The Western Model of 'Ienăchiță's Song'

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Abstract

The great Romanian politician, scholar and poet from the 18th century, the boyar Ienăchiţă Văcărescu is the author of Romanian verses but also of Greek poetry. One of his Greek compositions, Ἑ δυστυχίαις πόλεμω, was initially published in Greek and French by Pierre-Augustin Guys in Paris in 1771 under the title Chanson Grecque (Greek Song).

The poem is based on an allegory: the inner trouble of the poet resembles the torment and the fear of the boatman caught by the tempest in deep waters. Hit from all sides by furious waves, the seaman does not know whether his boat is going to resist and he himself would survive or be swallowed by the enraged waters.

As for the origin of the metaphor, certainly not invented by the Romanian poet, there have been several hypotheses and we intend to suggest a new one in the current paper. While reading Vincenzo Kornaro’s novel, the Erotokritos, known to be highly appreciated by Ienăchiţă Văcărescu, we have found more than once the comparison between the tempest at sea and the tempest in a wretched soul. At the same time, it is known that Kornaro was well acquainted with and therefore influenced by Petrarch’s poetry, and we have identified the same motif in texts belonging to the Italian poet. After the comparison of the texts, we can assert that Ienăchiţă Văcărescu had Petrarch as his main source, while getting inspiration from other texts such as the Erotokritos.

Keywords:

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Ienăchiță Văcărescu was one of the greatest personalities of the Romanian political and cultural life of the 18th century. First rank politician, diplomat and scholar, he was born in 1740 in an old and powerful noble family of Wallachia and received an extraordinary education during his youth. Like other sons of high noblemen, he studied several foreign languages. He learnt Slavonic and Greek at a Greek school with renowned professors. In 1711 in Moldavia and in 1716 in Wallachia foreign rulers had been imposed by the Ottoman Empire. The sultan would choose the ruling princes of the two countries among the Greeks of Constantinople so that the knowledge of Greek became compulsory for all noblemen who intended to have a career within the feudal hierarchy. Following the model of the Phanariotes, who were very thorough with the education of their children and used to bring professors from Western Europe to teach them sciences and foreign languages such as French, Italian, German or Latin, Ienăchiță was given a similar training. His parents also hired a Turkish teacher, Halil Hamid and it seems that he was sent to Italy for further instruction as a result of his good knowledge of Italian. His special linguistic preparation, as well as a good assimilation of knowledge in the fields of history, philosophy, philology and religion from contemporary writings or following his studies in Constantinople, all these combined with a sparkling intelligence contributed to his formation as a great scholar of Enlightenment.

As a result of researches carried out in Constantinople, Ienăchiță wrote a history of the 'mighty Ottoman emperors', which remained in manuscript, he translated from Greek the short interpretation of Aristotle logics Epitome of Aristotle’s logics by Vikentios Damodos and elaborated a grammar of the Romanian language after Italian and Greek sources that he published in 1787. The Phanariotes (Alexander Ypsilantis, Michael Soutzos) entrusted him with the translation from Turkish into Romanian of two Hatti-Sheriffs issued by the chancellery of the Ottoman Empire: the Hatti-Sheriff of Sultan Hamid, 1774 and the Hatti-Sheriff of Sultan Selim, 1791. He was also requested by Prince Nicholas Caradja to compile a code of laws that he wrote mainly in Greek and Romanian and published in 1780 as Pravilniceasca condică (Legal Code). He also worked at some dictionaries that remained in manuscript: Romanian – Greek, Greek –

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3 Probably Lezioni di lingua toscana (Tuscan Language Lessons) by Girolamo Gigli.
4 Antonios Katiforos’ grammar of Greek, published in Venice.
6 The paternity of Ienăchiță Văcărescu is being analysed by Eugenia Dima at the National Colloquium Literatura română veche. Priorități ale cercetării actuale (Old Romanian Literature. Priorities of Present Research), Bucharest, 27-28 June, 2013.
Romanian, Romanian – Turkish, Turkish – Romanian. His Romanian poetry was not published during his lifetime, though his verses circulated much and were well known. They were later collected in book form by his son, Nicolae.

Ienăchiţă Văcărescu had an agitated life, consequence of the historical and political events in the second half of the 18th century in the Romanian principalities. He held several times the office of high treasurer and received diplomatic assignments, was involved in the events of the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774), tried to seize the princely seat, fulfilled various missions during the Austrian-Turkish conflict in 1787, took part himself or suffered the consequences of boyar plots. He was exiled in 1788-1798 by Prince Nicholas Mavrogenes at Nikopol and Rhodes, where he lost three of his children over hard life conditions. He died in 1797, probably poisoned on the orders of the ex-Prince Alexander Mourousis.

The stories of that age and the history written by Ienăchiţă himself, which includes a memoire part, offer an interesting image of the Romanian boyar: a handsome man with gentle manners and intelligent conversation, full of refinement and wit, an Epicurean who appreciated the feminine beauty and grace and was, in his turn, highly appreciated, thing that caused him rivalries or enmities. Some of the aspects of his social and sentimental life are reflected in the few poems he wrote and that make him one of the first Romanian poets.

From his verses, we have chosen for the current paper a poem that enjoyed quite a success in its time, so as to be used as lyrics for a song by a Turkish composer. Written in Greek, it attracted the attention of French travellers who recorded it. It can be found in all the tree editions of the book by Pierre-Augustin Guys, *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce*\(^1\) where it is included in the original Greek version, with the French translation, under the title *Chanson Grecque* and no mention of its author. Later, a version of the poem was translated into German and again into French, the last version by Lemercier being entitled *Chant de Janakitza*\(^2\), title that we used for our presentation. Our paper analyses the first version of the poem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Μὲ δυστυχίαις πόλεμω,} \\
\text{Μὲ βάσανα ὡς τὸ λαμύ} \\
\text{Εἶμαι, καὶ κινδυνεύω} \\
\text{Καὶ νὰ χαθῶ κοντεύω,} \\
\text{Στὸ πέλαγος τῶν συμφορῶν.} \\
\text{Μὲ ἐπικίνδυνον καιρὸν,} \\
\text{Μʹἀνέμους ὀλεθρίους,} \\
\text{Σφοδρὺς καὶ ἐνάντιους,} \\
\text{Μὲ κύματα πολλῶν καῖμων,} \\
\text{Τουφάνι ἀναστεναχθῶν.}
\end{align*}
\]


Θάλασσα φουσκωμένη,
Πολλὰ ἀγριωμένη,
Ὅποι ἂν ρίζησι καὶ φυσά,
Μὲ σαγανάκια περισσά,
Σύννεφα σκοτισμένα
Καὶ κατασυγχισμένα.
Καὶ νὰ φανῇ μιὰ ἕξπερια,
Νὰ ἱδου τὰ μάτια μου στεριά,
Ῥηχὰ νερὰ νὰ εὔρο
Παιχτὸ καὶ δὲν ἔξειρο.
Ν’ ἀράζω καὶ δὲν ἡμπορῶ
Γιατὶ λίμένα δὲν θωρῶ,
Μ’ ἀπελπισίαν τρέχω
Στὰ ἁμενὰ ποῦ ἔχω.
Ποὺ μὲ αὐτὰ κάν νὰ πνιγῶ,
"Ἡ σελαμέτι νὰ εὔγη.
Καὶ τοῦτα ἰν βαστάζων,
Μποροῦν νὰ μὲ φυλάζων."

The poem begins with the indication of the deathly danger that menaces the suffering poet. The mention of the torments up to the neck (ὡς τὸ λαμίο) has the role to anticipate the idea of sinking and drowning, further elaborated in the next verses. There follows a very suggestive image of the tempest in the middle of which the unhappy man finds himself. Vain are all the efforts he makes to find a harbour where to throw his anchor. His only hope is at the ship’s sails, whose resistance could save him. It is obvious that the poem has to be read as an allegory, the ship the poets is on representing the suffering soul that puts all his hope in the power of reason, represented by the sails.

As the Romanian literature was at its very beginnings, the inspiration sources of Ienăchiță have to be looked for in the great European literature he was familiar with. In this regard, researchers have issued several hypotheses, from the identification of little plausible sources, regarding the Greek and Latin ancient literature, to some contemporaries to the Romanian poet, such as Fénélon or Voltaire, while we would like to propose and justify another possible influence from the Italian literature, namely that of Petrarch.

The motif of the ship caught in the tempest appears ever since classical literature and it is present in all great poets, from Homer to Horatius. Their works, well-known to the Western world, are assimilated and re-elaborated by all European poets, who constantly reported themselves to the ancient Greek-Latin models. Moreover, amongst the classics such motif was not always allegorical and, when it was, the allegory often had a political significance, as the ship represented the city and the bad weather it was up against were the

1The text is reproduced after Gheorghiu, N.A. (1939). 'Ienăchiță Văcărescu popularizat în apus' (Ienăchiță Văcărescu Hnown in Western Europe) in Viața Românească, XXXI, 12: 55 [In Romanian].
enemies or the political adversaries, significance that is far away from the intimate meaning in later poetry.

It therefore seems more appropriate to look for the sources of Ienăchiță’s poem among writers well known at that time in the Romanian principalities, in a political and cultural situation that saw the mingling of the modern Greek culture with that of Western Europe. Thus, our attention was attracted by the work of Vincenzo Kornaros, the Erotokritos, Greek chivalry poem of Western inspiration, so dear to the Văcărescu family that Alecu, Ienăchiță’s son, felt the compulsion to provide it with a Romanian version.

The Erotokritos represents a remarkable elaboration of a well-known chivalry novel in verses, Paris et Vienne (Paris and Vienna), which Kornaros becomes familiar with thanks to its widely circulating Italian translation. At the same time, from a stylistic viewpoint, the Greek poet draws obvious inspiration from the work of Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando furioso. As in his turn Ariosto owes a lot to his great predecessors, Dante and Petrarch, ideas and motifs from their work find their way up to the Erotokritos.

In Kornaros’ poem, the image of the ship on the troubled sea appears several times, in three distinct moments, and it always has the role to underline the suffering of princess Aretousa, whose love for Erotokritos is prohibited by the girl’s parents.

The first of these occurrences, in Book III, vv. 241-246, has been mentioned and commented by researchers of Kornaros’ sources and it includes a comparison between Aretousa’s state of mind and the drifting ship on the sea, directed towards a certain wreck:

Ωσάν καράβι όντε βρεθεί στο πέλαγος και πλέγει, με δίχως ναύτες, μοναχό, και να πνιγεί γνησίωθεν, κι ο ἄνεμος κ’ ἡ θάλασσα του’ρχουν κακιά μεγάλην, και τρέχει πάντα στον πνιμόν, δίχως βοήθειαν άλλην - εδέτσι ευρίσκομαι κ’ εγώ, πλιό δεν μπόρω να ζήσω,

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4 Cf. Pavolini, P.E. (1912). ‘L’Erotokritos di Vincenzo Cornaro e le sue fonti italiane’ (The Erotokritos of Vincenzo Kornaros and His Italian Sources), La Rassegna, III, II, 1, 02. Firenze.; Spadaro, G. (1994). ‘Similitudini aristocratiche in autori cretesi tra Cinque e Seicento’ (Similitudes to Ariosto in Cretan Authors between the 16th and the 17th Century). In: Testi letterari italiani tradotti in greco dal’500 ad oggi (Italian Literary Texts Translated into Greek from the 16th Century to Nowadays), 144. Catanzaro: Rubbettino. [In Italian].


Its direct source was considered to be the comparison from Canto XXXII, vv. 62-67 of Ariosto’s poem, Orlando Furioso:

*Come nave, che vento da la riva,*
*o qualch’altro accidente abbia disciolta,*
*va di nochiero e di governo priva*
*ove la porti o meni il fiume in volta;*
*così l’amante giovane veniva...* (vv. 62-66)²

In his turn, Ariosto borrows the image from a well-known and much commented verse of Dante’s *Purgatory: nave sanza nocchiere in gran tempesta.*³ The similitude, however, stops here. Dante uses the metaphor of the ship to critically define Italy that was divided and in an unfavourable political situation. It is the same approach we mentioned for the classic writers, among which Horatio, probably the direct model of Dante, criticised Rome that he pictured as a ship that no longer had the capacity to oppose the sea (*Book I, Ode 14*). It is therefore a different type of allegory, one that has nothing to do with people and feelings, but everything with states and politics.

The second image of the ship in the tempest, in Kornaros’ *Book IV,* vv. 49-168, has to do with the anxiety of Aretousa, worried for the destiny of her prohibited love for Erotokritos. She has a most terrible dream in which she pictures herself alone in a ship, on a dark weather, with lightning and thunders around, while she strives to keep the rudder against the waves and is almost about to drown:

*Εφάνιστή την να θωρέι νεφαλό βουρκωμένον,*
*και μ’ αστραπές και με βροντές καιρό ανακατωμένον.*
*Σ’ ένα καράβι μοναχή, και το τιμόνι πιάνει.*
*Κι αντρειεύγετο να βουηθηθεί, κ’ εκείνη δεν ημπόρει,*
*και τον πνιμόν [τση] φανερά στον ύπνον της εθώρει.* (vv. 51-56)

*Εφάνιστη τον ανέμου η ταραχή, του ποταμού τα βάθη,*
*δεν είναι παρά βάσανα, και πειρασμοί, και πάθη.* (vv. 105-106)

Frightened, Aretousa tells the nurse her nightmare and the woman interprets it for her. In this case, for every element in the dream there is a clear significance, given by the nurse. Thus, the figurative interpretation of the text

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¹Quotations from Kornaros’ Erotokritos are reproduced from: http://el.wikisource.org/wiki/%CE%95%CF%89%CF%84%CF%8C%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%82 (10 June 2013).
²Quotation reproduced from: http://www.liberliber.it/libri/a/ariosto/index.php (10 June 2013).
is proposed by the author himself, almost in dictionary form. Here is an example of the way in which the nurse equates the elements of Aretousa’s dream:

Εκείνα τα θολά νερά, που ώς τα βυζά σ’ εχόνα’,
κι οπού σου εδέίχναν ταραχές, βάσανα, και χειμώνα,
είναι τα δυσκολέματα, που μπαίνουν εις τη μέση,
και πάσκει ο νους σου όσον μπορεί, στη μάχη να κερδέσει.
Το ζύλον, οπού αρμένιζε, κ’ εφάνιστή σου εχάθη,
σημάδι, είν’, Αρετούσα μου, ποις σου περνον τα πάθη. (vv. 155-160)

Even if the allegorical nature of the dream is beyond doubt, Kornaros immediately gives the interpretation key, suggesting a lack of interest of the poet for the allegory itself as rhetoric figure.

The preference of Kornaros for explicit comparison is also obvious in the third episode where the motif under discussion is present, namely in Book IV, vv. 651-710. Imprisoned by her father because of her refusal to wed the prince chosen by the emperor, Aretousa, Kornaros comments, is like a sailor challenged by the enraged sea:

Οσάν το ναύτη όντεν ιδεί κακόν καιρόν, κι αρχίσει
η θάλασσα ν’ αρματωθεί να τον-ε πολεμήσει,
κ’ έχει άνεμον εις τ’ άρμενα άγριον και θυμωμένον,
και το γιαλό άσπρον και θολό, βαθιά ανακατωμένον
και πολέμοιν τα κύματα και δίδουσιν του ζάλη,
μπαίνοντας απ’ τη μάι μερά, σκορπώντας εις την άλλη,
κι ώρες στο νέφος τ’ Ουρανού με το κατάρτι ’γγίζει,
κι ώρες στα βάθη του το γιαλός να θέ’ να το ρουφήζει,
να χαμηλώνει η συννεφιά, να βρέχει, να χιονίζει,
ν’ αστράφτει, να βροντά [ο] Ουρανός, κι ο Κόσμος να μουγκρίζει. (vv. 651-660)

Trying to encourage the young girl, the nurse reiterates the comparison proposed by the poet, and again she does it with an explicit formula when she advises Aretousa not to abandon the rudder and give up to the sea:

Κι όντε μοινίζει η θάλασσα, και το καράβι τρέχει,
κι αγριεύοντας τα κύματα, στράφταε, βροντά και βρέχει,
ο ναύτης εν-ε φοβηθεί, και το τιμόνι αφήσει,
και δεν ποθήσει ν’ αντρειευτεί, κ’ η τέχνη να βουηθήσει,
γ-ή σε χαράκια ριξίμαν οι ανέμοι το σκορπούσι,
γ-ή στο βυθόν τη θάλασσας κύματα το ρουφόσι. (vv. 600-704)

Finally, mention should be made of the fragment from the Erotokritos, Book I, vv. 1609-1620, where there is an image of a man trying to save himself swimming through the agitated waves. Though it is conceptually different from
the main motif of Ienăchiţă’s poem, it is interesting due to the resemblance at imagistic level to the sea description in the verses of the Romanian poet:

\[
\ldots\text{τό δούμε φουσκωμένη}
\]
\[
\text{από μακρά τη θάλασσα, κι χέρια, και θυμωμένη,}
\]
\[
\text{με κύματα άσπρα και θολά, βρυγιά ανακατωμένα,}
\]
\[
\text{kαι τα χαράκια όντε κτυπούν κι αφρίζουν ένα-ν ένα. (vv. 1609-1612)}
\]

The simple adjoining of the mentioned fragments from Kornaros’ poem and Ienăchiţă’s Song allows concluding that the Erotokritos is a source worth considering, without, however, being the only one.

Such conclusion is due to the fact that Ienăchiţă’s poem is more subtle, more sophisticated. It does not include comparisons, the allegory is direct, while the interpretations of its elements is left to the receiver. Besides, in Kornaros the elements from the final part of the song are missing, namely the serene sky, the shore, the harbour, the anchor, the sails that could redeem or not. Moreover, the linguistic differences between the text of the Erotokritos and the Greek verses of Ienăchiţă exclude a direct influence, attesting precisely the capacity of the Romanian poet to elaborate an assimilated idea and image content.

As a consequence, it is highly probable that the Romanian poet had other inspiration models. As the existence of an influence from Francesco Petrarch on the Văcărești poets is recognized by a number of researchers, while denied by others, we checked whether the model of Ienăchiţă’s Song cannot be identified in the verses of the Italian poet.

The motif of the drifting ship is present in many compositions within the Canzoniere and is often completed by that of the salvation harbour, sometimes accessible and sometimes not. Furthermore, in almost all Petrarch’s poetry it is not a comparison, but the allegorical consideration of the ship as representing the soul of the poet, just like in Ienăchiţă’s Song.

The interpretation key of Petrarch’s verses is offered by the poet through allegory-type metaphors. Thus, the fragile drifting boat stands for the soul, while the angry sea means the agitated life:

\[
\text{Passa la nave mia colma d’oblio}
\]
\[
\text{per aspro mare, a mezza notte il verno... (CLXXXIX)²}
\]

The winds and the waves symbolize the torments of love that make it impossible for the forces of reason (the rudder, the sails, the cordages or the anchor) to manoeuvre the boat:

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¹A discussion of these opinions can be found in Dima, E. (2006), 'Influența lui Petrarca la începutul liricii românești' (Petrarch’s Influence at the Beginnings of the Romanian Poetry). In 80 Anni di Italianistica presso l’Università ‘Al. I. Cuza’, Iasi (80 Years of Italian Studies in the ‘Al. I. Cuza’ University, Iași), 166-171. Iasi: Editura Universității ‘Al. I. Cuza’. [In Romanian].

²Quotations from Petrarch are reproduced from: http://www.liberliber.it/libri/p/petrarca/index.php (10 June 2013).
Ma lagrimosa pioggia et fieri vènti
d'infiniti sospiri or l'anno spinta, [la debile mia barcha]
ch'è nel mio mare horribil notte et verno,
olv'altrui noie, a sé doglie et tormenti
porta, et non altro, già da l'onde vinta,
disarmata di vele et di governo. (CCXXXV)

The identity of ideas and attitudes between Petrarch and Ienăchiță is even more obvious in verses such as:

Fra si contrari vènti in frale barca
mi trovo in alto mar senza governo... (CXXXII)

or

...si sbigottisce et si sconforta
mia vita in tutto, et notte et giorno piange,
stanca senza governo in mar che frange... (CCLXXVII)

Such examples of the direct allegory and the expression in the first person singular through which it is rendered are quite numerous. The Italian poet considers himself a 'nave da l’onde combattuta et vinta' (XXVI), imagines that he is 'in gran fortuna e 'n disarmato legno' (CCXCII), wonders on the moving sea, 'agitandom’i vènti e ’l ciel et l’onde, / m’andava sconosciuto et pellegrino…’ (LXIX) and notices that passions prevent him from a calm navigation: 'veggio al mio navigar turbati i vènti' (CCLXXII).

It is also in Petrarch that the harbour or the shore to which he longs represent the salvation. Petrarch has, just like Ienăchiță, the intuition of the danger, of the possibility to lose himself as a consequence of the passion he feels. Again, some of his verses are extremely similar to those of the Romanian poet, from the simple affirmation 'incomincio a desperar del porto' (CLXXXIX), to the similarity of ideas with the entire Canto LXXX:

Chi è fermato di menar sua vita
su per l’onde fallaci et per gli scogli
scevro da morte con un picciol legno,
non pò molto lontan esser dal fine.
................................................................
S’io esca vivo de’ dubbiosi scogli,
et arrive il mio exilio ad un bel fine,
ch’ì’ sarei vago di voltar la vela,
et l’anchore gittar in qualche porto!

Petrarch, allegorically represented by the ship at risk through the cheating waves of passion, realizes the mortal danger he is in. The wind pushes the boat towards the cliffs it will break against, while the poet remains only with the
hope in God’s help, that would allow him to throw his anchor in a harbour of salvation. Except for the divine presence, the message of Ienăchiță’s poem is the same. Influenced by Enlightenment ideas, the Romanian poet substitutes God with the force of reason symbolised by the resistant sails. Beyond this substitution, due to the different age in which the two poets live and write, the identity of the message and of the expression means remains remarkable.

The poetic images are similar in Petrarch and Ienăchiță as well. For instance, for Ienăchiță the winds (always in the plural, to respect the allegorical meaning) are ὀλεθρίους, σφοδροὺς καὶ ἐνάντιοὺς, σαγανάκια while in Petrarch (also in the plural) there are: rabbiosi venti, furor dei venti, dolorosi venti (LXVI), contrari venti (CXXXII), fieri venti (CCXXXV), turbati i venti (CCLXXII). Ienăchiță’s sea is τῶν συμφορῶν, μὲ κύματα πολλὰς καίμον, φουσκωμένη, πολλὰ ἀφρίζεται, and it ἀφιερίζεται καὶ φυσά, while Petrarch speaks of: onde fallaci (LXXX), atra et tempestosa onda marina (CLI), aspro mare (CLXXXIX), mar che frange (CCLXXVII), tempestoso mare (CCCLXVI).

There is only one image in Ienăchiță’s poem that does not exist in Petrarch, that of the clouds, σκοτισμένα καὶ κατασυγχισμένα, the only possible equivalent being an empia nube in Canto CCXVII. The Italian poet mentions however the agitated sky, the night, the fog or the winter to suggest the same thing.

As a result of this analysis, we can definitely conclude that Ienăchiță’s Song is influenced by Petrarch’s poetry, both at the level of symbols and of images. At the same time, an influence of Kornaros’ Erotokritos can be considered, especially at the level of images regarding the sea tempest.