relationships, the nobility's rights over land — at a time when the peoples' rights were defined. Excessive attachment to the Golden Age frequently fed the conservative spirit, much like the priority given to assimilation pushed into the background the cultural achievements of the past and favoured innovation by all means, often restricted to what was fashionable.

The image of Europe was assimilated in various ways by the peoples in this area. The Greek scholars guiding themselves by the institution which assumed the role of imprinting the general course of intellectual life of the Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire, the Patriarchy (and they included not only clergymen but also a great number of Phanariots) did not doubt that they perpetuated a tradition springing from the "centre" of the European world, the Byzantine one, and they integrated only those elements which did not reject tradition. Differently, those Greek scholars living on the islands or the diaspora acquired a clearer knowledge of the intellectual progress made in the West and effected more substantial changes in tradition. The contact with the movement of ideas on the continent was more intense with the Yugoslavs and Romanians than with the Bulgarians or Albanians. Ottoman scholars were for a longer time the prisoners of tradition. Indeed, the irradiation of the cultural centres of Venice, Vienna, the German universities or of Russia covered different geographical areas and influenced Southeast European intellectuals to varying degrees.

The cultural programme pursued objectives similar to those in other European societies : cultural activities were focused on the problems posed by a better organization of the "city of the people". The human body and the social body arrested the attention of thinkers ; culture was addressing an individual who belonged to a collectivity and whose destiny could not be dissociated from the destiny of the society in which he lived. Moral values got the upper hand over religious values and social education appeared as a major commandment. Growing interest was taken in the progress of material civilization, of the scientific investigation of nature concomitantly with the assertion of an ever firmer belief that through rational education, order might take the place of arbitrariness.

Yet, cultural programmes had to take into account the international political circumstances : decisions could not be made independent of the plans designed in imperial chancellories. Thus, when thinkers in this part of Europe approached the questions of the social

body, they had in mind the various forms this body might take: instead of the Ottoman Empire they visualized a Balkan confederation, states founded on ethnoses or traditional privileges. The Eastern Question permanently focused the thoughts of those promoting new cultural trends, in Istanbul just as in the other Southeast European centres. It is difficult to maintain the distinction between Western nationalism, grounded on realities, and Eastern nationalism based on myths and dreams, as proposed by Hans Kohn; realities differ and the interpreter of Southeast European cultures cannot ignore that the existence of empires made thinkers in this part of Europe consider the relations between the national cultural units and the cultural union promoted by the empires²⁴. In face of the inability of the ruling classes in the empires to find better formulas of existence for the nationalities which were growing ever more self-conscious, the national state appeared as the sole solution. Throughout the 19th century, "the basic problems remained: the majority of the Balkan peoples, of every nationality and social level, simply wished to leave the state. The national idea was not merely a program of intellectuals and politicians; it had, by the end of the century, become a passionate conviction, a secular religion for the majority of inhabitants of each state"²⁵.

Cultural models are conceived by people and so, when we speak about collective images we refer to the groups which guided intellectual life in Southeast European societies. In the Balkans, we come across the circles around the imperial court, the Ecumenical Patriarch, the Phanariots who formed a caste within the Empire and were also a European nucleus²⁶. Gradually, an openness to European ideas appeared also in this last group which, overwhelmed by the image of the Byzantine "Golden Age", sought to revive medieval universality, grounded, this time, on Greek national consciousness. The seizure of leading positions in Balkan cultural institutions and the insistent dissemination of the Greek language as a means of international communication however led the Phanariots to a precarious solution since it was based on the slow conquest of a

²⁴ See Peter Sugar, "External and Domestic Roots of Eastern European Nationalism", in *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, edited by Peter E. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer, University of Washington Press, 1969, pp. 3—54. Hans Kohn exposes his interpretation in *The Age of Nationalism*, Harper and Row, 1962.

²⁵ Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804—1920*, University of Washington Press, 1977, p. 326.

²⁶ See the papers of the colloquium on the Phanariot Age, held in Salonika, 1970, issued in 1975: *Symposium "L'époque phanariote"* and Cyril Mango, "The Phanariots and the Byzantine Tradition", in *The Struggle for Greek Independence*, edited by Richard Clogg, London, Macmillan, 1973, pp. 41—66.

decaying apparatus; Phanariot despotism was rejected by Greek thinkers themselves in the time of the national "Renaissance"²⁷.

The scholars belonging to the clergy continued to strengthen the Orthodox consciousness of the Balkan peoples and assimilated Western concepts only to the point at which the distance from the traditional doctrine was not dangerous. Soon, the circle around the Ecumenical Patriarch took up reactionary positions.

Innovation was sensibly propelled by the social ascent of professors and writers who exceeded the limits of the projects whereby the new was proposed without the intention to change the old. But lay intellectuals were frequently tempted to imitate, especially when they accepted the viewpoint of a bourgeoisie interested only in the circulation of goods and material self-sufficiency. Imitation gave impetus to economic and social reforms, but produced, especially through the accentuating cleavage between towns and villages, fresh tensions which erupted in peasant risings. The innovation which attached decisive importance to "the image of Europe" to the detriment of the "image of the past", located in a remote age which asserted its vitality thanks to new interpretations in romantic colours, produced an eventual outburst of tradition.

Continuity in Romanian culture in the humanistic epoch left its mark on the whole intellectual movement in the Carpatho-Danubian area. For this reason, the movement cannot be divided by "sources". It was stated and is still stated that the Union with Rome opened the gates for Transylvania to Europe, while neo-Greek influence decisively acted on the thinkers in the Principalities. But, it was not only the sources which the enlightened men in the three provinces used but also their similar attitudes to the Western model that prompt us to make a global reconstruction of the Romanian Enlightenment. Differences did exist between the questions dealt with by the Transylvanians and those which concerned the thinkers in the Principalities; but, all of them spoke about the Latinity of the Romanian people, its role in Southeast Europe, about the necessity

²⁷ "What cannot be denied is the fact that the grecification of the church and its educational institutions cut the Slavs off from the sources of their civilization, which was beginning to grow along original lines just when the Turkish attacks on Southeastern Europe began. This fact separated the non-Greek Orthodox from the cultural life of Europe even more than the general isolation had already done. What these people could develop they did. Their folk culture flourished, but learning and the arts languished and were left almost entirely to the Greeks. Dubrovnik and the Romanian Principalities were the only places where non-Greek Christians could and indeed did pursue intellectual and artistic careers", notes Peter Sugar in *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, University of Washington Press, 1977, p. 251. See the whole chapter "Cultural Life".

to take over some achievements of the West. The presence of Greek scholars, on the one hand, the contacts with the German Enlightenment, stronger in Transylvania, on the other, introduced in the Romanian cultural circuit, elements which cast light on a synthesis of data originating in the Mediterranean world and Central Europe alike. This synthesis is original precisely for its having set into motion forces which had existed before ²⁸ and for its having grown into a new cultural form.

In this new cultural form, belles-lettres assumed a mission which they had not previously had, that of mobilizing the spirits for creating a new solidarity useful to a society pursuing new goals. This sector of intellectual activity witnessed considerable expansion and got enriched with works successful in the West thanks to translations. But, the concern for ethical questions prevailed both in the original works and in the foreign ones selected at that time; delectation did not grant a separate "status" to pleasure which was constantly blended with ethical commandments. Ethics got the top position in the system of values as shown by sapiential literature within which we can note an extremely rapid proliferation of books of good conduct ²⁹. Sapiential and historical literatures are of a considerable age and the changes occurred in them give vigorous expression to the changes occurred in mentality and this is the more so as the writings produced within the two literatures followed similar goals; they envisaged the creation of a science of society with the help of philosophy. The science of society got crystallized in relation to the lessons of history and the data supplied by the analysis of the political situation; interior order depended on the order which could be established in this area in which strong external forces interfered in the life of societies. That is why, the enlightened scholars sought to clarify the thoughts of their conationals through the mediacy of bulky works meant for the "nation", the inhabitants of the three provinces.

Philosophy combined general precepts in maxims and proverbs with concepts proposed by the thinkers in "civilized" Europe. But, an analysis of the texts points to the fact that "nature" did not

²⁸ The phenomenon has been noticed in north-American culture, whose traditions are less long-standing than those of Romanian culture, by Bernard Bailyn, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America" in C. K. McFarland, *Readings in Intellectual History. The American Tradition*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, p. 124.

²⁹ See details in my paper "Ethics, scherzi and delectation", in *Balkan Studies*, 13 (1972), 2, pp. 265—277 and in my book *Les livres de sagesse dans la culture roumaine*, 1971.

acquire the meanings attached to it by Western thinkers³⁰ and that science was considered rather as a means of attaining welfare and happiness than a system of knowledge. The secularization of thinking was gradual but it was not the outcome of a dramatic conflict between two antagonistic views of the world, but of a shift of traditional problems into the sphere of social science.

This shift was made by the clergymen concerned with the history of the "nation" who participated in the popularization of the new technical means useful in farming or of scientific knowledge which could eradicate superstition. The dissemination of the results obtained by the investigation of nature was not arrested by a doctrine comprising all the forms of human activity, from intimate life to public one; different from Western ones, clergymen did not attempt to establish links between a doctrine based on a restricted body of theological precepts and the new science of nature³¹. We cannot identify in Romanian society a clerical culture elaborated by a caste which came into conflict with a culture produced at princely courts or in towns; Romanian medieval culture was a result of the cooperation between the court and the monastery against imperial pressure³². When Romanian humanism asserted itself, the importance of the court and of towns was on the rise in intellectual life, but all scholars realized that the new trend might find an ally in the resistance opposed by the church to the creed propagated from Istanbul or to excessive demands coming from the Phanar. New institutions — cultural societies, theaters, schools in many towns — came into being by the end of the 18th century; but the enlightened professors and writers understood that they might take advantage of the role the church played in villages and of the level reached by the Romanian language in books of ritual.

The new ideas spread from books, leaflets and sermons; professors, writers and clergymen all interested in education fought the

³⁰ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment. An Interpretation*, New York, A. Knopf, 1969, vol. II, chapter 3: "The Uses of Nature".

³¹ We refer to Thomas Prince, evoked by John E. van De Wetering, "God, Science and the Puritan Dilemma", *Readings in Intellectual History*, pp. 103–111. See, also, in the same volume, Stow Persons, "The Cyclical Theory of History in Eighteenth-Century America", pp. 295–307.

³² In this sense, see also the conclusions recently drawn from the analysis of the language of images on the exterior walls of Moldovița monastery, in Michael D. Taylors's article "Three local motifs in Moldavian Trees of Jesse, with an excursus on the liturgical basis of the exterior mural programmes", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1974, 2, p. 291. Similar phenomena, in the field of sociopolitical concepts, have been noted on a general Southeast European plane by Philip Sherrard, "Church, State and the Greek War of Independence, in *The Struggle for Greek Independence*, p. 189.

same fight against boyars or clergymen who stuck to historical privileges. Clergymen did not elaborate a doctrine for maintaining political power of the prince or devise political plans for a central ecclesiastical authority; they argued against the absolute power of an empire which propagated another faith. This opposition by clergymen and professors pointed towards a *popular* form of Enlightenment; the accents on education illuminated the role which the "people" had to have in the future cultural and political programme. Secularization made progress by bringing into debate political and social questions and not by repeating the scheme of thought prevalent in Western societies, because here sacred and secular history have never been regarded as two categorically separate processes. In Romanian society the clash occurred between supporters of a culture reduced to a function of mere resistance and the champions of a new form capable to integrate Romanian culture within the civilization of a "Europe of nations". Humanism and Enlightenment favoured the transition from a form of universality inherited from the Middle Ages by a culture which had not passed through a Renaissance and a Reform towards a form of universality promoted by the revolutionary movements. These movements pushed into the foreground the institutions capable to replace the court and the monastery and to elaborate a culture based on national solidarities.

By studying the living realities which gave birth to the Romanian cultural model, the historian might find aspects illuminating many intellectual trends in this area and original responses given to questions raised by conflicting theories. In the image of the past, the brilliance of Roman beginnings was not a glaze concealing a kind of infatuation; these beginnings were completed with a careful study of recent achievements of the "Latin" people — the French, the Italians, the Spaniards. In the world's image, an important part was played by the consciousness that the centres of cultural activity had moved to the West; Europe which meant to the humanists the world outside the Ottoman Empire³³ was now equated with the civilized world from where Eastern ways of thinking were not banished. Praise of progress did not mean a hasty condemnation of Oriental "lethargy", of a whole part of the world in which despotism and stagnation seemed to be for ever rooted. Romanian intellectuals continued to study the Ottoman civilization, as did the Wallachian Ienăchiță Văcărescu and the Transylvanian Samuil Micu who wrote histories of the Ottoman empire.

³³ For more details see my book *Romanian Humanists...*

The change of tune was due to urban culture which became a model offered to the whole society. Nevertheless, the popular-festive images (as Bahtin has called them ³⁴) were not rejected; ethical norms were not deduced from "common sense", but from popular wisdom as expressed in proverbs and fables. The homeland and the nation held a central place in all discussions and collective aspirations came to the fore; some characteristic concepts of this period (like fatherland or happiness) continue to be influential today ³⁵.

Revolutionary romanticism, which paid justified attention to folkloric productions and recorded, for the first time, the variety of cultural experiences, opened up the prospect for a global reconstitution of the various contributions made to European cultural patrimony. From this angle, the concept of civilization elaborated by Western "philosophes" appears as a crystallization of a certain cultural form developed in a zone in which the economic and social life proceeded at a more dynamic pace than in other parts of the continent. But, *European civilization started to acquire continental dimensions only when the forms produced by the various "centres of the world" began to interpenetrate*, only when West and Southeast began to communicate cultural values systematically. *The "Europeanization" of Southeast Europe took place concomitantly with the Europeanization of the West*, confined until the Age of Enlightenment within the frontiers traced by those who had taken an interest only in Western sociopolitical life. And, if we often read the statement that Southeast Europe assimilated Western cultural achievements "late", then it should also be remarked that the West knew "late" the cultural productions of people from Southeast. Therefore, we cannot affirm that a European consciousness appeared in the Southeast under the impact of Western cultural expansion; the truth is that the "Western" model lent a new course to the old European consciousness in the cultures of this region at a time when this very model started recording ever more cultural achievements from other zones of the continent. Within this process, Romanian culture played a role obvious

³⁴ In *François Rabelais and Folk Culture in the Middle Ages* (in Romanian translation), Bucharest, Ed. Univers, 1974.

³⁵ In this respect see also Damian Ilirezeanu, "L'histoire moderne de la Roumanie dans la perspective du processus historique européen", in *Nouvelles études d'histoire*, vol. V, pp. 141–157; the article by the same author, "The Formation of the Romanian Nation" (in Romanian), in *Revista de istorie*, 28, 1975, 7, pp. 1021–1039.

only when one follows also its inner dynamics, and not only the mechanism of influences or a few general aspects ³⁶.

Recent researches present a more convincing and coherent picture of this period of ideological changes, despite the clichés about “Oriental stagnation” and the miraculous “revival” of Balkan peoples under the impact of Western Enlightenment. These clichés are still persistent and so is the tendency to exaggerate sometimes the action of internal factors, leaving the impression that intellectual debates are nothing else but disconnected lectures. It becomes clear that Romantic and Positivist historiography over-estimated certain aspects starting either from the naive conviction that the autochthonous product is always superior to the foreign one or from a simplifying scheme which establishes the coefficient of Enlightenment in a society by measuring the percentage of contacts with the West. A more careful investigation of values, concepts, images which were transmitted by cultural traditions in Southeast Europe (and which were not imaginary constructions providing a refuge to the oppressed ³⁷) make us better perceive the theoretical equipment of past generations and their responses to arbitrariness, sudden violence, stupid duplicity, aristocratic contempt, rhetorical proclamation of principles combined with complete inefficiency of the imperial administration. Concepts of personality and fatherland, images of the

³⁶ The expansion of Western culture into Romanian culture was pursued in a series of extensive studies, this factor being granted a place of paramount importance in the emergence of a new cultural form, undoubtedly under the impact of the documentary material investigated. This is the case of the recent studies on the consequences for the Romanians of the Union with Rome (Mario Ruffini), of the Josephinian cultural policy (Mathias Bernath), of the Greek scholars' activity in the Principalities (W. Theodor Elwert), which point to the fact that the enlightenment was given considerable impetus by the foreign influence and particularly by the Phanariots.

The Romanian Humanism had flourished prior to the Phanariot age. As to the relation with the foreign cultural centres, if the idea that the Viennese cultural life was a “model” for some Balkan intellectuals can be supported, one must not forget that the Romanian intellectuals carried on their activity in centres implanted in the Romanian society, and not in centres abroad. The internal Romanian centres had a long-standing tradition which favoured the reorientation of foreign influences and the making of a synthesis that left its imprint on the Greek scholars of the 18th century and on the Bulgarian and Albanian ones of the next, who became “enlighteners” of their peoples in Bucharest, Iași, Rimnic and Brăila. At the same time, owing to these centres the Enlightenment in the three Romanian provinces was directed toward similar goals and had an ideology constructed on similar concepts; the fact that one can speak of a mental equipment characteristic of all the protagonists of the Enlightenment, all over the Carpatho-Danubian space, was also noted by Keith Hitchins, in *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780–1849*, Harvard University Press, 1969, p. IX.

³⁷ It is what Dimitrije Djordjević suggests in “Balkan versus European Enlightenment. Parallelism and Dissonances”, in *East European Quarterly*, IX (1975), 4, p.488.

world and of man shed light on a tradition of thought still ignored and on the ways in which new solutions were formulated by enlightened writers who, no doubt, found sound arguments and stimulating ideas in Western works. The intellectual scheme which organized cultural activity in Southeast Europe in the 19th century will not be clearly understood if the historian always starts from what the diffusion of Western ideas tells us and accepts a heuristic model which suggests that three stages are to be taken into consideration by the historian who wishes to know how European influence fertilized the Balkans: the transformation of Western European Enlightenment through the Central European milieu, the transformation of such an adaptation into a peripheral Balkan symbiosis and the transmission of these results into the central Balkans³⁸. It might seem easier to start from the concepts and images appearing in texts and frescoes read by those who lived in Southeast Europe during this age.

Certainly, the model offered by Western societies had a decisive influence on certain groups which played an important role in the formation of the Balkan states; the influence was stronger on the groups living in the diaspora, whereas people living in the Balkans knew better the dangers threatening the nations regarded as mere chess pieces by imperial chancellories³⁹. Attempts were also made to expand a single cultural model in the whole area: it is what Daniil from Moscopolis tells us by his urge addressed to all Balkan peoples

³⁸ This heuristic model is proposed by D. Djordjević in *art. cit. supra*, p. 491. In connection with the imperative of researching the content of the concepts predominant both in the West and in the Southeast, though different as their drawing up depended on differently oriented aspirations, see Peter Sugar, "The Enlightenment in the Balkans. Some basic considerations", in *East European Quarterly*, IX (1975), 4, pp. 502–503.

³⁹ See Leonid Boicu, *The Genesis of the Romanian Question as an International Problem* (in Romanian), Iași, Ed. Junimea, 1975. In a similar sense, the comments on the relation between the Southeast European peoples' struggle for liberation and the imperial governments' policy in Branimir Janković's article, "The Characteristics of Balkan Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century", in *East European Quarterly*, IX (1975), 4, pp. 389–404. A number of French documents of Southeast European interest have been published by Democratie Iliadou, "Les Balkans jouet de la politique des puissances européennes pendant les XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles", in *Balkan Studies*, 16 (1975), 2, pp. 133–190. As a matter of fact, the cartographers of the time frequently assumed the humiliating responsibility of proclaiming the rights of aristocratic houses; for instance the maps drawn on the orders of chancellor Kaunitz, as Mathias Bernath notes in his study "Südosteuropäische Geschichte als gesonderte Disziplin", in *Forschungen*, volume quoted *supra*.

to learn Greek, the sole way to culture in the conception of this visionary in small confinement ⁴⁰.

Throughout the first part of the 19th century the East continued to interpenetrate the West in this area where the desire to modernize put all people in movement. This interpenetration took place perhaps on a larger scale in Romania due to a wider range of contacts with European cultures and to uninterrupted activities in princely chancelleries, printing offices and higher schools. The Balkan scholars who worked on Romanian soil or were conversant with the intellectual activity in Romanian centres found here a useful frame of reference and sought to make known in their own countries realities which might inspire. To Sofronj of Vratsa, Rimnicul Vilcea was the centre which enabled him to print the first book addressed to a large audience in Bulgaria; to Daniil Philippidis, Iași was the town in which he enjoyed freedom to teach, despite the impediments caused by his conationals. It is not surprising that Greek scholars blamed their conationals, the Phanariot rulers, for having diminished the range of cultural activities in the Romanian Principalities, enhancing their dependence of the Sublime Porte, after the great epoch of Constantin Brâncoveanu and Dimitrie Cantemir ⁴¹. Dositej Obradović expressed formally his admiration for Leon Gheuca, the distinguished man of letters he had met in Iași. Recent studies have also shed some light on the role Romanian émigrés, after the 1848 revolution, played in the modernization of Turkey; good examples are agronomist Ion Ionescu de la Brad and economist, politician and writer Ion Ghica.

Such testimonies which are more numerous than those revealed so far show that the Romanian model enjoyed prestige in the Balkans; it is a model which let us better understand the relation between the cultural expansion of large states and the self-assertion of

⁴⁰ His "teaching" and other representative Greek texts, in Richard Clogg's interesting anthology *The Movement for Greek Independence 1770–1821*, London, Macmillan, 1976, pp. 77–95, who does not speak, though, about the reply given to Neofit Ducas, an adept of a similar doctrine by Mihail Boiangi, in *The Macedo-Romanian Grammar Book*, put out in Vienna in 1813; the patriarchal forum itself interfered to support Ducas, condemning Boiangi's novel thesis on the right to assertion of all national languages — an episode retold by Max Demeter Peyluss, *Die aroumunische Frage, ihre Entwicklung von den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest und die Haltung Österreich-Ungars*, Wien, 1974.

⁴¹ It is the case of the Cretan scholar Michael Schendos Vanderbeck, member of the Petersburg and Berlin academies, an admirer of Brâncoveanu and Dimitrie Cantemir's who "preferred the exile to the Phanariot compromise" — see Cornelia Danielopolu-Papacostea, "Michel Schendos Vanderbeck et les pays roumains", in *Transactions of the Third Congress of Cretan Studies*, vol. III, Athens, 1975, pp. 79–83.

Southeast European cultures⁴². In the Romanian model, values transmitted by long-term trends met intellectual acquisitions gained as a result of the dialogue with an impressive variety of cultural movements. The successive syntheses shed light on an original way adopted by a people during a major period in European history which witnessed the passage from medieval universality to a new form of universality still active in our days.

⁴² "So far as the Danubian lands were concerned, the Greek Princes, applying their Byzantine tradition to local realities and mingling both with the reviving breeze which came to them out of the West, created the necessary conditions for political life. This political life was a fruitful experience for the Greeks as a whole because it not only brought out the ability of the higher-ranking political and cultural leaders of the nation but also secured for Greeks a leading position in the Ottoman administration and among the other subjected peoples. We cannot forget that the first wave of the Revolution broke in Moldavia, that Rhigas Velestinli had served under the Prince of Wallachia, that prominent figures in the Revolution like Soutsos, Morouzi, the Hypsilantis and Mavrocordato came from that particular background" — D. A. Zakythinos, *The Making of Modern Greece*, Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1976, p. 106 ; see also the last chapter of the book.

THE RENEWED IMAGE OF THE PAST

In the latter half of the 17th century when intellectual activity diversified its range, Romanian men of culture paid prime attention to history ; due to them, historical writing broke the canons of popular chronicles to comply with new norms which were actually reflecting a new world-view. The stress laid on history reinforced tradition which appeared as an uninterrupted line starting from the Ancient Times and continuing until contemporaneity ; in this way, the heritage of Antiquity was permanently taken over and reconsidered without going through stages of darkness or sudden revival. At the same time, thinking never lost contact with reality and this contributed to consolidating the living forces in a society which was asserting its personality. Within the traditional form of universality, a living unity steadily asserted its identity due to the historians' concern to define the individual and the people in relation to their natural environment and to identify the most suitable ways to be adopted by political action.

The humanists of this period supported the cause of the "renaissance" with political arguments : "renaissance" did not mean the rejection of a "maniera greca" or a bias towards philosophical speculation. It appeared as an imperative stemming from the analysis of the international political situation ; to print books, to build schools or to assert one's creativity was a reply to the harsh imperial exploitation and its prop was the image of "Dacia". In 1680 when he co-authored the preface to the *Liturgy* signed by metropolitan Theodosie, High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino knew he could address an audience larger than that approachable through manuscripts destined for more restricted circulation, as happened with Miron Costin's work ; thus, justifying the printing of a religious book in a language which was not "sacred", he wrote : "a sad and pitiful thing is such a belittling and persecution of our Romanian folk which once was numbering itself among the strong peoples and the

strong men, and now is offended". While the "tyrannical pagan power" was spreading over all the countries, "impoverishing" the Romanian people, the renaissance of knowledge could revive the initial dignity and teach men how to defend the "homeland".

The step-by-step elaboration of a unitary chronicle featuring the historical continuity of the Romanian people meant as many phases of the progress made by the political doctrine which in the 17th century developed into a cultural programme. The completion of a history of Walachia in the time of Matei Basarab with the inclusion of the chronicle of Michael the Brave, points to both the climax reached by the political conception at this middle of the century and the influence of Michael the Brave's accomplishment on this conception ¹.

The next step was made by the humanist historians who drew a more accurate image of the beginnings, of Roman Antiquity, enlarged the historical vision beyond feudal confines to embrace the destiny of the whole Romanian people, and lent the intellectual approach a decisively new course when they advanced from mere recording of events to interpreting the meaning of socio-political processes. Naturally, the works of Miron Costin, Constantin Cantacuzino, and Dimitrie Cantemir brought into focus the major concepts of "homeland" and "politeia" which, prefigured by the sapiential literature as well, delimited the realm of "civilization" made fertile by man's thought and deed. "Civic humanism" provided thus the foundation of modern Romanian consciousness ².

The humanist doctrine was permanently fed by the meditation on the course of events: the Romanian people's unity was presented by historians with the help of various proofs supplied by language, costumes, customs. Under such circumstances, the idea of national unity was no abstract construction, nor was it subserved to immediate political purposes, as the theories stemming from the "historical consciousness of nobility" were in the case of other cultures. This explains why the idea was assimilated, disseminated and changed in its interplay with concrete action.

An instructive proof is that offered by the anonymous author of the chronicle written to celebrate the deeds of ruling prince Grigore Ghica. A scholar of thorough training, although not so thorough as that of the Brancovan Anonymous, this author, who wrote

¹ See the contributions of Dan Zamfirescu in *Studii și articole de literatură română veche*, 1967 and in *Old Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), 1969, vol. II, pp. 83–140 (with a new edition of the Buzestî chronicle).

² More in the chapter "Civic humanism" in my book *Synthesis and Originality in Romanian Culture* (in Romanian).

between 1726 and 1729, proves that the truths formulated by the humanist historians had become current ideas in Romanian society. When he attempts to explain how the Phanariot unfamiliar with the people's language could learn Romanian so fast, the author writes: "maybe the Latin and French languages which he knew have unclosed the Moldavian so soon for him". Likewise, when he refers to the delimitation of the territories of the Romanians from those of the Tartars, the author shows that the appointed boyars "wrote the border" naturally starting from "the moat of Trajan, the Emperor of Rome", since Trajan's moat is an irrefutable piece of evidence for a people fighting for its rights by showing which were the rights of its ancestors. The author does not equal Radu Greceanu's pathos in speaking about the homeland but eulogizes knowledge, wisdom, the deed performed for the benefit of the community and crowns the portrait of the ideal ruling prince with the care for "good reputation"³.

The ideas of the humanists penetrated the works of their contemporaries just as they penetrated collective consciousness, helping it get crystallized politically. For this reason, we shall take into consideration the relation established from the humanistic epoch onward between the cultural levels and the relation between the temporal levels.

In the first respect, two aspects should be considered: on the one hand, the position taken by humanist writers vis-à-vis official chroniclers of the court and the chroniclers of the boyars' parties; on the other hand, the circulation recorded by their work in a period in which national history was attached ever more importance in popular consciousness.

The intellectual training of humanist historians was much superior to that of their contemporaries, Radu Popescu, Radu Greceanu and even the Brancovan Anonymous; this training enabled them to deal with the question of national unity in an international context and to rely on a wide range of sources. The history written by Miron Costin, High Steward Cantacuzino or Dimitrie Cantemir was a riposte to the "stories" fabricated by the spokesmen of certain imperial or royal courts and, at the same time, a body of arguments offered to a well-defined community called upon to

³ See *Anonymous Chronicle of Moldavia 1661–1729* (in Romanian), edited by Dan Simonescu, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1975, pp. 125–126, 97, 67 (the portrait of Dimitrie Cantemir). Dumitru Velciu proposed as author of this chronicle Constantin Costache, the grand-grandfather of metropolitan Veniamin, supposed to have written it until 1729 when he participated in the plot designed by his cousin Iordache Lupul — see *Revista de istorie*, 1976, 4, pp. 621–625.

“decide its life” according to the commandments of national dignity. As writings marking the moment at which the Romanian community got a clear-cut self-awareness, these works assimilated all the testimonies provided by folklore, language, ethnography, writing and plastic arts. Rational and well documented, the idea that all the “inhabitants of our country” — by country Miron Costin unambiguously meaning the entire Carpatho-Danubian space — are “all of a kin”, determined Dimitrie Cantemir to write *Hronicul* (The Chronicle) of the Romanian people. In these conditions, humanist history formulated a coherent doctrine on the Romanian cultural unity which underlay the cultural programme initiated by Walachia in the epoch of Brâncoveanu.

As regards their dissemination, the incorporation of the humanist writings in the great compilations of chronicles secured their circulation in all the three provinces and in ever deeper social strata at a time when the genre of chronicles started being cultivated by popular writers. Suffice it to recall that the High Steward's *History* was a source of inspiration for scholars at Rimnic, whose books spread as far as the Maramureş villages, that Cantemir's *Chronicle* performed the same function for the intellectuals in Blaj; at the same time, Costin's work was compiled for boyars, clergymen, teachers and all the literate people of the boroughs. Nichifor Malcociu copied it at the Slatina monastery in 1819 “wishing to help my homeland”; Gheorghe, the copyist wrote it in Braşov in 1718 and Dumitru the singer disseminated it in Bucharest in 1794⁴. An exemplary case is that of copyists Ioasaf Luca in Moldova and Radu Lupescu in Walachia, almost exclusively concerned with historical literature. They made copies for the boyars and other social groups at a time when historical literature turned into a genre cultivated by authors of cronicles in verses or by such an author as Nicolae Stoica of Hăţeg.

As regards the second aspect, we can follow the way in which ancient Dacia, whose image became part of the collective consciousness, especially as a proof of cultural unity, developed into a new

⁴ See I. Crăciun and A. Iliş, *Inventory of Manuscripts of Internal Chronicles, the 15th—18th Centuries* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1963. For the destiny of Miron Costin's work, see also Dumitru Velciu, *Miron Costin*, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1973, pp. 7—50, 247—250. Careful investigations bring to light new testimonies of the intense dissemination of the works produced in the humanistic period throughout the 18th century. Thus, in his paper read during the Academy's commemorative session of October 27, 1975, Gabriel Strempel mentioned two unknown copies of *Didahiile* by Antim, preserved in the Library of the Academy — one dated 1733 written by Radu Grămăticul for Misail of Buzău, another dating from the end of the century written by Dimitrie Popovici of Caransebeş.

Dacia, whose image acquired a preeminently socio-political character and such a strong force of attraction that it turned into the mainstay of the community's programme of existence. The old image, assimilated by ever larger social groups due to the dissemination of humanist works, acquired new dimensions to the extent to which new social groups took up the cultural initiative in the 18th century. The cultural image became a political objective under the impact of the popular writers who became the spokesmen of mass aspirations. This is what we can unambiguously understand from *Cronica mănăstirii Silvaşului* (The Chronicle of Silvaşul Monastery) imbued with protesting and combative ideas, which identifies in the epoch-making political union of the three countries under "Voivode Michael the Brave, the famous"⁵, a strong basis for future struggle. This was a moment at which the socio-political struggle was at its high, when the *Supplex* was elaborated with the contribution of scholars, merchants and craftsmen alike⁶, and when, according to David Prodan's pertinent remark, the kin became identical with the people and the liberation struggle of the exploited masses traversed three important stages marked by the 1437 revolt, the union of Michael the Brave, and Horea's uprising⁷.

In the early 19th century, the idea of unity acquired new meanings, under the impact of social unrest. "The homeland is the people", stated Tudor Vladimirescu giving expression to an incipient view of society. Social history started to delimit its own provinces as an outcome of the "deep-going shift to philosophy made by history" in the meantime. After the enlightened historiography had brought into the ground the people whose emancipation was nevertheless seen by it as taking place within reformist limits, the historiography of mid-19th century incorporated in its vision the idea that "societies' transformations are of a social nature, the outcome of conflicts of material interests, of class struggle and not of the change of ideas, views or mores"⁸. The historical idea got now intertwined with the immediate social action, and the image of ancient Dacia was completed with the image of a Dacia which had to be built.

⁵ See Dan Simionescu, *Romanian Rhymed Chronicles and Stories* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1967, pp. 75—76.

⁶ See Aurel Răduţiu and Ladislau Gyemant, "*Supplex Libellus Valachorum*" in the Romanian variants of *Schei* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1975, pp. 9—10.

⁷ See David Prodan, *Another Romanian Supplex Libellus* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1970, p. 50.

⁸ Aurel Răduţiu, *Incursions in the History of Social Life* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1973, p. 46.

The renewing trend involved the scholars pleading for progress and opposing the scholars attached to the old social structure and feudal privileges. A new epoch was ushered in, which did not appear as a revival of the epoch of "initial independence" but as a new phase in a continuous process; in a 1831 speech to the Common Assembly, Iordache Golesecu significantly stated that modern times had been preceded by two "golden ages": the Roman one and that of Michael the Brave⁹.

It is obvious, the image of the past in Romanian culture was not similar to that in Central European or Balkan cultures. It was part of a model having its own features. But, before spotlighting the elements which appear to us as specific, a question, which has its own importance, should be answered: did Dimitrie Cantemir's work, which expressed in the clearest and soundest terms the humanist thought and, at the same time, paved the way for enlightened thought, did it therefore exert no influence on the evolution of Romanian culture until 1848? Should we take for granted the dramatic picture Nicolae Iorga places before our eyes: "The torch laid down by Cantemir's feeble hands was not taken up by his contemporaries and its light died out"¹⁰? Is it indeed "significant for our cultural history that the outstanding works of Dimitrie Cantemir, one of the peaks of Romanian literature and historical science, were known and brought to light so late in our country, when some of them had already decades before been translated and printed in English, French, German, Italian, Greek and Russian and when the name of their author had already for such a long time been included among the top scholars of Western peoples' literatures"?

This fragment, from Grigore Tocilescu's preface to the 8th volume of *Works* by Dimitrie Cantemir, sought to feature a trajectory which reached its final point with the massive edition brought out under the care of the Academy¹¹. Indeed, due to the endeavours of this forum concentrating intellectual activity in Romania in the second half of the 19th century, the writings of the scholar prince appeared in the form of an impressive body of arguments, interpretations and ideas casting light on an illustrious representative of Romanian culture. But, the image suggested by Tocilescu failed to outline accurately the phases of a destiny.

⁹ The speech was printed in *Carierul românesc*, III, 1831, pp. 329–330.

¹⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *A History of Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), second edition, Bucharest, 1928, vol. II, p. 329.

¹¹ See Grigore Tocilescu's extensive introductory study to Cantemir's *Works*, vol. III, 1901; the quotation on p. XLIII.

First, because no relation of interdependence does exist between the knowledge and the printing of these works. Obviously, Cantemir was no isolated case; none of the humanists' works were brought out until the 19th century, nor did the works written by the protagonists of the Enlightenment begin to circulate at an earlier date.

The most remarkable literary work from the time of the Enlightenment, *Tiganiada* by Ion Budai Deleanu, had remained unpublished until the second half of the 19th century. Therefore, the printing of *Descriptio Moldaviae* in 1825 might be assessed as a privileged situation of Cantemir in this chain of creations whose possibilities to spread and become the object of erudite commentaries had been annihilated by harsh political and economic circumstances.

Second, because Cantemir's work had been known fairly early. When we speak of the knowledge of a work we cannot confine ourselves to recording the number of copies brought out by a printing press; many were the works generously treated by printing shops from the 19th century onward without leaving any trace in the consciousness of the contemporaries or the following generations. The dissemination of a work must be estimated not by the authors' will to impose his book in editorial offices or bookshops but by the influence it exerts on thinking and sensibility, by the paths it opens for new ideas, by the reference points it offers to new intellectual trends, by the urges it gives thinking to act. Significant for the destiny of Cantemir's work is precisely its presence at the crucial moments marking the evolution of modern Romanian culture, in which this work, first integrated in a European circuit, was discovered, assimilated and incorporated in the intellectual debate of each moment. All along this trajectory, Cantemir's creation gradually revealed itself to the national cultural consciousness, much like a huge fresco which regains its brilliance by patient restoration and the strong desire to find in this testimony of the past an inexhaustible source of energy, and in the end the foundation itself of modern Romanian culture.

Immediate posterity saw in Dimitrie Cantemir the scholar prince. The author of the *Divan*, printed in Iași in 1696, offered his readers advice for good conduct and matter to meditate on human existence; the book spread early in Transylvania where priest Ioan of Ocna Sibiului rewrote in 1703 a copy which was to arrive at Rășinari where Sava Popovici disseminated also the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab*. The work crossed the frontiers of the Principa-

lities into the Balkans and the Near East¹². Besides *Pildele filosofesti* (Philosophical Sentences) and *Floarea darurilor* (The Flower of Gifts), the work fed sapiential literature which knew a remarkable flowering in the Age of Enlightenment.

But, soon enough the attention was arrested by the historian of the Romanian people and of Southeast European civilizations and this to the extent to which Cantemir's manuscripts were multiplied and brought out in the West. Along commercial routes, the books of the prince were brought nearer and nearer Romanian cultural centres. Their first appearance was recorded in Blaj in a period in which the Transylvanian movement of ideas gathered momentum and scholars were fervently looking for sources and arguments for their ideological struggle. Around 1730, bishop Ioan Inocențiu Micu, the founder of the centre at Blaj, which, as put by Samuil Micu, was to become "the foundation of the consciousness of Romanians all over the world", purchased from a Vienna merchant who had arrived from Petersburg, *Hronicul vechimei a Romano-Moldo-Vlahilor*. In 1756–1757, the work was copied by Constantin of Romanati, a teacher of the school in Blaj¹³. The reading of the *Hronic* supplied strong arguments, to the brilliant scholar who, through numerous memoranda, struggled for the political rights of the people not recognized as a "nation" in the province under Habsburg domination¹⁴. It offered solid premisses to Samuil Micu for his work *De ortu, progressu, conversione Valachorum*, "which contains the germs of many

¹² See St. Pașca, "Des copies du Divan de Démètre Cantemir en Transylvanie", in *Académie Roumaine. Langue et Littérature. Bulletin de la section littéraire*, II, 1913, pp. 116–121; Virgil Căndea, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de Dimitrie Cantemir en Europe du Sud-Est et au Proche Orient", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1972, 3, pp. 315–361.

¹³ The description of the manuscript acquired by Ioan Inochentie Micu (fonds Blaj, no. 87) and of the copy made by Constantin (fonds Blaj, no. 49), both preserved today at the Library of the Academy, Cluj Department, apud I. Crăciun and A. Ilieș, *The Inventory of Manuscripts of Internal Chronicles* (in Romanian), p. 103. Both manuscripts are mentioned by Ioan Rusu ("Something about the Chronicle of the Romano-Moldo-Walachians", in *Foaie pentru minte*, III, 1840, p. 293, note a) who states that the copy was made for those who could not read "the scholarly language"; Tocilescu notes, in the mentioned preface, that the second manuscript was edited by a clerk "not fully conversant with Romanian spelling".

¹⁴ See David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1967, pp. 141, 198; George Ivașcu, *A History of Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1969, p. 305; Adolf Armbruster in *The Romanians' Romanness. The History of an Idea* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academici, 1972, p. 238, note 87, states that: "Inochentie Micu did not need to appeal to Dimitrie Cantemir for his arguments; his formulations do not remind of the Moldavian prince's work; they derive from his own knowledge, from local tradition". But if local tradition gave him the substance of his arguments, the learned prince's demonstration gave him a model of scholarly and

of the ideas developed in his later historical works”¹⁵ and for the very plan of his major work *Istoria și lucrurile și întâmplările românilor* (The History and Events of the Romanians) which under Cantemir’s obvious influence covers the history of the whole Romanian people, divided by feudal frontiers, starting from the Trojan War¹⁶. Samuil Micu, who had read *Descriptio Moldaviae* in its German version¹⁷, was also a continuator of Cantemir’s philosophical concerns¹⁸; he was the first scholar to portray the prince for the Romanian readers in the chapter on literary history in his *Scurtă cunoștință a istoriei românilor* (Brief Knowledge of the History of Romanians): “Dimitrie Cantemir, the ruling prince of Moldavia, wrote *Cunoștința Moldovei*, *Istoria Dachiei*, *Istoria împărăției turcești* and *Divanul lumii*”¹⁹. The scholars forming the Transylvanian School got into touch with works printed in other languages at a time when a flourishing trade was facilitating the arrival in the Principalities of German editions of *Descriptio Moldaviae* alongside French and German renderings of *Incrementa atque decrementa aulae othomanicae*²⁰. Together, all these works speak of the status of the Principalities, about their

logical exposition. As a matter of fact, the quotation from Gherontie Cotore too (*On the disputed articles*, in Romanian, 1746) is part not only of the ideas held by “local tradition”, but obviously also draws on the preface of the 1680 *Mass* edited by High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino, as Dumitru Popovici noted in *La littérature roumaine à l’époque des Lumières* (see the edition supervised by Ioana Petrescu, *Literary Studies*, I, Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1972, p. 196); Mircea Angheliescu (*Romanian Pre-Romanticism*, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1971, p. 36) recognizes in Cotore’s book “possible suggestions” taken from Cantemir’s *Chronicle*.

¹⁵ Cornel Cîmpeanu, *Introduction to Samuil Micu, A Brief Survey of the Romanians’ History* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1963, p. XIII.

¹⁶ D. Popovici, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁷ As results from the copy owned by Samuil Micu, discovered by Șerban Cioculescu, see his article in *Secolul 29*, 1973, 11–12.

¹⁸ G. Ivașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹⁹ Samuil Micu, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²⁰ Vasile Virnav’s 1806 version of *Descriptio Moldaviae* was based on the 1771 German edition; in 1821 the catalogue of the library of merchant Avramie of Iași included the German edition of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* (see M. Caratașu, “Catalogue of the library of Grigore Anton Avramie, a Great 18th-century tradesman”, in *Studii și cercetări de Bibliologie*, XII, 1972, p. 204). Although Ienăchiță Văcărescu quotes Cantemir among the sources used for his *History of the Almighty Emperors*, written between 1788 and 1794, one cannot find in this work a visible presence of Cantemir’s synthesis. The scholar prince is not recalled in the passage referring to the 1711 events. Ienăchiță had the French version in his own library (see Mihai Caratașu, *Documents of the Văcărești Family* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1975, p. 12) but Cantemir’s work being quoted rather attests to the prince’s European fame of which he felt obliged to take account. In 1714–1738 commentaries on Cantemir’s work had appeared in the prestigious publication of the German Academy, *Acta eruditorum*, in Leipzig (see Paul Cernovodeanu’s article in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1974, 4, pp. 537–550).

old autonomy of the Porte and especially of the Latin origin of the Romanian people, of its language, of its continuity in Dacia.

A continuator of Samuil Micu, but evincing a plus of erudition which imparted a marked scientific character to his writings, Gheorghe Șincai introduced in the first scientific grammar printed in Romanian — *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae* (Vienna, 1780) an argument from *Descriptio Moldaviae* which eventually was the object of lengthy debates, viz. Cantemir's hypothesis that the Latin alphabet was superseded by the Cyrillic one in the time of Alexander the Good. Șincai multiplied the sources and in his *Ironica românilor și a mai multor neamuri* (The Chronicle of the Romanians and of Several Kins) he made frequent references to the *History of the Ottoman Empire* but also to *The Life of Constantin Cantemir* known perhaps in the form of manuscript, manuscript which was presented to bishop Samuil Vulcan by two officers from the Hessen-Hamburg family, therefore descendants of the scholar prince ²¹.

The one who definitively introduced Cantemir's ideas in the Romanian cultural circuit, contributing to Cantemir's consecration as an historical authority was Petru Maior who managed to print his *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia* (History of the Beginnings of the Romanians in Dacia) in Buda in 1812. Referring in the second annex to his book, *Disertație pentru literatura cea veche a românilor* (Dissertation on the Romanians' Old Literature), to the replacement of the Latin alphabet by the Cyrillic one, the brilliant polemist described in the following terms the authority on which he based himself: "Dimitrie Cantemir, who was a man of vast knowledge, as obvious from the books written by himself and who also was the ruling prince of Moldavia, nobody can doubt that, having at his disposal the old archives of Moldavia's throne, was well acquainted with the old happenings in Moldavia . . ." ²². The fragment recurs with all those involved in the debate aroused by the appearance of Maior's work against the scholars who placed their erudition in

²¹ An excerpt from *Elementa linguae daco-romanae*, including one quotation from Miron Costin and one from Dimitrie Cantemir, was reproduced in the anthology *The Transylvanian School* (in Romanian), a critical edition by Florea Fugariu, Bucharest, Editura Albatros, 1970, vol. I, pp. 60—73. For the circumstances under which Șincai got into contact with *Vita C. Cantemiri*, see George Pascu, "Cantemir and the Transylvanians" (in Romanian), in *Revista critică*, I (1927), 1, pp. 21—26; Șincai's critical reserves are interesting as to Cantemir's hesitations in matters of chronology, signalled by Manole Neagoe in "Preface" to Gheorghe Șincai, *Works* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. pentru literatură, 1967, vol. I, p. LVII.

²² The quoted edition, p. 327; an excerpt reproduced in *The Transylvanian School* (in Romanian), vol. II, p. 228.

the service of the feudal pyramid, of the aristocracy frightened that the serfs might get rights equal with theirs ; we find it with Damaschin Bojincă ²³, with Eftimie Murgu ²⁴ and it is also present in the debates carried out either from the position of those upholding that confessional differences arrested the cultural expansion of the states of Latin language and culture ²⁵, or from the positions conquered by the emerging critical spirit which cast light on data differing from those employed by Cantemir ²⁶.

The authority of the humanist scholar who had supported through his work the noble struggle of the intellectuals engaged to prove the political rights of the Romanian people and the equal rights of nations, sustained in the most remarkable document of the time, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*. This political plea epitomized the major arguments of the Transylvanian School and knitted together Cantemir's theses ; it continued to increase in the first half of the 19th century due particularly to the fact that all Transylvanian scholars "campaigned for the unity of Romanian culture" ²⁷. In this general movement, Cantemir's work got ever more popular and thus references to it grew in number ; so that the moralist and the historian came to make up a representative personality of Romanian culture.

In this process an important role was played by Veniamin Costache who was the first to have understood the necessity not only of resorting to but also of editing Cantemir's text. Assisted by a remarkable man of letters, whose merits have insufficiently been acknowledged but about whom Mihail Kogălniceanu stated in 1845 that "his works, all of them unknown, would be more than enough for securing the reputation of a prominent man of letters in our

²³ *Disgusting Response to the Attack from Hale, in 1823, under the title : Erwels dass die Walachen nicht römischer Abkunft sind* (in Romanian,) Buda, 1828 ; re-edited by Nicolae Bocean in D. Bojincă, *Works* (in Romanian), Ed. Facla, 1978, p. 7—23.

²⁴ See *Writings* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. pentru literatură, 1969, pp. 190, 358, 373.

²⁵ The note of the printer, monk Gherontie, on p. 340 of the printing of Neamț, 1825 ; *Scrisoarea Moldovei* (Descriptio Moldaviae).

²⁶ Petru Maior's theory was refuted by his friend Ion Budai-Deleanu, *Writings*, edited by Iosif Pervain, Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1970. Ioan Maiorescu, although proposing wrong hypotheses on the formation of the aristocratic class in the principalities, argued quite well the Latin "purity" of the Romanian language (in *Foaie pentru minte*, 1855, 45, pp. 254—255) ; more exact are I. Rusu's arguments in the quoted article, issued in 1840.

²⁷ George Em. Marica, *Introductory Monographic Study to Gazette for the Mind, Heart and Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. pentru literatură, 1969, p. 140.

days", Vasile Virnav from Popenii Dorohoiului ²⁸, Veniamin undertook this action decisive for the destiny of Cantemir's work in Romanian culture; the text, translated by Virnav from German, was ready for print in 1806 but dramatic events postponed its appearance; after the restoration of Romanian princes, the idea was taken up by Grigore Dascălu who encouraged Veniamin to continue his project. Finally, the text was published in Neamț in 1825 as *Scrisoarea Moldovei* and was re-printed in 1851 and 1865. The text revealed the great humanist and focused on him the attention of the 1848 generation; employed previously by authors of memoranda and reform bills like Ionică Tăutu ²⁹ — who in a manifesto issued on the occasion of his candidacy to the throne addressed the people as Brother Romanians — by Rosetti-Roznovanu ³⁰ or by the authors of bodies of laws ³¹, Cantemir's work proved to be a rich source not only for supporting the Romanian peoples' political rights but also for a general study of Romanian civilization. Naturally the author appeared as a promoter of the ideas of national unity and political independence; the prince's life annexed to the book printed in 1852 was reproduced in the widely circulated publication of Zaharia Carcalechi, *Biblioteca românească* (Romanian Library) of 1829 ³² and

²⁸ The note in *Arhiva românească*, II, 1845, p. 280, recalling this scholar who "could speak Greek, Latin, French and Italian. He translated a lot of writings of which we mention only a few: *The Geographic Description of Moldavia* by Cantemir, which was printed at Neamț monastery, without mention of his name; *The Story of Charles XII* by Voltaire; *Arithmetics-Geometry-Astronomy Book*; several books on world history... He died around 1824". A survey of Virnav's translations in Paul Cornea's *Origins of the Romanian Romanticism* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1972, p. 237.

²⁹ *Mémoires et projets de réforme dans les Principautés Roumaines, 1769—1830*, ed. by V. Georgescu, Bucharest, AHESEE, 1970, p. 173. The manifestos were published by Emil Virtosu who signalled, among Tăutu's papers, excerpts from the French edition of the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, referring to Moldavia and Walachia, and which could inspire him when he was addressing his fellow countrymen, both in Moldavia and in Walachia, whose interest was the same as "their homeland's interest" — see Ionică Tăutu, *Socio-Political Writings*, (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1974, pp. 46—47.

³⁰ *Mémoires*, pp. 104, 133.

He proposed the foundation of a "kingdom of Dacia" — see Valeriu Sotropa, *Drafts of Constitution, Programmes of Reform and Petitions for Rights in the Romanian Countries in the 18th Century and the Former Half of the 19th Century* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1976 p. 88.

³¹ References to Cantemir's opinions (in *Descriptio Moldaviae*), on the introduction of Byzantine law in Moldavia appear in the preface to Andronache Donici, *A Collection from Kings' Laws*, Iași, 1814 and in the preface of *The Civil Code of the Principality of Moldavia*, the Calimah code, issued in Greek at Iași, in 1816—1817.

³² *The Romanian Library*, Buda, 1829, first part, pp.27—38; text reprinted in 1834.

enlarged by Gheorghe Asachi in 1841³³. The latter, a researcher of the History of the Ottoman Empire in the years in which Șincai was writing his Chronicle, portrayed Cantemir in a sketched history of Romanian literature and resorted to his work for poetic references meant to stir the readers patriotism³⁴; he must also have printed in 1833 four pages from the Latin works of the “voivode of Moldavia, Dimitrie Cantemir”: *Sermo Stephani Magni Principis Moldaviae ad filium suum et magnates*³⁵, a fragment from the Ottoman history part I, book III, chapter 4.

Thus, those editing his work started basing themselves on original texts; but precise information about their survival was lacking or was unknown to Cantemir's enthusiastic admirers. Significant for this phase are the investigations carried out by Gheorghe Seulescu, a professor of the National School founded by Gheorghe Asachi and a close friend of Veniamin Costache. From the life of Cantemir, published in 1825, he learned that the latter had written a history of Dacia; he did not know Engel's book of 1804 which contained a description of the manuscript of the *Hronicul* of Blaj made by Samuil Micu³⁶ and thought that the work got lost in the shipwreck in the Caspian Sea. But, as he stated “while the patriots were lamenting the loss of such a precious treasure and were willing together with many other nations, losers like them, to search the depths of the seas and of the Caspian to retrieve such great losses unretrievable in any other way”, he found in Bayer's work about prince Cantemir that the original manuscript of the *Hronicul* was preserved in Moscow; he communicated his discovery to Veniamin Costache who in 1833 approached general Kiseleff with the request to make the necessary *démarches* for the manuscript to be brought to Iași.

³³ *The Life of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir* (in Romanian), a text founded on the life printed and annexed to *Descriptio Moldaviae* and on Neculce's chronicle, printed in *Spiculiul moldo-român*, 1841, Oct.-Dec., pp. 18–70, reprinted in *Foarte pentru minte*, V, 1842, pp. 321–326, 329–333, 337–342.

³⁴ Asachi had read in Rome *The History of the Ottoman Empire*, as he confesses in *Albina românească* 1845, no. 100. He speaks about Cantemir in “On Romanian literature”, in *Albina românească*, 1830, pp. 51–52, an article reprinted in *Curiul românesc*, I, 1829–1830, pp. 433–434. He draws on *The History of the Ottoman Empire* in the legend *Stephen the Great before Neamț Fortress*, “recited in French on the stage of the theatre (in Iași) on April 10, 1834”, according to Paul Cornea, *op. cit.*, pp. 338–339 and note 118 on p. 660.

³⁵ *Excerptum ex operibus latinis Demetrii Cantemirii vajvodae Moldaviae, Imperii Romani et Russiae principis, membri Accademiae Berolinensis et Petropolitensis, qui regnavit Anno 1710*, Jassius, In Typographia Apis. 1833, 4 pp.

³⁶ The excerpts from S. Micu's letters, printed in J. Chr. von Engel's book *Geschichte der Moldau und Wallachei*, are reproduced and commented on in the mentioned preface of Tocilescu.

Made available shortly afterwards by the Russian consulate, the text was copied by Samuil Botezat, collated by Seulescu and printed under the supervision of Veniamin.

The *Hronicul* appeared in two volumes in 1835 and 1836, prefaced by an epigram which Seulescu dedicated to Cantemir, featured as a staunch champion of the homeland, who hated “despotism extremely” and to whom a “monument by patriotic souls” was erected through this edition; in the foreword, the editor urged the readers to cooperate “for making the nation worthy of the endeavours and devout wishes of the patriot Author, just as of the virtue of the ancestors whose future and rightful heirs the felicitous man proves it to be with incontrovertible arguments”³⁷. Disseminated, as resulting from the list of subscribers, in Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania (in Braşov), awarded as a prize to the best pupils in schools³⁸, Cantemir’s major work played a great part in the intensification of archaeological investigations in those years channelled towards adding new proofs to the “file” of Latinity³⁹ so rich in written evidence with the promoters of the Transylvanian School. It also lent considerable impulse to the critical analysis of the stage of the Romanian people’s formation (as results from the interesting review signed by Ioan Rusu in *Foaie pentru minte* in 1840 in which he makes some amendments to the theories concerning Dacia’s frontiers and references to the Byzantine domination north of the Danube and fights the thesis developed by the Transylvanian School in connection with the “extermination of the Dacians”). More than that, the work provided thorough starting points to researchers of Romanian civilization, developed then into the centrepiece of their programme by the 1848 historians. Thus, Cantemir’s works were quoted by

³⁷ The “Preface” to *The Chronicle of the Roman-Moldo-Walachians written by Dimitrie Cantemir, the Prince of Moldavia* (in Romanian), pp. V–XIX.

³⁸ In 1844 Spatharus Mihai Cantacuzino donated to the Academy in Iaşi 19 copies to be given to the pupils who distinguished themselves in exams — *Buletin. Foaie oficială*, XII, 1844, p. 357.

Around the same time, the ban Gheorghe Mălinescu disseminated the edition supervised by him, *The History of the Beginnings of the Romanians in Dacia* by Petru Maior, to scholars in Moldavia (300 copies), to the public schools there (122 copies), to the libraries in Walachia (100 copies) and as prizes for the pupils in Transylvania (100 copies) — see the note in *Gazeta Transilvaniei* VIII, 1845, p. 68.

³⁹ On the archaeological diggings, which had a far-reaching echo in the press, see Paul Cornea, *op. cit.*, pp. 488–489. G. Seulescu is particularly active and presents in detail his findings at Gherghina, where Dimitrie Cantemir had undertaken research — see *Foaie pentru minte*, I, 1838, pp. 81–88, 89–96, 99–102 and Gheorghe Asachi’s commentaries in *Spicuiulor moldo-român*, 1841, Jan.-Feb., pp. 44–51.

Nicolae Bălcescu ⁴⁰, August Treboniu Laurian ⁴¹ or Alexandru Papiu Ilarian ⁴². A keen researcher of the work of the scholar prince was Mihail Kogălniceanu.

The great historian made frequent references to the personality and writings of Cantemir; in expositions on the history of Romanian culture for foreign scientific circles, just as in his excursions into the past of Romanian historiography ⁴³, Cantemir was always present. Kogălniceanu was the first who even intended to edit the prince's "complete works"; in 1839, through advertisements published by numerous periodicals, he together with Constache Negruzzi demanded support for the nine volumes which were to contain the writings of Dimitrie Cantemir and of his son Antioh; subscriptions could be sent to Iași, to the office of *Albina Românească* (The Romanian Bee), to Bucharest to the *Curierul românesc* (The Romanian Courier), and in districts to public professors. The nine volumes were planned to contain: I — III, the life of Ruling Prince Dimitrie Cantemir written by Mihail Kogălniceanu and the History of the Ottoman Empire translated from French by the same author; IV — The System of Ottoman Religion, translated from Russian by duties collector Negruzzi; V — The Divan, after the princeps and the History of the Brâncoveanu and Cantacuzino Houses, translated from

⁴⁰ N. Bălcescu uses the French edition of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* as a source for *The Armed Power and Military Art Since the Foundation of the Principality and The Romanians Under Voivode Michael the Brave*. Cantemir is quoted as an authority in the "Foreword on the Sources of the Romanians' History" in *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia*, I, 1845. In 1844 he asked Ion Ghica to send him *Descriptio Moldaviae* — see Nicolae Bălcescu *Works*, vol. IV: *Correspondence*, critical edition by G. Zane, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1964, p. 48.

⁴¹ Also in *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia*, August Treboniu Laurian appeals to *The Description of Moldavia*.

⁴² Editor of the Latin text of the work *Descriptio Moldaviae*, vol. I of Cantemir's *Works*, 1872 and translator into Romanian of the first two chapters, the rest being done by Iosif Hodoșiu, 1875, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian "dreamed to write about the life and the deeds of the Cantemir family, which he did not achieve though" (Marin Bucur, *The Romanian Literary Historiography* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1973, p. 32). An indication in this respect is given by the correspondence with the memorandum signer Ioan Rațiu who, in 1852, sent him texts by Cantemir — see Iosif Pervain and Ioan Chindriș, *Alexandru Papiu Ilarian's Correspondence* (in Romanian), Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1972, vol. II, pp. 294 — 295.

⁴³ Presented in "Römânische oder Wallachische Sprache und Literatur von einem Moldauer", issued in *Lehmann's Magazin*, Berlin, 1837, Cantemir appears in the lecture prepared for the "Society of History and Antiquity in Odessa", written in 1839, as the last Moldavian prince, before the Phanariot "decadence": "See ouvrages sont connus de tout l'Europe. Historien, philosophe, homme d'État et de piété, musicien, il écrivit et se distingua dans toutes les branches" — according to the text printed in *Literary Documents and Manuscripts* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1969, vol. II, p. 217.

Greek by Kogălniceanu, as well as Various Shorter Writings by Dimitrie Cantemir; VI — VIII — Hronicul; after the 1835–1836 Iași edition; IX — The Life and Original Works of prince Antioh Cantemir translated from Russian by C. Negruzzi⁴⁴.

The project did not materialize probably because it proved to be too expensive (there were proposals for a special edition on the finest paper, “grand papier velin satiné”) and certainly due to the fact that the use of Cantemir’s original manuscript appeared as a necessity too difficult to meet at that time. For the same reason, Cantemir was present neither in the three volumes of *Letopiseștele Moldovei* (Chronicles of Moldavia) published by Kogălniceanu, although the latter had announced the inclusion of the scholar’s writings in the series of six volumes presented in *Dacia literară* in 1840. But, the idea was not discarded entirely and while Negruzzi was editing in 1843 a “chronicle in verses” about Constantin Cantemir under the title *Cîntec vechi* (Old Song)⁴⁵, in 1845, Kogălniceanu published two volumes in French incorporating excerpts from the texts which were to be included in *Letopisește* — from Neculce, Nicolae Costin, Radu Popescu, Axentie Uricariul (Auxentius le chartiste) to which he added fragments from the History of the Ottoman Empire, all this making up a first-class informative material for the study of the Eastern Question which focused the attention of Europe on the Principalities and the Balkan peoples in the early 18th century; *Fragments tirés des chroniques moldaves et valaques pour servir à l’Histoire de Pierre le Grand, Charles XII, Stanislas Leszczyński, Démètre Cantemir et Constantin Brancovan*. The same year, *Arhiva românească* published *Întîmplările Cantacuzineștilor și Brâncovenilor în Valahia* (The Happenings of the Cantacuzino and Brâncoveanu Families in Walachia) in the 1811 version of Vasile Virnav based on G. I. Zavira’s 1795 Greek translation. It was obvious that Cantemir’s texts were acquiring the authority of documents in the efforts undertaken by the 1848 revolutionaries on an international plane for the union of the Principalities.

At that moment of intellectual effervescence, Cantemir’s work known now thanks to editions of texts and thorough commen-

⁴⁴ The prospectus was carried by the main magazines in Moldavia, Transylvania and Walachia. We quote the contents of the nine volumes after the *Curierul românesc*, 1839, 8, Wednesday January 18, pp. 29–31. The text of the prospectus preserved at the archives in Iași was published by Dan Simionescu, “Mihail Kogălniceanu as Printer and Publisher in Iași”, in *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie* (in Romanian), II, 1957, p. 179. Details about the launch of the plan and “its failure” are given by Al. Zub, *Kogălniceanu. A Historian* (in Romanian), Iași, Ed. Junimea, 1974, pp. 446–449.

⁴⁵ *Foaie pentru minte*, 1843, 23, pp. 181–183; the song is copied after “an old manuscript”, supplied by a Moldavian ex-landlord.

taries, got integrated in that movement of ideas which was to reach a climax in 1848 defined by Nicolae Bălcescu as the "course of the revolution with the Romanians"; it also acquired its full significance as a source of Romanian history, as a scientific demonstration of the unity and continuity of the Romanian people in Dacia⁴⁶, which were as many arguments for the political struggle carried out for her assertion among European societies. If to the scholars of the Transylvanian School Cantemir's work had been a rich source completing other documents, particularly in Șincai's erudite work of synthesis, now it was participating in the general offensive of Romanian historiography which both in the Romanian consciousness and abroad appeared as an intellectual movement with much the same purposes along the centuries. Dimitrie Cantemir stood out as one of the most prominent representatives of Romanian culture and as one of its most authorized spokesmen abroad. It seems that one of the most significant references to the achievements of the scholar prince is the grounding of the arguments in the 1848 *Dorințele partidei naționale în Moldova* (The Wishes of the National Party in Moldavia) on the Lutsk treaty which attested "our full autonomy"⁴⁷. Obviously, Cantemir was always present during those dramatic years decisive for the Romanian people. Although his complete works had not been edited, its major ideas were interwoven in the Romanian movement to produce a new form of civilization.

The presence of Cantemir and of the other humanists' works in the 18th—19th century Romanian culture casts light on the fact that the humanist trend continued beyond the limits of the "humanist epoch" just as it happened in all European cultures. This permanence allows us to single out the specificity of the Romanian model in the periods of Humanism and Enlightenment.

In order to define more clearly the stages traversed by national consciousness and the formation of modern culture in Central Europe, interpreters proposed a heuristic model which provides a scheme deduced from the analysis of social phenomena; first, renewing ideas were elaborated by a group of intellectuals, then those ideas were assimilated by merchants or reformist landowners to be then embraced by the masses⁴⁸. To this scheme a preliminary phase was added, that in which spirits were set in motion by Josephinian re-

⁴⁶ See A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 208—209, where Cantemir's place is marked in the evolution of the relations between the foreign interpreters and the Romanian realities.

⁴⁷ See Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir, *Romanian Thinking in the Epoch 1848*, (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. pentru literatură, 1969, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Miroslav Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas*, Prague, 1968.

forms; this produced tension between the central power, the nobility and the bourgeoisie which had echoes in the frontier zones of Zagreb, Vojvodina, Transylvania⁴⁹. This model was applied afterwards to Southeast European cultures, emphasis being placed on the role played by the interest taken in language and then in written culture in general, in the emergence of these modern literatures⁵⁰. Adding to this model the elements supplied by the relations between the temporal levels, one can get a clearer image of overall and specific features.

It is obvious that as far as Romanian culture is concerned the generation of the early 19th century played a decisive part in its modernization; the ideas disseminated by means of pamphlets and newspapers stirred the thoughts of townspeople and villagers alike. But, at the very moment of its ripening, the thinking of this generation contained an image of the past which has to be taken into consideration. Thus, the cultural movement of the 19th century Romanian society cannot be analyzed independently of the previous movements which had fed it with concepts and mental images. In the thorough selection made by the 1848 generation, a large part of the cultural heritage of the "past regime" was discarded, but the image of Dacia persisted and got enriched. Under such circumstances, the roots of the 19th century movement are to be sought in the humanist period, in the 17th century when the humanist doctrine got crystallized.

This evolution differs from that undergone by intellectual trends in societies south of the Danube which elaborated their own models in the absence of a permanent dialogue between the aulic level — a court engaged in cultural but also political activity — and the popular one. It also differs from that traversed by Magyar or Polish thought, societies in which the nobility assumed the leading role in culture.

Romanian culture holds a well-defined place in Central and Southeast Europe particularly by the way in which it took over a form of universal civilization and developed it until the 19th century when a new form gained momentum within which Romanian culture revealed its European dimensions. The relations between

⁴⁹ Holm Sundhaussen, "Sozio-ökonomische und kulturelle Grundlagen der Nationsbildung in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa", in *Deutsch-Rumänisches Colloquium*, Munich, 1974, pp. 96—107, who developed a suggestion received from Mathias Bernath's work *Habsburg und die Anfänge der Rumänischen Nationsbildung*, 1972.

⁵⁰ Zoran Konstantinović, "Le conditionnement social des structures littéraires chez les peuples du Sud-Est européen à l'époque du Romantisme", in *Synthesis*, I, 1974, pp. 131—137.

the cultural levels throw light on the original elements of this lengthy historical process; written in the language of the people, books spread to the villages to clarify aspirations and offer solutions as inferable from the note made by the peasants in the Apuseni Mountains who buying in 1736 *Cartea românească de învățătură* (Romanian Book for Learning) printed in Iași in 1641 committed themselves and their descendants to preserve the book in the hearth of "the mountain of the Someșul Cald until people and church exist on the mount of the Someșul Cald"; or from the note of teacher Gheorghe Radovici of Prejmer (also in Transylvania) who carefully copied for himself the events in the history of Walachia mentioned in the preface to the November issue of the *Minei* edited by Chesarie⁵¹. The relationship between the cultural levels appears more distinct when clear-cut differentiations are made between rural literature, quasi-folkloric literature, urban literature as defined in recent works⁵². Such delimitations prevent us from referring to the living source of folklore in the terms of the 1848 generation, or from introducing in the same group the balad *Miorița* (The Ewe Lamb), the versified chronicles and the pamphlets of Anton Pann, since *Miorița* reveals a traditional vision, the versified chronicles express the mentality of authors producing rural-type poetry for townspeople and Anton Pann's pamphlets show how the old books of wisdom developed into didactic literature. Therefore, books did not maintain on the same level an unchanged state of mind, but permanently gave fresh impulses, in all stages of cultural density when new works were produced and old ones were revived.

For this reason, it is absolutely necessary to listen to the diverse language in which the same works speak along succeeding generations. Much as it is imperatively necessary to rediscover people when we unfold the roll of time; thus we might find in texts aspirations expressed at a given moment, long-term attitudes prompting men to pursue goals not easy to be reached, the image of the world they hoped to build and the ideas and habits which they wished to disentangle themselves from. But, who speaks about humanism, speaks also about critical spirit, trying to outline its course and find out its sources.

⁵¹ The first note was reproduced by Ilie Corfus, *Records of Old Times* (in Romanian), Iași, Ed. Junimea, 1975, p. 193; the second, in the doctoral thesis of Ioana Cristache Panait, *Contributions to the Cultural Relations of the Romanian Population in Transylvania with Walachia in the 18th Century* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Department of History, 1973, pp. 91, 96—97, etc.

⁵² See the distinction between urban literature, popular literature and quasi-folkloric forms in Ovidiu Papadima's *Aspects of the Romanian Enlightenment* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1975, pp. 118—119.

THE ORIGINS OF THE CRITICAL SPIRIT

The tardy publication of writings representative for the intellectual life in Romanian society, obviously bore on the reconstruction work carried out by critics and historians of culture.

For what did in the last analysis mean the publication by the end of the past century of *Istoria hieroglifică* (The Hieroglyphic History) written by Dimitrie Cantemir who had echoed his world's crisis of conscience and had intended to give a helping hand to the solution of this crisis? Or the appearance, after more than one century, of the sermons of Antim Ivireanu who had broken the established canons of eloquence to introduce it into the living exchange of ideas? Or, the publication, decades overdue, of Ion Budai-Deleanu's masterpiece *Țiganiada* which epitomized in its lines the upheavals of a full century of Enlightenment and even the fruit of the author's talks with his contemporaries, like Petru Maior? Fatally, all these works lost connection with their living environment and took on the statuary features of exhibits in a museum. The vivid, dialectical relation between the reality to which the work had given an answer and the book intended to work on that reality died away. Read by the end of the past century, these works aroused the interest especially by their exterior aspect and by details of construction, but not as part of a dialogue. Under such circumstances, Antim's *Di-dahiile* was viewed as a precious treasure of the spoken language in the time of Brâncoveanu, and *Istoria hieroglifică* as a valuable repository of data and documents, a "secret history" abounding in information which could not be found in chronicles, records and other documents.

These procedures of describing the image of the cultural past, grounded on insufficient evidence, explain to us how was it possible that the fresco of Romanian literature may appear fragmented, divided without hesitation into old and modern periods: on one side, a number of chronicles and religious texts, interesting from the historical and philological viewpoints, and the "true" literature, on

the other. Thus, the interpreter who failed to read concomitantly the official chronicle of Radu Greceanu and Antim's *Didahiile*, the descriptions in festive colours of Phanariot achievements as seen by Radu Popescu and, at the same time, *The Hieroglyphic History*, the odes written for ephemeral personalities and *Figaniada*, was certainly unable to grasp the living relation between fabulation and criticism and the dynamics of replies. "Old literature" seemed to subsist dully until the years in which the sudden outflow of the Age of Enlightenment gave birth to a flourishing "modern literature". Old literature spoke on a single tone and thus proved that it was incapable of seeing the other side of things: if it managed to express another opinion than the consecrated one, this was due to the direct intervention of the modern critic who, as a performer, pointed out himself what the scholar had intended to say or should have said. Thus, the initial discourse was covered by the critic's discourse and the confrontation that took place was that between two mentalities. We are not referring here to the question of how to reconsider the past since any interpretation is a restitution and a reconsideration against the yardstick of the present; we are referring to the incapability to revive the dramatic confrontation between the works produced at the same time, to outline the distinct positions held by scholars who had known, had talked with one another and had come to similar or opposite solutions. It was after this vivid reconstruction that the critic could have been entitled to interfere and propose what to be taken up and what to be abandoned.

Now, the following question should be posed: did writers belonging to "old" Romanian culture never observe the other side of things? Was the same chain of thoughts developed by people sitting on the same side of the river? Did nobody pass onto the other side to note that some of the houses were askew, others badly painted and others on the point of falling apart? Interpreters living in the former half of this century found no traces of such reflections in "old" literature and for this reason Garabet Ibrăileanu, for instance, followed the adventure of the "critical spirit" in Romanian culture only from the 19th century onward. The interpreter well knew that "the civilization developed in the 19th century is only one of the moments of a phenomenon, the most important, most decisive and the last, and no more than that"¹ but, since he attached

¹ Garabet Ibrăileanu, "The Critical Spirit in Romanian Culture" (in Romanian), in *Works*, critical edition by Rodica Rotaru and Al. Piru, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1974, vol. 1, p. 9.

excessive importance to influences and did not investigate the whole cultural phenomenon, with all its interdependences with social and political realities, "old" culture offered him no other elements but for a brief preface.

One may dispute whether the current trends in literary history can be classified according to the scheme proposed by Dan Zamfirescu² or to another scheme, but one thing is certain: recent studies have really renewed the image of our own past. Exemplary is the case of *The Hieroglyphic History* which, thanks to the light thrown upon it by exegeses of Manuela Tănăsescu, Doina Curticăpeanu and Nicolae Stoicescu and by other substantive studies, has shown us a new face; we have learned that the most legitimate interest should be taken not in the identification of the monkey and the pard since the author himself had offered the key to the masks but in the struggle of opinions; that proverbs had been interspersed in the text not to demonstrate the erudition of the young scholar, as Nicolae Iorga believed, but to enhance the contrast between perennial philosophy and the philosophy born out of ephemeral needs. We know quite well now that in his *Hieroglyphic History* Cantemir spoke about truth and lie, reality and appearance, about conduct in everyday life and purposes of civilization. We have not entered the temple of Greed only to see that the prince condemned Ottoman despotism, but to witness together with him the fascinating process of the initiation of dehumanized people who want to know how to "manage" things to rise fast into the group of the powerful and the rich without going through any training process, for, as states the character embodying the Porte's high dragoman, if science can come without effort, all the better. The descent to the centre of initiation undertaken by Homer's or Virgil's heroes, by Dante or Don Quixote appears here as a bitter parody of scholarly speeches concealing the intricate schemes of vulgar diplomats.

Social and political criticism was expressed also by other contemporaries of the prince, but none of them produced like himself a whole book about what was unjust and false, not only in everyday relations but also on the plane of thinking and existential projects³. More than that, Cantemir's criticism did not confine itself

² Dan Zamfirescu, "The Will of Historical Perennity" (in Romanian), in *România Literară*, 1975, 41, p. 4. The author speaks about a trend which pursued to enlarge the documentary basis and trends of philological and of ideological exegesis. Perhaps a simpler distinction could be made between philologists and historians of mentalities.

³ In connection with Cantemir's criticism of obsolete ideas in Southeast European culture, see Petru Vaida's pertinent article "Cantemir's Genius; Receptivity and Detachment" (in Romanian), in *Luceafărul*, 1973, 17, p. 1.

to consecrated principles but also brought to light new values, as that definition of humanist virtue did : "for he who is endowed with more virtues, either from birth or from his own efforts, should be more honoured by everybody and should receive more love from all of them"⁴.

Cantemir was no solitary figure, no melancholy unicorn proposing a retreat in art, as Doina Curticăpeanu has suggested⁵. Besides him, a man enjoying equal authority condemned the greed for wealth and power and cast light on the mechanism of duplicity : his contemporary, Antim Ivireanu, the metropolitan of Walachia. Similar voices may be detected here and there in other writings as well. Therefore we can wonder : was it necessary for our scholars to wait for the 19th century for learning the secrets of critique ?

Maxims and proverbs, new ideas of the role of virtue provided reference points which allowed for the establishment of a clear-cut relation between fabulation and doubt, between enthusiastic upsurge and cool criticism. Like Antim, Cantemir spoke about the need to discriminate, praising the critical spirit. In that epoch of cultural flourishing on the dawn of the 18th century, when princely academies were set up in Bucharest and Iași, when printing presses scattered all over the Romanian space were producing books for the Romanians and their close or more remote neighbours, when the edifices erected evinced an original style, at such a moment it was only natural that the role and purpose of the critical spirit should be given unambiguous expression, being called upon to verify the arguments underlying the measures taken for the benefit of the "politeia" and of the "homeland". In this cultural form with baroque features (stemming from the heartfelt, florid plea addressed to the individual seen in his social environment, like in all 17th century societies)⁶, criticism accompanied and completed the self-confident construction.

⁴ Dimitrie Cantemir, *The Hieroglyphic History* (in Romanian), the edition of P.P. Panaitescu and I. Verdeș, Bucharest, Ed. pentru literatură, 1963, vol. 1, p. 64.

⁵ Doina Curticăpeanu, *Horizons of Life in Old Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1975, pp. 178—179.

⁶ In this respect, Jose-Antonio Maravall, *Objectifs socio-politiques de l'emploi de moyens visuels, Baroque*, 1974, pp. 111—119, who speaks about modern means of persuasion used for preserving traditional privileges in 17th century societies. In connection with the baroque elements in the writings of Udriște Năsturel, Varlaam, Miron Costin and Dosoftei, in the Romanian emblematic poetry and chronicles in verse see Dan Horia Mazilu, *The Baroque in 17th Century Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1976. I think the baroque is more obvious in emblematic poetry, in certain works by Miron Costin but not in those of Varlaam.

The vigour of the critical spirit appears clearly as soon as historical research goes into the depth of the text, feeling the pulse of everyday life, yet without letting itself be attracted by the spectacular clash of social forces which seem to be put into motion not by intelligence but by a rigid mechanism, or fascinated by the serene dialogue between exquisite doctrines lacking a body or by the most rudimentary exchange of spiritual goods which never captured a part of intellectual communication, the barter. Historical reconstruction cannot be content with fragmentary assessments or with the passionate judgements of men caught in the turmoil of the struggle for power, when it is investigating the role of a scholar involved in immediate and long-range intellectual activity, in domestic and international politics, as Antim Ivireanu was.

Antim's activity cannot be corseted in the acidulated lament of the Brancovan chronicler who regrets the troubles caused by the head of the church to "political affairs", in the condemnations of the chronicler fascinated by the brilliance of the Phanariot prince who describes the sly schemes of the "restive bishop" but forgets what kind of death he died, in Mitrofan Gregoras' hesitation between revealing the foibles of Nicolae Mavrocordat and condemning the unusual initiatives of Antim; not even in Del Chiaro's praise, cooled by his concise commentary on the hierarch's political ways about which "multi multa dicunt". There is no doubt that Antim was a strong character. And if there had been any, it was dispelled by his own words uttered in public: "And none of you should reckon and say to himself: but what is the bishop's business to interfere in our business and why does he not look after his own bishopric. If you have not known so far, and if nobody taught you this, well, you learn it now that my business is with all people who live in Walachia from the humblest to the strongest and to the suckling, except the pagans and those who are of a faith different from ours; for it was to myself that our Lord Christ has entrusted you to shepherd your souls like speaking sheep and on me depend your souls and from me He will request you, and not from others, as long as I shepherd you"⁷.

Antim did not parade in his sermons the authority he was holding in order to enhance his place in society; he merely did not engage in the play of forces. To him, authority meant not only the insignia of power, but also responsibility, not only the definition of a social position but also the possibility directly to do something for the

⁷ Antim Ivireanu, *Works* (in Romanian), edited by G. Ștrempel, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1972, p. 28.

society he was living in. Certainly, his insistent assertion of his rights and duties should be associated with the moderation and non-interference in political life of his predecessor, Theodosie, used to take the advice of High Steward Cantacuzino for prefaces to books, to supervise the work of the Greceanu brothers and to take no initiative by himself without the prince's previous approval. Antim was a scholar by calling, he had worked in printing presses, edited texts and knew this job as well as a layman. More than that, he associated the word to the image, like in that magnificent manuscript with *Chipurile Vechiului și Noului Testament* (The Figures of the Old and the New Testament), in the preface to which he deliberately states that the mingling of the two languages enhances one's capacity to understand and memorize: "we make ourselves surer of them and more easily can we preserve them in memory". He associated sculpture with architecture and calligraphy with engraving, reminding us of the many-sided talent of the founder of the Dragomirna church and of the subtle miniaturist Anastasie Crimca. He was an orator, an editor of books while taking an interest in education, as well; the copying of the *Didahiile*, which also contained a few standard sermons, prompts us to believe that the author would have liked them printed. Anyhow, his remarkable presence in the realm of cultural communication, secured his place in a gallery in which we shall also find at the beginning of the 19th century the Transylvanian Petru Maior and Veniamin Costache, the metropolitan of Moldavia. This wide-ranging activity thoroughly rooted in everyday existence requests of us permanently to relate Antim's work to the evolution of Romanian culture, and especially to his contemporaries.

To sketch at least the contours of this character, the historian needs other texts besides those in which the scholar entreated divinity to bestow long life "to the praise of the politeia and the benefit of the people" on a prince to whom he had dedicated a collection of maxims for offering him some elementary teaching, or those in which rhetoric produced such an excessively interwoven texture of words that ideas got suffocated; he needs letters, confessions, autobiographies, texts capable to reveal the way in which that world meditated on itself. We are fortunate, for the letters he sent to Constantin Brâncoveanu and the passages in which the texture of words is interrupted to let his personal reaction spring to light allows us to follow this path. It is a path which becomes ever clearer with the discovery of new letters of High Steward Cantacuzino or of Dimitrie Cantemir, enabling recent historiography to reconstruct a new

image of the past, one different from that offered by a double reading: of internal documents as regards public life, and of accounts of foreign travellers, as regards the private life of the citizens, which resembles the attempt to superpose the images broadcast by various stations. A world which was revealing itself less than Western societies were, but which was not lacking Mediterranean expansiveness, which was stating emphatically the objectivity of the world and of principles, yet without living in strict conformity with them, a world which evinced no clear-cut separation between the cultural levels as in Louis XIV's France, with which Iorga repeatedly compared Brancovan society: this is the world in which Antim spoke, wrote and worked.

Much like his contemporaries, he spoke about "politeia" — the community and the rules of conduct —, about the goals which should be pursued by the men called upon to become personalities and members of a society.

The fundamental solidarities envisaged by Antim were similar to those identified by Robert Mandrou in 17th-century France: the family, consolidated, as always, by the parents' sacrifice; the house, the parish, either in village or town (which often was the limit of the human horizon of the sedentary, too strongly-rooted people), the social groups⁸. Apart from these fundamental solidarities, Antim also analyzed the threatened solidarities — the princely power and the state. He provided nourishment to the first through his printed books, through the duties assumed by his church, through sermons. Listened to by the prince, the boyars, and townspeople, but probably not by peasants, his sermons debated matters related to the latter group of solidarities. In them, the speaker insisted on the nature of political power and social relationships.

What dangerously checked social life in Walachia in the early 18th century was the interference of the suzerain power. Antim referred to "Babylonian bondage" apparently with a double meaning and straightforwardly to the "yoke of the pagan". For, corruption, favouritism and arbitrariness were spreading like a disease from the capital of the Ottoman Empire infecting even the Romanian villages. The authority of the prince was jeopardized by those who managed to win over onto their side high officials of the Empire. Like Dimitrie Cantemir, Antim had personal knowledge of the life in the city of Epithymos, the place of all lusts, the centre of disorder and gratuitous cruelty; like his contemporaneous scholar, he blamed

⁸ Robert Mandrou, *Introduction à la France moderne, Essai de psychologie historique*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1961, second part: *Social Environments. Fundamental Solidarities. Threatened and Temporary Solidarities*, p. 112 et seq.

the parvenus who played havoc with the old clientele system — founded on the consolidation of natural human ties — and especially the recourse to outside support, to the interference of Ottoman dignitaries which undermined the authority of the prince. An assault from outside, outcome of the abuses and pressures seeking to turn the prince into a functionary of the Empire, and an assault from inside which subjected to permanent revision the prince's decisions whenever they were unfavourable to the boyars, by the latter' appeal to pashas and viziers: both received his riposte grounded on two series of arguments — one traditional and another one in full harmony with the intellectual movement of his time.

The first riposte is that the princely power is of divine nature, the prince's coronation being equivalent with the ordainment in church. In good Byzantine vein, Antim affirms that the prince possesses a charisma, like the metropolitan, without operating the flat distinction between secular and spiritual power, as was done in Western societies: "for the princely crown is separated from the bishop's mitre and the prince who endeavours for the good and benefit of his people both in bodily and ephemeral and in spiritual and clerical things, although he has not the bishops' gift, and he receives his reward from God just like the bishops . . ."⁹. Secular power has an apostolic calling but it cannot solve the problems which are the province of the spiritual power, although it can interfere in spiritual matters; the spiritual power does not interfere in secular matters but controls the lay power. These complex relations cannot be reduced to the formula designed by a historiography accustomed to a clear-cut distinction between the two powers in the West and unreservedly applied to the entire East: "Byzantine cesaropapism". Even if the secular authority violated frequently and obviously the territory of the spiritual power, in the Romanian countries it never claimed for itself the charisma of spiritual power, be they in the form of thaumaturgic or canonized kings. Conversant with the traditional doctrine, Antim did not confuse the powers and did not try to replace the prince's often precarious authority by his own authority supported by the clergy. If he paid tribute to the clergy in his well-known sermon of November 8, he did it for he had seen that the priests were "dishonoured and persecuted"; but he was not speaking in the name of a caste abiding by an iron discipline and armed with the most efficient methods and precepts since in *Invățătura bisericăescă* (Ecclesiastical Teachings) he declared to his supposed army that they had "so much lack of knowledge and so much

⁹ *Works*, p. 86.

confusion, that I realize that you will be unable to be of any help and use to the wretched flock". It was not in the name of a compact group with a status as privileged as that of the aristocracy that Antim was advising the prince, but in the name of those precepts which provided the universal foundation of authority: justice, respect for man, honesty, since "when justice shines in a politeia, the subjects are always happy"¹⁰. More than that, he instilled life to these precepts by his personal example: he who is vested with authority and leads the others has the duty to show towards what perfect human model strive those who fulfil the orders and urges. "For the power of emperors and princes is to change and direct the people's will as they wish it, but they can do this by no other means than doing first what they desire the others to do"¹¹.

This obligation of the holders of power to set examples of conduct, to become human models was also the concern of Antim's contemporaries, who, especially on the occasion of the death of illustrious personalities, blended their rhetoric with the baroque decoration of "castrum doloris", produced by famous artists¹². Not only Bossuet, but also Massillon, Fénelon or Fléchier spoke about the example the powerful should set; the four bishops, who did not become cardinals, immortalized in the niches of the fountain, called afterwards "des point cardinaux" at Saint Sulpice, recalled the height of the virtue reached by those at the helm of society. This virtue does not despise practical activity, yet it is not so strongly connected with the labour of the common people as with Antim who continued his sermon about the force of the example by quoting the case of a Chinese emperor who himself handled the plough or of Alexander the Great who carried wood with his own arms. This direct reference to the everyday activity of the people led by those who were listening to his sermons implied that the human model had to incorporate qualities of those to whom it was proposed. It was not only the lack of a sharp cleavage between the culture disseminated by the clergy and that promoted by rural traditions but also a direct contact with the various aspects of existence that account for the tangency of the debate around human models on the community's experience. This appeal to the "school of life" was recurrent with scholars prior to and succeeding Antim; nevertheless it was Antim who turned it into a systematic and deliberate appeal by relying on the analysis of surrounding reality. In this respect,

¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 87.

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 88.

¹² See Victor L. Tapič, *The Baroque*, Romanian version by Al. Duțu, Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1969, pp. 106–107.

Antim's idea of virtue has much in common with that of the humanist Guicciardini who wrote that he had no greater pleasure than to listen to an old man speaking about public and civil affairs "which he has not learned from philosophy books but from experience and action, which is the true way to knowledge"¹³. Asserting, like his contemporaries in other societies, the sacred nature of authority, Antim conceived of solidarities not as the result of inculcating the ideals of some on the everyday existence of all, as Jean Delumeau noted that was "the case in a number of European societies in the humanistic epoch"¹⁴, but as a convergence of aspirations.

The second retort given to the disintegrative forces was thus grounded on the virtue as it emerged from community life. The scholar had scrutinized his own experience, of the one who had printed books for learning and had taken a close look at the *Philosophical Sentences* translated by himself. There is nothing strange in this "conciliation" of Greek philosophy and Christian doctrine¹⁵ in the case of a scholar who was well acquainted with John of Damascus, was editing philosophical texts and was talking with the professors of the princely academy. One can even remark Antim's preference for number four, the figure designating the elements of the material world, the four elements as himself analysed them; in some other place he divided his arguments into four sections, in another he spoke about four causes and elsewhere about four natural qualities. More than that, resorting to what Ernest Robert Curtius called the "Topos of modesty"¹⁶, the speaker left aside theological debates and presented rules of deportment and exposed vices which were corroding society: systematic criticism was made of one of them, the system of denunciation, the source of which is duplicity: "I gather that you have the custom to meet in the evening in the divan and perform some oratory before the prince and then ask his pardon; and although I have not seen it myself so far, I liked and blessed this custom ...", "but the custom is fine in appearance and bad when one thinks better of it, for neither the pardon you ask from the ruler nor what you take from one another is clean, for it is full of envy, venom and malice, and it is not with a clean thought that it is done"¹⁷.

¹³ See Eugenio Garin, *L'umanesimo italiano*, Bari, Laterza, 1973, p. 210.

¹⁴ See Jean Delumeau, "Leçon inaugurale" delivered on February 13, 1975 at Collège de France, Paris, 1975, no. 70.

¹⁵ As stated by G. Ştrempel in note 113, p. 451, in the quoted edition.

¹⁶ See Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated into Romanian by A. Armbruster, Bucharest, Ed. Univers, 1970, p. 102 et seq.

¹⁷ *Works*, p. 40.

The whole European humanist literature proclaimed nothing else but this congruence between “semblance” and “meaning”, between manners and thought. This moral integrity which the civilized man has to impose on the community, “ignoring (the teacher called to heal the sick sheep) the kicks of its legs which might injure his face, hand or leg”¹⁸, implies the unity of minds, i.e. the consolidation of solidarities which provided the mortar of social life in the politeia. In his fine “Sermon of October 26” in which the author likens the states to ships on a stormy sea and wonders how “this wretched country will shake off the heavy burden of the evils which afflict it”, he does not hesitate to remind the holders of power of the words of a philosopher who hearing the bandits pray to be rescued from the storm told them: “pray, keep silent lest the gods realize you are here and sink you”¹⁹. Antim’s sharp criticism has no equal in the literature of the epoch, and this is certainly due also to the fact that he was steadily recommending more deeply-rooted virtues which could no other way be acquired, but by “the transformation of the mind”.

The efforts to consolidate these solidarities were resumed in the *Așezământul* (Charter) of the monastery he built in Bucharest devoted to religious service, social assistance work, education and the art of printing; this art had to be, under oath, handed down from master to apprentice so that it should not disappear “in the country, nor should the work of books for the benefit of the country be given up”. The Charter, which clearly reflects the model of cultural institution envisaged by the hierarchy, significantly emphasizes the preservation of customs which could gain a good name for the “house” and guard it against “injury”; this good name comes, in Antim’s conception, from a clean conscience, and from the observance of the precept “know yourself”²⁰. It is part of a whole political ethics, to be found in an identical form in the writings of prince Neagoe Basarab (the 16th century) and with the Golești brothers (the 19th century).

We do not come across the word “homeland” in Antim’s writings, at least not in the passages which could have acquired that magnetic force which immediately arrests the attention in the work of Cantemir or of High Steward Cantacuzino; the speaker refers to the “Christian land” and when he needs a reference term, to the Christian politeia. To the flourishing literature of advice, he added

¹⁸ *Idem*, p. 137.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 162

²⁰ Quoted in *Sermon on Shrove Sunday*, ed. cit., p. 104: “as a philosopher says: let us know ourselves”.

Christian-Political Words of Advice relying directly on Byzantine models. When he wrote history, he started from Creation and reviewed all the “ancestors”, but saw the Iron Age distinctly from the pastoral age and established concordances between sacred history and Greco-Roman one. He believed in traditional universality, in “Christian Europe” and, for this reason, was anxious to get rid of the “pagan yoke” by an alliance with the Orthodox power in the East and the Catholic one in the West. It is not only this double orientation that points to a major shift in looking at the traditional universality which separates him from the Greek hierarchs continuously polemizing with the Catholics, like Dosithei of Jerusalem and Hrisant Notaras ²¹. The new element is the importance attached to the concept of “country”, as a new economic centre, from which “there flowed these four streams — the molds of the Romanians, of the Greeks, of the Arabs, of the Georgians” ²², as he stresses. He who steadily opposed the Eastern patriarchies’ efforts to get control over Romanian monasteries, which were important to these seats only as economic units, and unambiguously mentioned in the charter of the Antim monastery “that no foreign Father Superior should be appointed, even by force, either from Mount Athos, or from Sinai, or from Jerusalem, for several reasons” ²³ (the most obvious being the wish to maintain its independence) fell a victim to two giants: the Ottoman Empire alarmed by the resistance which its functionary Nicolae Mavrocordat, installed on the throne of Walachia met with, and the Ecumenical Patriarchy, alarmed by the Phanariot patronizing it: “because, the profligate was revolting and plotting against the great empire” uttered the patriarchal verdict ²⁴.

Within the cultural trend which conferred a new meaning on the politeia — a sum of high qualities but also a self-aware community —, Antim seems to stand at a pole apart from that marked by Radu Greceanu who praised in his *Predoslovie* (Foreword) to his chronicle, the “good deeds” — constructions, schools, book printing — which adorn “the homeland”. Greceanu spoke about a prince who defeated the factions interested in the mere possession of power

²¹ Antim’s insignia included a cardinal’s hat, see Maria Dogaru, “Antim d’Iviric et l’art héraldique de la Valachie”, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1976, 2.

²² *Works*, p. 411: Antim’s handwritten dedication on the copies of the *Georgian Gospels* printed at Tbilisi in 1709.

²³ *Idem*, pp. 340–341.

²⁴ See the studies of Alexandru Elian, “Antim Ivireanu, A Defender of the Prerogatives of the Metropolitan See of Ungro-Vlachia” (in Romanian), in *Studii teologice*, 1966, 9–10, pp. 519–530; “Antim Ivireanu As Fighter Against Ottoman Aggression”, in *Glasul bisericii* (in Romanian), 1968, 11–12, pp. 1165–1169.

and the steady pressure of the huge imperial mechanism willing to turn into a prompt servant of the Sublime Porte a ruling prince who was behaving like the father of the country. With the same virulence did Antim reject the machinations of factitious parties and the pressures of the Ecumenical Patriarchy in order to consolidate the position of a country holding a determinant role in the "Christian policy". While one of them described the works highlighting a cultural capacity, the latter asserted that the cultural work is appreciated everywhere, for "God created the world free for everybody" ²⁵ for all those helping man to build up his personality.

The two poles stand apart but they are not opposed. Radu Greceanu speaks about the adornment of the homeland, while Antim throws light on the universal value of the cultural work. What decisively brings them closer is that while Greceanu affirms that everything is performed for the benefit of the whole people, Antim extracts from the gold deposits of popular thinking the most genuine jewels to encrust them in his *Didahii*. They are not two opposite poles, but two paths which can be followed throughout the period of assertion of Romanian humanism. They appeared in the first half of the 17th century when the Walachian Ștefan, the Moldavian Varlaam and the Transylvanian Simeon Ștefan printed books of learning in the vernacular while Udriște Năsturel was supporting the printing of books meant for the peoples south of the Danube. The last wrote a preface full of classical quotations which reveals his attachment to European humanism, with the conviction that the new trend had to give life to the form of traditional universality ²⁶, while the scholars concerned with books for learning were seeking the suitable answers to the questions raised by their contemporaries. The universal and the national are intertwined in 17th century intellectual activity when we do not actually witness the dramatic transition from "Slavonism" to a Romanian culture, but the appearance of new relations between a society preoccupied by the consolidation of the natural ties, and the other peoples, engaged in a struggle pursuing similar goals, namely the development of political virtues — "politeia" — which could strengthen the resistance against despotism.

The critical spirit is present both in the literature destined to Romanian readers and in the books addressed to those of "the same faith" who were taught by Udriște Năsturel new symbols and were

²⁵ *Works*, p. 231.

²⁶ See Virgil Căndea's study on Udriște Năsturel's humanism in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1968, 2, pp. 239–287, reprinted in the volume *Dominant Reason* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, 1979.

offered themes for humanistic meditation. But criticism did not dissolve the traditional mental scheme. The baroque is present in sculpture, in emblematic poetry, in a series of themes which turned traditional thinking towards the ostentatious and theatrical expression, in the texts meant for a public pleased with baroque literature and in Miron Costin's *Poema Polonă* (Polish Poem). But the baroque was not prevalent, since thinking did not move entirely into the territory delimited by the coordinates reality-appearance, eternal-ephemeral. What stands out as an essential feature is the critical reconsideration of consecrated attitudes, which was made in the name of "politeia", of a concept of civilization gradually getting clearer. Civilization flowered mostly in the centres which sheltered learning and the arts, where the intellectual effervescence, which had left Byzantium, moved to — in Italy. That is why, within Romanian culture, which had affirmed its personality already in the previous century, the moment of civic humanism meant a stage of reconsideration of traditional relationships and of tapping new cultural ties. The intellectual scheme suffered no sudden change, but accepted new concepts which favoured the formation of an original "Orthodox rationalism". This new scheme, in which rationalism was constantly nourished by the analyses of social and political realities gradually offered a new model to cultural activity in Southeast Europe. This is, at least, what Udrishte Năsturel's writings are telling us. New virtues were recommended to readers and visitors of Romanian towns and monasteries; "Orthodox consciousness", prevalent in former centuries, was imbued now with new images and concepts which all combined Christian tradition with social and political achievements of countries which were not under foreign despotism. Traditional universality was adapted to new exigencies raised by the resistance against a central power which was destroying the natural ties — the family, the village, the country.

Natural solidarities, rooted in the family, in the people who discovered their own forefathers, intermingled with solidarities springing from cultural and political aspirations: Orthodox rationalism favoured the affirmation of *civic humanism*²⁷ and the critical spirit enriched the intellectual debate with a growing political awareness, contributing to the development of the sense of responsibility and human dignity.

²⁷ "Cicero taught the Renaissance these two things: the primary task of man is action and service for the community; and the contact of the spirit with active life does not distract his powers but stimulates his highest energy", states Hans Baron in "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance", in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1938. All Romanian humanists assimilated this doctrine.

MEDIEVAL CULTURE AND ENLIGHTENMENT

In the latter half of the 18th century, new trends became manifest in Southeast European historiography. The chronicles which had described the destiny of peoples preserving the eternal truth were now replaced by writings narrating the history of peoples with a new individuality. "The beginnings" were no longer placed in Edenic times but in the epochs in which "peoples" — the Hellenes, Slavs, Romans — came into being; these peoples discovered their identity in the community of language and customs, in the conditions of everyday life. The inherited form of universality started disintegrating under the impact of trends organising a way of seeing the world, the human relations and the future of humanity different from the picture drawn by Byzantine scholars.

In 1762, Father Paisi finished his *Slav-Bulgarian History* which was widely circulated in 60 copies¹; *A History of the Slav Peoples — Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs* by Jovan Rajić, in four volumes, was printed in 1794 in Vienna²; writings of Greek intellectuals completed the line going without interruption up to ancient Hellas³; Ottoman chronicles written outside the court were less concerned to recall the never-dying glory of the Empire whose structures were analyzed by authors of reformist schemes.

Readers were invited to contemplate the image shown by the past as it emerged from the historians' processing work; the beginnings acquired a brilliance which overflowed onto the present, investing the peoples with sovereign dignity. One of the most remarkable Greek intellectuals, a professor of the Iași princely academy,

¹ A dense and coherent synthesis in Khristo Khristov, "Paisi of Khilandar, Author of the "Slav-Bulgarian History", in *East European Quarterly*, VIII, 1974, 2, pp. 167—175.

² A general survey in Michael B. Petrovich, "The Rise of Modern Serbian Historiography", in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, 1956, April, pp. 1—24.

³ See C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Genève, Droz, 1969, pp. 57—58; also Georg Veloudis, "Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer und die Entstehung des neugriechischen Historismus", in *Südost-Forschungen*, Munich, XXIX, 1970, pp. 43—90.

Demetrius-Daniil Philippide wrote to Barbié de Bocage in 1802: "I often think of the splendid centuries of Greece. Oh ! Why wasn't I a contemporary of those people !" ⁴. Yet, the revival of the past was no door opened to evasion; "the splendid centuries" provided the solid basis for the activity put in the service of a better future. Did these intellectuals free themselves of the traditional world-view starting firmly towards horizons where the relations among people and peoples were seen completely different? Did they reject the dark Middle Ages and with them their cultural heritage?

Undoubtedly, the solutions suggested present no uniform picture. They depended on the place held by the intellectuals in society in the various zones of Southeast Europe and on the political status of the peoples on whose behalf they were speaking. Highly interesting are the answers given by the Romanian intellectuals due especially to the fact that they were referring to a people which had uninterruptedly maintained its state structure and had never been directly subjected by the imperial authority. The maintenance of this structure preserved the freedom of cultural initiative which had never been lost at any time of Turkish supremacy.

Historical works were elaborated and published at a sustained rate: they focused on the period of the beginnings — the Roman conquest of Dacia — yet without leaving out the history of the second millennium; they recalled Roman dignity but also analyzed what the past of the Romanian Principalities was teaching; they pleaded the cause of Enlightenment without ignoring the lessons supplied by the centuries nearer to them; their authors resorted to contemporaneous synthesis works published abroad but also derived inspiration from the works elaborated by their predecessors, the humanists of the late 17th century. Their activity was part of a continuous intellectual work and this explains why they combined philology and history, erudition and humanism and related historical knowledge to a permanently evolving political consciousness. For these reasons, Romanian historiography can provide answers to three questions which may be put to the whole European historiography in the latter half of the 18th century: which were the lines followed by the historiographic work in that period? What place did historiography hold in the movement of ideas? To what extent did it encourage the disentanglement from the past and the demarriage towards a new world?

⁴ Daniil Philippidis, Barbié de Bocage, Anthimos Gazis, *Αλληλογραφία 1794—1819*, edited by E. Kournarianou, Athens, 1966, p. 105.

Generally speaking, the historical undertaking of the Romanian intellectuals in Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania continued the activity of the 17th century humanists. Both Grigore Ureche and Miron Costin in Moldavia, or High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino in Walachia had asserted in the prefaces of their works the necessity to write history by starting from a consistent documentary basis and to place it in the service of an argued plea for the rights of the Principalities exploited by the Sublime Porte. In his *History of Walachia*, Constantin Cantacuzino explicitly showed that he resorted to oral tradition, which he considered critically, since to give credit to these "sayings" "is a very poor and dangerous thing", to chancellory documents which "scattered and brief things tell us", to foreign historians who sometimes "belittle facts and badly defame the inhabitants of the Romanian country". Similar sources were investigated by Miron Costin in his *De neamul moldovenilor* (On the Moldavians), but he paid greater attention to foreign works of Latin, Hungarian, Transylvanian and Polish authors. Dimitrie Cantemir extended considerably these last sources resorting even to Louis Moreri's dictionary. Therefore, identification and commentation of domestic and foreign sources. Then, the reconstruction of the whole evolution since Trajan's campaigns in Dacia until the 17th century when historians could use their own testimonies; it was a reconstruction placed in the service of political argumentation, yet not in the name of the nobility and not for justifying the privileges of the boyars, but a thorough argumentation of the political rights of the Principalities which were the object of the imperial powers' pressure. This argumentation was consistently supported by the critical spirit and for this reason, Miron Costin elaborated his work thinking of the "foreigners who search the mistakes of historians", while Dimitrie Cantemir placed at the beginning of his synthesis on which he worked until the end of his life, in 1723, *Hronicul vechinii a romano-moldo-vlahilor*, a number of canons to be observed by any historian when the source was silent, when there was only one testimony, all this for providing a rational argumentation⁵. Erudition and humanism guided the historians who laid the foundation of modern Romanian consciousness, reconstituting the Latin origin and the continuity of the Romanian people in the Carpatho-Danubian area.

The humanists' writings changed the destiny of popular chronicles the circulation of which got confined to the circles of the clergy

⁵ See Mihai Berza, "The Historiographical Activity of Dimitrie Cantemir" in *300 Years Since the Birth of Dimitrie Cantemir* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1974, pp. 34-35.

and which then fed the delectation literature; they delimited the spreading areas of courtly chronicles or of the chronicles expressing the desiderata of boyars' factions; they were major sources for the historical works elaborated by the intellectuals in the second half of the 18th century.

At Rimnic, where books in Romanian permanently came out of the printing presses, bishop Chesarie proposed in the prefaces to the *Minei* (offices in praise of Saints), in 1776, a periodization, into four stages, of the Romanians' history. A witness to the philological activity carried out in this centre, he assessed that one of the most important historical periods was that in which the Romanian language was introduced into the religious service, since it opened the period of reforms. He relied on the Byzantine history of Le Beau, on French periodicals, and translated excerpts from the *Encyclopédie* to prove that the last epoch, ushered in by the Ottomans' 1774 defeat, heralded the "renaissance" of the Romanian people, compared to a Phoenix bird⁶. The recourse to foreign writings was much greater in Moldavia where translations of *The History of America* by William Robertson, a history of Bulgaria by Ludwig Albrecht Gebhardi, or the *History of Charles XII*, *Le tocsin des rois* or the *Translation of the Poem of Jean Plokof* by Voltaire appeared in this period.

These translations provided fresh data on the history of the peoples and the confrontation of political forces in Southeast Europe: Rajić's book was consulted by the Transylvanians Nicolae Stoica⁷ and Petru Maior⁸. Mauro Orbino and Caesar Baronius, the sources of the Serbian historian, captured the interest of the Romanians. *Annales ecclesiastici* were translated in the old cultural centre of Braşov by Ştefan Ioanovici Inaşu and Dimitrie Eustatievici. The introduction into the circuit of Romanian culture of foreign works about the history of Southeast Europe allowed for a better knowledge of political circumstances, hence, for a more accurate assessment of the possibilities to change them. Translations were made of writings justifying the Russian offensive against the Ottoman "pagans", but also of the Prussian pamphlet *The Speech of John Sigismund von Zieten* arguing for the maintenance of the Great Ottoman

⁶ See the chapter "The Rimnic People and the Question of Time" in my book *Coordinates of 18th Century Romanian Culture*, 1968.

⁷ About the relations of the Serbian scholar with chronicler Nicolae Stoica, the author of a valuable memoirs comparable with the work of Neculce, see the data in the "Introduction" of Damaschin Mloc to Nicolae Stoica de Haţeg, *The Chronicle of the Banat* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1969.

⁸ The book is mentioned in the testament of the scholar printed in Petru Maior, *Original Writings and Documents* (in Romanian), edition supervised by Nicolae Albu, Bucharest, 1968, pp. 128, 132.

Empire. At the end of the century, a French revolutionary appeal against the 1791 coalition was also translated⁹.

The dissemination of foreign books and periodicals intensified in all the three Romanian provinces, where new contacts different from those established by missionaries and diplomats took place due to the arrival of new categories of foreign travellers, especially Polish refugees and Austrian and Russian officers attracted by reformist ideas. These contacts were more lively in Transylvania where social and political problems were more acute, too. Whereas in Walachia and Moldavia measures had been initiated for diminishing the serfs' personal dependence on the land they were tilling (Constantin Mavrocordat's 1746 reform), in Transylvania the majority population of the Romanians still enjoyed no legal status: the Romanian serfs were not making up a nation enjoying the same rights as the other privileged nations and their faith was not recognized. In 1784, when the Romanian serfs led by Horea rose in a violent revolt, Brissot wrote to Joseph II and presented in strong terms the anachronistic character of social relations in Transylvania.

An attempt to surmount this situation had been made by part of the Romanian population of this province when it followed the clergy who had accepted the union of the Orthodox Church with Rome. But, the new status of this population, prefigured in the 1699 and 1701 diplomas of Leopold I failed to materialize. Bishop Inochentie Micu who tried to revive them met with the resistance of the Transylvanian Diet patronized by great landowners and protestants, and with the hesitation of the Vienna Court and the Roman Curia. He died in exile; he had nevertheless managed to set up a school with a printing press in Blaj. In this centre destined by the imperial authority to strengthen the solidarity of the uniates around Vienna and to attract the "schismatic" Orthodox population, the intellectual movement took an unpredictable turn.

Sent to the St. Barbara college, or to Rome, to the Urban college of the De Propaganda Fide Congregation to complete their studies, four intellectuals acquired a modern training which allowed them to engage in a comprehensive historical and political debate. Between 1774 and 1779, while in Rome, Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior systematically collected documents; the former elaborated

⁹ This appeal was analyzed and partly edited in my article "The Enlightenment in Moldavia at the End of the 18th Century" (in Romanian), in *Studii*, 1966, pp. 921—922. As regards the translations made in the three Romanian provinces see the comprehensive and competent study of Paul Cernovodeanu, "Préoccupations en matière d'histoire universelle dans l'historiographie roumaine aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles", I—V, in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 1970—1974.

Rerum Spectantium ad Universam gentem Daco-Romanam in bulky volumes. In 1777, in Vienna, Samuil Micu immersed himself in the same erudite undertaking; in the same years, Ion Budai-Deleanu was present at the St. Barbara and the Catholic Faculty of the University where he was listening to Joseph Sonnenfels' lectures; then, he settled at Lvov. Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior returned through Vienna wherefrom they reported to the Congregation that they were forced to remain there to study canonical law: actually, they continued to read and amass evidence. Back to Blaj, both Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior were sent to preach to buttress the faith of the "uniates" and guide onto the right path the schismatics; but soon their energies were streamlined along a different path due to the functions they took up as headmasters of Romanian schools and censors of Romanian books printed at the University of Buda. They taught Wolffian philosophy and published books popularizing science. Joseph's cultural policy secured a propitious framework for the resumption, by new means, of Inochentie Micu's campaign. When they left the monastic order, they proved through this act that the path which they intended to follow was that of political struggle, deriving all advantages from the situation in the Empire and discarding the provisions of the contract concluded with Rome¹⁰. The criticism levelled at the Roman Curia, based on Gallic arguments, is to be found in the translation Samuil Micu made of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History* and in a more virulent form in Petru Maior's *Procanon*¹¹. At the same time, Samuil Micu questioned the legitimacy of the absolute imperial power when speaking of "the law of nature"¹². The scholars gathered at Blaj tacitly came closer to the positions of the Orthodox scholars in Brașov and their historical writings were placed in the service of the struggle for equal rights of the Romanian population in Transylvania.

¹⁰ See Pompiliu Teodor, *The Evolution of Romanian Historical Thought* (in Romanian), Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1970, pp. 57–87, with a rich bibliography. See also Ștefan Pascu and Eugen Stănescu, "Romania's Modern Historiography" (in Romanian), in *Studii*, 1964, 1. Also Lucian Boia, *The Evolution of Romanian Historiography* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Facultatea de Istorie, 1976, pp. 64–83.

¹¹ See Maria Protase, *Petru Maior*, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1973; Idem, "Le «Procanon» de Petru Maior, réplique sud-est européenne des attaques anti-papales du XVIII^e siècle" in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XI, 1973, 1, pp. 39–56.

¹² Limiting the emperor's power by the laws of nature, Samuil Micu wrote a page which was a genuine Trojan horse in the city of absolutism, notes Lucian Blaga in *Romanian Thought in 18th Century Transylvania* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1966, pp. 154–155. In connection with the philosophical activity of the three scholars of the Transylvanian School — Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai, Petru Maior — see Dumitru Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor, *Glimpses of the Enlightenment* (in Romanian), Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1972; also Ion Lungu, "The Transylvanian School", in *A History of Romanian Philosophy* (in Romanian), vol. 1, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1972, pp. 125–146.

The Transylvanian historians had at their disposal sources richer than those consulted by their humanist predecessors and they performed a more thorough exploration of the sources used by Costin, Steward Cantacuzino or Cantemir, the Byzantine testimonies which made up the backbone of the lengthy process of reconstituting the history of the century of migrations¹³. Şincai provides a telling example in this respect. Their exposition embraced the destiny of the whole Romanian people, and it was made not in the form of parallel histories but as a narrative intertwining the events in the whole Carpatho-Danubian area. The militant purpose was pursued all along the elaboration process carried out with tenacity and minuteness; erudition was deciding the objectives to be attacked, the arguments and the arrangement of the material.

Şincai systematized the material collected in foreign archives and libraries and followed the chronological thread in his *Hronica românilor* (The Chronicle of the Romanians) starting from Trajan's campaigns in Dacia to advance almost as far as his times. His model was Cantemir, but also Muratori. Samuil Micu produced *Istoria şi lucrurile şi întâmplările românilor* (The History and Events of the Romanians) in four volumes: the history of the Romanians in Roman Dacia, the history of Walachia, the history of Moldavia, the history of the Church in Transylvania, the only institution which survived foreign occupation. Petru Maior and Ion Budai-Deleanu were especially engaged in the polemic opened by I. C. Eder and Franz Josef Sulzer who, in this question, advocated the viewpoint of the aristocracy decided to ignore the existence of the majority population in Transylvania; the former wrote *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia* (The History of the Romanians' Beginnings in Dacia), while Budai-Deleanu started the elaboration of a vast synthesis *De originibus populorum Transylvaniae*. When the Transylvanian historians, joined by dr. Ioan Piuariu-Molnar and others, addressed the Vienna court a document containing the historical and political claims of the Romanians, *Supplex Libellus Vallachorum*, and Eder attacked it in a 1971 commented edition, Budai-Deleanu wrote a point-by-point *Combatere* (Counterargument)¹⁴.

History and politics were part and parcel of the activity of this group which resorted to the investigation of the past for ground-

¹³ See Alexandru Elian, "Introduction" to *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae*. Ediderunt: Alexandru Elian et Nicolae S. Tanaşoca, vol. III, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1975.

¹⁴ This *Widerlegung der zu Klausenburg 1791 über die Vorstellung der wallachischen Nation herausgekommenen Noten*, was edited and commented by Iosif Pervain in Ion Budai-Deleanu, "Writings" (in Romanian), Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1970, pp. 37—114.

ing the argumentation in the *Supplex*¹⁵, an essential document in the movement of ideas at the end of the 18th century. The document was quite consequential for it was resumed, in a new form, in the early 19th century and fed the polemic of the ensuing generation with the official historians of Vienna¹⁶. Petru Maior's *History*, printed in 1812, was viewed as a landmark of Romanian historiography by the generation of the 1848 revolutionaries in all the three Romanian provinces.

History placed in the service of the reformist spirit provided arguments for political memoranda and the polemic carried out with the supporters of the old social structure. History revived the "Roman nobility" of a "people" exploited by an aristocracy anachronistically withdrawn in a feudal mentality; it recalled the period of independence and referred, with the help of testimonies dating from various epochs, to "Roman manliness", as put by Petru Maior, to the civilizing capacity of a people arrested in its social and political evolution. History participated in the moral reform which these clergymen and professors envisaged through sermons, lectures and exposés inserted in popular books.

In the movement of ideas in Romanian culture, historiography played the cardinal part, precisely due to the fact that it concentrated the trends in the other categories of books. But, to a greater extent than the other books, historical writings influenced the collective consciousness due especially to the importance attached to some key concepts born through successive accumulations: "culture", "politeia", "homeland", "enlightenment". In these writings, the Middle Ages did not appear as a dark age, as a "Gothic barbarity" during which people felt no attachment to the homeland and no obligations to the community: the struggle against the imperial power proved to have been permanent. But essential was the transition historians made in their works from the cyclic conception, accepted by Cantacuzino or Cantemir, to linear evolution¹⁷. And evolution allows for the identification of cultural progress, as with Chesarie of Rimnic, and for a detachment from the past which was accepted for the heroism of those who had defended the independence and blamed for the lethargy maintained by those who had come to terms with the foreign power. Since, consistent in their argumentation, the historians systematically attacked the nobility consciousness of the

¹⁵ See David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, Bucharest, 1967.

¹⁶ David Prodan, *Another Romanian "Supplex Libellus"*, 1804 (in Romanian), Cluj, Ed. Dacia, 1970.

¹⁷ On this matter, Mircea Eliade, *Le mythe de l'éternel retour*, Paris, Galimard, 1969, pp. 163—170.

foreign aristocracy which would not accept the political existence of the serfs in Transylvania, while criticizing with the same virulence, the boyars' lack of interest in educating politically the peasants in the Principalities.

When referring to Enlightenment, the intellectuals insistently quoted the progress of education, the discoveries of the natural sciences, the prestige of a fair and firm law in "enlightened Europe". Attached to a tradition of thought which they altered without rejecting, the intellectuals developed the awareness of that "translatio studii" of Byzantium towards the West which had offered a new perspective of world history to their humanist predecessors¹⁸. In presenting the past, they took as reference point the image of enlightened Europe. In the collective representations of this period, this image played a decisive part and, due to it, the assertion of the national consciousness was accompanied by no infatuation or isolation but developed concomitantly with the progress of the European consciousness.

The polemics entered upon by the Romanian intellectuals did not veer to rhetoric. Petru Maior frequently invoked the "critical law" or the "critical reckoning" when he rejected the "fabrications" of Salzer or Eder; his friend, Ion Budai-Deleanu, could not suppress his surprise when he read passionate or intolerant sentences written "in our century when history goes hand in hand with genuine criticism"¹⁹. The critical spirit, which had asserted itself in Brâncoveanu's age, established now with more precision its tools and its function in intellectual activities. But this "our century" does not appear as an edifice made of completely new materials on a completely new foundation; criticism was levelled at the abuses of those holding the political and cultural power, but recurrent references were made to a "classic" doctrine on man and community. Was this doctrine a mere justification introduced in polemics?

In expounding legal arguments, the Romanian historian sometimes overlooked the social conflicts concealed as they were by the two images which instilled life into their expositions: the image of Dacia Felix, of Roman Dacia, of the independence before Ottoman and then Habsburg expansion, and the image of enlightened Europe, happy and prosperous. But their arguments referred not to an autochthonous tradition but to the general principles of tradition and

¹⁸ More in my article "Il tema della "translatio studii" negli storici romeni della fine del Seicento", in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 85, 1973 3, pp. 507—513; also "National and European Consciousness in the Romanian Enlightenment", in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Geneva, LV, 1967, pp. 463—479.

¹⁹ "Historical Introduction", in the quoted edition, p. 197.

philosophy. What did this tradition mean? Was it the one acquired during the studying years at De Propaganda Fide? We should not forget that in the traditional image of the Jesuit mentality, admiration for Antiquity was coupled with lack of sympathy for the Middle Ages²⁰. Were they then the conditions generated by the debates carried out in absolutist states in which free expression of opinion was impossible and the dominant religion was closely connected with the repressive apparatus of the authoritarian state and where the only form in which political passion could manifest itself was precisely the cultural and historiographic polemics²¹? To a great extent, yes; the new ideas were subtly interspersed both in the texts of Chesarie and in those written by the Transylvanians who interrupted their argumentation, as Sincai did, clearly stating that they did not want the intervention of censure. But the explanation lies in deeper strata.

To the Romanian historians, just as to their confrères in South-east Europe, the Middle Ages was no clear-cut period, no phase of civilization superseded by a new stage, with a strong self-awareness; in this part of the continent, no Western-type Renaissance flourished to delimit the "dark past" from the "dawns of new times" and this explains why in the Age of Enlightenment, the image of the Middle Ages needed no reshaping to correspond to the new intellectual scheme²². In the age of the "Orthodox rationalism", when important elements from Central and West Europe were assimilated, "the baroque literary themes, motifs and manners which found propitious ground here, given some pre-existent conditions, were implanted on the traditions of medieval culture"²³. The "enlightened" thought gave impetus to the assimilation of rational elements from European culture, but was to make them serve a preeminently educational purpose; and thus, little attention was paid to metaphysical speculation. Tradition was developed by the analysis of the dynamic factors in the life of societies, discovered in the mentality, language and customs of the "people" — a concept which got clarified in those decades. For these reasons, the Romanian historians insistently referred to the right to enlightenment of all the members of a society. The ancient "politheia" and the Byzantine political ethics were revived by the intellectuals who considered that the access to culture of those supporting the social edifice by their toil

²⁰ See Henri Duranton, "Les Mémoires de Trévoux et l'histoire : l'année 1757", in *Etudes sur la presse au XVII^e siècle*, Lyon, 1973, 1, p. 36.

²¹ Furio Diaz, *Per una storia illuministica*, Naples, Guida Editori, 1973, p. 515.

²² See Lionel Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment*, The John Hopkins Press, 1968, p. 335.

²³ Dan Horia Mazilu, *The Baroque in 17th Century Romanian Literature*, p. 323.

was a right proclaimed by the "enlightened" thinkers, much like human dignity, as it was defined by the "Greek miracle" and in the exemplary civilization of Byzantium.

Expressing in socio-political terms a traditional doctrine on man and community, the Romanian historians lent a new course to an intellectual movement which had evolved without hiatuses. For this reason, they set in the centre of their argumentation the principle of reciprocal respect, just as the Magyar or Transylvanian Saxon enlightened thinkers did, without losing connection with ancestral tolerance²⁴; they pleaded for "enlightenment" by books and tuition, but condemned at the same time the "innovations" which engaged "the city of the popes" in political struggle and the nobility in the formulation of some theories justifying the perpetuation of castes. Concomitantly with the evolution noticeable in sapiential literature, — in which Isocrates, Agapetus and Fénelon were associated to the handbooks of good conduct produced by German enlightened authors —, historical writings started paying increasing attention to the new conditions of social life in "enlightened" Europe, without refusing the meditation of their humanist forerunners. Thus, Ion Budai-Deleanu was developing Cantemir's idea when he wrote: "If the people tilling the land, breeding the cattle, the people who make up the largest part of the Transylvanian army and producing population, who provide for the soldier, the judge and the very authors of the *Notes* against the *Supplex*, if they are the drones of Transylvania, then I would like to know: who are the bees of the country? Certainly not the ones who live on the industriousness of the so-called drones..."²⁵.

²⁴ Eder's arguments against the *Supplex* were viewed as ungrounded and passionate also by *Jenaer Allgemeine Litt. Zeitung*, see Iosif Pervain, "Introduction" to Ion Budai-Deleanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—18. In connection with the Magyar writers' interest in the culture of the neighbouring peoples see a survey in Endre Arató's "Der ungarische Nationalismus und die nichtungarischen Völker, 1780—1825", in *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis, Sectio historica*, VIII, 1966, pp. 71—113; but, despite the curiosity of certain intellectuals, the Magyar historiographical tradition which had backed the expansionist policy of medieval Hungary to the South and East was continued and supported by the historical consciousness of nobility which was insensible to the people's claims. In this respect, see Adolf Arnbruster, *The Romanians' Romanness. The History of An Idea*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1972, pp. 246—247.

²⁵ *Widerlegung*, ed. cit., pp. 37, 39. The polemic fell back upon scientific remarks and arguments produced by European men of letters; by the middle of the 17th century Conrad Jacob Hilttenbrandt, for instance, was astonished to see that the Romanians "who overwhelm with their number the Hungarians and Germans" had no political rights; he made many notes of the cruel punishments they were subjected to and the light-mindedness with which they were sentenced to death — see *Foreign Travellers about the Romanian Countries* (in Romanian), vol. V, Bucharest, Ed. științifică, 1973, especially pp. 584—587.

In many cultures, the start towards a new world meant the rejection of part of the cultural heritage ; in the Age of Enlightenment, the historians of Western civilizations, Voltaire in particular, were convinced that the city of the new people could only be built after the demolition of the fortifications of the "Gothic barbarism" seen as a source of tenebrae. If, indeed, Paris grew into the strongest centre of dissemination of a new form of universality, rendering the great European questions in a common language²⁶, we should not forget that this form had left out part of the depths of the past and had repressed modes of thinking, still vivid, in the rural environment. Real facts did not comply with the scheme and in the 19th century subjected it to reconsiderations grounded on the depths of time and of the mental structures. When it was again revived in the period of Romanticism, the Middle Ages was transfigured to feed the élan of fantasy, which the Middle Ages man had mastered, and to justify the prerogatives claimed by a "spiritual life" denied by the terre-à-terre spirit of the enthusiastic users of technical achievements. This, although the people of the Middle Ages had not dissociated the spirit from matter until the moment when the conflict between clerical culture and secular culture got sharper. In the vision of Romanticism, the Middle Ages often provided the model of a spiritual life free of the contingencies contradicting the creator²⁷.

In Romanian culture, in which historical literature was the field *par excellence* in which humanism was asserted, the past was permanently reconsidered without diminishing its prolongations into the depths of the "beginnings". Under these circumstances, "the principles" were steadily brought to date, without being permanently transposed, from one period to another, with the same content. But they survived, for they were vigorous and were permanently invoked in the political argumentation. Certainly, a larger possibility to expand intellectual activities, permanently arrested by the poor economic basis and catastrophic political events, would have amplified the very process of reconsideration and investigation of intellectual schemes. But, the presence of the "critical reckoning" with the Romanian enlightened historians proves that the passion with which they collected the documents was not subserved to momentary goals. Their exaggerations were caused by the enormities of their enemies, since in any polemic the answer tends to be extreme when the attack is extremist. The errors did not speak of a will to maintain the con-

²⁶ See Franco Venturi, *Utopia e riforma nell'Illuminismo*, Torino, Einaudi, 1970, pp. 158—159.

²⁷ See L. Gossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 352—353.

secrated cultural and political structure, but of the first exploratory steps towards a new realm.

In this respect, the image of the continuity which did not reject medieval culture betrays a constant preoccupation to revive the principles through the mediacy of the critical spirit which was lacked neither by the humanists nor by the Aufklärers and which conquered gradually new positions in the 19th century. Then Kogălniceanu willing to advocate rights obscured by a rhetoric poor in generous ideas and full of self-sufficient ignorance, wrote, when hardly more than an adolescent, a book of history meant for the foreigners. Obviously, "his organic vision of the evolution of the Romanian society facilitated for him the correct understanding of the relation between the necessity to stimulate cultural initiatives and the rigour of the critical spirit"²⁸.

This way of seeing the destiny of a people prompted the Romanian Aufklärers to present history as an uninterrupted process and the Middle Ages as a stage towards self-assertion; permanent references to what happened in other parts of the world gave their narration a full awareness of the significance of the new intellectual trends. Thus, the protagonists of the Enlightenment kept pace with the ambitious program of freedom from arbitrary power proclaimed by the "philosophes" and, at the same time, lit up with brightness the noble national roots of a people strongly attached to its land, the fatherland — "moșia". Enlightenment meant a better knowledge of political rights founded on common historical rights; it gave shape to a new form of universality, to a general harmony not only of men, but also of peoples and of nations. This shift in mentality might be seen also in another field of intellectual activity, the literary one; the fascinating blossom of the "books of delectation" makes us understand that imagination got a new function, as a result of a profound revision of the system of intellectual values. But neither here was tradition denied or repelled.

²⁸ A. Zub, *Kogălniceanu. A Historian* (in Romanian), Ed. Junimea, 1974, p. 418; see the whole chapter V, "The Historical Conception" which traces, through dense and pertinent remarks, the relation with his predecessors. Elements of continuity are also stressed in the documented exposition of Werner Bahner, *Formen, Ideen, Prozesse in den Literaturen der romanischen Völker*, ch. "Übergreifende und spezifische Aspekte der Aufklärung in den romanischen Ländern", Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1977, pp. 55—70.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND PRE-ROMANTICISM

The gradual expansion of the written word in Romanian society provoked a change in the system of communication : it affected mostly orality which, until the end of the 17th century, had provided ground for development to popular literature and to fine eloquence which flourished at courts under the guidance of the rules of rhetoric.

The expansion of writing went hand in hand with the steady diversification of the intellectual activity¹. In the Age of Enlightenment, a growing number of manuscripts and printed works presented the history of mankind, the various progresses of scientific researches or new ways of social conduct and of living. But most impressive is the multifarious group of manuscripts containing romances, adventures, stories of love or dramas ; literary works successful on the continent were soon translated and spread in different circles thanks to the diligent work of copyists. According to the explanations given by translators, these books had no other scope than to produce delight, to offer relaxation after one day's work, a respite. The prefaces shed too little light on the theoretical justification of "fiction", casting too timid a glance at the mechanism of producing a work for delectation. Yet, no reticence is felt whenever the copyist or the translator deal with the psychological reasons of reading such a new stuff : the poems and the novels depicting mostly adventures of couples offer the reader an opportunity to meditate on human destiny and to enjoy the imaginary play. Versified productions and narratives render experiences which let the reader understand how much variety there exists in the world ; but variety does not mean that traditional precepts are to be put aside nor that the moment has come to loosen moral tights. In other words, the books for delectation were accepted as mere illustrations of well-established norms.

¹ See my book *Coordinates of 18th Century Romanian Culture*, Bucharest, 1968, and the study "Books and Society in the 18th Century" in the volume *Explorations into the History of Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1969.

But, too great was the variety of translations of literary works to consider that the system of rules was very limited: translations were made of Fénelon but also of Florian, Gesner and Metastasio, Bernardin de St. Pierre, while in other manuscripts we may come across works by the "famous" d'Ussieux, Baculard d'Arnaud, Pizérécourt, which were successful at book fairs and in the circles of readers in Germany, for instance ². Ducray-Duminil, who, as a reviewer of *Petites Affiches* would encourage the authors of highly unsuccessful plays with the cliché "the play is written by un homme d'esprit and, we hope, the turn will be his one day", offered through his *Alexis* a refreshing respite to a large public (as attested by the copies made after the version of Alexandru Beldiman) until the 1848 generation rejected him without giving him the chance to have his turn. Moralizing stories and romances which provided a lesson entered the circuit of written culture also in the early 19th century. Yet, we may note that the thread of adventures became ever more intricate, the author insisting more and more on the role of passion in people's life. This evolution took place concomitantly with the development of the category of writings providing rules of conduct to individuals and communities alike, of sapiential books, ever more receptive to the complexity of social existence ³. Relaxation was thus coupled with ethics.

Works suggesting a new aspect of the world were now spreading to a greater extent. The progress of scientific thinking overthrew the hierarchy of knowledge and technology as well began to penetrate everyday life. The idea of a universe composed of perfectly connected parts became naturalized; Man holds his place in the "Great Chain of Being" ⁴.

The translation of works conveying some knowledge of geography, rational history, agronomical advice or rules of hygiene cannot be considered only as a desire of "integrating Europe". The truth is that in the 18th century the idea of Man changed everywhere and its Western form was assimilated in the Romanian Prin-

² In this respect, see Mircea Angheliescu, *The Romanian Pre-Romanticism* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1971, ch. IV. In connection with the spread of this literature in Germany, see Werner Krauss and Martin Fontius, *Französische Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Bibliotheken der D.D.R.*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1970, two volumes.

³ This is the formation stage of the "citizen's handbook", as pointed out in my book, *Les livres de sagesse dans la culture roumaine*, Bucharest, AIESEE, 1971.

⁴ See Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936, ch. VI: "The Chain of Being in the 18th Century Thought and Man's Place and Role in Nature", pp. 183-207.

cialities because it had a definite force of persuasion, was extremely accessible and answered prior questions. This may, we believe, explain the series of adaptations of some German professors' works accomplished by Transylvanian teachers and printed at Buda. Some of those teachers turned to philosophical works, others to practical knowledge, and every one of them used the conceptual framework at his disposal (as demonstrated by the two simultaneous versions of Campe's *Sittenbüchlein*, made by Moise Fulea and Constantin Ionovici in 1819 and 1813, respectively).

Besides the general process of re-evaluating and rationalizing the ideas which facilitated the interpenetration of areas of European culture, a series of other factors contributed to a diffusion unknown in past centuries; among them, the intense growth of the activity of the printing offices should not be ignored. Books reached the fairs more easily and merchants, before specializing themselves, provided, among all sorts of goods, volumes that were in demand or considered to sell easily. The intellectuals communicated to one another those works worthy of being translated (as shown for instance by the correspondence between Iosif Vulcan and Dimitrie Țichindeal).

Decisive for the receptive element was the obvious progress of education, both in the Principalities where important reforms were worked out in the second half of the 18th century, and in Transylvania where reforms were carried out under the reign of Joseph II. Owing to this progress, a decisive change took place in the world of letters with intellectuals commanding now in cultural matters. Gradually they pushed clerical scholars aside, as they were keeping pace with the new achievements of knowledge. They would promote, among a continually growing public, ideas of powerful resonance, intellectual and emotional, like those of progress and happiness. The advice from Pope's *Essay on Man* that we should "take Nature's path", provided by Ioan Cantacuzino in his 1807 translation, was now read by an audience which could not have been available earlier.

The relationship establishing itself now between the autochthonous cultural consciousness and European cultures holds an important place among the factors which favoured transformations of the cultural pattern. Whereas European cultures adopted forms which were less particularized than in the past, especially due to the progress of technical-scientific thinking, a growing interest in this progress determined Southeast European societies to pay greater attention to the new theories and achievements.

The neo-classical style, obvious in the plastic art ⁵, appeals to the mind as it represents an ideally organized world. The analysis of the translations and adaptations accomplished now prompts us to believe that this classicism was kept alive by the preeminence ethical value got over the other values; its superiority was accompanied by the establishment of a normative system in estimating human activity as a whole. This value continued to contain precepts of the autochthonous tradition and included the principles of French Moralism and of the German Aufklärung, while receiving impulses from English or Russian cultures. But, at the same time, the adaptation of foreign works corresponded to a change in the mental framework which tended towards greater cultural harmony dominated by the combination of reason with sentiment. As it was said, "the century is less dominated by cynicism or libertinism than by enthusiasm... based, in the last analysis, on sensibility that has been clarified by the lights of reason and guided by experience. This passionate enthusiasm nourished by a profound belief in the powers of intelligence and in the destiny of Man is the same which will in the future inspire in Germany this Sturm und Drang which is so different from idealistic, reactionary, fantastic and mystic romanticism... Probably this determination to operate on the world and not to remain a simple "artist" chiefly elucidates the quality of 18th century ideas and prose, but also the unimportance of their poetry" ⁶.

The function assigned to the works that were taken over throws light on an important aspect of cultural assimilation. Generally speaking, we think we may first identify among the printed books and the manuscripts a group of works with a social and political purpose; this seems to be the case of the translations from Fénelon and Massillon, of the first versions of Voltaire and of the first Rousseau echoes. The line, however, between the milieus of professors and boyars remains to be drawn. Other translations, from French, Italian, English or German literatures sought to respond to the reader's personal pleasure; this is the case of the translations made by Alexandru Beldiman and other popularizers of "romances". Finally, we encounter writings of an educational charac-

⁵ See Hugh Honour's synthesis *Neoclassicism*, Penguin Books, 1968.

⁶ Roland Mortier, "Unité ou scission du Siècle des Lumières" in *Clartés et ombres du Siècle des Lumières*, Genève, Droz, 1969, pp. 122—123. With reference to the relationship between the "will of action" as proclaimed by the supporters of the Enlightenment, and the "theatre of the world" which they visualized looking at life as at a theatrical performance, we point to Lionel Gossman's study "Voltaire's Charles XII: History into Art", in *Studies on Voltaire*, Geneva, 1963, XXV, pp. 691—720 (the question of this Voltairian work belonging to the Baroque art is also discussed there in convincing terms).

ter — works published by French and, especially, German professors. They were useful to the tuition process in schools but also after that. From the first group the original social literature was able to detach itself. The second group was a source of artistical impulses; the “romances” contributed to developing literary taste. The essay and scientific literature found a starting point in the third group⁷.

Foreign works are implanted in a new soil under many forms. A comparison of texts proves that strictly verbal translations were done seldom enough because modifications were made in the structures of the books — by eliminations and supplements, by changing some passages or by insertion of fragments taken from somewhere else. Modifications were also made in terminology, owing to the lack of some expressions, to the resistance of some ideas, as well as to lack of understanding⁸. The use of intermediaries added to the complexity of the phenomenon. The thorough study of the structure of a book and its terminology may present in a perfectly convincing way the confrontation that took place between the old stock of ideas and the new one and the adherence or reserve to the foreign author's attitude.

The aspects of the assimilation process, as they appeared in the Age of Enlightenment, make us believe that translations circulating in Romanian culture in the last decades of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th may offer material of real importance for a better knowledge of a decisive phase in Romanian just as in other Southeast European literatures and in the first place for an elucidation of the mental structures of the societies in that area of intense intellectual life.

The translations enriched to a great extent the cultural inheritance of the societies in this region. This enrichment meant, among other things, a diversification of intellectual activities. Historians of culture are often tempted to record the progress made in each field; they speak of the development of philology, history, literature, pedagogy, a.s.o. But if we intend to explain not only separate evo-

⁷ We make bold to point to the conclusions of our book *Coordinates of 18th Century Romanian Culture* where we have tried to outline the effects of the “second diversification” of the cultural activity in the Romanian Principalities.

⁸ The resistance of the old mental framework explains why fundamental concepts of the Western Enlightenment are sometimes rendered in the Romanian versions with a different meaning. In *Omu de lume* by Vasile Gergely (a book published in Vienna in 1819), an adaptation of professor G. I. Wenzel's book *Der Mann von Welt*, Pest, 1817, “Leiden-schaft” — passion — is rendered by “wickedness” and “Höflichkeit” — politeness — by “generosity” (examples taken from Șerban Cioculescu's study “An Unknown Literary Source”, in *România literară*, 1969, 20, p. 8).

lutions but the phenomenon itself, then we have (a) to focus our attention on the inner mechanism of the diversification and amplification that may be detected in the production of books and manuscripts, (b) to give greater attention to the motives offered by those who had selected a foreign work and found it to be of use to the intellectual progress of the respective society and (c) to watch closely the dissemination of books. Thus we shall be able to detect more easily the relationship between traditional values and new acquisitions and to understand better the meaning of the debates which produced a cultural upheaval.

Both in neo-Greek and in Romanian literature, intellectual values prevailed until the end of the 18th century. The moralizing books written at that time, occasionally dealing with historical questions but more frequently with religious ones⁹, to a great extent indicate that the intellectual system, getting crystallized during the humanism of the 17th century, did not go through profound revisions. Provided that the field of intellectual activity was extended, the traditional system was not disputed; we may speak rather about an advance of rational investigation that aimed at consolidating and securing the prestige of the traditional concept in face of the attacks of the Counter-Reformation or of the religious pressure dominant in the Ottoman Empire. To this openness towards new mental outlooks, but definitely based on unshaken principles, I felt justified to apply the term of *Orthodox Rationalism*. At the end of the 17th century, it was predominant at the Walachian court and in the princely school¹⁰ but it may also be identified in those cultural centres that exerted a considerable influence on intellectual life in Southeast Europe. In this category we may mention the Greek schools of Constantinople and Venice. Orthodox Rationalism may especially be found in the *Books of Wisdom*¹¹.

Books of good manners and "Mirrors of Princes" were written throughout the 18th century. Significant, however, is the fact that at a given moment, this literature knew a period of growth in which the themes of the books diversified. By the end of the century the books of good manners were constantly multiplied both in Greece¹² and in the Romanian Principalities. This process was continued du-

⁹ André Mirambel, *La littérature grecque moderne*, Paris, P.U.F., 1953, p. 29.

¹⁰ See our study, "Valeurs intellectuelles et valeurs sentimentales dans la culture roumaine au XVII^e siècle", in *Études européennes. Mélanges offerts à Victor L. Tapié*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973, pp. 371–379.

¹¹ We refer the reader to our book *Livres de sagesse...*

¹² See C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*, Genève, Droz, 1969, pp. 47–48.

ring the first decades of the 19th century when the transformations undergone by ideas became more and more sensible. The Romanian authors translated and remade those Greek books by modifying their content or inserting original fragments; however, the trend was similar in both cultures.

In 1815, for instance, an *Anthology of Wisdom* appeared in Bucharest. It was the translation of a book printed in Vienna in 1811 by Dimitrios Nicolaos Darvaris who had proposed to offer his readers useful advice for the "acquisition of human happiness". The author deals with ethical norms and deportment in society, basing himself on the unquestionable statements of authorities like Voltaire, Helvetius, Frederick the Great, or "good Gelert". Readers were recommended wise balance and rational asceticism which no longer seek salvation but a way of living decently. Iancu Nicolae, the translator, replaced the last part of the Greek book with patriotic poems. Moreover, this graduate of the Romanian school of St. Sava in Bucharest published the Romanian version of Nicolas Scufos' *Handbook of Patriotism*¹³ in Iași (1829); he also translated the French text of *The Indian Philosopher*, a book that had appeared in Vienna in 1782 (with parallel texts in French and Greek). The volume, printed by Baumeister, had offered the Greek readers the pieces of advice of the "Wise Lord Chesterfield", in fact, from *The Economy of Human Life*, a work attributed to the English diplomat. But while in the *Advice to His Son*, the English moralist had urged his heir to watch the life of the drawing rooms and faithfully to follow the counsel of the dancing master, in the new book he presented an excerpt from some very ancient books concealed for a long time in Chinese ancient temples. He considered himself lucky to have been able to discover a most ancient piece "which none of the Lamas had for many ages been able to interpret or understand", that is "a small system of morality". The perusal of the book does not help us see why the text had been so difficult to understand: the advice is simple and the lord made too long a journey in order to return with such a simplified vision of the world. But, the appearance of this handbook in Greece and in Romania reveals a significant moment in the development of the Books of Wisdom: metaphysical studies were abandoned and supplanted by practical rules for daily life in family and society.

With some interpreters of this literature of advice there exists the trend to work didactic sections into a unitary genre and to

¹³ Nestor Camariano, "On a Handbook of Patriotism Published in Iași in 1829" (in Romanian), in *Revista istorică română*, 1943.

detach the books from the environment and the moment in which they appeared. Applying the term of "parenetic literature" to all the counsels that were offered, they reveal modern educational trends with 16th century authors and the existence of enlightened ideas before the Age of Enlightenment. However, if this literary genre is entirely reconstituted and the works are related to the social environment in which they appeared as a form of dialogue, then we are able to follow with absolute clarity the evolution of the intellectual atmosphere. What in our opinion may be spotlighted, at the current stage of researches, is that at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next, the books of wisdom developed tremendously. A "Bourgeoispiegel" appeared in which the ethical norm reigned supreme; it became the major precept, eliminated the metaphysical speculation on which it had formerly depended and provided existence with a frame anchored in social life. What about the intellectual energies that remained free?

We get the answer also from these books: studies became engaged in political history, the norms of conduct were completed by arguments of the natural rights and besides the handbook of conduct appeared the guide-book to patriotism.

During its crystallization process, the national consciousness assimilated other elements supplied by European literature as well: the majority of the works translated into neo-Greek and then into Romanian recalled ancient history. The *Adventures of Telemachus* were successful for the readers knew that he was Ulysses's son. Equally successful were the plays of both French and Italian authors which introduced heroes of ancient history. Looking toward Rome, the Romanian authors translated for their connationals the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* while the adventures of *Numa Pompilius* described by Florian enjoyed exceptional success.

Here we still may find a connection thanks to the works of the famous Francesco Loredano about whom the editor of 1678 affirmed that, at the publication of the noble Venetian's works, "le lodi dell'Universo canteranno con voci d'eternità la grandezza de i pregi loro". Should we read them today, we would understand why these works did not enjoy eternal glory either in Greek or in Romanian culture: in the 19th century they were no longer published in Greece¹⁴ and in the Romanian Principalities never saw the printing press at all. The fact that *De gli scherzi geniali* became widely circulated only in the 18th century is so much the more indicative for the study of

¹⁴ As may be deduced from 'Αλφαριθμητική ἀναγραφή τῶν τίτλων τῆς βιβλιογραφίας Γκινη—Μέξα (1800—1863), Athens, 1968.

the history of mentalities. The work was purchased in Padua by Constantin Cantacuzino who evidently appreciated it¹⁵. It was translated into Greek by Malakis Giakoumis Kastrisios who gave it the title Παίγνια τῆς παντασίας (Venice, 1711)¹⁶. What are these delectations? Rhetoric exercises on subjects offered by Greco-Roman mythology and literature. Kastrisios placed them at the disposal of the Greek readers, stating that it was a real intellectual banquet. From Greek, the work was translated into Romanian in the second half of the 18th century and has been preserved in no less than *eleven* manuscript copies. How is this success to be accounted for? Part of it was probably due to the Venetian's remarkable eloquence, part to the very prestige of the personages making the imaginary speeches: Achilles, Cicero, Mark Anthony, Agrippina. Moreover, consulting Ioannis Patousas, the rector of the Phlanguinian College of Venice, Kastrisios accepted the advice of the author of the *Philological Encyclopedia* (Venice, 1710) and completed his version with a dictionary of ancient history¹⁷.

We meet here with the prestige of ancient history and the virtues cultivated by the Greeks and Romans, but, at the same time, with a pretext to produce literary works. The rhetoric exercise was enriched by topics offered by the literature of Arcadia¹⁸, while the evocation of the Golden Age accepted the vicinity of the pastoral world adduced by a Florian or a Gessner. This world was formally recognized as belonging to pure fiction, in Greek and in Romanian culture, when the authors and readers let sentimentalism occupy the ground from where wisdom had withdrawn leaving behind the ethical rule.

What forms could be adopted by sentimentalism? Those we meet in Phanariot poetry, calling forth transient love, inconstancy, violence of passion that rapidly burns out; but also those found in the works that treat passion as a major vector of human existence.

¹⁵ The list of the books purchased in Italy, written on a page of the *Introductio in dialecticam Aristotelis*, begins with "Li Scherzi geniali del Loredano", and "Le lettere del med(csimo) Loredano"; see *The Library of a Romanian Humanist* (in Romanian) by Corneliu Dima Drăgan, Bucharest, 1967, p. 148.

¹⁶ Börje Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, Uppsala, 1962, p. 372. In the Bucharest Library of the Academy there is a 1711 and a 1789 edition.

¹⁷ More at length in my study "Malakis Giakoumis Kastriosis et Francesco Loredano. Remarques sur l'évolution du domaine littéraire dans les cultures néogrecque et roumaine", in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Congress of Cretan Studies*, vol. III, Athens, 1975, pp. 110—114. See also B. Knös, *op. cit.*, pp. 351, 364—365; concerning the *Flowers of piety*, see the observations of C. Th. Dimaras, *Histoire de la littérature néo-hellénique*, Athens, 1965, pp. 125—127.

¹⁸ As defined by Giuseppe Toffanin in *Storia dell'Umanesimo*, volume quarto: *L'Arcadia*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1964.

So Rigas appealed to the versions from the collections that had become popular ¹⁹ in order to include them in a translation of a work of the new genre. He appealed to a chronicler of Parisian life, Restif de la Bretonne and, from the 300 stories contained in *Les Contemporaines*, he translated six — those in which a world with trifling pursuits is described ²⁰: an adventure of a young provincial, of an apprentice, of girls without money. Closely connected with Iordache Slătineanu ²¹, Rigas certainly placed his book at the former's disposal. Slătineanu translated from it some songs and introduced them in the text of Florian's *Sophronime* (translated into Romanian in 1797) ²². After that, the work was completely translated into Romanian. In Walachia, this was probably accomplished by Peşacov ²³, although the copy that was preserved until our times (that of 1804, written by Nicolae Udeanu) does not tell the translator's name (University Library of Cluj, Ms. 4336, 4387, 4337, including the stories II, V and VI). In Moldavia, the translation by Ioan Beldiman ²⁴ was copied in 1818 by Costache Borş who reproduced all the six stories (Library of the Academy, Ms. 126 : *Istorie a celor mai gingaşe amoruri a Parisului* — A History of the Most Delicate Loves of Paris).

Almost all books of moral advice, popular literature and fiction were recommended to the readers because they provided moral instruction while offering delectation (*amusement, pleasure* are the terms which appear most frequently). With Restif, the argumentation of the moral character of his stories is more difficult. Therefore Rigas points out in the preface that all novels demonstrate that love is noble when it respects the norms of living in society, and that the narratives of lovers' adventures may set an example for anybody's

¹⁹ More recent data can be found in P.S. Pistas "Ἡ παρέρχουσα τῶν στοιχοῦργημάτων τοῦ Σχολείου τῶν νελικάτων ἐραστῶν", extract from *Ελληνικά*, Thessaloniki, vol. 20, 1967, pp. 393—412.

²⁰ As shown by Jean A. Thomopoulos, "L'original de l'École des amants délicats" de Rhigas Velestinlis", in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Athens, 1960, pp. 21—31.

²¹ See Alexandru Elian, "Greek Conspirators in the Principalities" (in Romanian), in *Revista istorică*, 1935, 10—12, p. 337—372.

²² See Mircea Angheliescu, "From the History of a Poetic Motif: 'Inimă mă ia mirare'" (in Romanian), in *Limba şi literatura*, XX, 1969, pp. 35—38.

²³ Possibly the manuscript of Cluj is connected with the version which Gheorghe Peşacov claims to have produced; see Alexandru Ciorănescu, "A Literary Letter of Gheorghe Peşacov" (in Romanian), in *Revista istorică*, 1934, 7—9, pp. 368—381. Concerning this writer, a wealth of data in C.N. Velichi, "Un poète slavo-roumain: Georges Peşacov", in *Romanoslavica*, XVI, 1968, pp. 354—395.

²⁴ Little known, this Ioan Beldiman was Alexandru Beldiman's brother; some years later, he presented Mihail Kogălniceanu with a chronicle (note on ms. 115, Library of the Academy, Bucharest). See *Dictionary of Romanian literature from the origins to 1900* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1979, p. 97.

life. The Romanian translator did not object to reproducing Rigas' preface; the argumentation was powerful: in our century tales of love interest the whole world, this is at least what we can read on the first page of ms. 126, a translation of Σχολεῖον τῶν ντελικά τωυ ἑραστῶν.

It is evident that ethics seems to censure delectation. However, fantasy takes off, begins to play and jumps from one epoch to another till it lingers in immediate reality.

In the place of precepts, timeless and unchanging, appeared norms which concentrated the conclusions drawn from the study of daily life; in all fields the rhythm grew faster²⁵. Censure could no longer be categorical. The norms of which it consisted were subjected to the analysis of a special science and thus the intellectual system broke up; individual creation penetrated the field of philosophical speculation while the rights of artistic expression were fully stated. Art as a way of symbolically reproducing some indisputable truth was replaced by art which reproduced manifold meanings of immediate reality²⁶. Literature got anchored into the present, followed the elan of the struggle for national emancipation, passionately touched on the beauties of Nature, praised friendship and love. This literature concerned itself with the right to be happy. The poetry produced on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Danube came out from closed rooms and prose writers no longer made Cicero and Mark Anthony speak according to the rules of baroque eloquence. Sentimentalism broke out in social and political poetry, as it became refined in terms of intimate meaning; "enlightenment" and "sentimentalism" cooperated in an era in which the very idea of Man was changing.

²⁵ In this sense, our paper "Le rythme des contacts culturels et l'évolution des mentalités", in *Actes du VII^e Congrès de l'Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée*, Stuttgart, Kunst und Wissen, 1979, vol. II, pp. 109–111.

²⁶ More at length in my article "Intelligence et imagination à l'aube des cultures modernes sud-est européennes", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1979, 2, pp. 315–325. The student of this period interested solely in influences always prefers to pay attention to a small group of works, like the "parenthetic literature", instead of establishing connexions between the group which is scrutinized and other testimonies; thus, a period of Greek influences has been detected in the history of Romanian culture (see, for example, Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, "Parénèses byzantines dans les pays roumains", in *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1979, pp. 117–133; the author tries to demonstrate that Agapetus was translated from Greek, against sound evidence). This type of studies offers no chance to grasp concomitantly the long-run cultural movements and the impulses received by the will to innovate. Whenever the accent falls on influences, tradition will be pushed somewhere behind the background to socio-political life (like in Paul Cornea's *Origins of Romanian Romanticism*, 1972, mostly the 1st part).

Restif's "populisme"²⁷ was no Romantic reaction against classicism but rather a new proof of the tension between the art developed in closed spaces and the art of open spaces, between the classicism or rococo of the class which had "distinguished itself from the mass" and the baroque which sought new forms for mass festivals: Restif reacted against "ideal beauty" and "refined imitation" which was noticeable in rococo paintings, Boucher's, for instance. The assimilation of his work did not answer a similar problem in Southeast Europe but was part of the baroque assimilations which fit in the "open" space of the painting and literature of this zone²⁸; the translations of short stories coincided with the moment at which the narrative element burst into frescoes and icons, contributing in that age of transition to the disintegration of the traditional figurative system.

As a matter of fact, an analysis of themes reveals a variety of attitudes in European literatures; the theme of ruins, the sepulchral theme had different origins and orientations. It appears with poets who revived the puritan concept of "memento mori" or with those, Italian in particular, who recalled the ancient "national" grandeur²⁹. In Romanian literature, the poetry of the ruins was certainly of the latter category and it did not lead to an isolation of the imaginary from intellectual values. Under these conditions, it is not sufficient to detect the appearance of certain themes in order to announce the emergence of Romanticism, in the form of a pre-Romanticism; because such a procedure unavoidably encourages the study of influences as the only explanation in comparative literature and the establishment of a simplicist chronology: an evolution which does not follow the rhythm of an exemplary literature betrays a gap in mental evolution.

²⁷ See Jacques Marx, "La renommée helvétique de Restif de la Bretonne au XVIII^e siècle", in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1970, 3, p. 799.

²⁸ On Baroque expressions in Romanian poetry and painting see the articles published in *Synthesis* IV/1977, V/1978 and VI/1979 (where the reader will find the papers delivered at a symposium organized by the Romanian Committee of Comparative Literature: *Littérature et arts aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: le cas roumain*) and in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* (mostly in 1978 nos 1 and 4). Some general commentaries may be found in my book *Synthesis and Originality in Romanian Culture* (in Romanian), p. 105 et seq.; Adrian Mariano, "A Romanian Baroque?" (in Romanian), in *Cronica*, 1969, 3, and "Les premiers échos baroques et maniéristes dans la littérature roumaine", in *Baroque*, Montauban, 1973, 6, pp. 161–163.

²⁹ See Roland Mortier, "Sensibility, Neoclassicism or Preromanticism", in *Eighteenth Century Studies*, pp. 155–163, excerpt.

Reference was made in older literary historiography to the importance of the Neo-Greek influence on the modernization of Romanian literature in an epoch in which installed on the Romanian thrones were Phanariot rulers. Yet, no mention was made of the fact that translations of neo-Greek writings into Romanian were scanty and that this contact did not introduce the work of sterling poets like Solomos or Calvos. The explanation is offered by the conservatory character of the Phanariot cultural trend in comparison with the openness to innovation of the trend which asserted itself in the islands and the diaspora ³⁰. The Phanariot trend favoured the intensification of contacts with Western literatures through the medium of translations and adaptations, a trend which put at the disposal of the Romanian boyars numerous intermediaries. Conversant with the language of the court, the neo-Greek, these boyars could read many Western productions thanks to the neo-Greek intermediaries. Concomitantly, Romanian scholars wrote original pieces or translated foreign works.

Whereas writers of a more bookish bent, like Ienăchiță Văcărescu or C. Conachi, cultivated "closet" poetry, popular writers enriched the series of writings for the large public with new works: Barac included in this series *Arghir and Elena* and *Hamlet* while Anton Pann took up traditional writings and imparted them a didactic character. What unites the Văcărescu brothers, Conachi and even Asachi, with his *Leucaida* ³¹, Barac and Anton Pann is the mental framework within which their thinking and sentimentalism manifested themselves, a framework governed by intellectual values from among which the ethical values held the top place; the formerly repressed "passions" started to be regarded as important vital forces but only to the extent to which they were mastered, their independent manifestation being still unconceivable. Such a mental framework favoured the intertwining of symbols with the ideal projection into imaginary worlds; the mental representation which stands out in this combination is "Arcadia", present in rococo painting and neo-classic poetry.

³⁰ More in my article, "Romanian Literature in the Age of Enlightenment. The Image of an Epoch" (in Romanian), in *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 1971, 3. pp. 399—408 in which I referred to the hostility shown by certain 19th century historians of culture to the Phanariot epoch and the apologies of recent authors, attitudes similar to those taken by Greek interpreters who oscillate between virulent criticism (Marc Filip Zalloni, *Essai sur les Phanariotes*, 1821, a contemporary of Romanian reactions) and exaltation (K. Paparigopoulos who in his *History of the Hellenic People* of 1903 stated that a longer presence of the Phanariots in Romania would have led to the country's Hellenization...).

³¹ See George Sorocscu's edition, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1974.

In Romanian culture, the lyrical productions of a neo-classic nature, the Levantine inspiration and sentimental narrative coexisted in an intellectual atmosphere which was encouraging the progress of belles-lettres and belle arte. "Delectation" acquired a new function and took its place among other activities, but it had to be subserved to ethical purposes. It was a concern for the neighbouring societies as well; a hint at this is given by the Russian commentaries on the unprecedented development of the novel, over 800 being written in the course of four decades on the dawn of the 19th century, and by the frequent occurrence of the concept of *zābavā* (respite) sometimes as a title of magazine, as was the case with the literary periodical edited in 1832 by the Serb intellectual Dimitri Davidović — *Zabavnik*. Until the first decades of the 19th century, this intellectual atmosphere persisted in Southeast Europe; in the middle of the century, it changed. What precisely can reveal the change and explain its nature? In order to effect "a periodization and a spatial cleavage" in 18th century European literatures, interpreters recommended the recourse to thematic criteria which should constitute "broad semantic fields of a certain fascination, with affective force"³². Two elements seem to enhance the chances of this inquiry: the previous definition of the place held by the "delectation literature" within the written culture of each analyzed society, the eventual reconsideration of the results obtained on the basis of thematic criteria to find out the place acquired by the imaginary in people's mental and affective life. Because this was the most spectacular innovation in the great Romantic mutation: the imaginary no longer relied on the symbols capable to render sensible the great structures of the universe but on immediate reality, with the end to re-shape it through illusion. The Age of Enlightenment was an end and a beginning; the mutation was produced by Romanticism. But, in between the two epochs no intermediary phase appeared to be called pre-Romanticism, since the new elements of the Enlightenment had prolongations which fingered into Romanticism; the best example is provided by the multiplication of the fields of thinking — ethics, logic, aesthetic, metaphysics, etc. — in the 19th century along the paths opened in the previous century. Noting these connections, interpreters of 19th century Romanian literature did not hesi-

³² Roland Mortier, "Aires culturelles et périodes littéraires. Quelques critères de détermination pour le XVIII^e siècle", in *Neohelikon*, I, 1973, 1—2, pp. 130—136. The author finally recommends "une diversification très large des critères (englobant p. ex. la notion de *genre* ou de *style*) et une extension considérable des références à des œuvres et à d'autres littératures".

tate to place side by side neo-classic and romantic writers, as Mihail Kogălniceanu and B. P. Hasdeu did who appreciated that Hrisoverghi and Grigore Alexandrescu, Alecu Beldiman and Cezar Bolliac belonged in the same group³³.

Historical "detachment" allows us today to make a twofold operation. To separate first the writers who had remained attached to the idea of cosmic order, discovering the artistic "adornment" (*kosmeo*, from which "cosmetics" developed subsequently) in the symmetry of the world's structures³⁴, from the writers who started to explore the infinite spaces of the universe, cognizable thanks to the "fruit of science" which changed the look of the androgyne contemplated by Plato, just as it changed the biblical Eve into the "adorable object of the happy dream" like in Heliade's *Anatolida*³⁵. Secondly, we should discover the intellectual tension in the Romanian cultural model in the Age of Enlightenment in the confrontation between the mental images handed down by tradition and the emerging ones and not in the clash between the theories of Western philosophers and the precepts of local scholars, suggesting the Manichaeistic struggle between the *Lumières* that were carried to people's doors by itinerant Prometheuses and the obscurantism thrown like a doomful veil on minds subjugated by oriental visions. Since, from these tensions, there emerged, in the period of Romanticism, a new cultural model open to new cultural relations.

³³ Details in Marin Bucur, *Romanian Literary Historiography* (in Romanian), pp. 9–23.

³⁴ See Newton P. Stallknecht, *Ideas and Literature in Comparative Literature. Method and Perspective*, p. 161 in which "historical perspective" is the factor enabling the interpreter to delimit mental attitudes and similar ideas which change their content along the centuries; on the classic ideal of organic unity, pp. 163–166.

³⁵ On the "non-Orthodox" Platonism of British romantic authors, *ibidem*, pp. 156–158.

TOWARDS NEW CULTURAL RELATIONS

Between 1824 and 1826, Dinicu Golescu travelled through Hungary, Austria, Italy and Germany; he stayed for a while in Geneva where he left his sons Ștefan and Nicolae "to study". After scrutinizing universities, institutes and boarding schools, Golescu advised the readers of his travel notes not to send their children to study after 20 years of age "with hired tutors, as is the customs with us", but to send them when they are eight for getting accustomed with the good manners and learning. His recommendation was not the outcome of a revelation he had on the road to Geneva; it was an energetic intervention in the dispute involving the conservatory professors of the Bucharest princely academy and the intellectuals receptive to new ideas. While some teachers of the academies patronized by Phanariot princes were virulently condemning the places breeding revolutionary ideas which were disseminated by the disciples of the "atheist" Voltaire, other teachers and intellectuals were demanding a better knowledge of the European area where economic prosperity and social order were in full tide.

To support this latter viewpoint did metropolitan Veniamin Costache publish in 1819 a translation of a book written by the Greek merchant Nicolas Pappadopoulos and printed in Venice in 1815: in this 'Εγχειρίδιον translated into Romanian as *Cărticica îndemînatecă* (The Handy Booklet), the author condemned the philosopher Voltaire but praised the author of *Henriade*, drew a distinctive line between heretics and conservative professors and the partisans of "enlightened" thinking, and concluded with an imprecation: "those who oppose philosophy will ever be guilty of not loving their kin..."¹.

¹ See my article "Un livre grec sur les Lumières occidentales traduit en roumain en 1819", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 1965, 5, pp. 979—987. Dinicu Golescu recommended, in a fine French language, to the Bavarian Friedrich Thiersch the young Ioan and Constantin Crețulescu who went to study in Munich in 1829 — see the letters published in *Manuscriptum*, 1977, 2, pp. 174—176.

Dinicu Golescu, the offspring of a boyar family, was no isolated case; besides him, the same stand was taken by the clergy supporting the dissemination of books of applied science and of good conduct, the modernization of education and the enlargement of the network of schools in the rural milieus; holding clearer ideas, the young intellectuals — professors, physicians, journalists — managed to impose their viewpoint. Together, reformist boyars, the protagonists of the “enlightened clergy”² and the new generation of intellectuals were opposing the boyars desirous to maintain the old economic and social structure, the clergy repudiating philosophy and the professors attached to the mechanical study of ancient texts whom Pappadopoulos labelled “literatori” (literators). Dinicu Golescu’s travel notes printed in Buda in 1826 provided a thorough basis for the cultural programme asserted in the Romanian society in the first half of the 19th century. “Good has been learned by people from one another”, stated the author in his preface: “the Hellenes from the Egyptians, the Romans from the Hellenes, «enlightened Europe» from the Romans. It is high time to awake”, he continued, describing for his compatriots the new things he had seen in enlightened centres; “we shall thus continue our ancestors’ endeavours, developing the good they did for the community and making the homeland prosper”.

The essentials of this cultural programme were clearly expressed in this book: a survey of the cultural heritage started to be made concomitantly with the clarification of the new lines to be followed and with the emergence of the new institutions; this survey was to go into depth while the European consciousness was being re-shaped. The new trends and the new institutions were not invented then, under the impact of the shock of discovering “enlightened Europe”, as the interpreters of this period stated, accepting to a great extent the assessments of the 1848 intellectuals. The survey made today by Romanian historiography has allowed for a more thorough knowledge of the process of the successive elaboration of cultural programmes in relation to realities. A decisive stage in the history of Romanian culture, the first decades of the 19th century can no longer be viewed as a “break with oriental lethargy” and “a race towards Europe” steered by an irresistible mirage; this change of vision is due both to the reconsideration of concepts which dominated the thinking of 19th century people and the re-evaluation of the conceptual frame of the older historiography, of which suffice it to remind the irreducible opposition between “oriental stagnation”

² Described by Fritz Valjavec, in the chapter “L’évolution culturelle” in the volume *L’Europe du XIX^e et du XX^e siècle (1815 – 1870)*, Milan, Marzorati, 1959, vol.1, p.373.

and "European progress". The investigation of the development process of Romanian culture within such a conceptual framework frequently diverted interpreters' attention from the analysis of internal phenomena channelling it to exterior forms; but, one cannot piece together the cultural processes in various areas of European culture without starting from the internal dynamics of cultural forms, those forms which are concrete expressions of cultural models. The recent acquisitions of Romanian historiography³ have opened up the prospects of a history of the cultural models elaborated by the Romanian society, capable to explain the evolution of the self-awareness of Romanian culture, on the one hand, and the nature of the relations established with other cultures, on the other.

What immediately arrests the attention of the historian perusing the texts produced at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next is the recurrence of a number of concepts which were dominant in people's thinking: "enlightenment", "happiness", "common benefit", "homeland", "Europe" were frequently used in writings. The Romanian people, the writers of the time stated, ought to hold a dignified place among the European peoples and the best way to this is education. The chief purpose was to attract ever larger sections into schools and then, to continue mobilizing their minds through reading. The expansion of the network of schools in Transylvania and the reform of the princely academies in Walachia and Moldavia favoured considerably the project, just as the setting up of private printing presses in Braşov and Sibiu facilitated the diversification of book production. Both the scholars at Rîmnic (Walachia) and in Moldavia and those forming the Transylvanian School took over the ideas of their predecessors; telling is the fact that, when he attacked the greed for public offices of the boyars attached to the Phanariot court, Dinicu Golescu took a stand identical with Dimitrie Cantemir's, who had blamed a system which was debasing morals and disorganizing social life⁴; many other develop-

³ An almost exhaustive survey of recent contributions to the history of culture — relations between Romanian culture and world culture, activity of some Romanian men of science and culture, institutions of culture, history of science, history of art, of writing and of books, history of education — in *Romania's Historical Bibliography* (in Romanian), vol. IV : 1969—1974, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1975, pp. 345—441.

⁴ In this respect, the commentaries annexed to the chapter "Vienna" in which Dinicu Golescu analyzes the alienation of the riches caused by the administration's abuses in Walachia and the incompetence of functionaries promoted to high offices by the system of favouritism (p. 88 et seq. in the 1971 edition — Bucharest, Ed. Eminescu — resorted to for this chapter); compare with the criticism of the system of promotion presented in *Descriptio Moldaviae* by Dimitrie Cantemir (p. 285 in the 1972 edition — Bucharest, Ed. Academiei). It is possible that Golescu may have known the German version of Cantemir's work published prior to the Romanian one which was printed in 1825.

ments of the humanists' ideas in the writings of early 19th century intellectuals attest to this continuity.

Continuity is obvious, but no less obvious is the radicalization of ideas; gradually, the most frequent concepts were connected to the imperatives of re-shaping social life. Branding the harsh economic exploitation, the abuses of the state apparatus, the disorder affecting social life, Dinicu Golescu proposed as remedies patriotic education and the foundation of cultural associations; these remedies are not utopian, he assured his readers, since a whole group of men willing to contribute to raising the homeland, whose names he gives, were ready to participate in the implementation of a common programme. A "literary society" did come into being and during its séances were read Iordache Golescu's grammar and the first translations of Heliade Rădulescu, whose grammar was printed with the society's aid. In the third decade of the 19th century, the programme elaborated by the protagonists of the Enlightenment was furthered by those believing in some positive things: the Romanian people has a brilliant origin for it descends from the Romans; it developed a remarkable culture proved by the series of books printed in the past and by its initiatives in Southeast Europe; its duty is to join the family of the peoples which have reached a high civilization level. And thus, when Dinicu Golescu left Vienna for Venice he hailed "the paradise on earth, that is Italy", the centre of Latinity and the civilization flourishing in the Austrian territories, near Vienna, "where the wealthy man should live, for quiet life and good manners like here can hardly be found in any (other) places".

After Tudor Vladimirescu's revolutionary movement of 1821 which brought into the foreground popular aspirations, the certitudes were based on other foundations. This was especially due to the weight acquired by social questions: the evils of the Phanariot system had no longer to be remedied but totally removed; the period prior to 1821 appeared as an "Ancien Régime" which had to be pulled down. At the same time, a re-shaping of the image of Europe took place as well; the new generation found that the Romanian people's dramatic destiny was largely due to the formula of "European balance" which placed the fate of small peoples in the hands of imperial chancelleries. The French Revolution ushered in a new era, of a Europe of nations, and thus the duty of the Romanian people appeared to be its assertion as a nation: politically, through the abolition of the feudal frontiers separating the Romanian provinces and of feudal privileges which maintained the conservative forces; culturally, through the mobilization of spirits to this purpose.

This programme was formulated by intellectuals trained in the Romanian schools in the three provinces, who lent new dimensions to urban culture. Urban centres developed strongly and they imposed the course of cultural life, limiting the diffusion capacity of the traditional centres: the princely court and the monastery. New institutions in towns favoured the circulation of ideas and the crystallization of certain concepts: schools, societies, private printing offices, theatres and, certainly, the newspapers which started appearing now after previous abortive attempts: Ion Heliade Rădulescu's *Curierul românesc* who appeared in April, 1829, in Bucharest, Gheorghe Asachi's *Albina românească* set up in Iași the same year, George Barițiu's *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură* which were founded in Brașov in 1839. Study trips and reading introduced into Romanian culture new data on Europe. The new generation was firm in attacking the old regime and engaged in actions which reached a climax during the revolutions of 1848; they associated the idea of "homeland" with that of "nation" and campaigned for the achievement of national unity, which they accomplished partially in 1859 by the union of the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia.

Under suchlike circumstances, the cultural survey became more peremptory in the ensuing period; from the fourth decade onward, the selection was governed by new objectives. From the heritage of the old regime, the activity placed in the service of the homeland and nation was preserved; the struggle for national independence and for the Romanian language was extolled; the Romanian people's Latin origin was glorified while the culture reminding of Turks, and Phanariots, was rejected. The creation of the masses which had endured feudal exploitation — the folklore — was reconsidered and appreciated. The new generation assimilated Western ideas which reinforced these orientations; they talked about the "genius and spirit" of peoples, of the historic mission of nations, of the creations which highlighted the struggle for the peoples' liberty and equality of rights. The image of Western civilizations and the image of autochthonous cultural tradition completed each other; the first came to support the renewing action, the latter got shape in relation to the former. The 1848 revolutionaries carried out a sustained campaign to inform foreign circles of the Romanian realities. As early as 1839, Mihail Kogălniceanu wrote for *Lehmanns Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, on the urge of Alexander von Humboldt, a history of the Romanian language and literature which underlined that the Romanian people made his contribution

to the "world of ideas" (as remarked by Al. Xenopol)⁵. In it, like in other writings, Kogălniceanu viewed Petru Maior, the author of the *History of the Beginnings of the Romanians in Dacia*, of 1812, as "the author of our modern literature". Later, in 1855, Alexandru Odobescu was to affirm that "the national sources" of Romanian literature were "the people and the chroniclers". Autochthonous tradition was re-shaped and called upon to develop according to the model offered by ancient literatures and by the "Gothic and Romantic" ones, as put by Odobescu. Due to their close ties with the Polish revolutionaries, to their taking over the Mazzinian ideas, and due to the influence of the effigy-image of republican France, the Romanian intellectuals' orientation to European Romanticism was quite marked.

This orientation conferred on art and literature a major place in cultural activity. The rate at which translations were made became faster and new options gained ground: Lamartine instead of Florian, Schiller instead of Gessner, Byron instead of Pope or Alfieri instead of Metastasio⁶. The evolution was not at all linear, for literature, which was playing now such an important part in the structure of written culture, had to make up for the wasted time; this explains why besides works of French classicism, whole series of Romantic poets were disseminated in a planned manner, together with masterpieces reconsidered by Romanticism like Dante's or Shakespeare's. Translations of Western literary works were so numerous that they produced the reaction of those who were promoting the new cultural programme: in *Dacia literară*, a magazine intending to contribute to the achievement of "a language and literature common to all", in 1840, Mihail Kogălniceanu condemned "the fashion of translations" and advised the writers to explore the country's history and to derive inspiration from the "national specificity". The imperative of producing a culture of European quality caused tension between the purposes of the "architects" of the new culture and the various undertakings favoured by the more intense circulation of foreign books; this tension was fed also by the reading public in towns who was equally attracted by Shakespeare and Kotzebue, by namby-pamby plays and the dramas of Victor Hugo. The new mentality oscillated between immediate delectation and artistic vision, between the taste commanded by fashion and the taste for

⁵ Details in A. Zub, *Kogălniceanu. A Historian*, pp. 323—329.

⁶ Also the chapters on the 17th—19th centuries in *The History of Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1979.

“classical” values which, according to Barițiu’s definition appear in all epochs, aiming to elevate man.

The orientation towards European Romanticism is noticeable also in the original poetry which sang the ruins reminiscent of glorious epochs, like those of Vasile Cârlova or offered fantastic imaginary constructions, like those of I. Heliade Rădulescu. This poetry did not flourish on a barren soil; it benefited by the lesson of folk poetry and the experience of the forerunners. Truly, the previous generations had left their productions in manuscript form. It was not only the difficulty of finding a publisher that had hindered Ienăchiță Văcărescu or Costache Conachi from printing their poems; a proof of the contrary is Alexandru Beldiman, a prolific translator who rendered in Romanian Regnard and Voltaire, Florian and Metastasio, and who collaborated with Zaharia Carcalechi and had some versions printed. To the generation of the Enlightenment, poetic creation, elaborated upon neo-classic models, had the character of a confession and was not intended to surpass the framework of correspondence; poems were letters in verses⁷. Alone, Ioan Cantacuzino had a volume of *Poezii noae* (New Poems) printed sometime around 1796. The intellectuals of the Transylvanian School paid less attention to belletristics; Vasile Aaron disseminated Klopstock and Vergil; it is true that the most representative literary production of Romanian Enlightenment, Ion Budai-Deleanu’s *Țiganiada*, remained in manuscript form until the death of its author and long afterwards, irrespective of his wish. But, on the whole, literary creation claimed no autonomous position within Romanian written culture in that period.

After 1830, literary creation was encouraged by the supporters of the cultural programme and, besides serial productions, there appeared works which gave an independent status to belletristics: Grigore Alexandrescu’s poems and N. Filimon’s prose in Walachia, Vasile Alecsandri’s poetry and C. Negruzzi’s prose in Moldavia, Andrei Mureșanu’s poetry and Barițiu’s prose in Transylvania. But, in their works and in similar ones Romanticism did not prevail being

⁷ We should consider also the fact that in the authors’ consciousness, these poems seemed to nourish a vein with a long-standing tradition and maintained by orality: “the first Văcărescu, Conachi and all the poets, unimportant and unknown before, who surrounded them, did nothing else but continue an older line: that of the ‘love songs’ closely related to the Western, French in particular, ‘little poetry’ the beginnings of which may be placed with certainty, at least in the case of Transylvania, by the middle of the past century”, remarks pertinently Ovidiu Papadima, *Aspects of the Romanian Enlightenment* (in Romanian), p. 63. About the fashion of anonymity and pseudonymity with the Transylvanian scholars of the 19th century, see Ioan Chindriș’ commentaries in “Timotei Cipariu as Traveller”, in *Manuscriptum*, 1976, 3, pp. 74—75.

blended with a classicism resulting from the dominance of intellectual values. The orientation towards European Romanticism helped belletristics gain an autonomous position but produced no break in the culture whose tradition had been governed by intellectual values and collective creation. Romanticism produced to too little an extent a singularization of the artist and a refusal of intellectual tradition through the urge to explore the world of imagination. We cannot overlook in this respect the influence exerted in that time on literary theory by the traditional rhetoric.

In this respect, the grammars elaborated during that period provide telling proofs and these are the more significant as they confirm, in the domain of language, the process taking place in literature. Since, forced to comply to Western models, literary language got crystallized without leaving the path of tradition. Whereas Dimitrie Eustatievici of Braşov relied for his *Grammar* of 1757 on the work of Meletie Smotriski, Constantin Lascaris and Gregorius Molnar (*Elementa Grammaticae Latine*, Cluj, 1556)⁸, the tendency of the authors that followed after him was to stress the Latin element in the Romanian language launching the imperative of forming new words by starting from the vulgar Latin spoken in the Roman province of Dacia and from the related languages, French and Italian. The fundamental work of the Transylvanian School, *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae* (Vienna, 1780) used by I. Piuariu-Molnar for his *Deutsch-walachische Sprachlehre* (Vienna, 1788) inaugurated the purist and etymologizing line followed with more or less strictness by other Transylvanian authors like Radu Tempea (Sibiu, 1797) or Paul Iorgovici (Buda, 1799). Differently, Ienăchiţă Văcărescu (Rimnic, 1787) and Iordache Golescu "directed their attention especially to the elements of the vernacular and to enriching the lexic of the literary language both by borrowings and by resorting to the treasure of the spoken language"⁹.

Whereas the formation of the literary language in the other Southeast European cultures was marked by dramatic searches for solutions by the supporters of archaisms or of idioms¹⁰, the existence of a tradition in Romanian written culture, where the language spoken

⁸ See the preface of N.A. Ursu to the 1969 edition of the *Grammar*, Bucharest, Ed. ştiinţifică.

⁹ Al. Rosetti, B. Cazacu, L. Onu, *A History of the Romanian Literary Language* (In Romanian), vol. I, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1971.

¹⁰ See André Mirambel, "Le développement des littératures du Sud-Est européen en relation avec les autres littératures de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours. Généralités et méthodes", in *Actes du premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, Sofia, Editions de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences, 1971, vol. VII, pp. 10–11.

in the north of Walachia and the south of Transylvania had penetrated religious literature already in the 16th century, facilitated considerably the unification and standardization of literary language. The discarding of the bookish language of the 18th century, overloaded with Slavonic and neo-Greek words, sometimes not used in the spoken language, the constant recourse to the neo-Latin languages, French in particular, facilitated the standardization of a language which the purism of erudites could not alter. The presence of Romanian forms in the medieval language of East and Southeast Europe, Slavonic, the triumph of the Romanian language as a literary language in the 17th century and its progress in the epoch of the Phanariots marked the phases which permitted the reformers of the grammar in the 19th century to rely on a tradition¹¹, strongly developed at that time but not so strongly as to produce a "re-Latinization" of the language. The process was unitary in character as shown also by the discussions aroused by the paternity of *Cîntarea României* (Song to Romania) produced by the middle of the past century and attributed either to the Walachian Nicolae Bălcesu or to the Moldavian Alecu Russo. The transition from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin one was gradual: after the Latin letters had been used in *Elementa linguae*..., the 43 Cyrillic letters were reduced to 27 in Heliade Rădulescu's *Grammar* in 1828 followed in the ensuing years by the appearance of a transition alphabet, until 1860 when the Latin alphabet was officially introduced in the United Principalities.

The standardization and development of the literary language in pace with scientific progress, together with the spectacular flourishing of belletristics are processes revealing the change occurred in mentality in Romanian culture in the Age of Enlightenment and the 1848 Romanticism. Gradually, the epoch prior to the Enlightenment started to be viewed as the Middle Ages and judged according to Western criteria; the part played by Antiquity by Aristotelian thought in particular lost in importance; the Byzantine heritage was rejected, being assimilated to "Gothic barbarism"; the humanist model crystallized at the end of the 17th century was disintegrated and only the predecessors' contribution to the development of the Romanian language and the affirmation of Latinity was taken over. The linguistic and folkloric aspects of "old literature" were highlighted

¹¹ Convincing arguments in G. Mihăilă, *A Dictionary of the Old Romanian Language, the End of the 10th and the Beginning of the 16th Centuries* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. enciclopedică română, 1974, and Elisabeth Close, *The Development of Modern Romanian Linguistic Theory and Practice in Muntenia, 1821—1838*, Oxford University Press, 1974. A survey in Ion Gheție and Al. Mares, *An Introduction into Romanian Philology* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. enciclopedică română, 1974, pp. 20—68.

also during the reconsideration effected in neo-Greek or Serbian cultures. As a matter of fact, although the interpreters of Romanian cultural history did not speak of a "Renaissance" in the acceptation of the term used by exegetes of Balkan literatures, the division into "old" and "modern" literature was a favourite of philologists and aestheticizing critics.

Yet, a question insistently posed today to the global history which analyzes cultural models is : did the formation of the modern language and literature produce a fracture in the evolution of mentalities? Did Romanian culture disentangle itself from an oriental model to adopt a Western one?

Scrutinizing the previous evolution of Romanian culture, the researcher notices the role played in the development of mentalities, by the long term, on the one hand, and the imperatives of the moment, on the other. The interpreters of Romanian culture in the second half of the 19th century noted that folk productions proved the vitality of a "Volksgeist" but, at the same time, they remarked the multiple links of those creations with Southeast European cultures¹²; the reconstitution of the stock of manuscripts and printings supplied proofs in this respect, just as the recovery of the language of images brought to light a vigorous tradition which concomitantly threw light on ties with the intellectual life in the neighbouring countries. This was amplified especially in the last decade of the past century with the setting up of the German and Russian reviews of Byzantine studies ("Byzantinische Zeitschrift" and "Vizantyski Vremennik"), of acknowledged value, which gave impetus to the investigation of this forgotten world¹³. Thus, an impressive tradition of civilization began to penetrate the consciousness of historians. It first captured the interest of philologists, then of historians of political life, then of art historians; the large public was attracted by this world only in the last decades (a lack of interest explainable perhaps by pointless erudition or improvisation), understanding only gradually that it was a great vein of European and Near East culture.

The stage of resolute refusal of the "old regime" was followed by a period in which the major trends of cultural tradition got clarified. The cultural expression promoted by the Phanariot regime, dependent of an imperial authority whose decay was emphasized by the reforms of the Tanzimat, did not formulate new solidarities and

¹² This is the case of B. P. Hasdeu or of Odobescu. For the general aspect of the question, see Zoran Konstantinović, "Jugoslavische Beiträge zur Balkanologie und Südosteuropa — Forschung", in *Actes du premier Congrès...* pp. 257—260.

¹³ See Al. Elian, "An Introduction" to *Fontes...*, vol. III, p. XVIII.

did not open up new prospects to the formation process of human personality. The 1848 generation viewed in the Transylvanian School its origin and through its effort to reconstitute historical literature it revived humanist works channelling this tradition along paths similar to those taken by Western cultures. This was followed by a vigorous expansion of intellectual activity which enriched traditional concepts with new meanings. "The multiplier" of the Age of Enlightenment¹⁴ worked with increased force at the middle of the past century and accounts for the appearance, within the romantic mentality, of new relations between the microcosmos and the macrocosmos, between rationalized human nature and the universe freed from the closed harmony of the classic vision.

Such a relation can be noted in the writings of Ionică Tăutu who in 1827 described to "a brother and friend" the contradiction he had noticed between the image of the present and that of the future in the form of a speech which he might have delivered to an American, the citizen of a country which had carried through a revolution! The ideas of the thinker got shape in the time when he was meditating "far from the turmoil of the world" when he had been "leisurely studying geometry", applying the knowledge acquired at the school of his time, but before having studied Montesquieu, Filangeri and Plato. "These ideas, although I know today that they need improvement here and there, can prove my genuine love for the homeland"¹⁵. Traditional wisdom, clarified by the guide-marks existing in modern European societies, provided the foundation of criticism which was designing a new programme for the future. In his turn, nourished by historical literature, Nicolae Bălcescu surpassed the limit of the "boyar or bureaucratic state" to plead for the democratic state in which work held the most important place¹⁶.

In the flourishing domain of belletristics, Heliade Rădulescu included in his *Sburătorul* the values of popular poetry, making an organic whole and imparted them the quality of a world masterpiece¹⁷: he built a Miltonian universe while handling the fable. A master of the fable, Grigore Alexandrescu embodied the writer with

¹⁴ In connection with the steady diversification of intellectual activity in the 18th century, see Pierre Chaunu, *La Civilisation de l'Europe des Lumières*, p. 227 et seq.

¹⁵ See Ionică Tăutu, *Socio-Political Writings*, pp. 224—228.

¹⁶ In particular "The Course of the Revolution in the History of the Romanians" in *Works* (in Romanian), the G. Zane edition, Bucharest, 1940, tome 1, part II, pp. 100 et seq. See G. Zane, *N. Bălcescu. The Work. The Man. The Epoch* (in Romanian), Ed. Eminescu, 1975.

¹⁷ See the preface of Mircea Angheliescu to I. Heliade Rădulescu, *Verse and Prose* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1972, the BPT series, p. XX.

“professional consciousness”¹⁸ and guided, through his own example and with the assistance of C. Negruzzi, the movement of belletristics in the incipient decades of modern culture. He revived the past and exposed in *Satiră Duhului meu* (Lampoon on My Own Spirit) the “cultural” pretensions of the imitators of forms devoid of content.

This imitation, which was to be subjected to a theoretical debate by the mentor of the “Junimea” society, Titu Maiorescu, was perpetuated not only on the level of everyday life but also on that of mental schemes, which accounts for the persistence in current and philosophical statements of the opposition between “Western progress” and “Oriental stagnation”. Such an opposition could lead to the radical transformation of monuments of indigenous architecture after projects of French or Austrian architects, unfamiliar with the evolution of the art of construction in the Romanian provinces. After tragical events had caused the ruin of highly valuable monuments like the church of Neagoe Basarab at Tirgoviste — the lead roof of which was removed by the Hetairia fighters who needed it for manufacturing bullets —, the decision to restore them was made without an elementary knowledge of the Romanian cultural history. At Argeş, Tirgoviste, Putna or Suceava, architects trained in different cultural traditions undertook complete restoration work convinced that nothing had existed before them; old monuments like the Tismana monastery or the Bistrița monastery (Oltenia) were rebuilt in outdated styles which had not been assimilated in Romanian culture in their times. Such mistakes — the outcome of the fast rise of social groups lacking “classic” education — fed the discussions on “Romanian specificity”¹⁹ which continued until our days. This has been the direct result of the shock produced by the imitations — unjustified culturally — made in the past century and allegedly intended to put an end to the oriental lethargy.

The 1848 intellectuals introduced in their programme cultural elements — taken over without any alteration — from the French cultural model but at a time when French culture was no longer disseminating a programme strictly dependent on the court’s policy of expansion but one elaborated under the impact of the ideas of liberty, fraternity, equality, easily acceptable to any European people like Italians, Greeks, Serbs. At the same time, they did not start from nothing; on the contrary, they reintroduced into the literary

¹⁸ See George Ivaşcu, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

¹⁹ A survey in Klaus Heitmann, “Das “rumänische Phänomen”. Die Frage des nationalen Spezifikums in der Selbstbesinnung der rumänischen Kultur seit 1900”, in *Südost-Forschungen*, 29, 1970, pp. 171–236.

flow the writings of the scholars and humanists. With good reason did Nicolae Iorga remark that Romanian Romanticism and Eminescu's creation would not have possessed the features we all know, had Kogălniceanu not edited *Cronicile României* (Romania's Chronicles) and had Hasdeu not have brought to light various documents. "A genuine revelation of a language other than that of the chronicles, as many times freer than that. It was again a breath from the past, a stream of life which swept away a host of artificial elements and left behind the fertile mud from which another literature, another poetry could spring" ²⁰.

The will to reach rapidly the stage of some cultures developed along different lines for many centuries encouraged imitation and was a source of mistakes, some with serious repercussions as those made in architectural restoration. Considering that "Europe" was one and the same thing with the "West", restorers erected monuments which had never been built on Romanian soil and were quite rare in the West, too; since medieval edifices had to have a Gothic look, they pulled down splendid buildings and reconstructed them according to "fabulous designs which give them today the appearance of a temple made in a confectionery". "Any Romanian", continued Odobescu, "should view with sorrow the disappearance of the Byzantine style of architecture, naturalized here, and the destruction of the old portraits and inscriptions" ²¹.

Imitation proceeded on a large scale in official cultural circles, being encouraged by the upper class which wished to be closer to the foreign bourgeoisie than to the mass of peasants increasingly more attached to traditional forms while urbanization was making unilateral headway. The official economic policies of modernizing society to the benefit of a class and by augmenting the duties of the great of peasants and then of the workers permanently provoked the reaction of the intellectuals who highlighted the vigour of folk culture and reviewed moments of Romanian tradition and civilization. In the first issue of the *Viata românească* (Romanian Life) review in 1906, it was stated that cultural life at that moment was "abnormal" since "the upper classes are too high in the air, without any contact with the people, which, in our country, is the only positive class and which has preserved purer the Romanian soul... A « national » culture, of a specific character, will only be born when the large popular masses, which are truly Romanian, take part in the

²⁰ N. Iorga, *A History of Romanian Literature. Synthetic Introduction* (in Romanian), the M. Ungheanu edition, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1977, pp. 235—236.

²¹ Alexandru Odobescu, "The Văcărescu Poets", in *Works* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1967, vol. II, p. 51 and note 4.

formation and estimation of cultural values — literary language, literature, modes of living, etc. and this will only happen when, through culture, broader political life and economic increase, the peasantry will acquire in the state a social value commensurate with its numerical, economic, moral and national value”²². Suchlike problems underlay the rural-oriented trends *Poporanismul* and *Sămănătorismul*. In the interwar period, reconsiderations were increasingly more frequent and thorough as part of vivid confrontations of opinions and even touched on the problems of the internal structure of Romanian civilization in Lucian Blaga’s investigations. This undertaking cannot be viewed independent of the progress made by historiography, the sociological research of Dimitrie Gusti’s school, the intense activity of philologists and art historians²³, as well as of the conflict of ideas between the champions of a modern evolution of Romania and the supporters of an aggressive conservatorism. During the Second World War, in 1943, Lucian Blaga did not cease to affirm his confidence in the destiny of Romanian culture, full of originality due precisely to the role it played in an area of confluences: “In the spiritual makeup of Europe, the Romanian people holds an intermediary place between two cultures, the Byzantine one, fully completed and with achieved possibilities, belonging to the past, but prolonged as a spiritual state in most various ways in the life of the Southeast peoples, and the culture of the Western peoples which, from now on, it seems to me, would hardly produce peaks higher than those produced so far. Without isolating itself, for this is impossible, Romanian philosophical thinking should preserve its independence of creative initiative of the mentioned cultures. The noble ambition of any people starts from such a postulate... The place we hold in the spiritual geography of Europe shows us the most fruitful directions”²⁴. At the time when Lucian Blaga was dealing with the question of an original Romanian expression in European civilization, permanences of intellectual life appeared in the creation of Mihail Sadoveanu who, travelling into the legends of century-old forests and churches founded by Stephen the Great, revived the ancestors’ mode of living and thinking; in the verses of Ion Barbu who, following a thread of thought leading permanently to the nucleus of mental energy of the permanences, arrived at “that golden

²² The word “To the Readers” is reproduced in *The Romanian Literary Press* (in Romanian), the I. Hangiu edition, Bucharest, 1968, vol. II, pp. 129–131.

²³ In this respect, see Z. Ornea, *Confluences* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Eminescu, 1976, ch. “Ideological Encounters in the Interwar Decades”.

²⁴ “On the Future of Romanian Philosophy”, text printed in the first issue of *Saeculum* reproduced in *The Romanian Literary Press*.

Irmilik, a clock without a minute hand" in *Oul dogmatic* (The Dogmatic Egg); in the sculptures of Brâncuși who imprinted through the motif on the Gate of Kiss the eternal presence "of the memory of the eyes, of the looks through which one expresses his love for people, for the world" ²⁵.

The reconstitution of intellectual permanences and the lucid appraisal of the stages traversed by Romanian culture — as they are dealt with in recent studies — allow for the reconstruction of an original evolution and for a better knowledge of Southeast European civilization as it is reflected by Romanian experience. In this respect, it would be useful to approach in conclusion a question which I consider fundamental: that of the relationship between the trends which modernized Romanian culture and the traditional mental attitudes maintained by the "long-term trend".

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²⁵ Explanation given by Brâncuși and quoted in Barbu Brezianu, *The Work of Constantin Brancusi in Romania* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1974, p. 151.

HUMANISM, ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE LONG-TERM TRENDS

In the early 19th century, the progress of industrialization, the new economic and political relations among the European states were changing the existence of the peoples and were shaping a new social and political framework for the establishment of "national states"; the images of the world, of society, of the exemplary man, as they had been elaborated by Humanism were suiting to an ever lesser extent the realities which were transmitting new data to the mental images emerging now and which were facilitating or obstructing communication.

During this period, Romanian culture was regarded as a "young" culture. This mental image reflected the scanty information regarding intellectual life in Romania available in Western societies; anthologies of popular literature made foreign readers believe that not only secular literature, but the whole range of cultural activities were starting at this moment. The new generation of intellectuals, revolted against the Phanariot "decadence", did not contribute to the formation of a better image abroad, as regards the ensemble of intellectual activities. We might also add that the original experience of Romanian culture as compared to other Romance cultures was not easily grasped by students who were interested more in the expansion of Western models than in the dynamics of traditional societies.

In Romanian culture the main intellectual effort had focussed on domains which did not held a priority in the West : history and sapiential literature. The renewed image of the past had dominated all other images and even the image of the "other" which is instrumental in the process of communication. The powerful assertion of the critical spirit and an increasing rational curiosity had provoked, mostly during the Enlightenment, the removal of outdated images and the appearance of new fields of intellectual activity; the belles-lettres flourished impressively. But this sudden growth did not

indicate that the whole culture was at its very beginnings ; it brought to the fore a profound shift in mentalities, a new function afforded to the imaginary which no longer relied on symbols, but proposed a re-shaping of immediate reality (a re-shaping which all romantics discussed when meditating on the relationship between reality and dream).

Until the period of Romanticism, the humanist trend, which had transmitted its message through schools, printing-houses, learned societies, had elaborated a cultural framework which had proposed a form of universality to be accepted by all cultivated men ; this is why the humanist was a "uomo universale" and the "philosophe" a cosmopolite. Now, the very institutions which had disseminated the humanist ideas started pursuing other goals ; evidently, humanism was not denied as such, but it was dated, viewed as a historical phenomenon.

The period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment has acquired a strong individuality in the historiography of European civilization ; mostly, since historians are agreed that a new epoch has began in the 19th century. Key-concepts, like "culture", and the image of the "civilized" world indicate that people understood life in a different way in such well-individualized epochs like the Middle Ages, the Humanistic period, the Industrial Age ; the conceptual world of Byzantium is not similar to the world-view of the "philosophes" or of the positivist thinkers. In the Humanistic period the cultural centres propagated concepts and values which have removed mental barriers raised in the medieval period, but other tensions have been produced, mostly because the imperial tendency to impose cultural programmes by means of political power persisted in Europe¹.

Historical research in Romania has cast fresh light on the relations between Romanian culture and the great movements start-

¹ A survey of opinions concerning the period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment expressed by Denys Hay, A. Toynbee et al. in the thorough study by Delio Cantimori, *La periodizzazione dell'età del Rinascimento*. See also the collection of studies *Renaissance, Barock, Aufklärung-Epochen-und Periodisierungsfragen*, Herausgegeben von Werner Bahner, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1976. About the new European ensemble envisaged by Humanism see Karel Krejčí's article „La zone littéraire européenne", in *Neohelikon*, I, 1973. 1—2, pp. 144—145.

The cultural programme became to a greater extent part of the state's activity which increased its role in social life after the Reformation. In connection with the period of great changes between 1550 and 1650, a bibliographical survey and suggestive interpretations in Renzo Pecchioli, „Crisi e transizione nel Seicento europeo", in *Studi storici*, 1976. 1, pp. 137 — 146 ; as regards the connection between the Reformation and the consolidation of monarchic authority which assumed tasks devolving previously on

ing from different European centres, like Byzantium, Renaissance Italy, German universities; research is in course and new data and commentaries are expected to enrich our knowledge of the past. It is also to be expected that new approaches might be able to explain confusing questions, like the destiny of a Romance culture in a historical context different from the one prevalent in Western Europe. Comparative studies and a greater attention paid to the mental substratum of social, political, cultural activity might offer us a more genuine image of the living and developing tradition of a society and a better image of its relations with other people. A recent debate organized by the Institute of Southeast European Studies in Bucharest (and published in the *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 4/1980) has tried to survey the sources of the history of mentalities, the mechanism of their dynamics, the fundamental mental structures and attitudes which may be reconstituted starting from this type of inquiry and the explanations of changes it can offer.

Recent researches have spotlighted that at all moments of intellectual density, the process of synthesizing impulses coming from different foreign centres lead to a diffusion of themes, forms, ideas in neighbouring zones. In the 16th century, when Romanian society was asserting its political and cultural role in this area, ideas and themes conveyed through a Byzantine form expressed the concerns of a community fighting for independence and human dignity and not the programme of an empire wishful to impose its cultural and political domination. This is the reason why this message of civilization was received rather quickly both by the peoples in the South and those in the North and East². It was the moment when Romanian ruling princes were described as exemplary men by foreign authors, when Petru Rareș appeared as the most authorized ruler to speak on the centralization of power and other questions of government to the benefit of the Russian tsar — in the memoirs of Ivan Peresvetov —, when Petru Cercel was one of the Renaissance prin-

the spiritual power, and also as regards the connection between "cameralism" and enlightened absolutism, the documented, although sometimes too categorical study of Marc Raeff, "The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe. An Attempt at a Comparative Approach", in *The American Historical Review*. 80, 1975, 5, pp. 1221—1243.

² In this respect, Ekkehard Völkl's book *Das Rumänische Fürstentum Moldau und die Ostslaven im 15. und 17. J.* "Concomitantly with the penetration of Europe in the consciousness and horizon of the Romanians, a penetration of the Romanians in the political and cultural consciousness of Europe took place. The military victories over the Turks just as the generally known Romanian origin of Iancu of Hunedoara lie at the foundation of many testimonies on the Romanian people dating from that epoch", notes George Ivașcu in his *History of Romanian Literature*, pp. 52—53.

ces who harmoniously blended the qualities of the courtier with the virtues of the ruler — in the verses of Stefano Guazzo —, when Michael the Brave appeared as a new embodiment of the ancient hero and of the knight of fair causes — in the poems of Stavrinos and Palamed. In the 17th century, the clashes with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation were strong; George Ivaşcu has even detected the elements of a Romanian Counter-Reformation³; from Romanian society, civic humanism irradiated thanks to books into the reading circles conversant with Slavonic and Greek as we can deduce if we take only Udrişte Năsturel's preface to the *Triodul-Penticostar* of 1649 for instance, in which the humanist doctrine was disseminated in the Slavonic used in religious service. The 18th century ended with the affirmation of a Romanian Enlightenment backing the aspiration to culture. Scholars living south of the Danube came here to print books for their conationals and translated Romanian books: Sofronij of Vratsa translated Dimitrie Cantemir's work on the "system of Muslim religion"⁴. This activity continued into the 19th century, Romanian culture giving support to the national movements of the Bulgarians and Albanians.

The contacts with the great European trends meant not only assimilation and adaptation of Western styles. Insistent references have been made to a "Romanian Baroque" which would point to a "synchronization" with Europe. But the Baroque did not have the same features in all cultures of the continent; Philippe Minguet, has shown that the protestant countries did not accept the Baroque integrally⁵, a "model" which proposed a new equilibrium in a world-view convulsed by fierce confessional polemics and slow but systematic progress of the natural sciences. In Romanian culture, the conceptual system had not lost its equilibrium and thus the Baroque was assimilated not as a necessary solution but as a modern approach by scholars still believing in the human values kept by the medieval tradition⁶; Baroque borrowings were re-shaped and integrated as additional parts into a coherent intellectual system. The example of the penetration of Baroque elements in Romanian culture let us understand that what matters is less the identification of aspects similar to those present in other "great" cultures than the study of

³ *Idem*, pp. 100—108. In this sense, see especially the studies of Şerban Papacostea.

⁴ About this translation, details in the article by Anca Irina Ionescu, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1977, 1.

⁵ In *The Aesthetics of Rococo* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1973.

⁶ About the "relations of the Baroque with some of the Middle Ages traditions", Dan Mazilu, *The Baroque in 17th Century Romanian Literature* (in Romanian), p. 323.

the intellectual system which maintained traditional values and accepted new formulas⁷. This study might help us understand how Romanian intellectual experiences offered interesting solutions to the Balkan peoples; traditional values shared in common with the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians facilitated the transmission of ideas and themes in the whole area. Western formulas seemed more appealing when coming from centres like Bucharest, Iași, Rimnic or Brașov. Historical research would make us better perceive such processes should the study of intellectual relations escape from the obsession to synchronize all themes and styles with "Europe".

The intellectual system which dominated in the Romanian culture in the 17th–19th centuries and its inner dynamic can be grasped only under the scrutiny of pluri- and interdisciplinary researches. History, used to say Lucien Febvre, can be made up out of anything that the historian's ingenuity may lead him to employ, in order to make his honey, supposing he finds none of the usual flowers. The analyses of texts, frescoes, forms of oral communication will lead to a global reconstitution of the past; but such a reconstitution demands that all cultural manifestations – books, architecture, painting, music, ballads and stories conveyed by word of mouth – be analyzed up to the point in which the historian reaches the mental substratum of these manifestations. Along this path, important progress has been made by the history of mentalities which relies on the results obtained by historical linguistics, thematology, iconology. The new trends pointed out by the works of those dealing with the socio-political lexic (or with the mental equipment of a given society at a given moment)⁸, by the studies of an Aby Warburg or Erwin Panofsky⁹, favoured the appearance of syntheses casting a new light on the history of European culture; art and literature revealed in the exquisite work of Georges Duby the appearance of "a new humanism"¹⁰ to remain in the limits of our topic. Suchlike researches which permanently associate the analysis of internal aspects in the development of a culture with systematic

⁷ More in my study "The Baroque in Romanian Culture", in the book *Models, Images, Sights* (in Romanian), Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1979.

⁸ In this respect, Louis Trénard, "Histoire et sémantique", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1972, 3, pp. 423–448. Bibliographical indications and important results by Klaus Bochmann, "Der Wortschatz der rumänischen Aufklärung im europäischen Kontext", in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires*, 1979, 2, pp. 19–29.

⁹ Details in Udo Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte* (Romanian version), Bucharest, Ed. Meridiane, 1977, vol. II, ch. XIX.

¹⁰ We refer to the trilogy *Adolescence de la chrétienté occidentale, 980–1140*; *L'Europe des cathédrales, 1140–1280*; *Fondements d'un nouvel humanisme, 1280–1440*, printed in an excellent layout in Geneva, Skira.

comparison of the phenomena evincing similar notes on a European plane may put an end to those studies which, concerned with the spread of a single cultural model, reduce European history to one and the same cliché, multiplied by identical photographs. The exploration of the Romanian Enlightenment has made sensible progress, as shown by the bibliographical list (annexed at the end of the book); yet, the tendency persists to describe as enlightened only those manifestations similar to the French cultural manifestations¹¹ or to state that Southeast European Enlightenment was only an effort to "catch up with" the more advanced societies in the West. Viewed as "un simple processus civilisateur", this effort might seem a jump made from a tragical state of "lethargy"¹². Certainly, the Southeast European peoples lived until late, in the 19th century, in an economic system with feudal structures, and their social and political life was checked by forces struggling for consecrated privileges; but, it is equally true that despite this permanent hindrance, intellectual life knew no stagnation and that the Southeast European peoples permanently sought a way out of the narrow conservatism of imperial policy. As a matter of fact, as long as historical research does not study the "long-term trend" but confines itself to short time intervals, it can explain only isolated aspects and not a process with deep-seated implications like that of modernization which took place on all planes — economic, social, political, cultural — and which was the result of a reconsideration of tradition. Looking at tradition as at a mere brake is tantamount to ignoring major aspects of modernization which appeared precisely as a result of the confrontation between the wish to renovate and the wish not to waste the intellectual experience amassed along the centuries.

It is therefore strictly necessary to investigate innovation in its natural relationship with tradition and to visualize the slow cultural development owed to oral communication in relation with the dynamic flow of ideas stimulated by books and newspapers. In the

¹¹ An example is supplied by Paul Cornea's article, "Les Lumières roumaines et leur image dans l'historiographie actuelle", in *Synthesis*, I, 1974, who pleads for a more thorough analysis of the Enlightenment related to its historical context, but ends by considering as typical for the Enlightenment taken as a whole the features specific to the French Enlightenment (p. 144—145).

¹² This is the opinion of Paul Vernière in *Les Lumières et la formation de la conscience nationale chez les peuples du Sud-Est Européen*, Bucharest, AIESEE, 1968, p. 98. The opinion is shared by Lauro Grassi in his documented article "Per una storia della penetrazione dei «lumi» nei Principati danubiani (1740—1802). Note e appunti", in *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 63, 1979, pp. 1—32. The Italian historian is interested in dissemination rather than in diversity, as shown by the very title of his article.

case of Romanian culture, the interpreter has to take into account the intellectual contacts the Romanian Principalities steadily maintained with other European states until the 18th century when the Ottoman control became more burdensome, but when the relations with the cultures in Central and Eastern Europe grew stronger. As a matter of fact, during the Phanariot rule Romanian culture established its development paths following its ties with Venice and Poland; the new elements introduced in the circuit of Romanian culture by the Greek scholars whose European links were richer, did nothing else but consolidate the major orientations of the Romanian humanism developed outside any Phanariot influence. In this respect, interpreters should discard the cliché circulated by foreign philologists who state that the Romanians' relations with the Phanariot world was the decisive element in the modernization of Romanian culture; the Romanian humanism had already got shape as a doctrine and cultural programme when the contacts with Phanar started to be more frequent. This is also the reason why the Romanian humanism, asserted in a society with stable socio-political structures, had a "civic" character while the Greek humanism, affirmed within the Patriarchy which was representing the "kin", had a religious character¹³.

A less known episode allows us to throw light on the variety and oldness of the Romanians' links with European centres of culture.

Counsellor and ambassador of emperor Manuel II, participant in the works that tried to achieve the union of the Christian churches and professor of Greek language in Florence, Manuel Chrysoloras is generally considered as an "apostle of the Greek culture" in Italy. His contribution to the knowledge of Hellenism, which played such an important part in the making of the Renaissance is now well established¹⁴; but, at the same time, he appears as one of the most prominent figures of Byzantine culture in its final stage.

¹³ In this respect, the chapter "Civic Humanism", in my book *Syn'hesis and Originality in Romanian Culture*, (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. enciclopedică, 1972. For the Greek Humanism, see C. Th. Dimaras, *Histoire de la littérature néohellénique*, Athens, 1965 (Greek edition in 1948—1949); Börje Knös, *Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, Uppsala, 1962, pp. 419—420; Linos Politis, *A History of Modern Greek Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 50.

¹⁴ Richard Newald, *Nachleben des antiken Geistes im Abendland bis zum Beginn des Humanismus. Eine Übersicht*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1960, p. 402, designates Chrysoloras as "der eigentliche Apostel der Griechentums"; in a similar way Georg Max Hartmann, "Griechentum und italienischer Humanismus", in *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*, Bd. I, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1960, pp. 24—25 (cf. his article in *Bizantiskti Vremeni*, 1959, pp. 100—124). See also Philip Sherrard, *The Greek East and the*

His letter about "the old and new Rome" (Τοῦ λογιωτάτου Μανουὴλ Χρυσολωρᾶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωαννὴν βασιλέα, ἐν ᾗ σύγκρισις τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας Ρώμης) may be considered, with good reason, a document expressing a new direction in Byzantine culture¹⁵; looking at the West unbiased by the long controversy between Orthodoxism and Catholicism, he takes his stand among the humanists interested in promoting new ideals and concepts, among those who were intended to become "the third power"¹⁶.

The prestige of "culture" makes him look for the vestiges of the past (in Rome or in London) and the spiritual power of the present, which may attract people from everywhere; he finds that both aspects are similar in Constantinople and in Rome and writes with satisfaction that both capitals are kindred "as a mother is to her daughter". For the same reason he confirms Libanios' characterization of Rome as "a portion of heaven" and he declares unprejudiced that "he feels at home" in the catholic capital. Naturally, the spiritual power is best emphasized, in his opinion (founded on a

Latin West, London, Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 169. For the general aspect, see Kenneth M. Stone, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance", 1959 (reprint from *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 100).

As a token of the great appreciation Chrysoloras' Ἐρωτήματα enjoyed among the Greek teachers, we like to mention that the name of the Byzantine master was also known in the Romanian countries; a text assigned to him was used in the Greek schools at the beginning of the 19th century (see Greek Ms. 76, Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Γνωμικὰ μονόστιχα τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ ... a copy of the book, probably, published in Vienna, by N. Gliki, in 1804, reproducing the last part of the small anthology issued in 1512: Ἐρωτήματα τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ... Γνώμαι μονόστιχοι ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν Cf. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique, ... X^{Ve} et X^{VI}e siècles*, Paris, 1885, vol. I, p. 98).

¹⁵ In this sense Herbert Hunger, *Byzantinische Geisteswelt. Von Konstantin dem Großen bis zum Fall Konstantinopoles*, Baden-Baden, Halle Verlag, 1958 (with a fragment from the letter on p. 23). A complete translation in the valuable collection under the sponsorship of Endre von Ivánka, the volume *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen*, Graz-Wien-Köln, Verlag Styria, 1954, pp. 111—141 (with notes that underline the humanism of the writer).

¹⁶ I refer to the suggestive term used by Friedrich Heer, *Die dritte Kraft. Der europäische Humanismus zwischen den Fronten des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, Frankfurt am Main, G. Fischer Verlag, 1960. The author mentions Coluccio Salutati and Lionardo Bruni, Chrysoloras' disciples, among the prominent men who formulated the humanist creed in the free republic of Florence.

It is very interesting to note that the apotheosis of "civilitas humana" does not seem to contradict, in Chrysoloras' mind, the traditional "universitas christianorum". But this problem, which I consider to be essential for the understanding of the cultural tradition in medieval Southeast Europe, cannot be treated here; I only mention that no Aquinate synthesis had to be broken in order to give to the "homo" what was due to him (cp. Walter Ullmann, "Some Observations on the Medieval Evaluation of 'Homo Naturalis' and the 'Christianus'", in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du Moyen Age — Actes du premier Congrès international de philosophie médiévale...* Paris — Louvain, 1960, pp. 145—151).

quotation from Plato's *Gorgias* !) by the large number of people that come to seek help from the church and Rome may be taken as a perfect example in this respect. Thus, while Constantinople unites Europe and Asia, Rome unites the remotest corners of Europe for, he notes in his letter written in 1411 ¹⁷, here are coming pilgrims from Spain, France and the British Isles, and even from the northern countries, from Germany, Sarmatia (Russia), Pannónia (Hungary), and Greece.

But what seems to be more notable to him is that the pilgrims may confess their sins and be absolved in the Apostles' Church in their own language, as happens with those coming from the British Isles, France and Spain, or from the other extremity of Europe, from Dalmatia and Dacia ¹⁸.

The presence of eastern pilgrims in Rome is certainly not surprising; a century before, Dante had mentioned such people in his *Paradiso*. But Chrysoloras records the presence of an important group of Romanians who were speaking in their own language not only in the church but also in the streets and squares. This assertion made by a Byzantine humanist is noteworthy and it prompted us to draw some conclusions.

The Romanian pilgrims could be natives of all the three principalities: either of Transylvania, where Catholicism had been fostered by the Angevins as an instrument of policy (conceived in Guelf sense), or of Walachia or Moldavia, where the policy of Vlajko, Mircea the Old or Alexander the Good favoured at certain moments the catholic propaganda connected with the diplomatic relations with Hungary and Poland ¹⁹. Before 1436, a Moldavian metropolitan had passed over to Catholicism hoping for a better situation ²⁰.

¹⁷ This dating due to Giuseppe Cammelli, *Manuele Crisolora*, Firenze, Vallecchi Editore, 1941, pp. 157—158, seems to be correct, as it solves the indecision of Georg Voigt, inclined to consider that the letter was written in 1403 (*Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Altertums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, I. B., Berlin, G. Reiner, 1880, pp. 225—226, note 1). Chrysoloras' visit to London took place in 1409 because in 1408 he was in Paris (cf. Gérard Walter, *La ruine de Byzance 1204—1453*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1958, p. 307) and in 1407 he carried out a diplomatic mission in Venice (F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, II^e vol., Paris — La Haye, Mouton, 1959, pp. 74—75, doc. 1290).

¹⁸ Migne, P. G. 156, 33 D. Also in *Georgii Codini et alterius cuiusdam anonymi Excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis... Accedunt Manuelis Crhysolorae Epistolae res de comparatione veteris et novae Romae*, Paris, 1655, p. 114.

¹⁹ Cf. Gh. Moisescu, St. Lupşa, A. Filipaşcu, *History of the Romanian Church* (in Romanian), Bucharest, 1957, pp. 163—171.

²⁰ See P. S. Năsturel, "Quelques observations sur l'union de Florence et la Moldavie", in *Südost-Forschungen*, Munich, 18/1, 1959, pp. 84—85.

But Chrysoloras is not a historian bound to record facts; he is an erudite who takes into a consideration a population at that date famous in Eastern Europe. This people attracts his attention because the Dacians were well-known in the Byzantine Empire, where the policy of Mircea the Old and Alexander the Good had a special echo in those years. Therefore Chrysoloras' mentioning is to be regarded as an important moment in the process of terminological clarification which started in the 11th century, and ended in the 15th ²¹, moment that precedes Laonicus Chalcocondylas' assertion: "The Dacians' language is similar to the Italians" ²².

The interest taken by the counsellor of Manuel II in the Dacians is also to be connected with the hope the Byzantines had to see the peoples with a common cultural tradition make a united front against the Ottomans.

The identity of the Dacians Chrysoloras met in Rome was established starting from their language and it is to be supposed that the Dacians themselves explained their origin to the Byzantine scholar. In this respect it may be again reminded that these people who expressed their own individuality in 1411 had previously stated it in 1404 before the archbishop of Sultanieh and would reassert it, in the same place, in Rome, to Flavio Biondo in 1453 ²³. Chrysoloras' mention is less clear than in the other two documents (where "Daci sive Valachi" sustained beyond any doubt their Roman origin) but it reveals a precise consciousness of individuality among other populations of Southeast Europe.

It finally should be remarked that the presence of Romanian pilgrims in Rome attests the numerous and various contacts between the Romanian principalities and Italy. Apart from the Italian merchants who sailed up to the Black Sea coast, there were other kinds of periodical contacts through travellers and ambassadors.

²¹ See Eugen Stănescu, "Les «mixobarbares» du Bas-Danube au XI^e siècle (Quelques problèmes de la terminologie des textes)", in *Nouvelles études d'histoire*, 3rd vol., Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1965, pp. 43—53. In note 34 (p. 53) the author gives a table reflecting the frequency of the terms "Vlachs", "Dacian and Dacia" and "Getae" with the Byzantine chroniclers (Sparantzes, Dukas, Chalcocondylas, Critobul) and he draws the following conclusion: "la «Vlaquie» et la «Dacie» sont selon ces auteurs le territoire roumain ou une partie de celui-ci. Il faut donc conclure sur ce problème qu'en commençant avec le XI^e siècle il y a un processus de clarification terminologique qui aboutit au XV^e siècle par identifier totalement ces termes avec les Roumains".

See also Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca, "Les mixobarbares et les formations politiques paristriennes du XI^e siècle", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 1973, 1, pp. 61—62.

²² Laonic Chalcocondil, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, II, 78. Romanian translation by Vasile Grecu, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1958, p. 63.

²³ See Șerban Papacostea, "Les Roumains et la conscience de leur romanité au Moyen Âge", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Bucharest, 1965, 1, pp. 15.

Books (like *Fiore di virtù*), artistical patterns and literary forms could reach the Romanian countries through channels that certainly are difficult to find out but, no doubt, fit to explain the various western features in medieval Romanian culture ²⁴.

The cultural ties with Italy, and with other countries as well, favoured the appearance of humanist works in Romanian culture already in the 16th century : we shall confine the enumeration to the writings of Nicolaus Olahus, the distinguished friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam, and the verses of Petru Cercel. Later on, propitious historical circumstances allowed for a consolidation of these ties with Italy, the 17th century marking the formation of the Romanian humanism. At the end of that century, ruling prince Constantin Brâncoveanu would send students to Padua and buy books from Paris ; the period also witnessed an intensification of the links with Kiev. Then, the centre of gravitation moved to Vienna, the young students directing their steps to German universities. In the 19th century, closer links were established with France and England which were playing a top part in European politics and culture.

From the perspective of the "long-term trend" it may be viewed that all Southeast European trends — like Humanism and Enlightenment — developed in a continuous dialogue with oral tradition. Gradually, this tradition incorporated the new concepts and images elaborated by reason. But oral tradition has two component parts. The first is that which preserved the artistic productions elaborated in the rural milieus ; due to the fact that in Southeast Europe, book printing was not very developed up to the 17th century oral tradition continued to flourish. This explains why in the 19th century Vuk Stefanović Karadžić or Vasile Alecsandri could collect works which were still recited in villages and which aroused the admiration of scholars trained in urban centres or princely courts in Western and Central Europe, one of them being Goethe. The second component is oral communication in episcopal, monastic or, in the case of the Romanians, princely centres of culture. This communication relied on the rules of rhetoric. No matter to which of them we refer — the communication in the villages, in the urban centres or in the milieus in which a systematic didactic programme was developed — we find out a process of intellectual communication and shaping of the individual governed by traditional norms, the same which had dominated all these domains before the expansion of writing. These norms made up a whole which Dimitrie Cantemir

²⁴ Cp. Hans-Wilhelm Haussig, *Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz*, Stuttgart, Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1959, pp. 379—382.

referred to in his *Hieroglyphic History* by the term of *paradosis*, i.e. "unwritten teaching, conveyed by word of mouth, as from parent to son".

Whereas the humanism manifested in written works can be analyzed and defined, the tendencies transmitted by oral tradition, by *paradosis*, are difficult to reconstitute. But they did exist and were strong; thus the intellectual movement cannot be assessed only by referring it to the West-European humanism (as is usually done), but also by relating the humanist tendencies to oral traditions, the ones to which the humanists actually wished to lend a new course. Part of oral traditions recur in certain written works or in a number of themes in the language of images: a study dealing exclusively with written texts cannot lead, as far as Southeast Europe is concerned, to convincing conclusions on the substance and orientation of intellectual movements. Apart from texts, interpreters should consider what has been preserved of oral tradition; moreover, attention must be given to that kind of literature situated halfway between meditation on principles and meditation on phenomena in movement: the "popular books". Either looking at the frescoes or analyzing *Alexander's Romance*, *Barlaam and Josaphat* and *Fiore di virtù*, one will realize that, at the time when religious or lay humanism was flourishing, men of letters in Southeast Europe were attracted not only by the place where this flowering of intellectual activity was obvious — Italy — but also by those parts where principles and love of essence, *philousia*, continued to be cultivated: Bucharest, Iași, Istanbul, Mount Athos, a.o. At the end of the 17th century, the East-West symbiosis was evident in a series of romances of various origins and with various themes; the same amalgamation is noticeable in frescoes and architecture. This confluence left its mark on those humanists who neither extolled man to the skies nor built ideal cities. In choosing their themes and in formulating solutions, the humanists were prompted by the situation of their societies with their slack economy checked by the restrictive measures of the imperial power ²⁵.

The written culture — oral tradition relation can better be observed in the Age of Enlightenment when owing to economic and political conditions different from those in the previous century, all societies were in full tide. This is what we can infer from the works of Ottoman reformists, of Father Paisi or of Sofronij of Vratsa, of

²⁵ In connection with this group of books, including several "literatures", more in my article "Intelligence et imagination à l'aube des cultures modernes sud-est européennes", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1978, 2.

Dimitrie Philippides, Dimitrie Catargi or A. Corais, of Dositej Obradović or of the scholars grouped in the Transylvanian School like Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai, Petru Maior, or those at Rîmnic and Iași. All of them raised the question of elaborating a new method of molding people so that the educated man should be “enlightened” and “good patriot”. Obviously, it was the political circumstances that account for this original combination of enlightenment and patriotism; a contribution to the new ideas was made by the appeal to the past, to the ages of glory which could mobilize people to struggle. But the past was maintained alive by tradition, by “paradosis”, by the principles and truths the old ones handed down to the young ones. Hence, the difficult problem the Aufklärer were faced with: to select what can be maintained of tradition which by no means was to be rejected totally. They solved the problem by encouraging the dissemination of popular books this time with an unconcealed didactic message.

If to a great extent books favoured the contact with the European intellectual movements — either by giving a reply to the propaganda of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation or by taking over ideas which seemed to develop concepts belonging to the autochthonous tradition —, oral tradition favoured an attachment to the world-view shared by all societies interested in permanences rather than in movement. In this latter respect, Southeast European cultures evince features similar to those evident in the societies of the Near East or even of Asia. Yet, the book-orality dialogue, to the extent to which the book did not engage in rational debates but preferred (like orality) to divulge principles, did not have a dramatic character until the end of the Age of Enlightenment. More precisely, it was only at the time of the “Romantic mutation”²⁶ that orality continued to dominate into the rural milieus while books assumed the role of solving questions confronting societies in full process of political and economic change. Up to that moment, books had allied with the learned oral tradition and sought to impart clarity to the common oral tradition. Thus, the living oral tradition continued to circulate themes, motifs and ideas assimilated by the Mediterranean world, brought from Asia by the Ottomans or received from the heart of Europe especially through Genoa and Venice.

Two series of testimonies can throw more light on the cultural confluences established in Southeast Europe in the formation period of modern cultures in the 17th-18th centuries, clarifying to a greater extent the way in which oral tradition, the “paradosis”, changed.

²⁶ See my article “La mutation romantique: l'exemple roumain”, in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires*, 1978, 2.

First come the accounts of travellers who, when originating from the East, were delighted to find edifices and books reminding them of the accomplishments in their native country, and when coming from the West found "European" features they had not expected to come across here. A parallel reading of texts reveals, in this play of mirrors, a wide variety of cultural manifestations. Let us take for instance the Syrian Paul of Aleppo who, at the middle of the 17th century, admired the *Trei ierarhi* church in Iași adorned with quite intricate arabesques, calling it "most beautiful"; he was interested in the procedures used for the extraction of ore and for irrigating gardens. The Dobreni mill on the Argeș seemed to him "unparalleled by anything I have seen so far" and he regretted that he could not make it dependent on the patriarchate of Antioch since it was a source of considerable income due to its flawless working: "inside it there is a crafty design due to which the flour falls onto one side and the pollard onto the other". One century later, R. G. Boscovich arrived in Iași in the company of the former British ambassador to the Porte, W. Porter. With his tastes shaped in Rome, in the Jesuit circles, the traveller had little admiration for architecture which he assessed to be in very bad taste ("di pessimo gusto") although he admitted the existence of pilasters, capitals or cornices (not like those at the Gesù church in Rome, a perfect sample of baroque construction). But, he was flattered by the attention paid to him since the hosts had learned that he was a writer and scientist, and he appreciated the refinement of the custom of drinking coffee accompanied by sweets and perfumed water "in Turkish fashion"; it was the moment when the image of the "barbarian Turk" started to die out in the West. More than that, the ruling prince invited him, through his French secretary, de La Roche, to make an astronomical demonstration and he was delighted to speak of sun eclipses and his personal observations of Venus and to explain the uses of his instruments. Oriental customs, the artistic synthesis went hand in hand with interest in recent progress of natural sciences²⁷. A few years later, the botanist John Sibthorp and Dr. Dallaway admired folk dances in Transylvania and Walachia, appreciated the oriental ritual of audiences and were charmed to find out that the Romanian peasants played "Pan's pipe"; this was the moment when the neo-classicism of Western architecture and painting made men think

²⁷ See *Giornale di un viaggio da Constantinopoli in Polonia*, Milan, Giordano, 1966, pp. 106 – 112.

that beautiful were only the works achieved in the Greek manner ²⁸. These confluences account for the immense richness of Romanian and Balkan cultures. The assimilation of ideas and facts of civilization from the East and West permanently reinvigorated oral tradition (our "paradosis"); in the process of assimilation, this acted as a permanent factor of equilibrium.

The second series of testimonies is provided by the texts of enlightened thinkers who, at the transition moment from old to new in the early 19th century, were receptive to the most recent gains of Western thought while preserving traditional mental attitudes. Thus, their solutions were not far from the formulas taking into account the variety of human nature and differed from the peremptory ones which simplified for the sake of handling knowledge and people. Thus, the distinction between microcosm and macrocosm is to be found in the works of Ionică Tăutu, an early 19th century thinker often holding radical views, in those of the Golescu brothers, just as the intellectual debate was generally focused on human nature and only secondarily on physical nature. The material world was gradually discovered and the Transylvanian thinkers made sensible steps along this line: Samuil Micu paid special attention to experiment and reason ²⁹. But the term science had a much wider meaning with the protagonists of the Romanian Enlightenment than with the French or British philosophers who considered that only the investigation of nature deserved the name of scientific research. To the Romanians, just as to Leibniz, science did not exclude the liberal arts and historical preoccupations. It is obvious that the preeminent socio-political concern first channelled rational analysis towards the aspects of the political life and only afterwards towards natural phenomena. An important role in this orientation was played by the relations between writing and orality, the latter suggesting a more comprehensive acceptance of the terms of nature and science.

Finally, account should be taken of the fact that in Romanian culture, and, perhaps, in other Balkan cultures, there was no tension between the spiritual power and the temporal one and thus no cleavage between spirit and matter occurred. Under these circumstances, thinkers turned first of all to the study of human nature which appeared to them as an outcome of social action which had to be improved; it was not abstractions but historical perspective that could

²⁸ More, with bibliographical notes, in my book *Models, Images, Sights*, p. 90. About the two British travellers in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* (1970, 3 and 1974, 1) articles by G. F. Cushing and Trevor J. Hope.

²⁹ See Ion Lungu, *The Transylvanian School*, Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1978, pp. 289—383.

favour this evolution. For these reasons, the Romanian thinkers had much in common with Vico whose work is richer in references to human experience than Cartesianism is ³⁰.

The modernization of Southeast European cultures took place at a sustained pace from the 19th century onward. It was the stage in which industrialization started to have a direct impact on all societies in Europe and in which the revolutionary thought re-considered the traditional formulas everywhere. In this modernization process, an important part was played by the national idea which brought to light unique features, while the other factors — industrialization and revolutionary thought — proposed universally valid formulas ³¹. In Southeast Europe, the national idea had a stronger impact than in other zones of the continent and the phenomenon met with the negative reaction of observers belonging to societies with old state structures: for a long time, “Balkan nationalism” was viewed with concern and considerable reserve.

The investigation of intellectual models and cultural forms allows for a novel approach to this phenomenon. In all European societies, there was a strong will to innovate, to reject traditional ideas and concepts at the time of the “Romantic mutation”; but, concomitantly, the reconstitution of national traditions in Southeast Europe revived concepts and images which had been commonly accepted since they had been part of a form of universal civilization, the Byzantine one. Viewed from this angle, modernization reveals new aspects, for it meant not a “Europeanization” of Southeast Europe but the transition from one form of universal civilization to

³⁰ See René Gentils, “Vico, critique de Descartes”, in *Synthesis*, V, 1978, pp. 137–147.

³¹ More in my article “The Impact of Independence on Romanian Culture”, in *Southeastern Europe*, 5, 1978, 1, pp. 51–58. In her turn, following the changes in the language of images, Maria Ana Musicescu notes that the innovations made before the 19th century did not supersede the traditional art: “Le brillant de la couleur, le jeu décoratif des lignes, les quelques emprunts à la peinture occidentale ne font pas encore une Renaissance. Ce n'est qu'au moment où l'art ne sera plus considéré « sub species aeternitatis » qu'on pourra légitimement parler non pas d'une Renaissance dans l'acception occidentale du terme, mais d'une *renovatio*, la seule au cours d'un demi-millénaire dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe. Et cette *renovatio* sera l'acquis du XIX^e siècle, expimé par l'art moderne” (“Autour des notions de tradition, d'innovation, et de Renaissance dans la peinture du Sud-Est européen aux XV^e–XIX^e siècles”, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1976, 1, p. 11).

May I take the liberty to quote at the end of this revised version Paul E. Michelson who, reviewing the Romanian version of my book, underlined the fact that any research on “influences” has to take into consideration “the ways in which ‘borrowed’ ideas function in the literary work of an era and region” (in *The American Historical Review*, 84, 4, 1979, Oct., p. 1096–1097).

another. To grasp the mechanism of this transition means to see how the relation between "inner" wisdom and "outer" wisdom changed, how the post-Byzantine form was transformed under the impact of the national liberation movements. To compare then the post-Byzantine form with the post-Renaissance one, both of which coexisted until the dawn of the industrial age, means to discover the wealth of European civilization. This is a clue offered generously by the examination of the way in which intellectual movements worked upon states of mind, upon mental attitudes which were handed down from generation to generation, representing the "long-term trend". More than in other zones of the continent perhaps, "the long-term trend" played a prominent role in the formation of cultural models in Southeast Europe, where the individuals were quite aware that they were molded by the past. This is one more reason for starting the study of modernization not from the disintegration of the post-Byzantine form, but from the moment at which the universal form commenced to change under the pressure of the emerging models of national culture. Therefore, not only from the 19th century onward, but from the moment when humanism started asserting itself. In the case of Romanian culture, this study should start with the 17th century, when under the apparent perpetuation of consecrated themes and images, a vigorous civic humanism began to act upon the collective consciousness.

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IOAN NISTOR, "Nouvelles recherches et conceptions sur les Lumières roumaines", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 1980, 2—3.

On the Romanian Romanticism many comprehensive books have been published adding new information to what was already known on the modernization of Romanian literature. But few books have paid an increasing attention to cultural phenomena, in general. In this last sense we may quote

MIRCEA ANGHELESCU, *The Romanian Pre-Romanticism* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1971.

DIMITRIE PĂCURARIU, *The Romanian Classicism* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1971.

PAUL CORNEA, *The Origins of Romanian Romanticism* (in Romanian), Bucharest, Ed. Minerva, 1972.

DIMITRIE POPOVICI, *Romanian Romanticism* (in Romanian), a new edition of this "classical" book in the series of "works": *Literary Studies* (in Romanian), edited by Ioana Petrescu, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 1974.

Foreign specialists have published relevant studies on this period covering the 17th—19th centuries. We quote:

MARIO RUFFINI, "L'opera della chiesa ortodossa romena nella creazione della lingua letteraria nazionale", in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1966 and

MARIO RUFFINI, *L'influsso italiano in Valacchia nell'epoca di Constantino-vodă Brâncoveanu*, Munich, 1974.

WERNER BAHNER, *Das Sprach- und Geschichtsbewußtsein in der Rumänischen Literatur von 1790—1880*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1967.

EKKEHARD VÖLKL, *Das rumäntische Fürstentum Moldau und die Ostslaven im 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1975.

MATHIAS BERNATH, *Habsburg und die Anfänge der rumänischen Nationalbildung*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972.

KEITH HITCHINS, *The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780—1849*, Harvard University Press, 1969.

EMANUEL TURCZYNSKI, *Konfession und Nation. Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationsbildung*, Düsseldorf, Verlag Schwann, 1976.

KLAUS BOCHMANN, *Der politisch-soziale Wortschatz des Rumänischen von 1821—1850*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1979.

We also mention

— the proceedings of some Southeast European colloquia published in Bucharest by the International Association of Southeast European Studies:

Tradition et innovation dans la culture des pays du Sud-Est européen, 1969.

Les Lumières et la formation de la conscience nationale chez les peuples du Sud-Est européen, 1970.

Structure sociale et développement culturel des villes sud-est européennes et adriatiques aux 17^e—18^e siècles, 1975.

Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales aux 16^e—19^e siècles, 1977.

— the proceedings of the colloquia organized by Studienkreis für Kulturbeziehungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa from Lüneburg :

Die Aufklärung in Ost- und Südosteuropa, Böhlau Verlag, 1972.

Der Bauer Mittel- und Osteuropas, Böhlau Verlag, 1972.

Wissenschaftspolitik in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Verlag Ulrich Camen, 1976.

Buch- und Verlagswesen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, Verlag Ulrich Camen, 1977.

Beförderer der Aufklärung in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Verlag Ulrich Camen, 1979.

— the proceedings of colloquia held in Matrafüred, Hungary :

Les Lumières en Hongrie, en Europe Centrale et en Europe-Orientale, vol. I—III, Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1971, 1975, 1977.

The reader might find much useful information on the turning-point of the Romanian traditional culture in the various articles published by Romanian specialists in the special issue :

“Les Pays Roumains à l'âge des Lumières, 1770—1830”, in *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, Paris, 1976, 225.

There are some good general remarks in the three debates organized by the *Revue des études sud-est européennes* :

“La formation des intellectuels balkaniques en Roumanie”, 4/1978.

“Conscience nationale et mouvements de libération”, 4/1979.

“Les mentalités collectives”, 4/1980.

A useful bibliography of Romanian comparative studies concerning mainly literary relations might offer new suggestions for further reading

Rapports de la littérature roumaine avec les littératures européennes et nord-américaines, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei, 1973.

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