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the 18th Century through Laic
Translations**

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Greek-Romanian Cultural Relations in the 18th Century through Laic Translations

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Abstract

The paper will focus on the first stage of modernisation of the Romanian literary language, between 1750 and 1830, stage dominated by Greek influence. We intend to demonstrate the importance of the Greek translations in the penetration of the Enlightenment ideas in the Romanian provinces, mainly in Wallachia. While Greek patriots found in the Romanian provinces a refuge where they could continue their cultural development and prepare their fight for national freedom, their translations of western works became a vehicle of the Enlightenment ideas, as they allowed Romanian scholars to translate, in their turn, from these Greek versions.

We will present examples of such circulation by analysing a variety of writings. Among them, there are history books such as Katiforos' Vita di Pietro translated by Cozma Vlahul and Matei Fărcășanu from the Greek version by Kankellarios or Rollin's Histoire ancienne, translated by Costandin Cocorăscu from the Greek version also by Kankellarios; educational books as Gordon's Geography anatomized from the Greek version by Georgios Fatzeas or Fontenelle's Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes, translated by Răducanu Greceanu from the Greek version by Panaiotis Kodrikas; literature: Gracián y Morales' El Criticón, translated by Gherasim from printed or manuscript Greek translations, several plays by Metastasio, translated by G. Slătineanu and Al. Beldiman from manuscript Greek versions; elaborations of Mille et une nuits, Pierre de Provence or Erotokritos.

The paper we propose represents a contribution towards the definition of the extent of the Greek presence in the Romanian culture of the 18th century.

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In the 18th century, most countries in Southern and Eastern Europe were under various types of rule of the Ottoman Empire. At the edge of the Empire, the Romanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia had a more relaxed regime, thus constituting a refuge especially for the scholars in the occupied countries in the immediate vicinity of Turkey.

The beginning of the Phanariote regime in Moldavia and in Wallachia, as a consequence of the lack of trust of the Turks in the local princes, meant the assignment of the throne to Greek rulers, recognised for their good knowledge of foreign languages, for the important positions they held in trade and diplomacy and for the faith to the Sultan. This constituted an opportunity for the numerous Greek intellectuals, who sought refuge in the Romanian principalities. The new princes, most of them ignorant of the Romanian language, used to come with a numerous court of secretaries, teachers and counsellors for the administration. Greek elementary schools had to be founded as well as Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iasi to train the sons of local noblemen and of the Greeks who wished to prepare their sons to high positions within the principalities.

This situation of the Romanian principalities constituted a political and cultural model to the Balkan scholars, who wanted to transfer it to their countries as well. At the same time, mention should be made of the quality of the Greek intellectuals who were active in the two principalities. Some of the teachers were renowned for their particular erudition. For instance, *Theophilos Koridaleos grounded the philosophic education on the basis of neo-Aristotelian theories*, Rigas Velesinlis, national Greek hero, poet and philosopher taught around 1783 at the Bucharest Academy. Within his teaching preoccupations, Rigas compiled a physics school book based on recent French and German works and particularly influenced by Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*. His school book was printed in Vienna in 1790, in Greek¹. In such an intellectual climate, a number of young men from the Romanian principalities could be trained in a modern spirit, dominated by the interest for scientific discoveries, for science and art.

Other intellectuals, good specialists of foreign languages or sciences, poets, translators, revolutionaries emigrated to Moldavia and Wallachia, where they could develop their cultural activity together with the battle for emancipation. Somehow sheltered from the Ottoman repression, they started a sustained campaign of promoting national ideals that culminated with the 1821 Revolution. Greek was the spoken language of the Princely court and was used in chancelleries, in the Phanariote administration and in the everyday life of the educated classes, so that Greek-Romanian bilingualism characterises the entire period.

¹Cf. Camariano-Cioran, Ariadna (1971). *Academiile domnești din București și Iași (The Princely Academies of Bucharest and Jassy)*, București: Editura Academiei. [In Romanian]; Grigoriu Elena (1978). *Istoricul Academiei Domnești de la Sf. Sava; Contribuții documentare (History of the Sf. Sava Princely Academy; Documentary Contributions)*, 71. București: Editura didactică și pedagogică. [In Romanian].

Through the intermediary of other Greeks who had fled to Western Europe, especially to the emigrants' colonies in Venice and Vienna, their countrymen were attracted by the Enlightenment ideas of Western Europe, got to know the most significant writings and followed the progressive ideology of the Lights, producing Greek translations of Western texts. They had the possibility to print their translations in Vienna and Venice, spreading them throughout Greece but also in the Romanian principalities.

Most Balkan cultures were nourished with books printed outside their area because, until the 19th century, there were no permanent printing houses in all the territories. Thus, a printing house founded in Venice produced books in Greek and Serbian. In Vienna, several typographers printed books in Balkan languages. In Wallachia, Romanian writings were published together with Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian ones while in Transylvania (Brasov and Sibiu) Romanian books were printed on the basis of a pre-order system.

In the Romanian principalities the interest for religious texts, systematically translated during the 17th century, started to diminish as a consequence of the influence of the Enlightenment ideology. Thus, the taste of the scholars reoriented, determining an increase in the number of laic translations. As a consequence, in the second half of the 18th century, which historically represents the beginning of the modernisation of the Romanian culture, most translations carried out are from the Western European culture and through Greek intermediaries. For the Romanian principalities, Greek was a vehicle of Enlightenment ideas, a *lingua franca* (vehicle language) that facilitated, in a first phase, even the penetration of Latin-Romance origin neologisms, present in significant numbers in Greek translations. In the relation Greek source-language – Romanian target language, there is a cultural bilingualism whose consequence is the borrowing of neologisms necessary to the cultural modernisation, to the increase of language functional styles.

We will briefly present laic Romanian translations of Western writings carried out in the second half of the 18th century from Greek. We will mainly refer to those translations for which the Greek intermediary is known.

I. The book regarding Peter the Great, entitled *Vita di Pietro il Grande, imperador della Rusia (Life of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia)* is the work of the Greek writer Antonios Katiforos¹, who wrote it in Italian and published it in Venice in 1736, in one volume with 6 books. He used several Western sources, namely historians from various countries: John Perry, Friedrich Christian Weber, Iwan Nestesuranoi, (pseudonym of Jean Rousset de Missy). Katiforos' book had (according to Legrand's bibliography) some later editions, in 1748, 1781, 1792². Alexandros Kankellarios translated the *Life of Peter the Great* from Italian into Greek, under the title *Βίος Πέτρου τοῦ μεγάλου, αὐτοκράτορος Ρουσσίας, πάτρος πατρίδος (Life of Peter the Great, Emperor of*

¹Extended information on the life and activity of the Greek scholar can be found in: Losacco, Margherita (2001). *Antonio Catiforo e Giovanni Veludo interpreti di Fozio (Antonios Katiforos and Giovanni Veludo, interpreters of Fozios)*. Bari: Edizioni Dedalo. [In Italian].

²Cf. Legrand, Émile (1918). *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, I: 254-255, 264, 365, 369. Paris.

Russia, Father of the Homeland), printed in Venice in 1737. The Greek edition is in two volumes: the first includes the first 4 books of the work and the seconds, the books 5 and 6.

The work of Katiforos was translated into Romanian several times in the 18th century¹, as follows².

a. The Wallachian version. The first volume of the Greek version of the *Life of Peter the Great* was translated into Romanian by Matei Fărcășanu³ as *Viața Marelui Petru*, in 1749. The Romanian translator belongs to the high nobility of Wallachia, as his ancestors had been famous since the 16th century for their value and for their contribution to the country's political life. The protograph of this translation is not known, as it is only preserved in manuscript copies:

a.1. ms. miscel. 204 BAR⁴, ff. 99-241^v, Wallachian copy by Lavrentie Dascăluș, 1749;

a.2. ms. miscel. 2353 BAR, ff. 134-304, Wallachian copy by Rafail, monk in the Hurez Monastery, 1755;

a.3. ms. miscel. 2668 BAR, Wallachian copy by Dumitru Rîmniceanu also from Hurez, 1767.

Besides the mentions in the introduction, the linguistic features of the text confirm that Matei Fărcășanu's source-language was Greek. Thus, apart from Romance neologisms, some of which present in the Greek version as well (*amazoane* 142^r, *cardinal* 138^v, 156^v, 227^r, *colonel* 253^v, *comedie* 147^v, *damighela* 143^r, *deputați* 202^v, *familie* 164^v, 172^r, 193^r, 299^r, *madamă* 204^r), Greek origin words less circulated at that time are also present: *psifos* 210^r, *schimata* 204^v, *shiptru* 147^r.

b. The Moldavian version. As N.A. Ursu⁵ proved, it belongs to the clergyman Cozma Vlahul, who was corrector for the Iasi Metropolitanate, translator of religious writings from Greek and Slavonic. His translation, entitled *Viața Marelui Petru, samoderjeț a toată Rosia (Life of Great Peter, Ruler of the Whole Russia)*, is preserved in the following manuscripts⁶:

¹Cf. Cernovodeanu, Paul (1975). 'Préoccupations en matière d'histoire universelle dans l'historiographie roumaine aux XVII-e et XVIII-e siècles', *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XII, 1: 86-90.

²For the description of the manuscripts, see Ștrempel, Gabriel (1978). *Catalogul manuscriselor românești. B.A.R., 1-1600 (Catalogue of the Romanian Manuscripts, B.A.R., 1-1600)*. I: 23, 41, 60. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică; Ștrempel, Gabriel (1983). *Catalogul manuscriselor românești. B.A.R., 1601-3100 (Catalogue of the Romanian Manuscripts, B.A.R., 1601-3100)*. II: 254, 321, 350. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică. [In Romanian].

³Cf. Dima, Eugenia (1989). 'Limba traducerilor laice din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea din Muntenia' (The Language of Laic Translations in the Second Half of the 18th century in Wallachia): 1-5. Ph.D. diss., 'Al. I. Cuza' University of Iași. [In Romanian].

⁴We will be using the abbreviation BAR for Biblioteca Academiei Române (Romanian Academy Library), Bucharest.

⁵Ursu, N.A. (2002). *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești. Studii și note filologice (Contributions to the History of Romanian Culture. Studies and Philological Notes)*, 44-75. Iași: Editura Cronica. [In Romanian].

⁶For the description of the manuscripts, see Ștrempel, Gabriel (1978), 23, 41 and Ștrempel, Gabriel (1983), 321.

- b.1. ms. 49 BAR, Moldavian copy by Gavriil Ierodiacon, Huși, 1756;
- b.2. ms. 122 BAR, 1765;
- b.3. ms. 2581 BAR, Moldavian copy by Toader Meican, 1799;
- b.4. a manuscript in the 'M.E. Saltikov-Șcedrin' Library of Sankt-Petersburg, dated 1755¹.

The translation of Iasi, from the same Greek version of Kankellarios, includes the whole work by Katiforos, that is all the 6 books. Though the name of the translator is not mentioned on any of the four known copies of the translation, his paternity was established by N.A. Ursu through linguistic and stylistic analysis.

c. The Brașov Transylvanian Version. Following a note by a copyist, it has been considered that the text containing only the first 4 books of Katiforos, would represent a translation from a Russian intermediary, *Жизнь Петра Великаго, Императора и Самодержца Всероссийскаго, отца отечества* (*Life of Peter the Great, Emperor and Autocrat of All Russians, Father of the Homeland*). Sankt-Petersburg, Akad. Nauk, 1772. This translation exists in two manuscript copies:

- c.1. ms. 2476 BAR, ff. 4-144^v, with the title *Viața lui Petru celui Mare, (Life of Peter the Great)*, Brașov copy by Ioan Zacionea, 1783-1784;
- c.2. ms. 3161 BAR, ff. 1-186, with the title *Istoria rușilor și viața Marelui Petru, monarhul rușilor (History of the Russians and Life of Great Peter, the Monarch of the Russians)*, allegedly translated by church singer Rodion Popovici, Brașov, 1785, Brașov copy by Zanfîr Marco, 1788. We are currently studying this version in order to check whether it was indeed translated from Russian or rather from Greek and to verify the information regarding the Romanian translator.²

II. Ms. 5846, a recent acquisition of the BAR, with 810 pages, includes the translation, through Greek intermediary, of part of the *Histoire ancienne* by Charles Rollin. The translation, work of Constandin Cocorăscu, was made during 1767 – 1768 and the manuscript is an autograph. Constandin Cocorăscu is a member of an old and noble Wallachian family, attested since the 16th century. The Greek version, *Πάλαια ιστορία*, belongs to Alexandros Kankellarios, who published it in Venice, in 1750, in 16 volumes, out of which Cocorăscu only translated the first one, including the history of Egypt and of Cartago. It is probable that Rollin's History was known in the Romanian principalities only in its Greek version, as Cocorăscu, wishing to explain his initiative to translate it, states at the end of his translation: 'For I have not done this to take pride in it but only as I saw that no history of the old times is available in this language and have endeavoured to give some information to

¹Cf. Cernovodeanu, Paul (1975), 86-90.

²Cf. Dima, Eugenia (2012). 'Una versione inedita della cronaca della Moldavia dal 1709 al 1711 di Nicolae Costin, interpolata nella *Viața lui Petru* (Un Unknown Version of the Chronicle of Moldavia from 1709 to 1711 by Nicolae Costin, inserted into the *Life of Peter*. *Analele științifice ale Universității 'Al. I. Cuza' din Iași, IIIe- Lingvistică*, LVIII: 75-86. [In Romanian].

my people.' The Romanian translation contains numerous words and loan translations from Greek.¹

III. Since the second half of the 18th century, the Romanian culture had started to manifest a special interest for the collections of Oriental stories, *Les Mille et une nuits* by Antoine Galland and *Les Mille et un jours* by Pétis de la Croix, also known under the name of *Halima*. The Italian version of these two series, called *Novelle persiane, divise in mille ed una giornata (Persian Short Stories, Divided into Thousand and One Day)* was taken up into Greek compilations published in the second half of the 18th century in Venice and later in Vienna.

According to the bibliography of Emile Legrand, the first Greek translation of the two collections was printed in Venice with the title *Ἀραβικὸν μυθολογικόν (Arabian Mythology)*. It had 3 volumes: vol. I, in 1757; vol. II and vol. III, in 1762. The whole edition was reprinted later, between 1803 and 1815. This is the most translated version into Romanian during the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, with the highest number of manuscripts.

In 1791, in Vienna, the publisher Polizois Lampanitziotis initiated the printing of a new collection of Oriental stories in Greek, with the title *Νέα Χαλιμά (New Halima)*. It had 4 volumes, with a different selection of stories than the previous collection and it appeared over a longer period of time: vol. I, in 1791; vol. II in 1792; vol. III in 1794; vol. IV, in 1796².

The Greek books spread in the Romanian principalities and were translated more than once, circulating in numerous manuscript copies. Besides the printed Greek books, in the principalities there seem to have been known other Greek or Oriental versions as well, which were translated into Romanian and reproduced in manuscripts.

To investigate the 20 Romanian manuscripts that include tales from these series we undertook a philological analysis in order to establish the number of versions and the filiation between manuscripts. We could conclude that the manuscripts contain 7 different translation versions, varying as dimension and importance. Of these versions, 4 are certain to be after Greek originals (for a total of 15 manuscripts). Taking into account that we have different points of view from other researchers that dealt with the penetration of these tales in the Romanian literature, we will briefly present our findings³ considering the 4 versions that have a printed Greek intermediary.

a. *Translation of 'Ἀραβικὸν μυθολογικόν' by Șerban Bodeț.*

a.1. Ms. II-126 from the 'Mihai Eminescu' Central University Library in Iasi, Moldavian incomplete copy dated before 1778. After linguistic and philological investigations, we established that the translation is the work of the superintendent Șerban Bodeț, brother of

¹Cf. Dima, Eugenia (1989), 9-16.

²According to the catalogue of Lada, G. G. & A. D. Chatzēdēmu (1964). *Hellēnikē Bibliographia (Greek Bibliography)*. Skylletes. [In Greek].

³Cf. Dima, Eugenia (1986-1987). 'Primele traduceri din *Halima* în limba română' (The First Translations of the *Halima* into Romanian). *Anuar de lingvistică și istorie literară*, XXXI, A: 39-64. [In Romanian].

the monk Rafail from the Hurez Monastery. This version was widely circulated and copies of it are to be found in many Romanian provinces.

a.2. ms. 2587 BAR, not dated, is the only complete translation of the tree volumes that has been preserved. It was in the possession of the monk Rafail from the Hurez Monastery.

a.3. Ms. 5 from the 'St. John the New' Monastery Library in Suceava, Moldavian copy of vol. I and II, done by Ioniță Tăutu in 1778-1779.

a.4. Ms. 2563 BAR, Moldavian copy of vol. I, from the end of the 18th century.

a.5. Ms. 4136 BAR, Wallachian copy of vol. I, from between 1800 - 1804.

a.6. Ms. 3187 BA, Moldavian copy of vol. I, from in 1806.

a.7. Ms. 2563 BAR contains a fragment from vol. I (the first tale), copied at the beginning of the 19th century.

a.8. Ms. 5363 BAR (ex 6016), Wallachian copy of tales from vol. II and III, from the beginning of the 19th century.

a.9 Ms. 1260 BAR, Wallachian copy of tales from vol. I, from the beginning of the 19th century.

a.10. Ms. 5501 BAR, Wallachian copy of vol. I, from 1826.

a.11. Ms. 2636 BAR and Ms. 5499 BAR, Transylvanian fragmentary copies. This allowed some researchers to suppose that a complete translation of the three Greek volumes was carried out in Transylvania as well. However, in the above mentioned study, we demonstrated, through linguistic and textual comparison, that these manuscripts are in fact copies of Șerban Bodeț's translation, thus infirming the existence of a Transylvanian version.

b. *Translation of 'Αραβικόν μυθολογικόν' by Scarlat Barbul Tîmpeanul.* Ms. 2432 BAR, ff. 1^r-112^v only includes the translation of vol. I from the Greek collection, being dated 1808. Following a textual comparison, we concluded that the translator was influenced by the version of Șerban Bodeț.

c. *Translation of 'Nέα Χαλιμά'.* Ms. 5290 BAR (ex 6059) contains *Istoriele și întâmplările marelui împărat Carmelezan (The Histories and the Adventures of the Great Emperor Camaralzaman)* and is a Moldavian copy by Iordachi Ursache during the period January 1812 – January 1814. The tale is part of Galland's collection but it was not included in the first Greek collection of *Αραβικόν μυθολογικόν*, being instead present in the *Nέα Χαλιμά*. As for the translator, we do not have any information yet, but the analysis of the text lets us state that he was Moldavian, like the copyist.

d. *Fragment.* Ms. miscel. 3456 BAR, at ff. 373^r-380^v, includes a fragment, copied sometimes between 1812-1814, from vol. III of the *Αραβικόν μυθολογικόν*, published in 1762 and reprinted between 1803 and 1815.

IV. The French chivalry novel *Paris et Vienne*, translated into Italian verses by Angelo Albani Orvietano and published in Rome in 1626 with the title *Innamoramento di due fedelissimi amanti, Paris e Vienna (Love Story of Two Very Faithful Lovers, Paris and Vienna)* was re-elaborated by Vincenzo

Kornaros in his verse poem *Ἐρωτόκριτος* (*Erotokritos*) and translated into Romanian.

a. *The Moldavian translation.* The very first translation into Romanian of Kornaros' writing is the Moldavian one, in prose, dating before 1785. The name of the translator is not yet known, however he could be Vasile Vîrnav. This supposition is possible due to some fragmentary information found in various notes present in the copies containing the translation. The Moldavian version is available in two manuscript copies.

a.1. Ms. 158 BAR, Moldavian copy by Iancu Scorțeanu, in 1785, containing 128 leaves with the complete prose text.

a.2. Ms. 145 BAR, Moldavian copy by Alexandru Anghelciuc, in 1800, with the title *Istoria lui Erotocrit* (in ms., misspelled *Eratocrit; History of Erotokritos*). The text is incomplete and it ends when Aretousa cries at the news of the death of her lover. At the end of the text, at f. 93^v, there is a copyist note of some importance for the discussions concerning the Moldavian translator: 'This book, very bright and beautiful, was taken out and translated from Greek into Moldavian by Hristodor Ioan Trapezuntul. And I wrote it from some papers that were signed Vasile from Botosani, whoever he might be I do not know. And I wrote it from March 22, 1800 to June 15, 1800.'

b. *The Wallachian translation.* This second Romanian version, in prose with verses that we attributed to Alecu Văcărescu¹, is preserved in a number of manuscript copies.

b.1. Ms. 3514 BAR, Bucharest Wallachian copy by three copyists, in 1787, with coloured ink illustrations. On the last page it is mentioned the fact that it was written by *Ioniță logofăt* and the illustrations were made by *Petrache logofăt*.

b.2. Ms. 43 from the Library of the Linguistics and Literary History Institute of Cluj-Napoca. It has very beautiful crayon or aquarelle illustrations. There are several pages missing, it also lacks the first pages and the last ones. We consider that probably the copy and the illustrations were carried out at the same time and in the same place as ms. 3514.

b.3. Ms. miscel. 1319 BAR, ff. 27^r-249^v, copy from Nikopol, from 1789 by someone probably exiled by Prince Nicholas Mavrogenes or part of the household of one of the high boyars exiled by the Prince. The manuscript does not include illustrations. The text is complete, except for the introductory verses called *Istorie deosăbită* (*Remarkable Story*).

b.4. Ms. 5498 BAR, Transylvanian copy by a certain Gheorghe, in 1802-1803. Starting with Part 4, the content is abridged.

b.5. Ms. 1133 BAR (ex Gaster 72), Moldavian complete copy from 1806.

¹Cf. Dima, Eugenia (1984). 'Alecu Văcărescu, traducător al *Erotocritului*' (Alecu Văcărescu, Translator of the *Erotokritos*). *Limba română* XXXIII, 6: 492-502. [In Romanian].

b.6. Ms. miscel. 2606 BAR, ff. 1^r-86^v, Piatra Neamț Moldavian complete copy by Simion Popa in 1818. At the end of the text, the copyist adds a few personal considerations regarding the faith in love, hope etc. (f. 86^r).

b.7. Ms. miscel. 5527 BAR (ex 5967) ff. 146^r-278^r, Wallachian complete copy by Costache Mantheu in 1827.

b.8. Ms. III-10 from the 'V. A. Urechia' Library of Galați, Moldavian complete copy by Săndulache Lăpușneanu in 1834. Under the title *Erotocrit și cu Aritusa amorizați (Erotokritos and Aretousa in love)*, it has 186 pages numbered with Arabic numerals and it also includes the initial verses on the troubled times. At the end of the text, there is the following note by the copyist: 'This history was written by me and at my expense and it rightfully belongs to me and it was written in the year 1834. It was finished writing on March, 9.' (p. 186). In Paul Paltânea's catalogue is recorded under number 99¹.

b.9. Ms. miscel. 4868 (ff. 2^r-46^r), Moldavian fragmentary copy by Manolache Atanasie, in 1838-1839. The manuscript, of large format, is written in black ink, with some red ink underlines. The verses are written in red ink. On f. 1^v there is a picture representing the Emperor Heraclius, with the explanation: 'This is Heraclius Emperor of Lachina 1838 Oct. 3', and some other smaller pictures, inserted in the text. At the beginning of the text there are the same verses as in other copies, a little altered towards the end as personal considerations of the copyist were added. The action stops after the request of Aretousa's hand by Erotokritos' father, Pezostraton. At f. 46^r there is the following copyist note: 'This book is written by me, the most unworthy of all people, Manolache Atanasie, to the comfort of those who will read it and to remember me, as I wrote it in the year 1839, January, 16.' Linguistic characteristics of the writing show that the text was copied by a Moldavian and his notes help us date it between April 1838 and January, 1839.

b.10. Ms. 2676 BAR, complete copy (ff. 1-136^v). On the last page a few verses are copies. The linguistic features of the document indicate that the copyist was Wallachian and worked at the beginning of the 19th century.

b.11. Ms. 5647 BAR is lacking the first pages, that is the title and part of the beginning of the novel. The text contains 60 medium format leaves, written in black ink, without decorations. There is no information regarding the copyist or the date and time where the copy was made. It can be presumed to be a Wallachian copy from the beginning of the 19th century.

c. *Contamination*. Ms. miscel. 1524 BAR, ff. 3^v-14^r, Moldavian fragmentary copy, around 1811, formed of two *Erotokritos* fragments. The first

¹Cf. Paltânea, Paul (1979). *Catalogul manuscriselor și scrisorilor din Biblioteca 'V.A. Urechia' (Catalogue of Manuscripts and Letters in the 'V.A. Urechia' Library)*. Galați [In Romanian].

fragment, ff. 3^v-7^r, contains verses from Alecu Văcărescu's translation. The second fragment, starting at f. 7^v, is in prose and the action of the novel is resumed from the very beginning, reproducing the Moldavian version. Thus the content of the manuscript represents a contamination between the Wallachian verse translations and the Moldavian prose.

d. Summaries.

d.1. Ms. miscel. 4104 BAR, ff. 125^r-126^v, Moldavian copy from the second half of the 18th century. It contains a summary with modified chapter order in respect to the Greek text of the complete Romanian translations. It could be a memory recounting by someone who read the book in Greek.

d.2. Ms. miscel 2769 BAR, ff. 110^r-115^v, Moldavian copy of about 1811. It includes a summary of the first part of the novel, the action ending when Erotokritos is forced to leave the city.

V. *Gheografie noao (New Geography)* represents the translation by Grigorios Fatzeas of the universal geography book by Patrick Gordon, *Geography Anatomiz'd: Or, the Geographical Grammar*¹. Fatzeas published his translation in Venice in 1760, under the title *Γραμματική Γεωγραφική (Geographical Grammar)*. On the title page of the Greek edition mention is made of the intermediaries that led to the Greek version: from English into French, then into Italian. The Romanian translation was attributed to Gherasim Putneanul² by N.A. Ursu. There are three copies preserved:

1. Ms. 6 in the Roman Bishopric Library, undated. It is the oldest copy.

2. Ms. 121 of the Iasi State Archive dated 1780.

3. Ms. 2349 BAR, dated 1786. The translator compressed in several places the original text, especially in as far as some political or religious comments are concerned.

VI. Work of the Italian writer Gian Francesco Loredano, *Gli Scherzi geniali (Brilliant Jokes)* was translated into Romanian with the title *Zăbava fandasiei (Amusement of Fantasy)* after the Greek intermediary by **Malakis Giakoumis** Kastrisios, *Παίγνια της φαντασίας (Games of Imagination)*, printed in Venice in 1711³. The translation of the last two chapters of vol. I (ms. 1793 BAR) and of all the vol. II (ms. 433 BAR) in 1788 is the work of the boyar Constantin Vîrnav, who confesses that the first ten chapters had been previously translated by 'some church cantor'. This church cantor was

¹Cf. Ursu, N.A. (1962). *Formarea terminologiei științifice românești (Formation of the Romanian Scientific Terminology)*, 16. București: Editura Științifică. [In Romanian]; Kechagioglou, G. (1994). 'Traduzioni neogreche del XVIII secolo: L'italiano come lingua veicolare' (Greek Translations in the 18th Century: Italian as Vehicle Language). 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].

²Ursu, N.A. (2002), 213-215.

³f. Camariano Cioran, Ariadna (1973). 'Precizări și identificări privind unele traduceri românești din greacă; sec. al XVIII-lea' (Specifications and Identifications Regarding Some Romanian Translations from Greek in the 18th Century), *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, XVII, 2: 278. [In Romanian].

identified by N.A. Ursu, with linguistic and stylistic arguments, in the person of the superintendent Toma Dimitriu. His texts are to be found in copies: ms. 126 from Iasi State Archive, dated 1782, and ms. 50 BAR, dated 1786¹.

VII. The religious and political education book for country leaders by Ambrogio Marliani, *Theatrum politicum*, whose first edition was printed in Rome in 1631², was translated into Greek by Ioannis Avramios around 1713 and published in Leipzig, in 1758. The translation from Greek by Toma Dimitriu, superintendent of the Iasi Metropolitanate, dates from 1770-1775 and is entitled *Teatron politicon, priveliste politicească (Theatron Politikon, Political Sight)*. Ariadna Camariano established the paternity of the Greek version and described the verses from the Romanian translation³. The verses quoted by Marliani were translated into Romanian in verses similar to those of superintendent Toma, as in the foreword of the *Alcătuire înăurită* and in the afterword of *Etiopicele*⁴. Not printed, the Romanian version is available in several manuscripts described by Ariadna Camariano: ms. 434, 435, 1543, 1569, 1708, 2770, 3141, 4838, 4839, 5664, 5665, 5566 (the last three had been previously registered as 5955, 5956, 5957).

VIII. *Cuvîntări pentru mulțimea lumilor (Discourses for the Multitude of Worlds)* represents the first translation from Fontenelle in the Romanian culture. The book of the French Enlightenment scholar, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* was translated into Romanian from its Greek version of Panagiotis *Kodrikas*, *Ομιλίες περί πληθῶος κόσμων τοῦ κυρίου Φοντενέλ*, printed in Vienna in 1794, in the typography of Georgios Ventotis⁵. Ms. 1383 BAR contains the Romanian translation that we attributed to Răducanu Greceanu⁶. This translation was undertaken at about 1800 and revised some time later. Panagiotis *Kodrikas*, **author of the Greek version of Fontenelle's book, studied in Constantinople and in the Princely Academy of Bucharest, where he was the student of Lambros Fotiadis**⁷, who drew him near the French French Enlightenment. He was secretary of the Princes Michael Soutzos and Nicholas Mavrogenes in the period 1783-1795, being well known at the time

¹Cf. Ursu, N.A. (2002), 194-195.

²Cf. Himu, Maria (1937). 'Teatrul politic al lui Nicolae Mavrocordat și originalul latin' (Nicholas Mavrocordatos' *Political Theatre* and its Latin Original). *Raze de lumină*, IX, 1.4: 66-70. [In Romanian].

³Cf. Camariano, Ariadna (1941, 1942) 'Traducerea grecească a *Teatrului politic*, atribuită greșit lui Nicolae Mavrocordat, și versiunile românești' (The Greek Translation of the *Political Theatre*, Wrongly Attributed to Nicholas Mavrocordatos, and its Romanian Versions), *Revista istorică română*, XI & XII, 216-260. [In Romanian].

⁴Cf. Ursu, N.A. (2002), 191-194.

⁵Cf. Papacostea-Danielopolu, Cornelia (1982). *Literatura în limba greacă din Principatele Române, 1774-1830 (Greek Language Literature in the Romanian Principalities, 1774-1830)*, 77. București. [In Romanian].

⁶Cf. Dima, Eugenia (2003-2004). 'Prima traducere din Fontenelle în cultura românească' (The First Translation of Fontenelle in the Romanian Culture). *Analele științifice ale Universității 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza' din Iași. Serie nouă. Secțiunea IIIe. Lingvistică*: 173- 174. [In Romanian].

⁷Cf. Camariano-Cioran, Ariadna (1971), 36, 42n, 126.

for his cultural and political activity¹. On the title page, *Kodrikas expresses his gratitude to the Prince of Moldavia*, Michael Soutzos, who financed the printing of his book. In order to establish the textual differences in ms. 1383, we examined the French and the Greek versions and noticed that *Kodrikas introduced numerous notes with scientific explanations, philosophical and mythological comments etc. The Romanian translator selected only part of the explanatory notes while adding others. Moreover, unlike Kodrikas, he proceeded to numerous reductions of Fontenelle's text.*

This partial and relatively condensed presentation of the Romanian translations from the Western culture through Greek intermediaries shows the tendency of the Eastern European countries to connect to the Enlightenment ideology. Numerous landmarks for the Balkan culture were thus created, especially through books. The book, considered the instrument by excellence of the enlightenment, had to give a new direction. As a consequence, the role of the book received particular attention from the society and a continuous increase of its audience became more and more important.

The contacts of the Greek scholars with the most important cultural accomplishments in the Occident were encouraged by a society that anticipated a new cultural model and the Greek influence gave, in its turn, a decisive impulse to the scholars from the Romanian principalities, constituting a synthesis of the data coming from the Mediterranean and the Western European world.

¹Cf. Papacostea-Danielopolu, Cornelia (1982), 77.