

ETHICS SCHERZI AND DELECTATION

A Chapter in the History of South-East European Mentality

On one October evening, in the marble hall of the Institute for Balkan Studies, those who had travelled from afar by plane or by car and gathered there to listen to Phanariot poetry and songs, experienced a strange feeling. A forgotten world, a world largely difficult to understand, revealed itself in the Byzantine or oriental tunes and in the poetry of deliberate melancholy, which narrated inconstancies of love and sufferings of the heart. Probably many of those present remembered the lines of Robert Browning's "A Toccata of Galuppi's":

"Oh, Galuppi, Baldassarò, this is very sad to find!
I can hardly misconceive you; it would prove me deaf and blind;
But although I give you credit, 'tis with such a heavy mind!
Here you come with your old music, and here's all the good it brings.
What, they lived once thus at Venice, where the merchants were the
kings?..."

Nevertheless, the testimony was not to be avoided. Thus, for decades, people have lived along the Bosphorus and the Danube, and in this way used their moments of leisure listening to poetry and music. We would not be entitled to quote the poet: "I feel chilly and grown old"; Phanariot songs show us a world demanding our understanding. Professor L. Vranoussis' paper given at the Symposium on the "Phanariot Epoch" (October 1970) opened wide for us the door to the intellectual and sensitive climate of some social groups during the period from the end of the 18th up to the beginning of the 19th century.

We need no more argue about how necessary such studies are. Through them we are able to remake the vision of life of past generations and to obtain a representation of cultural phenomena in the three-dimensional perspective mentioned by Robert Escarpit. In fact, the investigation of life and work as practiced by the traditional literary historiography eliminates the sense of evolution and the deep meanings of history. Instead of the globe turning round itself, we find a map of the world spread out flatly on which an enormous Alas-

ka almost crushes a tiny Mexico.¹ A number of works from various languages has been undoubtedly introduced in the hand-written verse-books dating from the Phanariot period. One may try to re-establish the authorship of some poems and to find out which poems exactly have influenced an author's original creation. However, once settling these questions, we base our approach on more important problems: what were the notions of love held by the people who enjoyed listening to these songs? Who were they? What did they think about life and their purpose on earth?

These questions arise with heightened perseverance, particularly on account of the fact that this atmosphere, called forth by poetry and songs, seems to belong to a transitory era in which influences from the European continent meet with oriental habits, at a moment when a cultural tradition is still powerful. We mentioned Byzantine elements, oriental modulations, resonances from Western Arcadia. Is it, then, a matter of conglomerating, or a mode of exploring new realms in old arms about which we are talking? This phenomenon is the more interesting as in this period artistic creation is not visibly individualized. Intellectual activity continues to be predominantly homogeneous and mental experience as well is still common to all. Under the same conditions, the taking over of some influences and the perpetuity of some forms clearly emphasize the mentality of a society or of some social groups. Literature, produced and consumed at particular moments and by particular groups may reveal to us the sentiments and the "mental tools" of a history's actors.²

1. Robert Escarpit, *Sociologie de la littérature*, Paris, PUF, 1968, p. 6: "l'histoire littéraire s'en est tenue pendant des siècles et s'en tient encore trop souvent à la seule étude des hommes des oeuvres – biographie spirituelle et commentaire textuel – considérant le contexte collectif comme une sorte de décor, d'ornement abandonné aux curiosités de l'historiographie politique... Il arrive que les auteurs (des manuels) aient conscience d'une dimension sociale et qu'ils tentent d'en donner une représentation, mais faute d'une méthode rigoureuse et adaptée à cette fin, ils restent le plus souvent prisonniers du schéma traditionnel de l'homme et de l'oeuvre. Les profondeurs de l'histoire s'en trouvent écrasées comme sur un écran à deux dimensions et le fait littéraire en subit des distorsions comparables à celles d'une carte du monde sur une projection plane."

2. See Robert Mandrou, *La France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, PUF, 1967, chap.: *Les affrontements majeurs: les conceptions du monde*, p. 311 - "la nécessité d'un rétablissement de perspectives, qui prend en charge les sentiments et l'équipement mental de tous les acteurs de cette histoire — y compris de ceux qui n'auraient pas conscience de l'être."

For "l'outillage mental" see Georges Duby, "Histoire des mentalités," in *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, Paris, Pléiade, 1961, p. 952-957.

Some data on the various cultural mediums in the Rumanian Principalities in our study "Carte și societate în secolul al XVII-lea" in our volume *Explorări în istoria literaturii române*, Bucarest, 1969.

A decisive contribution to the understanding of these major questions may be offered by the study of the translations used by the South-East European societies. With the view of defining this mental atmosphere we will consider some examples of these productions that have been circulating in Greece and in the Rumanian Principalities.

However, before entering into this discussion, we wish to examine briefly some preliminary questions, by special reference to evidences supplied by Rumanian culture: what conditions have encouraged voluminous translations of Western works, what function has been granted to the resulting versions, and in what way the transposition of foreign works into the Rumanian language has been executed.

I.

The half-century we are concerned with is a revolutionary period in the life of the continent. "The Revolution of 1789 did not really come to an end before 1830, when the middle-classes categorically took possession of France, bringing to power a king who had accepted their ideas."³ The revolutionary trend, by attacking the heart of the institutions and values of the "Ancien Régime" or by placing a question-mark after them, provokes a mental crisis which is profound and wide-spread. A catalyst in the psychological life of the communities, the unrest originating in the Ancien Régime, and its suppression by the Revolution and the Napoleonic campaigns have important consequences, even in countries in which the social structure does not change radically. Even if the social-political process makes for a compromise in the Rumanian Principalities, the mental structures change — the French Revolution serving as an example. The conservatism of the nobility closely connected with the soil is emphasized, the mental capacities of the boyards increase — of those boyards that had been trained in the different modes of capitalist production and commerce, just as merchants and manufacturers discover a guide-mark, and the revolutionary leaders are able to declare with firmness that the "times of princes have come to an end." Under these conditions translations from Fénelon, who suggested a moderate monarchy, and later from Montesquieu and Rousseau, have been accomplished. Important, however, is the fact that the versions of Fénelon circulate in the boyard and clerical circles, whereas Rousseau is quoted by lay professors. The pamphlets printed at Buda having as

3. Albert Soboul, "La Révolution française dans l'histoire du monde contemporain: Étude comparative," in *L'Information historique*, Paris, 1969, 3, p. 107.

subject the Napoleonic campaigns penetrate through all stratas, and among the intellectuals again are found those who translate revolutionary works.

Works suggesting a new aspect of the world are now spreading to an increased extent. The progress of scientific thinking overthrows the hierarchy of knowledge, and technology as well begins to penetrate everyday life. The idea of a universe composed of perfectly connected parts becomes naturalized; Man holds his place in the "Great Chain of Being."⁴

Therefore the translation of works which convey some knowledge of geography, rational history, agronomical advice or rules of hygiene cannot be considered only 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 Rumanian Principalities because it had a definite strength of persuasion, was extremely accessible, and answered to prior inquiries. The series of adaptations of some German professors' works, accomplished by Transylvanian teachers and printed at Buda, may thus, we believe, be explained. Some of those teachers turned towards philosophical works, others towards 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*, respectively accomplished by Moise Fulea and Constantin Ionovici in 1819 and 1813).

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 which was unknown in past centuries; among these the intense growth of the activities of the printing-offices must not be neglected. Books reach easier fairs, and merchants, before specializing themselves, provide among all sorts of goods volumes that were requested or considered easily to be sold. Then the intellectuals point out to each other those works worthy of being translated (as, for instance, the correspondance between Iosif Vulcan and Dimitrie Țichindeal shows us).

Decisive for the receptive element is the definite 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 date from Joseph II's reign. Owing to this progress a decisive change takes place in the world of literary men, the dominant tone in culture being from now on fixed by the intellectuals. Gradually they push the clerical scholars aside because

4. V. Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936, cap. VI: *The Chain of Being in XVIIIth Century Thought and Man's Place and Role in Nature*, p. 183-207.

they keep pace with the new achievements of knowledge. They 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 translation of 1807, is now heard by an audience which would not have been available earlier.

The relationship establishing itself now between the autochthonous cultural consciousness and the European cultures holds an important place among the factors that favour transformations of the cultural pattern.

Whereas the European cultures take forms which are less particularized than in the past, especially owing to the progress of technical-scientific thinking, a growing interest in this progress determines societies from South-East Europe to pay a 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 arranged world. The analysis of the translations and adaptations accomplished now makes us believe that this classicism is kept alive by the priority obtained by the ethical value over the other values; its superiority is accompanied by the setting up of a normative system in estimating human activity as a whole. This value continues to hold precepts of the autochthonous tradition and includes the principles of French Moralism as well as those from the German "Aufklärung," at the same time receiving impulses from English or Russian cultures. But, in the same time, the adaptation of foreign works corresponds to a profound change of the mental framework which tends 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

5. With special reference to Hugh Honour's synthesis, *Neoclassicism*, Penguin Books, 1968.

6. Roland Mortier, "Unité ou scission du siècle des Lumières," in *Studies on Voltaire*, Geneva, 1963, XXVI, p. 1220. 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

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The function accorded to the works that have been taken over throws light upon an important aspect of cultural assimilation. Generally speaking, we think that we may identify among the printed books and the manuscripts, first, a group of works with a social and political aim; this seems to be the case with the translations from Fénelon and Massillon, with the first versions of Voltaire, and with the first Rousseau echoes. The line, however, between the milieus of boyards and professors remains to be drawn. Other translations from the French, Italian, English or German literatures try to respond to the reader's personal pleasure; this is the case with the translations done by Alexandru Peldiman and other popularizers of "romances." Lastly, we encounter writings of educational character — works published by French and especially German professors. They are useful to the didactical process seen in the framework of the schools, but also after that. From the first group the original social literature has been able to detach itself. From the second group have been disengaged artistical impulses; the "romances" contributed to the development of the literary taste. The essay and scientific literature found a starting point in the third group.⁷

III

Foreign works are implanted in the new soil under manifold forms. A comparison of texts proves that strictly verbal translations are seldom enough because modifications are made in the structures of the book — by eliminations and supplements, by the changing of some passages or by incorporation of fragments taken from somewhere else. Modifications are also made in terminology, owing to the lack of some expressions, to the resistance of some ideas, as well as to the lack of understanding.⁸ The use of intermediaries adds to the

they visualize, looking at life as a theatrical performance, we point to Lionel Gossman's study, "Voltaire's Charles XII: History into Art," in *Studies on Voltaire*, Geneva, 1963, XXV, p. 691-720 (the question of this Voltairian work belonging to the Baroque Art is also discussed there in a convincing way).

7. We permit ourselves to point to the conclusions of our book, *Coordonate ale culturii românești în secolul al XVIII-lea* (Bucarest, 1968), where I tried to outline the effects of the "second diversification" of the cultural activity in the Rumanian Principalities.

8. The resistance of the old mental framework explains why fundamental concepts of the Western Enlightenment are sometimes rendered in the Rumanian versions with a different meaning. In *Omu de lume* by Casile Gergely (a book published in Vienna in 1819), an adapt-

phenomenon's complexity. The close study of the structure of a book and its terminology may present in a perfectly convincing way the confrontation of the old stock of ideas and the new one, and the adhesion or the reserve in front of the foreign author's attitude.

The aspects of the process of assimilation, as they appeared during the Enlightenment, make us believe that translations circulating in the Rumanian culture in the last decades of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th centuries, may offer material of real importance for a better knowledge of a decisive phase in Rumanian as well as in other South-East 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 have remarkably enriched the cultural inheritance of the societies in this region. This enrichment meant, among other things, a diversification of the intellectual activities. Historians of culture are often tempted to record progress made in each field; they speak of the development of philology, history, literature, pedagogics and so on. But if we intend to explain, not only separate evolutions, but the phenomenon itself, then we have (a) to shift our interest towards the interior mechanism of the diversification and amplifications that may be detected in the production of books and manuscripts, (b) to accord increased attention to the motives offered by those that have selected a foreign work and found it to be useful to the intellectual progress of the respective society, and (c) to watch closely the circulation of books. Thus we shall be able to detect easier the relationship between traditional values and new acquisitions, and to understand better the meaning of the debates which have caused a cultural upheaval.⁹

Both in neo-Greek and in Rumanian literature intellectual values prevail till the end of the 18th century. The moralizing books written at that time, occasionally directed towards questions of history but more frequently towards those of religion,¹⁰ to a large part indicate that the intellectual system, crystallizing itself during the religious humanism of the 17th century, does not enjoy profound revisions. Provided that the field of intellectual activity was extended, the traditional system was not disputed; we may speak rather about an ad-

ation of professor G. I. Wenzel's work, *Der Mann von Welt* Pest, 1817, "Leidenschaft" – passion is rendered by "wickedness" and "Höflichkeit" – politeness by "generosity." (These examples are taken from Șerban Cioculescu's study "Un izvor literar necunoscut," *România literară*, 1969, 20, p. 8.

9. In this sense see Robert Mandrou, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8.

10. André Mirambel, *La littérature grecque moderne*, Paris, PUF, 1953, p. 29.

vance of the rational investigations that aim at consolidating and securing the prestige of the traditional concept in front of the attacks of the Counter-Reformation or the religious pressure dominant in the Turkish Empire. To this opening towards new mental outlooks, but definitely based on principles unshaken, I felt justified in applying the term *Orthodox Rationalism*. At the end of the 17th century it is predominant at the Wallachian court and in the princely school,¹¹ but it may also be identified in the cultural centres that have a large influence over intellectual life in South-eastern Europe. To these belong the Greek schools of Constantinople and Venice. Orthodox Rationalism, especially, may be found among the *Books of Wisdom*.¹²

Books of good manners and "Mirrors for Princes" are written throughout the 18th century. Significant, however, is the fact that at a specific moment this literature knows a period of abundance in which the subjects of the books are diversified. At the end of the century the manuals of courtesy are constantly multiplied, both in Greece¹³ and in the Rumanian Principalities. This process is continued during the first decades of the 19th century when the transformations among the ideas become more and more sensitive. The Rumanian authors translate and remake those Greek books by modifying the contents or inserting original fragments: however, the trend is similar in both cultures.

In 1815, for instance, appears an *Anthology of Wisdom* in Bucharest. It is a translation of a book printed in Vienna by Dimitrios Nicolaos Darvaris in 1811 who had proposed to offer his readers useful advice for the "acquisition of human happiness." The author deals with ethical norms and behaviour in society, basing himself upon the unquestionable statements of authorities like Voltaire, H elvetius, Frederick the Great, or "good Gelert." The readers are recommended a wise equilibrium and a rational asceticism which no longer seeks salvation, but a way of living decently. Iancu Nicola, the translator, replaces the last of the Greek book by patriotic poems. Moreover, this graduate of the Rumanian school of "St. Sava" in Bucharest publishes the Rumanian version of Nicolas Scufos'¹⁴ *Handbook of Patriotism* (Manualul de patriotism) in Jassy (1829); he also translates the French text of *The Indian Philosopher* (Filosoful indian), a book that appeared in Vienna in 1782 (with parallel text in French and Greek). The volume printed by Baumeister had offered the Greek

11. See here our study, *Valeurs intellectuelles et valeurs sentimentales dans la culture roumaine au XVII^e si cle*, now in press.

12. We permit ourselves to refer to our book *Livres de sagesse dans la culture roumaine*.

13. See C. Th. Dimaras, *La Gr ce au Temps des Lumi res*, Gen ve, Droz, 1969, p. 47-48.

14. Nestor Camariano, "Despre un manual de patriotism publicat la Ia i in 1829," *Revista istoric  rom n *, 1943.

readers the advices 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 to faithfully follow the counsel of the dancing master, he presents in the new handbook an extract from some very ancient books concealed for many ages in ancient temples in China. He considers himself lucky to have been able to discover a most ancient piece, "and which none of the Lamas for many ages had been able to interpret or understand," that is, "a small system of morality." The perusal of the book does not make 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 systematic vision of the world. But the appearance of this handbook in Greece and Rumania reveals a significant moment in the development of the Books of Wisdom: the metaphysical studies are abandoned and supplanted by practical laws for daily life in family and society.

With some interpreters of this literature of advice exists the trend to work didactic sections into a unitary genre and to detach the books from the medium and the moment in which they appeared. Applying the term "Parenetic Literature" to all the counsels that have been offered, they reveal modern educational trends of authors in the 16th century and enlightened ideas before the Era of Enlightenment. However, if this literary genre is entirely reconstituted and the works are implanted in the social life in which they appeared as a form of dialogue the evolution of the intellectual atmosphere will be able to be followed with absolute clearness. What we think may be put under the light, on the actual stage of the researches, is the fact that at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century the Books of Wisdom are enormously developed. A "Bourgeoispiegel" appears in which the ethical norm reigns supreme; it becomes the major precept, eliminates the metaphysical speculation on which it was formerly dependant, and attaches to existence a frame which is anchored in social life. What happens to the intellectual energies that remain free?

The answer is given us also by these books: the studies become engaged in political history, the concrete norms of life are joined by the natural argumentation of the natural rights, and beside the handbook of behaviour that of patriotism may be found.

During the process of crystallization the national consciousness assimilates also other elements offered by European literature: the majority of the works translated into neo-Greek and then into Rumanian recall ancient history. The *Adventures of Telemach* (*Aventurile lui Telemac*) are successful, for

the readers know that he is Ulysses' son. Equally successful are the pieces of both French and Italian dramatists which introduce heroes of ancient history. Looking towards Rome, the Rumanian authors translate for their fellow countrymen the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*, while the adventures of *Numa Pompilius*, described by Florian, meet with an exceptional success. Here we still may find a connection thanks to the works of famous Francesco Loredano concerning 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." It is strange that these works did not enjoy eternal glory neither in Greek nor in Rumanian culture: they were no more published in Greece in the 19th century,¹⁵ and in the Rumanian Principalities never saw the printing-press at all.

The fact that *De gli scherzi geniali* became wide-spread only in the 18th century is so much the more indicative for the study of the history of mentality. The work was purchased at Padova by Constantin Cantacuzino who evidently appreciated it.¹⁶ It was translated into Greek by Malakis Giakoumis Kastrisios who gave it the title Παίγνια τῆς φαντασίας (Venice, 1711).¹⁷ What are these delectations? Rhetoric exercises on subjects offered by Greek-Roman mythology and literature. Kastrisios placed them at the disposition of the Greek readers, stating that it is a real intellectual banquet. From the Greek the work was translated into Rumanian in the second half of the 18th century and is preserved, as I stated recently, in no less than *eleven* manuscript copies. How is this success to be explained? Probably part of it is owing to the Venetian's remarkable eloquence, and another part to the very prestige of the personages holding the imaginary speeches: Achilles, Cicero, Mark Anthony, Agrippina. Moreover, consulting Ioannis Patousas, the rector of the Phlanginian College of Venice,¹⁸ Kastrisios accepts the advice of the author of the *Philological Encyclopedia* (Venice 1710) and adds to his version a dictionary of ancient history.

Hence the prestige of ancient history and the virtues cultivated by Greeks

15. As may be deduced from, 'Αλφαβητική ἀναγραφή τῶν τίτλων τῆς βιβλιογραφίας Γκίνη-Μέξα (1800-1863), Athens, 1968.

16. 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 (esimo) Loredano," see *Biblioteca unui umanist român* by Corneliu Dima Drăgan, Bucharest, 1967, p. 148.

17. Börje Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, Uppsala, 1962, p. 372. In the Biblioteca Academiei in Bucharest there is an edition of 1711 and another one of 1789.

18. See here B. Knös, *op. cit.*, p. 351, 364-365; concerning the *Flowers of piety* see the obser-

and Romans, but, at the same time, the pretext to create literary work. The rhetoric exercise is joined by the topics offered by the literature of Arcadia,¹⁹ just as the evocation of the old Golden Era accepts the vicinity of the pastoral world adduced by a Florian or Gessner. Only by work of pure fiction this is formally recognized, in Greek as well as in Rumanian culture, but in the psychology of authors and readers sentimentalism occupies the field that has been spared by the wisdom transformed in ethical law.

What forms can be adopted by sentimentalism? Those we met in Phanariot poetry, calling forth transient love, inconstancy, the violence of passion that rapidly burns out; but also those found in the works which treat passion as a major vector of human existence. Therefore Rigas appeals to the versions from the collections that have become popular,²⁰ in order to include them, through, in a translation of a work in the new genre. He appeals to a chronicler of the Parisian life, Restif de la Bretonne, and from the 300 stories included in *Les Contemporaines* he translates six — those in which a world with trifling employments is described²¹: an adventure of a young provincial, of an apprentice, of girls without money. Closely connected with Iordache Slătineanu,²² Rigas certainly placed his book Σχολεῖον τῶν νελικύτων ἐραστῶν at his disposal. Slătineanu translated from it some songs and introduced them in the text of Florian's *Sophronime* (translated into Rumanian in 1797).²³ After that, the work was completely translated into Rumanian. In Wallachia this was accomplished by Peşacov,²⁴ although the copy that was preserved till our times (that of 1804, written by Nicolae Udeanu) does not tell the translator's name (Biblioteca Universităţii of Cluj, Ms. 4336, 4387, 4337, including the stories II, V and

vations of C. Th. Dimaras, *Histoire de la littérature néo-hellénique*, Athènes, 1965, p. 125-127.

19. Defined by Giuseppe Toffanin in *Storia dell'Umanesimo*, volume quarto: *L'Arcadia*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1964.

20. More recent dates may be found with P.S. Pistas, 'Ἡ πατρότητα τῶν στοιχουργημάτων τοῦ «Σχολεῖου τῶν νελικύτων ἐραστῶν» extract from 'Ελληνικά, Thessaloniki, vol. 20, 1967, p. 393-412.

21. As shown by Jean A. Thomopoulos, "L'original de l' 'Ecole des amants délicats' de Rhigas Velestinlis," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher*, Athen, 1960, p. 20-31.

22. See Alexandru Elian, "Conspiratori greci on Principate..." *Revista istorica*, 1935, 10-12, b. 337-372.

23. See Mircea Anghelescu, "Din istoria unui motiv poetic: 'Inma ma ia mirare'", *Limba şi literatura*, XX, 1969, p. 35-38.

24. Possibly the manuscript of Cluj is connected with the version which Gheorghe Peşacov claims to have produced; see Alexandru Ciorănescu, "O scrisoare literara a lui Gheorghe Peşacov," *Revista istorica*, 1934, 7-9, p. 368-381. Concerning this writer abundant dates are to be found with C.N. Velichi, "Un poète slavo-roumain: Georges Pesacov," *Romanoslavica*, XVI, 1968, p. 354-395.

VI). In Moldavia, the translation by Ioan Beldiman²⁵ is copied, in 1818, by Costache Borș who reproduces all six stories (Biblioteca Academiei, *Ms. 126: Istorie a celor mai gingase amoruri a Parisului* (The History of the Most Delicate Love Stories of Paris).)

Nearly all books of moral advice, popular literature, and fiction, are recommended to the readers because they provide moral instruction, at the same time 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 together in society, and that the narrative of lovers' adventures may be an example for anybody's life. The Rumanian translator does not object to reproducing Rigas' preface: the argumentation is powerful: in our century tales about love interest the whole world, so at least we read on the first page of *ms. 126*.

It is evident that ethics seem to censure delectation. However, phantasy takes its flight, begins to play and jumps from one epoch to another till it lingers in immediate reality.

In the place of precepts atemporal and unchanging appear norms that concentrate to conclusions drawn from the study of daily life; in all fields the rhythm becomes faster. Censure is no longer able to be categoric. The norms which build it up are subjugated to the analysis of a special science. The intellectual system thus breaks up; individual creation penetrates the field of philosophical speculation, while the rights of artistical expression are fully stated: art as a way of symbolically reproducing some indisputable truth is replaced by art which reproduces manifold meanings of immediate reality. Literature anchors itself in the present, follows the enthusiasm of the fight for national emancipation, passionately touches the beauties of Nature, praises friendship and love. This literature concerns itself with the right to be happy.²⁶ The poetry from the shores of Bosphorus and the Danube issues from closed rooms and prose writers no more oblige Cicero or Mark Anthony to speak according to the rules of baroque eloquence. Sentimentalism breaks out in social and political poetry, as it becomes refined in terms of intimate meaning; "enlightenment" and "sentimentalism" cooperate in an era in which the idea of Man itself is

25. Little known, this Ioan Beldiman might be the clerk Ionică Beldiman who presented Mihail Kogălniceanu with a chronicle (notice on the *ms. 115*, Library of the Academy, Bucarest)

26. See L. Trenard, "Pour une histoire sociale de l'idée de bonheur au XVIII^e siècle," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 1963, no 3 and 4,

changing.²⁷ But in order to achieve this co-operation a profound revision of the system of intellectual values was accomplished, the prestige of rhetoric was diminished, and the “belles lettres” were anchored in immediate reality. Without denying or repelling tradition new acquisitions crept into all fields and at long changed the hierarchy of values which did not cease, however, to influence people’s way of thinking and acting a long time after.

Bucharest

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27. C. Th. Dimaras, *op. cit.*, p. 186. See also the conclusions of our paper given at the Symposium of Thessaloniki (Oct., 1970): *Héritage et nouvelles acquisitions dans la culture roumaine à l’époque des Phanariotes*.