

MY  
AMERICAN LECTURES

BY

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RECTOR OF THE BUCHAREST UNIVERSITY,  
DOCTOR (HONORIS CAUSA) OXON.  
DOCTOR (HONORIS CAUSA) SORBONNE ETC.:

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Roumanian ț = ts.  
” ș = sh.  
” ă = as the French *e* in: *bonne*.  
” â = as the French *e* in: *quelque*.



Country house — Wallachia

## P R E F A C E

A SPEECH DELIVERED AT A LECTURE IN THE COLUMBIA  
UNIVERSITY, NEW-YORK

*During the great historical movement known to us as the Renaissance, there appeared in one country after another men gifted with universal minds — men possessed of such extraordinary intellectual power that no domain of human knowledge seemed to be beyond their grasp. From Leonardo Da Vinci in Italy to Erasmus in Holland we find such a flowering of genius as has never been equalled in the history of the world.*

*Recently the question has been brought forward: Did the Renaissance so utterly exhaust the intellectual vitality of men that succeeding centuries have only been able to offer feeble imitations of its awe-inspiring minds? Are there no great men in modern times? When these questions aroused discussion in the public press a few years ago, when even great men seemed to feel that modern life was not propitious for the unfolding of such extraordinary intellectual attainments, my thoughts reverted at once to Nicolae Iorga, that master intellect.*

*Whether we are willing to admit it or not, the fact still remains that Nicolae Iorga is one of the most outstanding intellectual figures — if not, as I am firmly convinced, the outstanding personality — of the modern world. Indeed, if Nicolae Iorga hailed from a large country, instead of a small one, there is no doubt that he would have been acclaimed*

*with the world-wide recognition which his genius so richly deserves. But time will in the end demolish those barriers of nationalistic feeling which prevent us from appreciating the true worth of man, irrespective of his origins.*

*It is to the great credit of France, the second patrie to Iorga as to all intellectuals of all times, that she was prompt to evaluate justly the all-embracing genius of Iorga. But it is to the still greater credit of Iorga's countrymen of Roumania that they have always felt in their hearts his greatness, and that the magnitude of his mind and character has aroused in them a veneration unequalled in modern times. In my humble opinion, one of the finest expressions of what may be called the spiritual in this materialistic world has been the eagerness with which our worthy fellow citizens of Roumanian extraction — from the humblest workman to the leading intellectual — have sought to attract Professor Iorga to our shores. Indeed, during the years that I have had the pleasure of associating myself with their endeavours, I have found that the magic name of Iorga was always the open sesame to the hearts of his countrymen.*

*Since the remarkable career of our distinguished guest may not be so wellknown to Americans as it is to Roumanians, I am taking the liberty of giving a few facts regarding his life and activities. Nicolae Iorga was born on June 6, 1871, in Botoşani, Roumania. His father having died while Nicolae was yet very young, his mother took charge of his early education. His great-uncle, Manolache Drăghici, a well-known historian, gave him the necessary elementary training. So unusual was the mind of young Nicolae that at the age of six he read the Chronicles of Moldavia and knew by heart Florian's Fables and Victor Hugo's Orientales. At that time he was also reading in the original French Champfleury, Amédée Pichot and Émile Souvestre as well as Roumanian authors. At the age of thirteen he*

was contributing articles on foreign affairs to «Romanul» (The Romanian), a provincial journal.

From Botoșani Iorga went to the University of Jassy, where at the age of nineteen he received the degree of Licentiate, or Master, in Letters. During his course of study he was writing poetry for the «Contemporary» (Contemporanul) and the «New Review» (Revista Nouă) and contributing literary criticism to «Arhiva» (The Archives).

After graduating at Jassy, Iorga continued his studies at Paris, Berlin and finally Leipzig, where he was rewarded with the doctorate for his thesis on Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces. Shortly afterward, the University of Paris awarded him a diplôme des hautes études for his dissertation on Philippe de Mézières.

On Nov. 1, 1894, at the early age of twenty-three, he was appointed professor in the University of Bucharest. He then traveled extensively in the Roumanian provinces and continued his researches in the libraries of more than a dozen different countries — from Sweden and England, in the north, to Italy and Turkey, in the south, and as far west as Portugal. The results of this gathering of a vast material are revealed in his numerous works.

In 1903, Iorga became editor of the well-known literary review The Sower (Sămănătorul), to which his contributions, consisting of articles and essays, resulted in a reawakening of Roumanian literature, changing its course completely for the generations to come. In fact, one may say without fear of contradiction that all the leading writers of present-day Roumania are still under the spell of Iorga's genius.

When he entered the Roumanian Parliament for the first time in 1907 as Deputy for Jassy, Iorga interested himself at once in the emancipation of Roumanian peasantry; and again it may be said that the remarkable bloodless revolution

*which took place in Roumania a few years ago, the consequences of which have been so far-reaching as to result in the revival of democracy in several countries of western Europe — this great liberal movement for which we are all grateful, harks back to the steadfast faith in the principles of democracy shown at all times by the great Iorga. The Roumanian people expressed their gratitude to him by later making him the first President of the Parliament of Greater Roumania.*

*But Iorga's indefatigable activity did not stop there. He realized at once that, if Roumanians were to enjoy to the full their new found liberty, they must be educated, and so he founded in 1908 the popular University of Vălenii de Munte, where he counted among his disciples not only plebeians but even royalty, for His Majesty King Carol II was among those who received inspiration from his lectures there.*

*Professor Iorga then shed the light of his genius upon Roumanian drama, which he felt was in need of new form and new ideas in order to interpret adequately the life and character of the Roumanian people. In order, therefore, to illustrate his theories with examples, Iorga wrote several plays which were produced with great success at the National Theatre of Bucharest.*

*For the past twelve or more years, Iorga has been Exchange Professor at the Sorbonne of Paris, where, as member of the Academy of Inscriptions, he has continued to give to the world a remarkable series of historical, scientific, philosophical and literary studies. To list them would be like cataloguing a large and choice library. They run from a monumental History of the World through Histories of Romance Literatures and of Roumanian Literature down to such specialized studies — illustrating the wide range of his genius — as History of the Roumanians in Portraits and Ikons and Inscriptions in Roumania's Churches. Suffice it*

*to say that all important questions of historical, scientific, political, literary and artistic interest are treated therein with critical acumen and extraordinarily sound judgment.*

*Professor Iorga, it would be almost absurd for me to present you to the members of this audience who already know you and love you. I can only say that, on behalf of the President of Columbia University — who regrets his inability to be present because of a long arranged visit abroad— we wish you a cordial welcome and extend to you our deep appreciation for the honour of your presence here.*

**JOHN L. GERIG**

*Professor of Celtic, Columbia University*



## F O R E W O R D

*In September 1929 I was invited by a club of my fellow-countrymen at Indiana Harbour near Chicago, to attend an anniversary of their foundation. I accepted with the greater pleasure as it made it possible for me to visit nearly thirty similar Roumanian centres in the United States, where some 120.000 of my compatriots are employed, for the most part, in factories. The Roumanians living in Canada, however, are working in agriculture, or at least the greater part of them.*

*As a happy coincidence, too, it so chanced that about the same time Sir William Craigie, the celebrated compiler of the English dictionary published under his name, inspired me with the idea of delivering a series of lectures at various of the American universities. Arrangements had still to be made when I arrived in that country, but I was nevertheless warmly welcomed by my colleague, Mr. Duggan. There could however be no question of a regular course of lectures, but only of the occasional presentation of such subjects as were more or less connected with my better-known researches. In some cases the lectures were prepared beforehand, in others they could not be delivered, and in still others a change of topic was requested and arranged for. In all I spoke at universities, chambers of commerce and intellectual circles nearly twenty times.*

*Now, by combining one or more lectures into one chapter and by elaborating many points which could not then be*

*developed I have found it possible to gather sufficient material for a very slim volume. A friend has corrected my English, my stumbling, almost irremediable English, and so it comes before a public which has ever received me generously and by whom I hope to be better understood, in a world of new ideas, than would perhaps be the case in other parts of the world.*

**N. IORGA**

Rector of the Bucharest University

## FRENCH AND OTHER LITERATURE IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

French literature of the middle-ages penetrated Greek South-Eastern Europe in two forms. First, as a direct influence of the *chansons de geste* as sung in the castles of the western barons, who had established themselves in the conquered provinces of the former Byzantine Empire; so that the figures of the French epics were adopted by the vanquished and new works in their own languages reproduced the well-known tales of fierce and gallant strife and amorous romance. Secondly, by passing through the Francized realm of the two Sicilies, the French poems were an incitement to present, in the Serb poesies, the poetized history of other struggles and sufferings.

Subsequently a long period was put to western literary penetration. In the fifteenth century the Latin life of South-Eastern Europe was no longer represented by French dukes or Catalan and Navarrese adventurers; Venice, the practical and the calculating, was the sole heiress of the former barons in Greece, and the last of these was a nobleman of indifferent attainments like Pierre de St. Exupéry, or a fortune-hunter in the style of the Italian tyrants of his time, like Antonio Acciaiuoli, Lord of Athens. Constantinople was never French under the latinocracy, notwithstanding men like Balduin of Flanders, his brother Robert, Pierre de Courtenay who

wore the Comnene crown ; inasmuch as it broke the continuity of the old Greek fashions, the ruling Occident was personified by the Venetian merchants, and the supremacy of the Italian language (established in Byzantine times when Venetian, Genoese, Pisan, and the old Amalfitans were considered the natural bourgeoisie of this new Rome), became more and more apparent. This familiarity with the spoken language of the majority of the Latin inhabitants of the eastern capital was to outlive all changes in the imperial domination and to subsist down to the seventeenth century.

But it is necessary to add that this long intercourse in the middle-ages as well as in the modern era had no literary influence ; it remained in this sense — not like art, which became, in the days of the Palaeologues, common to East and West — completely sterile.

In the fifteenth century, Bulgaria no longer existed in the politically-important part of mediaeval South-Eastern Europe. In literature it owed all to Byzantium, the works of which passed to some extent into the old Slavonic tongue through the efforts of the cultured clergy at the court of the Czars. The Roumanian territories were particularly characteristic of that time and in this respect. Their epic poetry was at first the mere translation of Serbian songs. Then upon this model new forms were created, epitomising the exploits of the reigning princes or of their predecessors. Lyric poetry, less popular than the epic in the regions south of the Danube, had as its point of departure the same as what surely had been formerly achieved in mediaeval Italy, but feelings belonging to this sentimental and visionary race were expressed in noborrowed forms ; this is the origin of the melancholy *doinas*, which sang of love and especially of the longing for the loved one, But for the epics the models employed were

Slavonic and not Latin. The only people among the races in this part of Europe speaking a Latin language and thinking in Latin was the last to participate in the currents sweeping from the great western Latinity.

Only in an isolated city of the Adriatic, Ragusa, subjected alternately to the Norman and Venetian will and maintaining unbroken relations with all cities on the coast of Italy overlooking it, the transmission of literary influence was never interrupted. This course was pursued after the common Italian tongue had taken the place of the Slavonic of the surrounding countries. The neighbouring Slavs of the Serb branch and, through their intermediary, other Balkan States took from Ragusa such celebrated books as the Romance of Alexander the Great, enriched by the skill of a southern Italian writer. Besides the works of imagination coming from Byzantium, and thanks to the lively spirit of the Ragusan, to his interest in new things, the peninsula was able to lay claim to poetic achievements of which the far more developed Occident need not have been ashamed. But the part played by Eastern inspiration in fairy tales and treatises on life-philosophy remained predominant.

The sixteenth century was in most of the western countries first and foremost an age of scholarship. The Renaissance brought editions of the classics, commentaries, grammars, dictionaries, servile imitations of the Romans and the Greeks. South-Eastern Europe, being partly the Hellenic territory of old, gained an importance which, up to this moment, had not been recognised. Travellers like Bongars came to Wallachia, to the Balkans, in search of documents of epigraphy; the ambassadors of all Christian nations were often commissioned to buy rare manuscripts. The supporters of insurgent Protestantism, in their fight against Catholicism, hoped to find

allies in the indigent Greek Church, subjected to the spoliation and humiliation of the Turk. The Germans were thus interested in the Orthodox faith. Crusius, the author of the «Turco-Graccia», Gerlach, who has bequeathed us his priceless Byzantine Journal, and Chytraeus were the missionaries of these religious and archaeological explorations. But only in Ragusa was Petrarch, and even Dante himself, known and imitated; throughout the rest of this broad region no hope of literary influence was to be found. In the Italian-speaking quarters of Constantinople, Pera and Galata, in Chios (autonomous until the second half of the century) habits of life were mainly occidental, but literature consisted only in the preservation of the old popular songs. The reason of this was that for a profane literature the conditions were here wanting; the life of an enlightened court or of a highly developed and very rich middle-class. The Wallachian princess Catherine, the daughter of an occidental-minded father, had in Venice, in the retirement of Murano, a Latin sister, called, after the Roumanian manner, Mărioara, and the latter corresponded with Veronese himself. The very commonplace character of the correspondence this princess maintained with Mărioara, however, is in the debased Greek of her day.

There is a single case of occidentalism — that is to say of Italian occidentalism — in the Greek literature of the period, and it conserves the Hellenic form. A great role was played at this juncture by the Roumanians in the Christian life of South-Eastern Europe, where their princes superseded the old Roman emperors and influenced the mixed Occidental and Oriental culture of such Russian territories as were subject to the Polish crown. The example is the epic of a Cretan, George Palamede, consecrated to the martial deeds of Michael the Brave, Prince of

Wallachia and conqueror of Transylvania and Moldavia, the natural leader of all Greeks, to whom he belonged on his mother's side, and a potential emperor of a free Byzantium. His poem, of long harmonious rhythm, is an imitation of the « Gerusalemme Liberata ». At the same time, the simple popular form was employed by one of Michael's officers, the Greek Stavrinos, to celebrate the same stirring exploits. The Greek domain of Venice had still, for the most part, been preserved. It was unfruitful in many districts, as in the formerly illustrious island of Cyprus, that heritage of the French knightly kings, the Lusignans, of literary products. Crete was the sole domain of literature in the colonial empire of the Republic. If Palamede, a Greek, could use the form of Tasso, a contemporary, for presenting an oriental subject, to Vincenzo Cornaro, an Italian of old noble family, must the credit go for the idea of recurring to the memories of eastern contests of chivalry (between the Dukes of Athens, the Lords of Morea, and their adversaries) in order to compose the popular poem of the « New Erotocrite ». The first Greek plays after the Italian manner were written, and perhaps performed, in the same island, which may thus be considered to have been the cradle of the new Greek literature.

At this moment not only French diplomacy in Constantinople, honoured before all other because the kings of France were praised as the Lords of all Christianity, as the emperors among the « believers of Jesus », spoke and wrote Italian in all their relations with the Turks of the Sulimanic era, but the Italian of the *concetti* was the courtly language in the milieu of the ruling dowager queen, the Florentine Catherine de Medicis. A refugee from the East, the most handsome, intelligent and gifted of all Oriental adventurers, the Wallachian Peter Cercel

(Earring) wrote at the Court of France his beautiful « Inno a Dio » and exclusively employed the best Italian in his correspondence.

Notwithstanding the great influence of the French Jesuits at Constantinople in the first half of the following century, an influence which was opposed by the Latin-writing colonists of Holland, who were represented by the ambassador of the Low Countries, the French language gained no ground in this region. If the Fathers preached in French, they wrote to the neighbouring princes of Wallachia and Moldavia in Italian. The same occidental form was used by the English Ambassadors despatched to Turkey in the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England; a certain Austell and Edward Barton.

A change was introduced only when Louis XIV took the lead as the first of all kings of his time, the arbiter of all courtly life and the initiator of a unified etiquette. De Hayes, that persecuted and harassed ambassador of the French king, was no longer obliged exclusively to employ Italian, the influence of which continued in the first half of the eighteenth century. His successor, de Nointel, proud of the literary achievements of his country, was able to present to a diplomatic gathering at the Embassy a series of French classical plays.

At the same time, if French was not spoken at the Court of the rich Wallachian prince, Constantin Brâncoveanu, who reigned with all the pomp and circumstance of a western monarch, a French Ludovicist inspiration is to be detected in the carefully elaborated chronicles of his reign and in the large measure of protection accorded by this enlightened prince to all exponents of learning.

But a certain Italian character of Roumanian culture remained strongly affirmed. The *spiritus rector* of all cultural manifestations in Wallachia was an uncle of Brân-



coveanu, Constantin Cantacuzino the Stolnic. This authentic scion of the old Greek imperial house was educated first in Adrianople and Constantinople and later in Venice, where other Roumanians too often came, not only for trade, but also, like Pepano, for cultural purposes. He went to the University of Padua, where medicine was taught in the manner of the Renaissance, viz: « philosophically » as a « iatrophilosophy ». The spirit of Allatius, Helladius, Cottonius reigned there, and he profited by an education on western lines. Returning to his country (where he was the leading factor until his shocking death, at an extremely advanced age, when he was, with his son, the reigning prince Stephen Cantacuzino, murdered by the Turks), he wore the large robes of the oriental, shaved his head like the Turks, and dined seated after the manner of his masters. But his spirit remained Venetian; he wrote Italian as if it were his own language and was pleased to meet in Bucharest representatives of all western races, including the English doctor Chishull, who praises him in his descriptions of an eastern journey. The Italian periods, not the simple phrases of Renaissance-Latin, distinguish a rare work, which was unfortunately never finished and has been preserved like the torso of an exquisite but unfinished statue, a work in which everything, the critical sense, the instinct for national integrity and not merely for scattered fragments, the disposition to polemics, which is western, is in the Italian manner.

In the neighbouring principality of Moldavia, the Occident first penetrated through Poland and by means of the Latin of the Renaissance. The first exponent was Gregory Ureche, the initiator, about the middle of the seventeenth century, of a critical historiography dominated by the sense of Roman origins. The work is worthy of the highest praise. Its phrasing has a Roman discipline;

few words are used to express a concentrated thought, the sentences are incisive and there is no leaning towards the coquetries of style. Ureche was a fighter first and foremost and a political counsellor of his princes. Through his successor, Miron Costin, some decades later, Poland transmitted the taste for the individual presentation of facts; history degenerates into autobiography, a sort of unrestrained personal chronicle, not directed and controlled by leading ideas; all the caprices of vanity and greed are permissible. His scholastic exercises on the origins of his race bear the same impressionistic seal. But here too, in spite of the Latin-Polish influence of the Jesuit school at Jassy, where the sons of Miron Costin and other young men of good family were taught, the Italian current is perceptible. Co-nationals of the Cretan doctors working in Bucharest (possibly Pylarino, the discoverer of the vaccine, who was in the employ of the house of Brâncoveanu, was a Cretan) and of the Cretan merchants were the preacher of the Court, Abramios, and a « iatro-philosopher », Jeremias Cacavela, but the foremost among the learned Roumanians of their time, not excepting the translator of Herodotus, Eustratius, and the initiator of Russia in the field of science, the new champion against the Pope and against Islam, Nicholas Milescu, was the young prince Demetrius Cantemir.

Living at Constantinople in the company of the half-Francized Levantines (in a portrait, almost certainly by a French painter, he wears the white and blue turban of his sovereign masters, with the foulard cravat and the small-sword of Versailles), Cantemir may be considered, notwithstanding his interest in the philosophy of one Van Helmont, a Dutchman, or his relations with the Academy of Berlin, as the herald of French literary characteristics into the Roumanian world. His « Hieroglyphic

History »), except for a few borrowings from the old Hellenic novelist Heliiodorus, is nothing more or less (his characters disguised under the names of beasts) than the romantic exposition of his life in the Turkish capital, where he was held hostage for his father: it is the first Roumanian novel, and a very good one too. Systematising the problems of Roumanian origins, he anticipated the conceptions of contemporary anthropogeography in his manner of describing Moldavia under all aspects, from historical facts down to popular superstition, just as he announced new geographical methods in plotting the contours of the Caucasian mountains; while the organic conception of rise and decay in the history of empires has passed on to Montesquieu through the Cantemirian history, a transmission to the European West for which Demetrius's son is responsible. This Antioch, Russian Ambassador in Paris, was the first after Peter the Great to introduce to a backward Russia, through his satires, the spirit of Boileau, and a Roumanian, Herescu (himself a refugee under the protection of the Czar), gave to the Russian theatre its first comedies of western form. Mary, the daughter of the first Cantemir, herself a master in more languages than one, was the first occidental spirit among the women of the Russian Empire.

This condition of things was wholly changed in the second half of the 18th century: so that by 1770, long before the French Revolution, all the South-East of Europe was Francized. French literature is the leading element, after the ancient Greek, and often in contradiction to the Greek of modern times, considered to be an obsolete form of expression, no longer corresponding to the mental needs of a new society. Writers in their own languages still searched the classical, and above all the philo-

sophical, literature of France, for models. Often the genuine manifestations of the nations called to a new life were endangered by the powerful influence of this splendid foreign model.

What were the reasons for this unexpected fact?

First, in a period when French literature and the French mode predominated all over Europe, and when America separated itself from the British commonwealth, it was due to the presence of French teachers, if not in such countries as Serbia, Bulgaria and such territories as these which were under Turkish domination, in Constantinople and in the Roumanian principalities. To them was often confided the education of the future « grand interpreters » of the Porte, whose first duty it was to know French, the new language of diplomacy, i. e. the future princes of the Danube. The nobles, court officials and others naturally followed their example.

But not only for certain of the Roumanians, but also for a good number of Greeks, the centre of French influence in Vienna was highly important.

In that imperial city the French mode was introduced by the mere fact of the Emperor, Francis of Lorraine, the husband of the Austrian and Hungarian heiress, Maria-Theresia, being a Frenchman by language and education. His rôle, often much underestimated, was by no means a small one. In his house and at his court, the French language was always to be heard and was sympathetically received. But these French customs could only be of use to the Greeks, as well as to many Orientals, and to some Roumanians too, by cooperation with the factors of French influence. This was also due to the existence of an oriental trading company, formed at the end of the 17th century to strengthen relations between the Austrian States and all provinces of the Orient — the so-called

« Greek Company », the establishments of which were scattered the length and breadth of the Imperial States. Vienna was the headquarters and as, for the Greek of good family or culture, school and church go hand in hand, schoolmasters were trained in this atmosphere of French ideas and feeling.

They wanted fresh school-books. A great part of the scientific French literature of the time was translated for the use of the Greek schools; the list of these, comprising some of the best works extant, is an interesting one. A Roumanian who had made a journey to Italy and was able to use Italian translations, and perhaps also French originals, Amphiloehus, the temporary Bishop of Hotin in Bessarabia, published in the ninetieth year of the century a geography after Bouffier, and an arithmetic, while about the same time he translated a work of higher theology.

As regards the *belles lettres* of France, Greek interest centred on the comedies of Molière, whom alone they considered the best entertainer, as well as a more than successful rival of the oriental *Karaguez* of Constantinople. In Greek translations the names were changed to give a more local and natural aspect to the play. On the other hand, Racine's works had no charm for a nation which had lost its driving-force and could not appreciate the myriad subtleties of life in the most artificial court in Europe. Among contemporaries, Voltaire was wholeheartedly decried as an enemy of all religion, a skilful preacher of incredulity and of anarchy of thought, as the grandfather of all free-masons. Instead of threading his baneful mazes, sentimental spirits, — who were not wanting —, preferred the reveries of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the nature-lover and the guide and counsellor of the weak and simple souls.

The task of translation from the French was certainly difficult, often to the point of impossibility, though on the whole it was not necessary as, from this period on, South-Eastern Europe was able to read from the originals. These were to be found in the libraries of all Roumanian noblemen and of the higher clergy, the latter of whom were less impeded by religious scruples than is commonly admitted. The highly cultured Bishop of Râmnic in Wallachia, Cesarius, is known to have asked his book-seller in Transylvania for the dangerous Encyclopaedia of the Philosophers and would not accept a similar book bearing the same title. In such libraries, besides, were found the futile literature of the second-half of the century, including the « Amours du Chevalier de Faublas », and the « Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle » by Bossuet, with Roumanian glossaries.

Towards the end of the 18th century translators appeared. Their choice was often queer and unexpected. Some of them, in the Roumanian Principalities, where certain of the bishops even adopted free-masonry, soared to the heights of contemporary western poetry. Besides the interpreter of the works of the Frenchman Florian, Alexander Beldiman, one Constantin Conachi, a Moldavian, rendered Pope's « Essay on Man » into his dry Roumanian. A gifted Greek, Athanasius Christopoulos, imitated the lyrics of France of the time of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, not forgetting his initiation into the joyous verse of Anakreon. But the Italian tradition survived. The most important of all Wallachian poets, a contemporary of Conachi, John Văcărescu, spoke and wrote good Italian, years after the dispersal of a group of twenty young Roumanians living in Venice, by order of the Sultan, who feared the danger of political contacts with the west. More, the best-known of all Italian

poets, Metastasio, found in the boyar Slătineanu, a translator for his « Achilles in Schiro ».

The number of students coming from South-Eastern Europe increased, despite the vigilance of the now-alarmed Turk, who required that Roumanians should first ask permission from the Porte to leave for western centres of learning. On their return home they brought with them (in the German centres like Halle and Leipsig they made studies of medicine) foreign books of very diverse characters. Other books were disseminated in Bucharest and Jassy by the Austrian consulates which, Austria having the monopoly of the posts, drove a profitable trade in the sale of French journals and books. Lists of imported works, in which the best and the worst of the market were incontinently mingled, are fortunately extant.

But out of all this no original Roumanian manifestation appeared in the two principalities, as had happened, at least, in all other countries of South-Eastern Europe; no genuine product of the national psychology occurred. The honour of having done so, however, lies with Roumanian Transylvania as regards the declining years of the eighteenth century. Here, German influence prevailed, due to the Habsburg domination of the province. The conquering emperor, who wrested from the Turks this ancient home of the Roumanian race, which had been occupied by the Hungarians for a thousand years and was later the refuge of Hungarian autonomy, was only responsible for the introduction of soldiers, officials and Jesuits, whose orders were to destroy the Calvinism of the Hungarians, if not Saxon Lutheranism too. Some German elementary schools were set up about 1780, for an exclusively political purpose, providing a German mode of culture, the character of which is to be defined.

None of the movement begun by Lessing and so gloriously carried on by Schiller and Goethe was evident: all that was present was the Austrian Court-culture of a philosophical nature, strongly influenced in its turn by contemporary French and Italian elements, Vienna, the city of Metastasio, being then also a centre of Italian art, music and literature.

A Transylvanian, employed as judge during the later days of his life in Galicia, John Budai Deleanu, is the splendid result of the Viennese synthesis as applied to Roumanian realities. His gipsies, his old warriors of the 15th century are truly representative of Roumanian life, but the philosophy of France echoes throughout his sentences and not merely were the stanzas of Ariosto employed for a language in the course of literary development, but the types and images of the great Italian singer of fairies and epic deeds were made to serve the turn of the Transylvanian.

Attempts to perform plays in Greek are mentioned before the nineteenth century, at a time when French and German plays also presented classical and modern themes to a select and very small public. But in Roumania more than in liberated Greece, had the national theatre been established by young noblemen.

This explains the rapid increase, especially in Bucharest, of theatrical repertory. Molière's works were, here again, the first to be made use of. The more cultured of the sons of the prominent families inscribed themselves as translators; certain of their translations have the charm of a certain naïveté. The grandson of the old Italian scholar Văcărescu, Iancu, proved himself capable of attaining the pure, serene heights of Racine. It was only by a hazard, through the agency of a Greek, Aristia, who had perhaps been educated in an Italian school, that the noble accents of Alfieri's speech in « Saul » could be clothed



in a Roumanian garment, to receive the acclamations of an appreciative public in the capital of Wallachia.

If the classical theatre was able to find appreciation, not so the novel and the poem. In South-Eastern Europe, the fashion had passed on to the new romantic movement. The patron of contemporary Roumanian literature, John Eliad, a former teacher of local traditional form, was a pamphleteer of great talent; not a truly inspired poet, notwithstanding his very high ideals as regards also the epic form, he was the introducer of Lamartine to Wallachia; the Moldavian Constantin Negruzzi, in his early years a classical writer and an imitator of epics like the «Henriade», also knew the Russian romantic poetry of Pushkin, and translated the «Odes et Ballades» of Hugo. The fantasy in the little sketches of this writer is similar to that so lavishly employed by Washington Irving: the source was from such French novelists as Charles Nodier.

In Greece, the brothers Soutzo, Alexander and Panagiotos, were classics, though they failed to approach Lord Byron in satire, or declamatory and martial poesy. Serbia alone remained faithful its own particular source of inspiration — the mediaeval sagas of Kossovo.

All chords of the romantic lyre were struck in Roumania by Basil Alexandri, who did not disdain in his maturity to essay the epic in the manner of the 18th century. Popular poetry collected by himself in his native valleys of Moldavia, the Lamartinian lake, the lagoons of Venice or the waters of the Golden Horn, stark scenes of battle with the traditional enemies of his race, copies of the far-fetched historical plays of Hugo, all these are to be found in his writings without complete adaptation or original synthesis. A great «representative man» as regards prolificity rather than profundity. No other country of

South-Eastern Europe can pride itself on so generous an interpreter of the French romantics.

Alexandri, who spoke some Italian, without however being conversant with either the old or new Italian literature, and who despised the German, mingled no other inspiration with that which he derived from Lamartine and Hugo. The author of the « Bonnets de la Comtesse », the correspondent of Édouard Grenier, who resided for some time in Jassy as the secretary of Prince Gregory Ghica, at one time in his career the Roumanian Minister in Paris, remained French in sympathies to the end.

In the sixtieth year of the century, just as Greece had in Rhizo Rhangabe a supporter of French literature, so Roumania was fortunate in producing such an exponent of European poetry as Michael Eminescu. This son of a Moldavian farmer and descendant of a family of petty yeomen, as did the Transylvanian Budai Deleanu, found material in all trends of European literature, and was the most noble and intellectual personality of his age. His leanings towards all forms and periods of German literature from the classics of Weimar to the later representatives of romanticism such as Lenau and Platen were easily identifiable. In Roumania and, more even than in Roumania, in the Bucovina (which is that part of Moldavia occupied by the Austrians in 1775), where no other Roumanian literature was to be found as text-books for schools and works dealing with local historical research, the German literature was known and, in course of time, appreciated. Eminescu was also a pupil of the Roumanian school in the Bucovina and lived for some years in Vienna, then a centre of German intellectuality, though not of the more pronounced type of the western states. He was acquainted with the philosophical ideas of Germany, not excepting the negative works of Schopenhauer.

He was interested in all social questions of the period and his political conceptions were founded on the noblest principles of European thought.

He was no exclusive follower of the Germans, however ; his solid classical training preserved him from falling a slave to any one foreign influence. He merely passed through Italy, but French literature was not unknown to him, and in some of his best philosophical poems the inspiration of Alfred de Vigny, the scornfully romantic apostle of unvanquished human pride is undeniably present.

Above all, he knew all there was to be known of the lore of his race: folk-songs, superstitious beliefs, legends, the history of centuries of conflict, all were within his ken. He had lived in nearly all the provinces of free and enlaved Roumania, and his poetry was integral synthesis of all Roumanian vitality, past and present. In his own country he has ruled supreme to the present day. The exclusive influence of the later period of French literature was taken into account only by certain intellectuals, against whom the generation of 1900 to 1910 fought a victorious battle, re-establishing true good taste and much-needed national inspiration. After the war, with another current proceeding from Austrian or, more generally, the European modernism of Rilke, the old fashion returned and for many modern poets it is today the only true Mecca towards which to strive. But at least sound tradition cannot be destroyed by the vain caprices of imitators or improvisors, any more than by the technicians of high-sounding syllables.

Greece and Serbia themselves passed through a similar period of transition without however finding so definite a genius as Eminescu. In the former country the first waves of inspiration in modern poetry were French, to wit in the works of Rhigas, author of the Greek « Mar-

seillaise », the martyr of the national cause who, in Bucharest, came into touch with French revolutionary ideas, or Italian, as in the case of Salomos, the author of a much more impressive hymn of liberty in the classical style. In her relations with the Latin West the Ionian Islands played the same rôle for Greece as Ragusa for the Serbs, in the 16th and 17th centuries, and as Poland and Transylvania for Roumania. But, soon after the creation of the Balkan States, the problem of the new literature presented itself in particularly pressing form. The writers of the former centuries used the old Hellenic forms which could no longer be retained if the Greeks of the predominating class, at least, were to have the privilege of understanding their own literature. For such as Zalakostas and Valaoritis, the forging of a new language was a matter of some difficulty, and each resolved the problem in his own manner. But no Tuscany was available for the Greeks and it was impossible to blend the particularities of very different districts in order to mould the national literature to a general form. Notwithstanding this, the importance of the question produced good results: instead of pursuing the path of servile imitation, the poets gave all their attention to the philological problem. Thus the poetry of Kostas Palamas is in the deepest sense of the word Greek — purely Greek.

As regards Serbia, the abandonment of over-hackneyed themes comprised within the cycle of Kossovo cried the need of new directives. Notwithstanding Serbia's former relations with Austria and Hungary, they were not found there. After a period of indecision lasting for nearly a quarter of a century, and the vogue of the new heroic poetry, of a local character, by Zmaj Jovanović, the new French forms of the Parnassian school were adopted. Borrowing the vague style of Henri de Régnier, men like

Ducić and Rakić wrote fine poems, of a rare delicacy and a deep philosophy. Following the steps of a great and completely original author of Ragusan plays, Voinović, after the war a revival of the national forms has set in and, indeed, was to be anticipated.

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## GREEK AND LATIN CHRISTIANITY AND THE PEASANT CHURCH OF ROUMANIA

The Eastern and Western Churches are separated, probably for all time, by differences of dogma and above all by material interests and passions. Each member of the Christian world belonged, before the Reform, to one or other of the sects favouring these dogmas. He was supposed, as concerned the West, to be a « Greek » adherent; no particularity of country or race was recognised. The adherents of the Oekoumenikos of Constantinople were opposed to those of the Roman pontificate.

To explain the separation two periods have to be considered: that of the Byzantine Patriarch Photius in the 10th century and that of his successor Michael Kerullarios in the 11th. Ruled by personal ambitions, both these leaders of the Eastern church had consciously employed all efficacious means to bring about unpardonable and criminal schisms.

A critical examination of the facts can usefully be made by means of such works as those of Cardinal Hergenroether on Photius, or the critical studies contained in Walter Norden's well-known treatise on the subject.

The presumed initiator of the first schism was neither a theologian by training nor a lover of theological disputes; nevertheless, as Patriarch, he was constrained to write, or at least to sign, treatises on this subject; he showed no instinct



Dragomirna Monastery

for schismatic struggle, nor predisposition to revolution of any kind. Nothing of the enthusiast or of the fanatic was to be found in him. He became head of his church, by means which Thomas à Becket might have used, while not possessing the ruthless and unsparing energy of the Englishman; a courtier of his emperor, he was the first of the Patriarchs to be rewarded with the mitre. His sympathies lay in the direction of old books and obsolete phraseology; his greatest pleasure was in preparing excerpts which would spare the future readers of those books which had claimed his highest interests, though his notes are confined to the historical and to faults of style. His « Bibliotheca » is a handbook on good writing. His physiognomy was that of an active French abbé of the 18th century, capable of being a theologian when his official position so demanded.

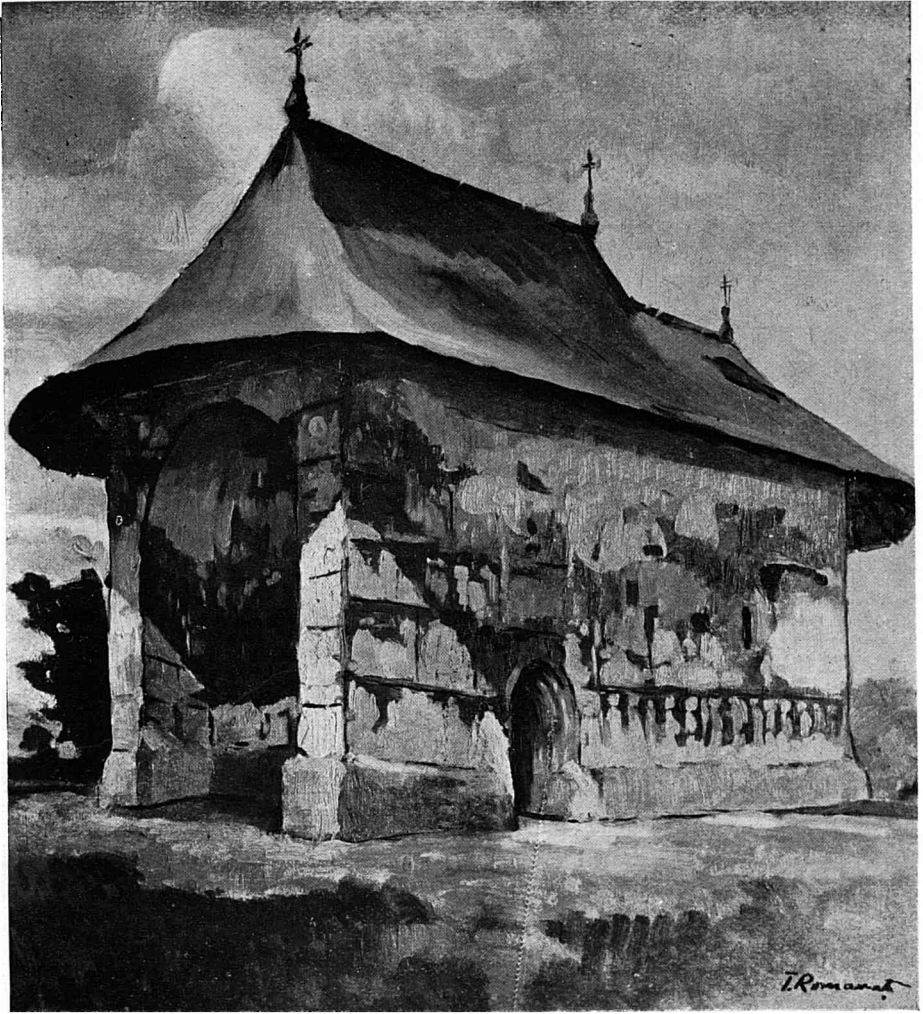
On the other hand, Michael Kerullarios as Patriarch differed little from many others. He has no biography, nor needs one. He was a mediocre figure as were many others like him who, by chance, occupied the See of Constantinople. His origins are obscure; the sole fact of interest is his Patriarchate. This only is known, that, just when Pope Gregory VII would have raised the dignity of the Roman Papacy higher than that of an emperor of pontifical choice and consecration, he proclaimed that ecclesiastical and laical powers were of the same essence; merely according the first priority over the second. How could this man, at a time when Eastern Europe, before the accession of the varrior Comnenes, needed the help of the West against the Turk in Asia Minor, provoke the occidental world by a forced separation of the churches? Photius had at least the strong oppositional feelings of Constantinople against the Ottonians, as the account of Liutprand shows.



Admitting that the two Patriarchs had the schism as the primary object of their reigns, one fact stands forth: that in the time of Photius the emperors renewed their good relations to the pontifical seat of Rome whenever good policy demanded it. But a few decades after the «schism» of Kerullarios, after the exchange of excommunications — a common thing in the period (a little earlier or later and the most excommunicated of all rulers of his time, the emperor Henry IV, could have been buried in consecrated ground) — Alexios the Comnene agreed with the best of good will to help the crusaders of the western cross, who were led first by a monk and then by a legate of the western church. And in the Eastern world the Patriarch, despite his attempts to take precedence of the emperor who had elected him and could equally well expel, condemn or kill him, was not the arbiter of his own policy which, as in all other branches of public life, was dictated by the emperor alone. Thus the churches were divided only for the emperor's sake, whereas under the Palaeologues, to the end of their domination (from the Council of Lyons to the Council of Florence), to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, all manner of offers were made by the chiefs of the Empire for the union of the churches, that is, for subjection to the Pope, who alone was presumed to hold powers of succour and salvation.

Separation in the true sense however did not occur in the 10th and 11th centuries. It could not occur notwithstanding the quarrels which continually arose between the two closely related religious organisations. First and foremost this was because *the churches were never definitely united.*

East and West, Byzantium and Rome, were almost two religions, so numerous, despite the apparent unity of tenet due to a common fidelity to the creed of Nicaea, were the original differences.



Old Moldavian Church

Each of them held closely to a different heritage. The religious Byzantium of Christ continued the old oriental religion. The same authority of the clergy, actual high priests of the Asiatic Orient, the same nullity of the worshippers during celebrations of the holy office, the same mystery surrounding the liturgy, which was concealed behind the closed doors of the *iconostasis*. And at the same time, as an open contradiction to theocracy founded on inscrutable mysteries, the marriage of priests, their intercourse with the people, the use of the vernacular in the church.

This was not peculiar to the Orthodox Greek Church and its Slavonic variants which were formed in the 9th century. Other churches using other languages, representing other countries, other races and other ancient states have these features. And, speaking of schisms, was it not a schism rather than a heresy — and all schism is for each of the parts separated a heresy — the existence of an Armenian, a Syrian or a Coptic Church, each of them presenting differences at least as great as the *filioque* in the creed, the use of baked bread in the Communion, acceptance of Purgatory and adherence to the Pope?

The occidental church remained Roman in the ancient and popular sense, both in the civil and political sense of the word. Organised on the same lines as the Roman Empire, with bishops and archbishops instead of chiefs of provinces and of legions, subjected to a discipline demanding blind obedience, inflamed by a spirit of conquest comparable only with that of the old centurions and legionaries, retaining in the open basilica-tribunal all forms of a laical place of judgment. No *iconostasis*, no mystery concealed from the worshippers; no priest appearing in heavy eastern garments, no crown on the

head of the gold-bedecked bishop, nor any obligation upon the congregation to maintain dead silence (in Poland men and women join their prayers with those of the priest with such fervour as to endanger the flickering lights of the tapers). But, above all, the inflexible dogma of the old language, an unintelligible Latin, the sonorous syllables of which resound like the ancient words of command of the armies of once glorious Rome. Here no particularism can be allowed, whereas individuality is always permissible in the East.

A province gained for Christianity in the West was a new conquest for the Pope and it was administered after the same principles as the older ones. Germany did not remain under the rule of missionaries like St. Boniface or St. Columba; Rome decided all its future. In the region of the Danube, after Latin missionaries appeared to preach to a Latin-speaking population which had possessed, even from the time of Trajan, the seeds of Christianity, the new members of the Church had an extended latitude to organise and administer their religion for themselves. As the emperor no longer held sway, as no barbarian king could be employed for the ends of the Church, what happened in the political field was bound also to occur in the domain of the church.

Danubian Roumania was a country of autonomous villages ruled in the popular manner. Religiously it was a country of priests, a presbyterocracy instead of a State governed by a hierarchy of bishops and archbishops as in the West.

The priest, hereditary of office, consecrated by the superior of the monastery or by a neighbouring bishop, led his spiritual flock unsupervised by any. The State, as in Wallachia, could call a foreign bishop and bring him to its capital or, as in Moldavia, ask Byzantium for the

recognition of his elected ones. Bishoprics were to be found in Argeş, later in Târgovişte and Bucharest; in Râmnic, in Buzău for the southern principality, in Cetatea-Albă, then in Suceava, in Rădăuţi, in Roman, and lastly in Huşi also, as regards the north. The priest always remained a free member of the religious organisation. He hardly ever received — I know of no case to the contrary, at any rate — instructions from his bishop, who had the power (not commonly exercised) of deposing or of judging him for breaches of the laws of the country which, until it came under the influence of French philosophy in the 18th century, had no written constitution. Between the bishops no close cooperation was maintained, the archbishop (or Metropolitan as he was called), although, as in Moldavia at the close of the 16th century, having nearly the attributes of a Patriarch, akin to that of Moscow, not being able to interfere in the administration of dioceses other than his own. The bishop was called to the Synod, which united all holders of episcopal seats; he took part in the consecration of his colleagues, three being required by canonical law (though foreign bishops could be invited to complete the number); he represented, before the ruling prince, the national church as a whole, being admitted to the councils at his side. But this was all. As necessity arose for reforming the life of the clergy, the initiative was taken, as in Moldavia, under Prince Miron Barnovski, in the first decades of the 17th century, by the Crown.

This before the philosophical ideas of the 18th century made the sovereign also master of the Church. Thus, Nicholas Constantine Mavrocordato introduced the spoken language in the liturgy and, half a century later, Alexander Ipsilanti, also a Phanariote, changed the conditions of life in the Wallachian monasteries by decree. So great

and so exclusive were the rights of the ruling prince in matters of the church — without need to seek the advice of the Metropolitan — that Mihnea Radu, in the middle of the 17th century, arrogated to himself the hitherto purely Constantinian privilege of introducing new rules into the statutes for the organisation of Orthodox churches. This was the natural result of his being the helper, benefactor and adviser of all Patriarchs in the Orthodoxy as well as of their subordinate bishops. For the monks of the Holy Mountain, enriched by Roumanian gifts (for which the existing relics and monuments stand eloquent testimony), for those of the Thessalian monasteries, for the Hierosolymitans and many other oriental Christians, the Moldavian or Wallachian ruler of the moment was the successor of the emperor of Constantinople and not only in their local foundations, but also in the most celebrated churches of Christendom. In portraits they are often represented wearing ecclesiastical garments and crowned in the manner of the Caesars.

A prince ruling the church; priests leading their village congregations; monks (except in the great houses of calligraphers, translators and artists, Bistrița in Wallachia, and Neamț in Moldavia — the reform by the Russian Paisij, to create new abodes of learning, not occurring until the 18th century) who were formerly peasants, modest tillers of the soil; bishops for canonical occasions only, permitting this church to be included in the great organism of the eastern Patriarchates; this was the Roumanian religious life in both principalities.

For all this there would appear to have been no authority emanating from Constantinople, nor would this seem to have been possible. In the beginnings of the Wallachian hierarchy, the Bishop of Vicina at the mouth of the Danube was entrusted with the care of the new canon-



Moldavian Church (15th century)

ical church, in northern Transylvania a patriarchal decree was required for the superior of a free monastery (*stauropigy*) to exercise episcopal power. As one of the first Wallachian exarchs to become a true Metropolitan was the overlord of the houses on Mount Athos. The Constantinople Patriarch, heir of Byzantine imperialism, alone could hope to rule the new establishment, which had sprung up under its guidance.

The hope however was vain: there is no trace of the intervention of the religious chief of all the Greeks. When another Patriarch wished to make the non-canonical Metropolitan seat of Moldavia a simple province within his jurisdiction, sending his own nominee to take over control, he was met with stubborn resistance from such bishops as were consecrated in the monasteries of the Slavonic tongue, founded by a Serbian monk of Macedonian origin and athonic forming, Nicodeme. He was eventually forced to resign his claims and the first Metropolitan was a Moldavian, one of the victorious opponents.

The powers of the Patriarch were materially curtailed by the Turkish conquest, which made him a creature of the Sultan and the political head of a single nation in the orthodoxy; impoverished, he was constrained to seek the help of the Roumanian princes, to dwell and celebrate in such buildings as were the property of the Roumanian principalities; always menaced, he asked the protection, and oft-times the shelter, of the Danubian rulers to whom visits were paid from the 16th century onwards. In the 17th century the rich Prince of Moldavia, Basil, took over the financial administration of the «great Church» in Constantinople and the life of this church was thereafter controlled by him. The other patriarchs followed the example of Constantinople: they were, up to the beginning of the Russian era, and often afterwards too, at the service of



the Roumanians. In the fight against Calvinism the capital of Moldavia, Jassy, had the honour of being the meeting-place of the council which purified the eastern creed attacked by Cyril Lukaris, the «kalvinophrone» Patriarch, and, when in the second half of the 17th century, the Jesuits began their great campaign for the conquest of orthodoxy, it was in the same Jassy (though he first resided at Bucharest, Constantin Brâncoveanu's capital) that the defender of the faith, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus, and his cultured nephew, Chrysanthos Notaras, established their head quarters, attentively watching the conduct of all Roumanian bishops, including the recalcitrant bishop of Transylvania, and publishing ponderous works of counter-propaganda, culminating in the splendid history of his predecessors in the Holy City. Brâncoveanu, a generous benefactor of all eastern churches, was surrounded at the great feasts of the Orthodoxy by nearly all the Patriarchs and by many of their bishops. Living side by side with such princes, it was only natural that the chiefs of the two Roumanian churches owed the Oecumenical See no duty beyond that of announcing their election, their confirmation by the sovereign and of asking for the «grammata» recognising them as such, without the least likelihood of its being opposed. (A single case occurs at the beginning of the 17th century, and it is plain that the destitution was asked for by the prince himself).

Being thus a purely national organisation, an integrant part of the political life of the country and of the popular life of the nation, the Roumanian orthodoxy was instrumental in assisting the progress of society itself, without vain aspirations of leading or controlling it. Against the rules of the western churches and without asking permission from Constantinople, it accepted the great reform introducing the use of the Roumanian tongue in

the holy office: what was at first the mere and casual imitation of a heretic novelty (of the Hussites, and later of the Lutherans in Transylvania and of the Calvinists sustained by the Hungarian princes of the province) later became the rule for all churches in both principalities, from the humblest village church to the cathedrals of the two capitals. Understanding the Gospel, the Apostles, the hymns of the Liturgy, the peasants loved more than ever before the church which did not disdain to bring to their level the truths of the faith and the consolations of the Holy Gospel. In effect, the Roumanian orthodoxy, free from internal dissensions and unfettered by a foreign language or, as with the Slavs, by an archaic form of a forgotten dialect, was a popular protestantism bound to the conservatism of the eastern creed and bearing some resemblances to the Greek and Slav orthodoxies.

Not the creator of the Roumanian soul, but merely its everyday sustainer and helper, the church was closely connected to the national life, identifying itself with the very development of the society it served. Church and nation formed a single body as long as neither sought aspirations beyond the national borders.

The Roumanian orthodoxy could not enslave the Roumanian nation to the Greeks, who were indebted to the former. All later attempts to bring Greek bishops to the Sees of Moldavia and Wallachia have utterly failed. In the former of the principalities, after just such an attempt, a general decision was woted forbidding the election of foreigners. In Wallachia certain Greek bishops ruled, such as Lukas, previously Bishop of Buzău, the Cretan Neophytos, later Galaction of Râmnic, the Metropolitan Nectarius, the brothers Philites, without taking account of a bishop of Arta introduced under the Russian occupation of 1812, but they

were all subject to the traditions of the country. Notwithstanding this, as the Russians, victorious against the «heathen» Turk, appeared on the Moldavian frontier of the Dniester calling the Roumanians to alliance, to subjection actually, under the rule of the Czarinas Ann and Catherine, the clergy of both Principalities, the bishops and priests of Transylvania as well, persecuted by the Jesuits, gave heed to persuasion and accepted the gifts by which their servitude was to be ensured. From this moment onwards the party of national liberty fought under a lay flag, and only interested boyars followed the Greek cross, calling for reunion with the Orthodox Empire of the East.

The natural benefits of the church did not, however, cease with the 18th century, in which a copious theological literature as well as a new and florid style were introduced thanks to the bishops, translators and publishers, and to the monastical orders. But the schism between laity and clergy continued. This schism was much wider in the 19th century, when the laity gained such close relations with the western world, and the spheres of catholicism and philosophy. The spirit of the French Revolution now dominated the writers and the diplomatists, a spirit of incredulity and of jeering criticism against all forms of religion, in fine, a spirit of complete anti-clericalism. The State desired the subjection of the Church and, indeed, attained its end: to the State, that is to the leading politicians of the time, to such bishops as were elected by the parliament, and to the priests who were members of the political clubs, the Church owed its politicization. Between the political state and the church intercourse was thus resumed, but identity of interests between the Church and society were no longer capable of realisation.

In spite of all this, to abandon the Orthodoxy is an impossibility for Roumanians. Not because they have

strong convictions as to its dogma ; not for what the orthodoxy could give them ; but, for all that they have afforded to this orthodoxy, a gift which is comparable with no other: for this religious democracy, corresponding to the thousand year-old elements of democracy in Roumanian society ; for this historical tie between the style of literature and the prayers of the church, for this sense, in the church, of no other dependency than that of the development of the Roumanian nation itself, no abandonment is possible.

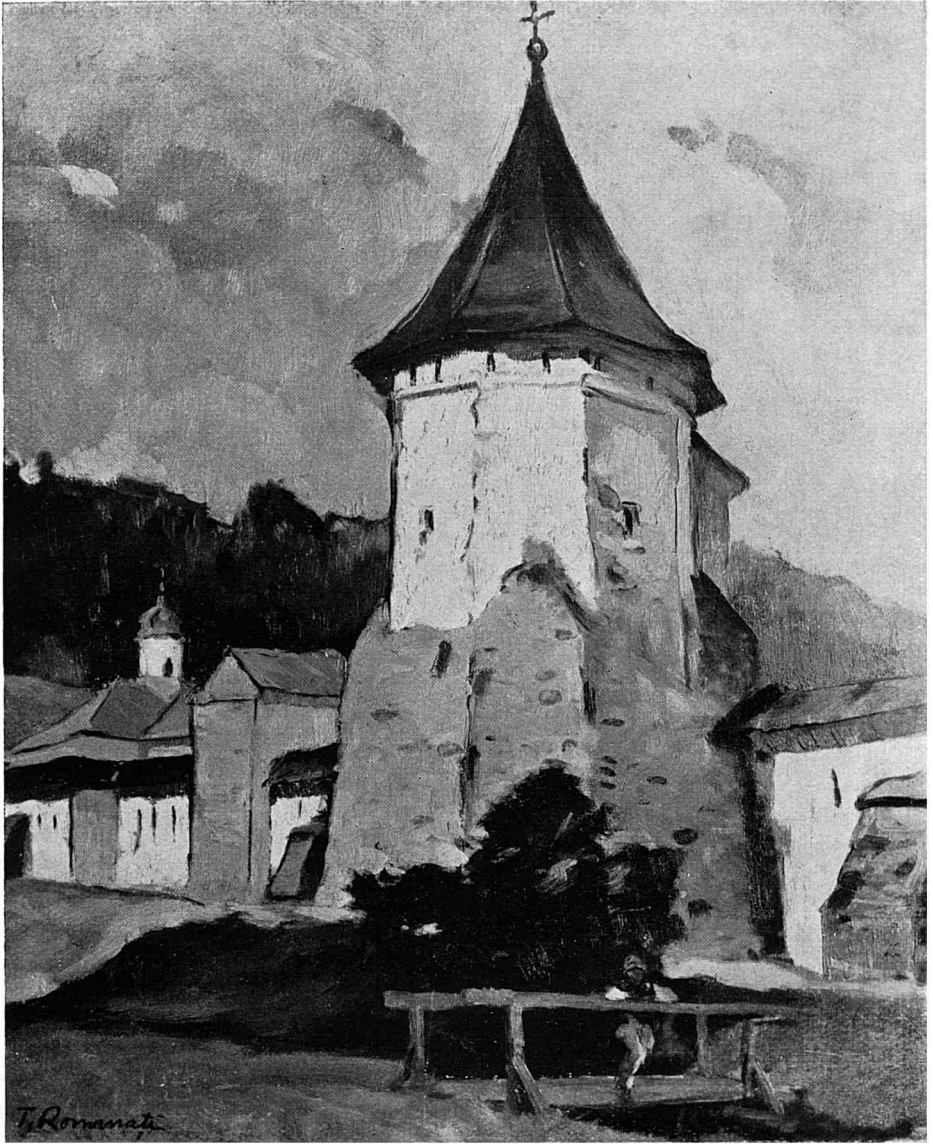
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## CATHOLIC ORGANISATION AND PROPAGANDA IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

South-Eastern Europe belongs to orthodoxy, with the sole exception of the Adriatic coast, which has remained true to its original Catholicism. It was not always so, however, and the Greek creed was not always proof against the strong, often fanatic and ever-exemplarily disciplined propaganda of the western Latin church, whether in the former Latin or in the Slavonic and Greek states.

The history of this struggle has often been written, true to the smallest detail, though separately for each national state. A short survey of this religious struggle in all territories under the impulse of the same orders and feelings may serve, therefore, to rectify some prejudices and to offer fresh and perhaps useful explanation.

In South-Eastern Europe there are two provinces which of a certainty belonged to the church of the Latin language even in the distant past. All Roumanians, on the north and on the south of the Danube, had the same names for the notions relating to Christianity. For the Dacian Roumanians this is explicable: communications with Dacia being by the pan-Roman way, the *via* of Tiberius, and not through the Balkans which were reached by the *via* Aegnatia, ultimately leading to Constantinople. Over the Dalmatians also, whose connections with the same Italy were by way of the Adriatic along the two paths of Roman penetration in the Balkans, the Latin church established



Moldavian Fortified Church

its domination. The Roumanians preserved the latin nomenclature, easily traceable in the Roumanian, viz: Dumnezeu (God); creștin (christian); botez (baptism); Paști (Easter); Crăciun (Christmas); preot (priest); popă (Latin: pope); cruce (cruce: cross); sfânt (saint), Sânvăsiu (St. Basil), etc.: other latin names have remained too, viz: câșlegi and cârnelegi (for the terms of the fast); Bobotează (the Day of Baptism); martur (martyr); mărturisire (testimony or confession); cuminecătură (communion); crez (credo); închinare (inclinatio); rugăciune (prayer), altar; etc. The word for «church» is even still more interesting: the French language retains «église», «basoche» and «baseille»: the Italian and Portuguese preserve only the derivatives of the Greek «ecclesia». All Latin churches were subject to official influence, derived from the Greek of the Nicean Council. Only the scattered Roumanches in the Alpine valleys, there forsaken Latins, and the Roumanians know the single cognomen taken from the civil society: «baselgia» by the former; «biserica» by the later.

The best proof of the Latin origins of the Christianity of Dacia lies there, the Greek having disappeared with the Cappadocians of the Trajanic colonization. In Dalmatia, for a long time in dispute between the eastern and western empires, the old Roman episcopacy remained, preserved alike against the pagan barbarians and the Imperial church of a different linguistic and hierarchical character. In Antivari, the city opposed to the Italian Bari, in Ragusa also, bishops ruled who had to decide the question of supremacy. Each of the centres abandoned by the emperors, at least for a certain time, recognised the local religious chief to be a substitute for the civil and military authorities. Before the arrival of the Slavs such prelates had the same position of popular authority and ecclesiastical prestige as St. Severin before

the Germans in Pannonia; or Lupus and his colleagues in the Gallic cities attacked by Attila. Such autonomies which represented not only a religious organisation, but also a local form of government, were not to be subdued and directed by the remote Patriarch of Constantinople, whose own relation to the emperor had yet to be determined. So catholicism remained firm, consolidated as it was in the popular feelings of respect and gratitude.

A new Latin centre was set up in the Byzantine capital itself: for under the Empire all races were grouped around their own churches. When Arabs were tolerated in Constantinople they had their officially recognised houses of prayer: the Jews also. The first Italian merchants established in Byzantium, about the 11th century, first Amalfitans, then Pisans, Genoese and Venetians, had colonies of a similar character. Before the Comnenes who were, until the bloody persecutions of the perverse Andronicus, in favour of the Latins, the bells of the little catholic churches sounded as freely as those of the orthodox faith. The Venetians in particular made full use of this imperial tolerance.

Encouraged by the fact that the fourth crusade had been able to set up a « Latin Empire », the Pope was at first persuaded that it would also give him possession, as of right, of his See, as, theoretically, of Jerusalem. He hoped to see a forced dispersal of the Schism, but the feeble emperors and the prudent Venetians, who had gained the right of appointing Constantinople's religious head from among themselves, did nothing to justify such exaggerated optimism. The Venetian prelate worked only for his enlarged community, and the Greeks, under their spiritual leaders, preserved their former religious life, of which unfortunately almost nothing is known. In the provinces retained by the Latin barons, something similar occurred. Ortho-



doxy gave proof that a foreign conqueror was not sufficient to destroy the principles of its existence.

At the end of this adventurous empire, the Patriarch, whose nomination had evaded the Venetians, remained a titular bishop of Constantinople, residing in his own country in the West. But Orthodoxy restored was doomed to suffer unending humiliation at the hands of the great western church which alone could withstand the Turk and other enemies.

At Lyons, the ambassadors of Michael Palaeologue brought to the Pope all that was necessary to prepare for the union of the two churches. Notwithstanding the resistance of the Greek clergy, Latin propaganda was encouraged by such declarations and offers. In the quarrel of the Hesychastes, represented by a Greek monk who came from the Calabrian province of orthodoxy, Barlaam, there was undoubtedly an influence of western conceptions. To this end also the marriages of the emperors with the Latin princesses of Savoy and of Monteferrat certainly helped.

But not only in Byzantium, but also in each of the Balkanic and Danubian States and territories, the Holy See worked for the expansion of its authority. In the 9th century, as the apostolic function of gaining souls for the western church was confided to the Carolingians, direct negotiations were commenced with the chief of the Slavs in the middle Danube, the Moravian « king », and with the pagan Khan of the Touranian Bulgarians established in the Balkan peninsula: the latter succumbed to the flattering overtures of the Byzantine emperor and became his orthodox « son », being baptised in the name of the imperial Michael.

At the outset, the Hungarian duchy, a barbarian extension of the Moravian state, whose chiefs were un-

lawfully called kings, was snatched from the ever-growing influence of Byzantium and won over to the Latin Church. The former voevode who, in accordance with the Slavonic custom, bore the name of Vajk or Vlk (the wolf), was now an apostolic monarch, was baptised Stephen and was destined to become a saint of the Catholic church. His crown had one meaning only, viz: that of accrediting him with the mission previously confided to the Carolingians — now in decay — of bringing all pagans and schismatics under the sway of St. Peter's sceptre.

But on the shores of the Adriatic the same Holy See of Rome created a kingdom of catholic Slavs. A catholic kingdom of Croats, a mere fragment of the larger Moravian congregation, also enjoyed the protection of the Pope. Both crowns were sacrificed however to the crafty barbarian who appeared willing — sword in hand — to win a saintly halo. Croatia was reunited, thanks to family relationships, with Hungary, and in the white city of the Adria, Beograd, the Dalmatian crown was set on the head of King Coloman. Serbs, Bulgarians and Roumanians now stood alone before this vast congregation of provinces under the holy right of domination.

But Byzantium was there to defend these peoples, whom it considered as living within its own territories and therefore belonging to it. When Manuel Comnene was master of Adriatic Serbia, and he went so far as to set up in Hungary the kings who pleased him and appeared willing to serve him, the progress of the Hungarians was bound to be arrested, while the catholic state of St. Stephen seemed to be in danger of degenerating into a mere fief of the Eastern Empire. To these vassals of the Holy See therefore was sent a Greek « crown » which has been preserved down to the present day. Only after the crimes of Andronicus had brought ruin upon

this magnificent foundation was Hungary able to resume the offensive.

But at his moment the papacy, ready to abandon the Arpadians of Hungary as it had formerly the Carolingians of France in the day of their decay, now bethought itself of the possibility of direct action. This took the form of negotiations with the Wallachian chief, Joannice, ruler of certain Bulgarian lands, who considered himself, in contrast to the Latin intruders of Constantinople, as the true emperor of the Romans (that is to say the Greeks) as well as of his own Bulgars and Wallachians. *He*, and not the Arpadian, Andrew the Second, who headed a crusade into Egypt, was to be the armed hand of the Pope against the heretic. No flatteries were spared the proud barbarian, whose simple genealogy was connected by the skill of pontifical secretaries with the masters of ancient Rome. But Joannice deemed that his imperial mission in the East could be accomplished only by the preservation of his own orthodoxy.

The crown given to the Serbian voevode at almost the same time that pontifical crowns made kings of the rulers of Cyprus and Armenia, had the same significance.

Such direct intervention was the more necessary after the invasion of the Tartars, who seemed to have destroyed Hungarian power for ever.

As the realm partially recovered from this immeasurable catastrophe, against which the proud Pope Innocent III had found no means of fighting as in the days of his greatest triumphs at Lyons, the rôle of the apostolic kings was seen to lack support. At the beginning of the 12th century, however, King Bela called a band of the Teutonic knights who built wooden strongholds, assembled colonists in Southern Transylvania, then frequently infested by pagans from the opposite slopes of the mount-

ains, and penetrated the free Roumanian valleys, then under the rule of Cuman, Touranian chiefs from the Steppe. These latter however failed in their expected allegiance to the Crown, and the Teutons were accordingly forced to abandon their quest, to continue it half a century later in Prussia. A remnant of this conquest was the bishopric of Milcov in Southern Moldavia, which was later destroyed by the Tartars. Another episcopal seat was founded by the Hungarian Crown at Severin, where the ruins of the old Trajanic bridge were still visible. It was the most convenient point for gaining not only the districts of western Wallachia, but also the neighbouring districts of Bulgaria across the water. Watching here, the Hungarian soldiers of Rome could check any attempts at crossing by the Bulgarian Assenides on the left bank of the Danube.

The Holy See prepared, after the invasion of the Tartars, for the foundation of a new catholic province on the river as a bulwark against pagans and heterodoxy alike. The Joannites, a Latin order of chivalry, and who could understand in some degree the Roumanian language, were to receive by royal decree not only the castle of Severin, of glorious memory, but all the Roumanian lands around with their fields, mills, fisheries and sufficient tilled land, which the King considered (perhaps without sufficient reason), as far as the River Olt, to be his fief: he even went so far as to include in the gift such countries beyond the river as had never been within his realm. The desired province of pontifical creation, which would have preserved the more ancient rights of the king, was an impossibility however. As the Teutons had established themselves in Prussia, the Joannites found a home in the beautiful but desert island of Rhodes and thence betook themselves.

Both attempts to enlist the aid of the knights had failed. But the Pope had yet another instrument to his hand for the extension of his power over the heretical, schismatical South-Eastern Europe, in the newly-created orders of the Dominican and Franciscan friars, whose only weapon was that of an untiring propaganda.

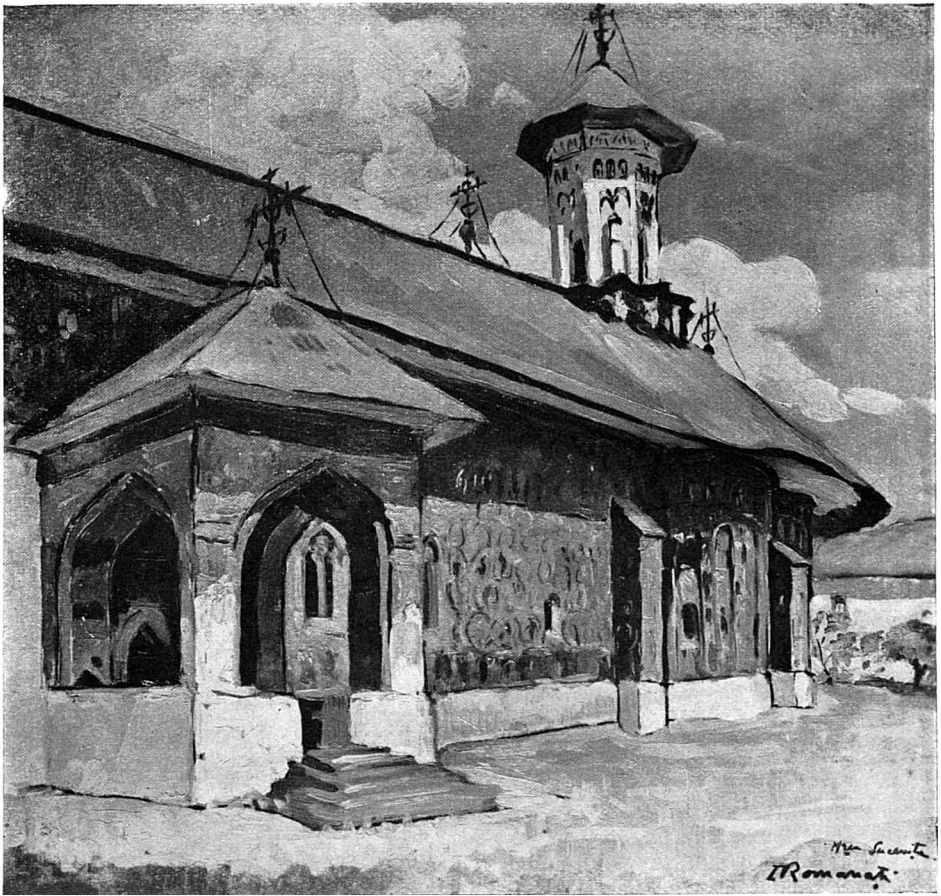
In the second half of the 13th century both were sent to the Danubian territories to work under the leadership of the Hungarian sovereigns. Thus the See of Severin, that of Milcov, or that of the Cumans, could be preserved from retrogression. The Bosniac heresy of the Patarenes or Bogomiles, an Asiatic doctrine transmitted by Anatolian colonists in Thrace to the Bulgars, had in these new and fervent apostles its fiercest enemy.

But to renew the offensive energetically there had to be two new factors besides the conquering spirit of the Popes of Avignon. First the creation of enduring States on the Roumanian slopes of the Carpathians: Wallachia, towards the year 1300, and, half a century later, Moldavia. Secondly, the substitution of the degenerate Arpadians in Hungary, suspected of having connived at the heathen usages of the Cumans, by the new and fierce dynasty of the Neapolitan Angevins, in whose veins ran the blood of St. Louis.

Now a catholic bishopric was founded in the very capital of the Wallachian state, Argeş, where the Dominicans were mainly connected with the great work of latinization. The Franciscans on the other hand confined their activities to Severin and to the neighbouring Bulgarian town of Vidin, which the second of the Angevin line, Louis the Great, caused to be made the capital of a new Banate in addition to that of Severin, transferred by his father, Charles-Robert, to Timișoara (Temesvár). To the German Franciscans of Silesia was con-

fided the new Moldavian bishopric of Sereth, the second capital of the Principality. The Princes Alexander and Vladislav-Layko of Wallachia, and Lațcu of Moldavia were considered to be good and steadfast catholics; the second wife of Alexander was a Hungarian, Clara, while of the daughters of this prince one was married in Hungary to a Piast, a Silesian prince and a high dignitary of the realm, and the two others, one of whom was Empress of Serbia while the other lived in Bulgaria, at Vidin, were charged by the Pope himself with the mission of winning over both their husbands to Catholicism. This enterprise, which seemed to prosper and to be under the best of auguries, was compromised and almost ruined altogether by the greatest crisis in the Papacy—the occidental schism.

Hungary obeyed the French pope, but the latter could not obtain the victory over his rival. The Hungarian king had enough strength to uphold the catholic foundation of Severin, Argeș, too and Sereth, and the older one of Milcov, which was transferred to Bacău, in the midst of the Hungarian colonies in Moldavia, near the Franciscan centre of Csik. Louis died almost at the same moment that the Catholic Church was split into two inimical factions and, as the heirdom of Gregory XI, his own was long disputed, viz between the husbands of his two daughters and sole heiresses, Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Lithuanian Duke Jagello, baptized Wladislaw. Louis had ruled Poland also, as the successor of Casimir the Great, conqueror of Russian Galicia, where his mother, the sister of Casimir, Elizabeth, had exercised sovereign rights. The reunion of the two great catholic realms in the East of Europe, now wholly freed from the Tartar yoke, could have had far-reaching results in the south-east of Europe. Now Hungary remained on one side, and Poland on the other.



Monastery of Sucevița (Old Moldavia)

Each of the two separate realms had a mission of its own, and with great difficulty Poland was forced to ascertain the price of political community with the only half-Christianised Lithuania and Hungary to find the means of providing for her own military and political true needs, in the time of Sigismund, an emperor, a restorer of the catholic unity, a peace-maker between France and England, without feeling the lacks of him as a sovereign at home. Both stood unprepared, in the welter of the decay of the Middle Ages, before the Ottoman Turks, who united the strength of Mongolian rule with the Byzantine ideals of domination.

Notwithstanding the energetic attitude of the King-Emperor against the Hussites, forced, before the onslaught of the friars of Jacob della Marchia, to seek a refuge in Moldavia where their gospel was translated into the popular tongue; notwithstanding his plans for introducing the Teutons in Licostomo-Chilia, on the Danube, and Severin, the work of catholic propaganda was left to the free-lance Franciscans. Their tireless little army made Transylvania its headquarters, when an extraordinary personality had now arisen to lead the « poor of Christ » not only against these heretics, but against the formidable armies of Mahomet the Second. As the Sultan endeavoured at Belgrade to gain the door to Hungary and the Christian Occident, so he encountered the Calabrian saint with his band of adventurers and beggars, of mystics and mendicants who fought in the holy name of Christ, neither giving nor asking quarter and winning the most unexpected victories. The new St. John, leader of both Hungarians and Roumanians, had as principal helper the Roumanian of Transylvania, John Hunyadi. For more than ten years this knight of eastern Christianity, later, in the service of a child of foreign origin, the ruler of the Hungarian realm of which he was



the true if uncrowned sovereign, successfully filled the mission of crusader at Varna (where Wladislaw, sovereign of both Ludovician realms, and the legate of the Pope had died).

But with the new Hungary of Matthias, John's son, the fight against the Turk could no longer be maintained. Matthias, a ruler in the sense of the Renaissance, dreamed of the crown of the Caesars, and died at Vienna. His contemporary, the Moldavian Prince Stephen, was the heir of the old Roumanian crusader in Hungary and Pope Sixtus IV was quick to recognise, praise and occasionally to reward this champion of Christendom. Stephen was naturally obliged to admit and to sustain, as the ally of the western catholic powers against the Sultan, catholicism within his own territories, notably at Cetatea-Albă which was, for Italians, an important colony and the principal harbour at the mouth of the Dniester, and at Baia, the cradle of Moldavia, where a Polish bishop had been sent for the spiritual needs of the Lithuanian princess Ryngalla, who was the wife of the Moldavian Prince Alexander the Good, Stephen's grandfather.

The dream of Innocent II haunted the Popes long after the Holy See was restored, by Eugene the Fourth and Nicholas the Fifth, in its old unity. But they were, at the birth of the modern era, also Italian princes eager to form a state of the Church and ready to fight all who challenged their territorial ambitions. In the 16th century their newly-extended arm was broken by the Protestant revolt.

The Hussites, the first to move against Rome, had gained credence in some parts of Poland, Upper Hungary and the neighbouring Roumanian districts: they afforded Roumanian literature the first translations of the Gospel. But this was not a danger to the Orthodoxy; the Protestantism of the Transylvanian Saxons, who had

printed a catechism for the Roumanians in that language, was a movement of the cities which could not interest or influence the villages of the old creed. Literature also gained by the imposition of a new church on the same Roumanians by the Calvinist princes of Transylvania, but, despite the superintendents appointed and the lay councils which were held, this forced gift of a foreign tyranny had only an artificial and sporadic life. Nor did the attempt made in Moldavia by the Greek adventurer Jacob Basilikos, who, won over to the cause of German and Polish Protestantism (the branch of Socinius), gained the throne of the principality and founded a bishopric with a Pole as its spiritual head and a protestant school under a Silesian German, meet with any better fate. The efforts of a contemporary German printer to publish reformed Slavonic books also bore no fruit.

As a reaction against the work of the Reform, the propaganda of catholicism was increasingly successful. The Jesuits intervened at the end of the 16th century. Their centres of activity were Transylvania, Poland and, later, Constantinople too: the provinces of the Balkans remaining the appanage of the Franciscan and Dominican friars.

Transylvania the free, not the Turkish nor the German fragment of the old Hungarian group of provinces, had returned to the Catholic faith at the very moment when its prince, Stephen Báthory, was elected King of Poland, to be the greatest of all its sovereigns. It was impossible for the overlord of Poland to be other than an obedient son of the Roman Church. If Christopher, the brother to whom Stephen confided the conduct of the principality, shunned a formal declaration of the faith, his son Sigismund was educated by the Catholic Fathers in their own fashion and nourished upon the ideal of great military deeds in the service of God and His Church.

The celebrated Jesuit who was the apostle to the Muscovites, Possevino, came to this country and later gave a most interesting description of its inhabitants. But the greater part of the nobility remained true to Calvinism, and the Saxons were never to be tempted to abandon the Lutheran creed, while the so-called catholic bishop had no adherents through whom to mould the new generation in his own form.

In Poland the scope of the Jesuits was much greater. Under the guidance of the Papal Nuncio a large school was established at Lemberg and the superior sent his emissaries forth in all directions, also employing such of the Uniate Ruthenes who could usefully act as links with the Roumanians.

Certain of such missionaries, aided by a Venetian of Albanian origin, Bartolomeo Bruti, who was counsellor to that infirm prince, Peter the Lame, won over Moldavia, seeking to drive out the Lutheran faith from the scattered German villages of that province. Peter himself averred that he was a true son of the Roman church, and at the same time his brother in Bucharest, Alexander, husband of a Perote, whose mother and sister were also Catholics, was considered a complete and steadfast convert to the Latin faith.

But to attain even greater successes means were found to benefit by the relations of the Holy See with the German emperor Rudolph the Second, then on the point of assailing the Turks. The new crusade was well looked upon by Pope Clement VIII, whose flatterers assured him that Constantinople reconquered would soon be a Clementine.

A host of followers of the Holy War came to the Danube to initiate, encourage and conduct operations, including a Spaniard, one Alonso Carrillo, confessor to the young Transylvanian; the Nuncio Malaspina was

accredited to the same prince Sigismund. The imperial secretaries and agents burnt with the same Catholic aims and fervours. The principal representative of the Danubian crusade, the Wallachian prince Michael the Brave sent a mission to Italy to testify his goodwill towards the Holy See.

A consolidation of the Catholic work in the Principalities was the result of this joint crusade against the Turk. The old organisation was refashioned under the active influence of the Jesuits and a Franciscan revival. One Arsengo of Crete, succeeded by a Venetian, Querino, was appointed, after a lengthy interval, Bishop of Argeş and Moldavia. As the then ruling Moldavian prince, the deadly enemy of Michael, who had momentarily routed him and had set over the church of that principality a Greek chief of good family (Dionysius Ralis, Archbishop of Tirnovo), had been reinstated by the Poles, his attitude towards Rome was subservient in the extreme: this same Jeremias Movilă visited the Latin church in the old capital of his territory, Suceava, and assisted the Italian bishop from his own treasury. All the members of this dynasty preserved the same attitude towards the Western Church, the insincerity of their belief being proved by the fact that Peter, the son of Jeremia's brother Simeon, was responsible for the restoration of the Russian church in the states of the Polish king, the celebrated Metropolitan of Kiev Peter Mogila.

At the commencement of the 17th century, the position of the Jesuits in Constantinople, whither they had come to combat the efforts of the Calvinist ambassador of the Low Countries to win over to Protestantism the leader of the Eastern Church, and the projects of the gifted Patriarch Cyrill Lukaris (a true chief of the Greek nation in its struggles for liberty), was an exceedingly

strong one. Had it not been for the misfortunes of this ill-starred prelate and the repressive measures of the Turks against the Catholic propagandists, the work of the Fathers, supported by the French ambassador even before the advent of the Richelieu ministry, a pact could have been concluded between certain of the Patriarchs and the Church of Rome. The Roumanian princes in the first half of this century were on many occasions asked to assist in the propaganda, and the letters of the French ambassador already mentioned, de Césy, who was himself a fervent believer, were too pressing to remain completely neglected. No practical results were gained however and, without leaders, Catholicism in the Principalities degenerated. The few Franciscans in the Wallachian town of Târgoviște, and their brethren at Bacău in Moldavia, were in themselves inadequate to maintain a movement begun under such favourable auspices.

The very Papacy itself seemed to have lost its old zeal. Not until 1650 were more serious efforts made to regain lost ground. An intelligent missionary, Marco Bandini, was then sent to Moldavia, in the reign of the rich and influential prince Basile Lupu, and his long report is luckily preserved to us. He was also entrusted with a mission to the Wallachian Court of a traditionalist prince, the good and aged Matei Bassarab.

In the second half of the century, the wars of certain Christian States against the Turks inspired the idea of a new crusade: first the conflict between the German Empire and the Sultan, with the participation of the nobles sent by Louis XIV, then the struggle of the Porte against Poland in the days of the Christian knight John Sobieski, and, thirdly, the revenge of the Christians for the Turkish siege of Vienna and the reconquest of the Hungarian provinces.

Not only visitors of higher rank, such as Peter Parcevich, titular bishop of Marcianopolis, on the shores of the Black Sea, were sent to the principalities, but the repeated raids of the German imperialists in Wallachia, under the conduct of one Heissler, a Veterani, the occupation of a large part of Moldavia by the Poles, all gave support to a Catholicism which seemed to organise here through the Roumanians, as well as south of the Danube. Notwithstanding the presence of a bishop in Nicopolis for both banks of the river, Catholic missionaries like de Stefani and Antide Dunod conducted the negotiations with the German subjects of that hardy Wallachian prince of Byzantine descent, Șerban Cantacuzino, who dreamed vainly of regaining the crown of his ancestors. But it was in this same reign that the most important Catholic colony of Câmpulung, formed of Saxons and Hungarians by the Teutonic Knights, was forcibly won over to Orthodoxy. The reaction against the Christian policy of Șerban under his nephew Constantin Brâncoveanu could not be favourable to catholicism, notwithstanding that the young and brilliant prince was surrounded by Catholic doctors (such as Bartolomeo Ferrati) and secretaries (such as Del Chiaro, author of the « Rivoluzioni della Vallachia »).

This epoch is at least characterised by the fruitful activities of the Patriarch Dositheus in Bucharest and Jassy: this leader of the Hierosolymitan church chose the defence of the Eastern creed against the Jesuits as the principal purpose of his life. The Greek works he published in the Roumanian capitals were disseminated throughout all the provinces of the Orthodoxy and formed the basis of all counter-propaganda. The Roumanian bishops obeyed all his directions, almost considering themselves his subordinates.

One of the principal reasons for his efforts was the victory gained by the same Jesuits in Roumanian Transylvania. Introduced by the Imperialists after the province had submitted to the rule of the emperor, they sought to gain allies against the Calvinists in their castles and the Lutherans in their cities. The neglected and affronted Roumanians, forming as they did the greater part of the population, were disposed to follow their counsels; latterly the Hungarian superintendents of the Calvinist church had gone so far as to condemn the bishops they had examined and recommended to the prince and to arrest them and to mete out corporal punishment to them, all because of their disinclination to obey slavishly the commands of their spiritual leaders. Thus, under the Bishop Theophilus, a hastily assembled Roumanian council admitted the four points of separation between East and West, expecting such material advantages for the impoverished clergy of this humiliated nation as should have known could never be realised. Theophilus's successor, Athanasius, in spite of his visit to Bucharest for the customary examination and confirmation in his See by the Wallachian metropolitan and notwithstanding all threats, including that of excommunication pronounced by his superior, accomplished the formal act of reunion with the church of Rome and was rewarded with gifts and high honours, being made a counsellor of the emperor.

But the few Roumanian Calvinists protested and the population of the districts of southern Transylvania, peasants and rich merchants alike, maintained their adherence to the old creed, and were supported in this by Brâncoveanu and his clergy. The emperor, after the conclusion of the peace of Carlowitz with the Turks in 1699, had brought in his domains the Serbian patriarch and the other chiefs of the nation. Serbs were called upod in this

part of Transylvania to maintain the resistance against the act of union. Later Athanasius was degraded to be a simple bishop, transported to the rural district, of Făgăraş from the capital, and there subjected to the authority of a foreign Jesuit. His successors were wholly neglected, and the most important of all Uniate bishops, Innocent Micu-Klein, having asked for the promised rights of his nation, was insulted in the Transylvanian assembly by the representatives of the leading nations. Being in danger of arrest in Vienna, he sought satisfaction in Rome, only to die in poverty, while the revolt of the orthodox peasantry broke forth under the leadership of a courageous village priest, whose inspiration led them far beyond the goal of religious grievances into the domains of ideals of social freedom for the nation.

The Court of Vienna eventually consented to send a religious chief to these numerous and indomitable malcontents — a Serb who was at the same time bishop of the Serbs in Buda and in the lower Austrian provinces, living under the thatched roof of a humble cottage near Hermannstadt (Sibiiu) he had, in the same lowly condition, two Serb successors, until in the year 1810 the Roumanian Basil Moga assumed their office. After him a greater personality, Andrew Şaguna, was to add much lustre to this church of the furthest ranges, and to gain for her the dignities of archbishop and Metropolitan from the Emperor Franz Joseph.

Cut off from the great masses of the nation, regarded as mere tools of the Court, the successors of Klein, Peter Paul Aaron the mystic, the great organiser Bobb, brought no gains of consequence to the fight for Catholic expansion in Transylvania. Secluded in their modest stronghold of Blaj, practically the prisoners of the Government, playing, with their excellent national schools, merely a cultural



rôle, they represented neither more nor less, as far as the creation of a metropolitan church for Alexandru Șuluțiu was concerned, an abortive creation of the Jesuits. As this sect was proscribed by the Emperor Joseph the Second and the order was temporarily destroyed by decree of the Pope, the principal support of the Uniates crumbled beneath them. The Viennese Court was more disposed to favour the Roman Catholic rather than this bastard form of religion for a nation which was considered inferior.

The decay of Catholicism in the Principalities was, to all intents and purposes, identical. The Latin church remained alien, while their leaders committed the gross error of separating Moldavia, with its Italian friars, and the Jesuits in Jassy with their much-prized school, from Wallachia, subject to the bishop of Nicopolis in Bulgaria (the occupants of this See, Ercolani and Ferrer, were Italians too) who did not support the aspirations of Roumanian nationalism. Thus the Church at one time, in Moldavia, was the representative of a mere handful of Hungarians in the Carpathian districts of Roman and Bacău and in the tiny city of Huși. The Holy See, rejecting the appeal of the Hungarian Primate, had decided in favour of the Italian friars. The new episcopal church of Jassy and the archepiscopal one of Bucharest were more Roumanian in character, their present leaders being Roumanians. For this church and the Uniates of Transylvania a concordat was recently concluded with the Vatican.

The Serb, Bulgarian and Greek States moulded themselves on an Orthodox pattern. Only Austrian Dalmatia remained aloof, true to the old Catholic tradition, and recognised as such by the Yugoslav Government. In Bulgaria the few Catholics concentrated round the bishopric of Philipopolis are only the descendants of the Bogomiles, won over by Franciscan propaganda. In Bosnia and

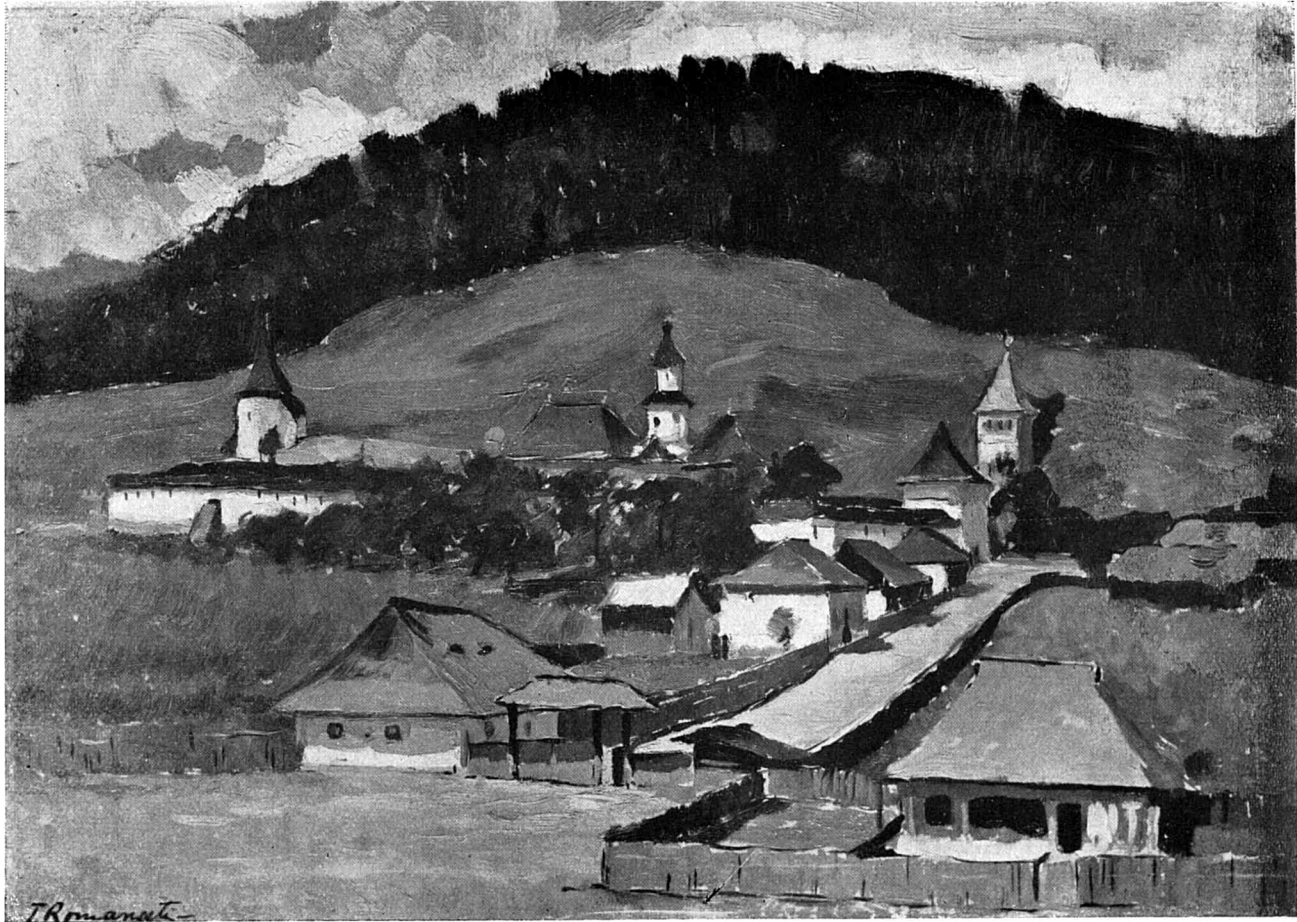
Herzegovina the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy tried, as in Albania, whose Catholics never failed in obedience to the Pope, to exploit and support Catholicism for political ends. No religion can ever gain either proselytes or ascendancy by such devices. Moreover, universal as is the Church of Rome, its sole basis for development is to identify itself with the worldly ideals of the very society it endeavours to lead in its relations to the Divinity.

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## PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

South-Eastern Europe forms no unity in the common sense of the word, as a peninsula of the Balkans. Bulgaria is the only true Balkan country because it is geographically connected with the chain of Haemus, called by the Turks, Balkan, the Rhodope being purely Thracian. All the western part of the peninsula is linked to a much more important range, the Pindus. Greece, with its islands, is a Mediterranean State. North of the Danube, Roumania, inseparably linked as she is to the Carpathians, a mighty sierra, leading to the West, to the Quadrilateral of Bohemia, has its chief geographical features, as for instance the course of the Transylvanian rivers, directed towards the countries of the west.

But, as the elements of the past, between all these states separated today by national frontiers and unjust prejudices — and too often by feelings of hatred also — the unity is easily discernible. In ancient times a single great race possessed all territories from the borders of the Hercynia or the «Amber Way» to the Aegean and, as the eastern limit, to the valleys of Asia Minor: the Thracians Moesi on the Danube and Mysians in Anatolia, here Phrygians, there Brygs. If in the Asiatic peninsula the actions of the Greeks were later to diminish, there was a time when the European shore had, in Histria,



Putna Monastery. General view

Tomi and Kallatis, as well as in Olbia and Byzantium, no other Greek populations than these (the western borders of the Pontus were inhabited alike by Ionians and Dorians), so that, when their hour struck, the Roman colonists were able to gain the whole of the land from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Before the arrival of the Slav hordes there was, in all these broad lands, a united Latin-speaking population, for the most part preserving naturally the same anthropological characteristics of the Thracians as of the Illyrians on the western coast of the peninsula. Rome was obeyed throughout all these valleys. Under the Byzantine emperors nothing was changed: the same local, financial and military life was pursued, subject to the oriental idol in Constantinople — the heir of the Roman emperors. The strong sense for the necessity of rule by the Caesars, considered the only legitimate sovereigns of the world, made, in later times, of the many-tongued inhabitants of the Carpathians, the Pindus and the Balkans, the obedient subjects of the new Byzantine princes, the Sultans of the Ottoman Turk. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the richer classes were enamoured of the same western currents, coming first of all from France, which was the creator of a new civilisation.

Having this community of ancient memory and aspiration, of tradition and fashion, South-Eastern Europe has necessarily, deeply rooted in the remote past of the region, the same problems today.

All existing states in the peninsula and north of its limits are essentially peasant-states. From the days of the Illyrian pirates and the Thracian shepherds and farmers, their inhabitants have been devoted to pastoral pursuits; in the most remote ages a free warrior-peasantry. The speech of Alexander the Great to his malcontent soldiery in the Persian valleys, reminding them of their humble

origin and of their modest occupations, is one of the best proofs of this fact. Under the Romans they preserved their freedom. With its regime of «paroikoi» for new colonists, half-vassals to their masters, the Byzantine regime was not responsible for too deep a change. The legends as to the merciless rule of the Turk may now be rejected. The Ottomans came only as a weak band of mercenaries employed in the civil wars of Byzantium and their expansion was due less to their own vitality or to the ambition, which demands the development of the collective mind, than to the abdication of all authority in the peninsula, whether Greek, Serb, Bulgarian or Latin — the Roumanians were the last autonomy to survive because, being a newly-formed territorial and national state, they did not suffer from the same political disorganisations and despondency. Over all the Turks preserved the old laws, the old usages, not being able, owing to their own primitive notions of society, to substitute their own characteristics.

In the occupied territories the peasant pursued his former mode of living. If a Turkish warrior was substituted for the former master, he inherited only the rights of his predecessor, a Latin lord, a Greek landlord, a Slav noble as the case might be. His subjects' only duty was the yearly payment as tribute of a part of their produce, the «tithes» of the west, and of giving him annual presents at certain seasons. The pagan intruder did not rule, the village following the archaic lines of its local administration. The bondman (the serf in the sense of occidental Europe) was not to be found in this land of traditional liberty. It is, in any event, a great error to blend the abuses of military brutality, following alien conquest, or those of another religious faith, with the necessary actions of a conscious system.

Because of this, as the Turkish yoke was thrown off and the national state emerged, first in Serbia in the 19th century, then in Greece, and later in Bulgaria, the agrarian problem was possible of almost immediate solution: in Greece, for Thessaly, a newer annexation, expropriation was only achieved in the closing years of the last century. The landlords were not only foreigners of another creed, but the « tyrants » of yore, the vanquished of today. In Morea, as the flames of the Christian revolt burst forth in the year 1821, the former masters realised that the time to leave had arrived, and they departed accordingly. By this total expropriation the Turks themselves were, albeit unwillingly, the best helpers. From Serbia they emigrated slowly: in Bulgaria they were constrained to depart, the administration doing its best to accelerate their exodus. Now very few of the Turkish villagers are to be seen in the Bulgarian districts of the Black Sea, gained by the Roumanians after the Balkan War: good men, grateful to the new State for the special protection accorded to them. The titles to property presented by the Bulgars were often exceedingly dubious. A concealed violence was at the root of the problem: peasants of western Bulgaria arrived in small groups and in a few years were firmly established by the tolerance of the State and endowed with the fields and houses of the outcast Turk.

An exception must be made in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the Austro-Hungarian administration came in 1878 to exercise a European « mandate », — to all appearances permanently — later to be transformed into true sovereignty, it found Moslem landlords hard subjects to deal with, of Slavonic blood though they were and of historical descent, as, in the 15th century, when the Turks conquered the two provinces, the landlords, menaced with the confiscation of their properties, preferred

rather to renounce their religion. An exceedingly powerful class, they continued to thrive, to the great disadvantage of the peasantry. The new regime employed this rich and proud aristocracy of beys with Slavonic names and of indigenous origins as one of its principal supports.

Very different however was the situation in the two Roumanian Principalities which, with the sole exception of the strongholds on the left bank of the Danube, were never conquered, occupied or ruled by the Turk. Here the prince was the overlord, redeeming by the promise of tribute and presents to Constantinople his sovereign rights in their integrity. All his nobility, of ancient lineage, formed by the aristocratic refugees from the countries under the Turkish yoke or by rewards for military services, remained round him, often assisting to rule and giving direction to state policy

The peasants were certainly originally free. The state of Wallachia was formed by the union of peasant « judicatures » and, notwithstanding the splendid ornaments of purple and gold recently unearthed from the tomb of Bassarab, the creator of Wallachian unity, he was no crowned baron reigning over disarmed slaves. The peasant enjoyed liberty, and riches were possible to him, but in land and cattle, not in money. As the Turkish tribute had to be paid in money, the prince was forced to demand aspers from his subjects, while the peasant in his turn, possessing none, was constrained to sell his property or, more often, to dispose of his share in the common property (which was divided as with the Germans according to his degree and his duties to his family). So, because the soil without the worker was of little value, in 1595 the boyards, employing the strictures placed upon them by their overlord, first in revolt against the Turk and then threatened by him, introduced into Wallachia the Hungarian system



of bondage then prevalent in Transylvania: the peasants were no longer allowed to quit their former hereditary properties.

The « philosophy » of the 18th century brought some measure of comfort to the unlawfully despoiled farmers, of whom only a small minority had preserved their liberty. The philanthropic prince Constantin Mavrocordato consecrated, by the most solemn ceremonies of State and Church, the absolute equality of « villagers », no longer serfs, with the rest of the population. Thus, freedom was regained: not so property.

In the year 1834 by a new Constitution for both States, (the so-called *Règlement Organique*) the right of servitude upon their own soil was granted to the peasant, whose departure thence, however, was conditional upon the onerous task of paying all his debts. New regulations followed, the landlords endeavouring to retain the utmost possible of their diminished powers. After the union of the Principalities in 1859, a *coup d'état* (1864) was required before the elected Prince, Alexander Cuza, could proceed to the transformation of this servitude into that of property-holding by right.

But this was not all. The peasant had no capital, no direction and no solidarity. His right to the forest and to the grazing lands was not yet recognised. The natural increase of the population resulted in the appearance of some millions of landless peasants. Revolts broke out. Holding eighty per cent of the national soil, the landlords, most of them possessing neither historical nor national right thereto, but having the political power in their hands (the peasants voted in what was known as the third college, the illiterate of them only indirectly), resisted.

The Roumanian campaign in Bulgaria in 1913 was necessary before the landowners would recognise the be-

nefits of a free peasantry enjoying full political rights. Hoping to gain the villagers for his own party, the so-called Liberals headed by the second John Bratianu presented to Parliament, at the moment when the world war was imminent, a draft law on expropriation. Roumania entered the universal turmoil before the necessary legislation could be voted by the Constituent Assemblies. The dangers of « bolshevisation » under the influence of the allied Russian troops were needed to inspire the idea of a new force to combat it. I shall always remember the day when I pressed the President of the Council to accomplish the reform. Objecting that the conservative colleagues of the Coalition Ministry were opposing him, he refused and I was then constrained to write personally to the King. On the following day the President of the Council told me that, after more mature consideration, he had reconsidered, but that the proposal had to be made by the President of the Chamber of Deputies — a former Socialist! The measure was passed and the attitude of the landlords was beyond praise: they accepted State bonds of a rapidly diminishing value (today 40%) as compensation for the expropriation of their lands.

After the war, the new Cabinet of General Averescu voted for the distribution of 80% of the land to nearly all peasants as a reward for their gallant conduct in the war. Former landowners were not allowed to retain more than 500 hectares, nor could the new estates be sold. Due allowance was made for those peasants living in barren regions, peasants in the mountains being granted holdings in the Danubian steppe. Many of the peasants so endowed were not even farmers by calling.

In Roumania today, as in other countries, the peasant is master of the major portion of the land. But his mind is not yet sufficiently prepared for so great a rôle in the

national economy. Considering first only his relation to the soil itself, he wants, in Roumania, more even than in Serbia (which is a country founded by democratic movements, those of Karageorge; in the Roumanian lands the Karageorge of the nation, Tudor Vladimirescu, was killed by the Greek revolutionaries of the Hetairie and could not therefore form a peasant State), capital, cattle, credit, solidarity. The elementary school does not teach him to till his land by new, and more profitable, methods. The landlord, employing machinery, holding his workers by the bonds established by money-advances, was able to benefit by the prospects of his enterprise, and provided his country with rich exports which not only maintained him personally in luxury but also financed a prospering State. The mediocre products of the small holders' toil today are not sufficient to maintain this trade and the ruin of the public finances was the logical result of this inability. For Roumania as for others, the organisation of the small property is the greatest of all problems. The creation of a class of freeholders in the country, too, is bound to bring forth new fashions in politics.

For the Balkan States this was an easier task than it is for Roumania, because of the fact that expropriation in their case was a consequence of the first acts following the establishment of a national state. It is to be observed that Greece has a relative majority of lower middle-class, especially prior to the recent increases of territory. In Serbia the peasants from the very beginning were the element which formed the State; the Scuptchina was a collection of villagers and, after the revolutionary Karageorge, Milosh, the founder of the Principality, remained to the last a brutal representative of the peasant class from which he had sprung. In Bulgaria, the peasantry plays a very great part in the political life.

But in all these countries the peasant is the backbone of the nation, the most active and the most efficient element of the State, the least prone to sudden changes and revolutionary madness. And in none of these countries, except perhaps for a short period in very recent Bulgarian politics, has a party of peasants for the peasantry been formed as have other parties to represent the various classes of society. The peasant organisation of the deceased Stamboliiski was only a weapon in the hands of a talented but monstrously ambitious pedagogue. The « greens » did not represent the traditional, the peculiar standard of life in the villages; their hatred directed against everything belonging to the cities was unnatural and foredoomed to disaster. After the failure of government and the death of the chief, no such organisation of the village remained to assure them of a return to power. This violent interlude in the life of Bulgaria was merely an intermezzo of personal tyranny flattering the interests of a class which had no reason to complain of the rôle it had played in the social and political organism.

In the peninsula all parties, of all nations, were merely of modern form, and not also a modernised, form of the old clan life as in mediaeval Scotland — or as in the England of Warwick the King-maker. It was most visible in Albania in the days of Eëssad, the chief of a clan, as it is in these days of the present King, the bey of another. The adherents come to the fortified house, to the koula (viz: tower) of their leader as to their own house and can demand to be housed and entertained. The success of the chief is a guarantee of rich rewards for his followers: all are ruined by his misfortune. In Greece, in Serbia, in Bulgaria the names are taken from the western parties in constitutional countries, but their significance

has long since faded. What was true radicalism in the party of Pashitch; what was true liberalism in the organisation of Ristitch; what formed the ideology of the Bulgarian parties, beginning with the days when the right wing of Tsankov was opposed to the left of Karavelov? In Roumania, ruled by King Carol, by noblemen and their associated parvenus and intellectuals all bound together by relations of kinship and by the same social life in a restricted place, the Liberals of the Brătianus, who had forgotten their revolutionary creed, their republican and socialist ideology of 1848, were no more Red than the former «Whites» of the degenerate boyards, than the adepts of the German doctrines favoured by Carp and Maiorescu, than the so-called democrats, because they were born in the lower classes of the cities, under Take Ionescu. Here, as in the neighbouring countries, the true parties, bound to a real doctrine or to a solid class-interest, did not exist at the moment when the agrarian reform was decreed. But, as the Liberals initiated the great agitation on the agrarian question and were thus constrained to find a solution to it, so the schoolmasters and priests in the villages identified their ambitions with the remnants of the Conservatives, to whom expropriation was a death-blow, and to some ambitious intellectuals to form a peasant party. This party, strongly sustained by the electors because of the visions its name conjured up before them, arrived to rule Roumania from 1928 to 1931. But it was obliged to fuse with the «nationals» of Transylvania to do so, a party whose origin and utility is sprung from the struggle against the Hungarian masters of yore and a party without social distinctions, then with the «nationals» of the former Austrian Bukovina, and with such Bessarabians as had, by means of their own, effected the agrarian revolution of that province. No more than the degenerate Liberals,

supported by their groups of banks and, in short, all manner of vested interests, can such a confederation be considered an organic formation with a solid future. It can be moulded, in Roumania as elsewhere, only after the bulk of the peasants shall have been educated to a greater capacity for forming their own judgement of political ideas and politicians beyond the empty phrases of the demagogues, the cheap and scurrilous press and, with the advent of universal suffrage, the electoral « symbols » for the illiterate.

There is also an economic aspect to the agrarian and political problems.

In the ancient Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman civilisations, the same system of trade routes existed — the imperial « vias » and « dromoi » — and stretched to all points of the peninsula. This system was joined with Pannonia and the Adriatic: the *via panonica* and the *via aegnata*. Often the presence of a road has promoted the creation of a state (not only of many cities) and, while the roads of the mediaeval states were linked up in an unitary system, the states had perforce to follow in their wake. The great eastern road between Scandinavia and Central Asia favoured the formation of a united Russian state and the counterpart of this road was the new artery joining Moscow to Mongolia. The necessity of sending the products of the western manufacturers in the Low Countries and of the metal workers of Germany to Eastern Europe and of bringing the products of Eastern arts and crafts to the west brought about the creation of the trade route which traversed Transylvania, crossed the mountains and gave to the Wallachian plains and the Moldavian valleys the task of guarding the caravans of eastern and western merchants

alike. Passing through the cities on either bank of the Danube this commerce was carried yet deeper into the oriental countries. A second route, cutting the peninsula diagonally, passed the Danube at Belgrade, and this was the reason for the creation of a new Danubian Serbia in the 15th century. A third united the Venetian colonies of Albania with the interior by the *via aegnatia*, or by the narrow and precipitous paths and ravines of the Pindus: the vitality of Bosnia, of Herzegovina and Macedonia was thereby stimulated.

Now the frontiers of the national states form an obstacle. Different tariff systems rule the exchange of goods. Bulgaria can no longer reach the Aegean or Serbia, Salonika, unless she asks the consent of Greece. For Roumania, not only access to the Aegean, but also to the Adriatic, necessary to its natural relations with Italy, is closed. A reversal of the status quo is of the highest necessity.

But to obtain this a political *entente* between the States concerned is the first essential.

After the formation of the first-born of these States certain good relations were continually maintained. Between the Serb movement of Karageorge and the Wallachian movement of Tudor Vladimirescu, a strong relation of dependency was recognised. The Greek movement of 1821 was supported in the Roumanian principalities by prince, bishop and boyar alike, and Vladimirescu, before separating his own national movement, was a sincere member of the secret association against the Turkish domination. Macedonians were among his lieutenants; the collaboration of the Serbian chief, Milosh, was also not rejected. For the leader of the rebellion, Alexander Ipsilanti, the goal was the revival of the Byzantine Empire and he took the Phoenix as his crest. In Morea the struggle

against the Turk was supported not only by Clephts and Armatoles, but also by many Roumanians and Slavs. If the first Greek king, the Bavarian Otto, disdained to consider as his equals the princes of the larger Roumanian principalities, who were the vassals of the Sultan, the relations between these latter and the Serbian hospodar were of the most cordial, irrespective of the fact that the dynasty of Karageorge or of Milosh might reign in Belgrade. Rakovsky who, like most Bulgarian agitators, worked in Roumania (for long years the cultural centre of the Bulgarians), dreamed of a Yugoslav state comprising his country as well as an enlarged Serbia; he did not discover in Macedonia the apple of discord because of the doubtful relation subsisting between the Slav races. Under the first Roumanian prince to reign after the union of the Principalities, Alexander Cuza, offers of a general move against the Turk were made to him by Greek, Serbian and Montenegrin emissaries alike, the young prince of Montenegro declaring himself ready to keep watch « at the gates » of the Serbian palace, as that puissant prince, Michael — all too prematurely sacrificed to a family feud — reigned in Belgrade. Serbians and Roumanians gained their independence at the same time (1877—1878) that Bulgarian insurgents, on the road to the creation of a free Bulgaria, joined the armies of the Czar Alexander II on their way to Constantinople. The first Serbian king, Milan, was the son of a Roumanian lady and the first prince of the Bulgarians was the intimate friend of the prince — later King — Charles of Roumania.

Only after the fratricide Serbo-Bulgarian war, provoked by Russo-Austrian rivalry in the Balkans, after the insane strife for the bleak valleys of Macedonia, coveted by all the more probably because it is no-man's-land and for the most part of no use to anyone,



the former Carpatho-Balkan community was troubled. It reappeared then for the moment when Turkey lost, in a desperate struggle with them all, the greatest part of its European possessions, but on the division of such alluring spoils the old enmities burned and blood was shed in encounters between Bulgars on the one side and Serbians and Greeks on the other. The Roumanian intervention and the allotment of certain districts in Southern Dobrudja being considered by the Bulgars to be an unforgiveable injury, sowed the seed for a fresh and still fiercer conflict which was to burst forth like flames from a hidden and — by some — unsuspected fire when the heir of Austria-Hungary was assassinated at Sarajevo and the world war provoked in the Balkans gave to the inimical nations yet another opportunity of testifying to their reciprocal hatred.

Notwithstanding all such disputed territories, the interests of growing production, the daily-increasing extension of political horizons, the care for the moral goods — more precious than a handful of Macedonian or Dobrudjan villages — demand and indicate to all right-thinking politicians in South Eastern Europe the imperative need of a joint understanding. Here lies a more glorious and important path to peace and liberty than that provided by the relegation of all these States to be mere tools in a Franco-Italian rivalry to which France brings a supremacy of culture while Italy presents all the glories of her commercial traditions of the Middle Ages.

It can be accomplished not only by recognising, if only as a provisional measure, the present borders of the States, but also by assuring all individuals the right to cultivate the national soul each claims for himself. An economic millenium could be created ; despite differences of language,

exchanges of literary views are to be recommended as well as an exchange of professors between the high schools and universities. During the world-war the Scandinavian monarchs showed by their words and in their meetings that a number of States having something common to their past and looking towards the same future may have in the supreme direction of affairs a singleness of political vision and purpose.

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## RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

For many inexperienced observers, as well as interested judges of this great historical question, Russian bolshevism, founded on the principles of universal sociology of Marxian «critical» and «scientific» world-economics, is the beginning of a new era.

More attentive observation, however, quickly shows that the phenomenon is a purely Russian one: not a theory of Russian thinkers based on Marxism, but the inevitable result of long development and, because the past of no other nation contains the same elements, bolshevism, as such, cannot be transplanted, but, at best, can only provoke a corresponding contagion of social reform and economic change in other nations, admittedly under the same title, but necessarily as a heritage of a quite different past and the heir of quite other moral and material necessities of the present.

Communism, in other words, is not a strange doctrine for the Russians, but the doctrinary presentation of certain very old traditions and its adoption in our day meets a hitherto unsatisfied desire of the Russian masses in the historical progress of their country.

### I

As early as the 9th century the immense Russian territory contained thousands of scattered villages where life was primitive in the extreme and which were unable by themselves to form a state. The state emanated from beyond the borders of this chaotic leviathan. The Rouma-

nians in the 13th century were able to organise their villages into groups called «judicatures», to govern them by dukes (voevodes) and give birth in this way to the principalities, the imperial «domnii» of Wallachia and later of Moldavia. No foreign conqueror menaced the Danube or the Carpathian slopes to introduce alien political principles, but in the case of Russia this was effected by the incursions of Scandinavian Normans — and in the Carolingian annals *Rhos* is Scandinavian, notwithstanding Roumanian place-names such as Ruși, Rușciori, or the Saxon Reussmarkt, which seem to give support to the Slavonic theory of the Russians — or more probably South Scandinavian (Byzantine Vargues), because the centre was so far to the South-East as Kiev, and their foundation tended to the possession of Constantinople, which was the goal of all barbarians. Such Scandinavians employed the Slavs without, in their turn, being of service to them. If Sviatoslav, called upon by the Byzantine emperor to destroy the state of the Bulgarians, had continued to rule in Silistria (Durostoron), on the Lower Danube, the capital, which, of all places belonging to the besieged Bulgarians, he preferred, he would have employed Bulgars and Serbs in the same manner. From the first he took the name of «boyar» for his noblemen, then adopted Byzantine architecture for the church of Hagia Sophia, and, for Greek christianity, the literary forms recommended by Methodius and Cyrill, with cyrillian script. All, for these adventurers of the blood of Rurik, was loot of war, and nothing else.

The Mongols conquered, one after the other, the territories, the «kingdoms» or «knezates» in which the once- united state of the Dnieper was divided by the caprice of the times. As their supremacy was attacked in the 14th and destroyed in the 15th century, so the new unitary state of Moscow, far to the East, was only, as commonly

occurs in such circumstances, a Christian copy of the Tartar province. From Ivan Vassilievitch to citizen Lenin this Mongol influence, the idolatry of the omnipotent monarch, a tyrant, decreeing by «yarliks-ucazes» or by Communist decrees, remained unchanged. Under a Czar of an Asiatic type, ascending to a Djinghis Khan, the Slav subjects had no rights in their local popular life. Nor have they more today.

Peter the Great europeanised the Asiatic khanate of his predecessors. By cutting the beards of the boyards and by introducing the French «justaucorps», by organising a navy, by translating books of elementary mathematics into Russian he imagined that he had created a new State. Actually it was only a blurred image of its German and Swedish models. And still the Slav masses, living in their village-groups, had no part in the government of the country. They had not yet come of age.

From one despotic illusion to another, Catherine II «frenchified» the inheritance of her stronger predecessor. Her imperious philanthropy would have disposed of, and arranged, all things and all human beings, without their knowledge or permission, on the lines of the French philosophy of her time. By the time Diderot, as a representative of this doctrine, bidden in haste to Russia, had chosen the place which he designed to be the scene of his future work and had arranged and furnished the rooms, but he was sent back, with his due rewards and yet more compliments, to his country. Though much that was French remained, yet up to the end of the 18th century, after fifty generations from the birth of the race, it had failed to produce as much as one solid political idea.

Alexander the First too would have created a new Russia, first in the Napoleonic sense, conducted by a monarchical genius, and then a romantic one, upon the

counsels of Mme de Krüdener, who used her influence to persuade him to employ his power as a Messiah — the beginning of the Slav messianism as later represented by the Poles — in praying for the salvation of mankind. The Russians desired neither the one nor the other of these formulae. Nicholas the First, the man for whom « no important person existed in Russia other than him to whom he spoke and then only for as long as he spoke to him », turned Russia into an armed camp with himself as generalissimo. If his son, Alexander the Second, freed the peasant from years-long existence under the communism of the *mir*, it was not under the pressure of any Russian popular movement (the Nihilists who assassinated him were students and other young men bred to western ideas), but to satisfy the requirements of the age. Alexander the Third reverted to what seemed to him to be the true Muscovite tradition, but Pobiedonossev the retrograde could not, any more than Katkov the slavophile, be considered an exponent of the Russian nation, his theoretical despotism descending directly from that of mediaeval Byzantium. The « peace-maker of Europe », Nicholas the Second, was the product of his occidental education, untroubled by the voices which, more and more clamorous, could be heard crying from the depths.

Bolshevism dawned for these inchoate masses, at first in whatever manner it particularly appealed to them. All that is foreign will disappear: pedantic Marxism, the new bureaucracy, the ridiculously belligerent irreligion which imagines that religion can be set up and as easily put down by mere decrees, the hero-worship of the chiefs of the movement, the mummified idol of Lenin. But the local form, the soviets themselves, will remain because centuries of Russian history, which sought them unavailing, have gone to their making.

As a proof of this, I myself saw in that Roumanian capital of refuge, Jassy, the conditions which the Bolshevik revolution had fomented and I was able to perceive the existence of two entirely different elements: the popular state of mind and the individual influence of agitators belonging to the daring world of adventurers. Forty thousand Russian soldiers and workers waited in Socola near Jassy, defended by a handful of soldiers under the command of a colonel. The disintegration of a large and splendid army had begun. The first deed was the procession of red flags through the streets, all bearing inscriptions which the poor misguided people could not understand — they were wholly illiterate. The second was the sermon preached at the street corner by the good apostle, wearing the red cockade at his lapel. The Russians usually followed him, the Roumanians contenting themselves with a smile and a derisive shrug of the shoulders. The final point in the affair was the surprise occupation of the Russian headquarters.

A friend of mine was present at this tragic yet ridiculous phase, when the proclamation to the army had to be written, little before the arrest of its leader, General Stcherbatchev, who in less happy circumstances would have been shot next day. The Bolshevik leader was one Roshal, a student, who had boiled officers of the Russian Navy at Kronstadt near Petrograd: he did not possess sufficient command of his own language to draw up the proclamation. Eventually the task was undertaken by Roshal's concubine, a young Jewess of seventeen years of age. I happened to learn of the plot to suppress Stcherbatchev, which was also communicated by my informant to the then President of the Council, Ion Brătianu. In the evening of the same day the Russian general was safe, but Roshal and his lady were arrested

by a Roumanian colonel. Conducted to a military prison, they were later handed over to the White Russians, on the basis of an order which later proved to have been forged, and were shot.

The Roumanian capital, the government and the King were spared the menace, but the new psychology of the Russian army itself was being formed. After a few weeks I could see clearly the return to barbarism, common soldiers riding in carriages full of loot and women, after having sold guns and superfluous horses for a few pence, and after having tried to attack such Roumanian cities as offered promise of licence and loot.

How could such men, inspired by such doctrines and with such means at their disposal, produce a revolution? It is plainly incredible.

Never in history was a leading class beset by its adversaries of the masses: always was it this class which, bereft of confidence in its mission, abandoned power voluntarily. It was neither La Fayette, Mirabeau, nor the men of '89 who brought about the French revolution: or at most they brought it about because they were themselves members of a wholly despondent class, the king and his family, the highest representatives of the nobility and the religion at its head. So it was with Russia. There was no single man with that faith which alone can save a tottering empire, whereas this faith was manifest in nearly all Roumanians.

Some years ago, at a party in Paris, I heard a Grand Duke speaking — after he had reached haven in exile and after the massacre of so many friends and relatives — but not of this he spoke, nor of the future of his country, but of « buds, birds and flowers », and such sentimental romantic things. A great part of what still remains of Russian aristocracy was present; noble women and plump



men of child-like and innocent visage, who hung upon his very words as if they were jewels of Holy Writ. It sufficed to make one understand why a throne had toppled to ruin, supported by such people. The reason they had lost power, wealth and all they possessed was because they had wanted to lose it.

## II

And now let us compare the foregoing with a picture of socialist development in another country. Socialism and communism are really the same thing, the first being merely the theoretical, inanimate and bloodless image of the second.

In my youth socialism had already penetrated into Roumania. In its initial form it was introduced by students returned from Paris and Brussels. An aristocratic form of preaching, it rallied intellectuals to its flag, sons of the best families, men to whom the apparition of the socialist state actually in being (the days of the Commune were invoked lightly by such as had no experience of their horrors) would have been the most vivid moment of terror in their lives. Most of these meek propagandists were easily tamed in the bitter school of life. Suddenly in Moldavia, the neighbour province of Russia, a preacher of convinced and active character appeared, a Russian exile — perhaps a Jew, perhaps, as many surmised, an American — Doctor Russell. Established in Jassy, he won to his cause a few professors, the brothers Nădejde, both worthy disseminators of educational-science, and the wife of the elder of the brothers, a talented novelist. The review known as « The Contemporary », which was written in an exceedingly vulgar fashion and affected a negligent style of printing, was the creed of the young generation. Socialism in all its aspects, incredulity, negation, was

introduced into the higher schools. The Nădejde family were prosecuted and lost their posts as teachers. But the review continued to appear and found a staunch supporter in the person of a young landowner, Basile G. Morțun. He finally became a minister of the Liberal « bourgeoisie », while the elder of the Nădejde brothers, as a journalist, gave his pen to the same party. The second socialist movement failed because the workmen (Roumania then being in its very early industrial infancy) were both few and unprepared, and because the peasant, a hereditary individualist, notwithstanding that the soil had not yet become his property, had no taste for communism. When later, in 1907, a peasant revolution broke out in which thousands of them were killed, it was under the influence of this mystical creed that the students — who had rioted in the National Theatre just a year before against a French play — were called upon by the then Queen Elizabeth to avenge the oppression of the boyards.

A third epoch of socialism of obviously communistic leanings was provoked by that curious personality Doctor Rakovsky, who is now an exile in Siberia. This future ambassador of the Soviets in Paris, whose guests were to eat from the golden platters of his Czarist predecessors, was a Bulgarian by birth, though a Roumanian citizen owning land in the Dobrudja, a doctor and a captain in the Roumanian army. Bad orator though he was, he was idolised by the workers for his dissimilarity to any agitator they had so far encountered. Of great culture, speaking four languages, he wrote scientific articles on economics which were seldom read. When the war with his adopted country began, he was suspected and arrested. He was, however, set-free by a group of former comrades, and, somewhat unexpectedly, was heard

in the main square of Jassy demanding the deposition of King Ferdinand who, he declared, he would deliver to Russia in fetters. By the irony of fate it was in that same Russia that he himself was raised to eminence and power, later to meet the exile which he, like many others, was not skilful enough to escape. Today he has become almost a cypher. Nor had he found in the material elements of Roumanian society or in its moral habits that support he had desired.

Now, however, the peasant, the only important member of the community in Roumania, is part-owner and individually proprietor of the soil. What can he gain by dividing it with his fellows?

Because of this, Roumanian communism has some hundreds, even thousands of young Jew adherents, mostly from Bessarabia. They assemble frequently, behave noisily and are dispersed by the police called to protect them from the violence of the public. A fervid but little-gifted apostle, son of a celebrated critic of Russo-Israelitish origin, and an old maid who sought permanent refuge in a Moscow club can hardly be said to have been capable of imbuing with life and inspiration so mean a mob of ignorant people and fools.

I cannot be certain that Bolshevism will not reach London or New York, but I am sure that it will not be by way of Roumania.

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## PROBLEMS OF BYZANTINE ART, AND THE ART OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Excellent histories on Byzantine art have been written, from the comprehensive work of Charles Diehl to the successful attempt by Louis Bréhier to write a new one. Their authors have succeeded, with much skill, in presenting an uninterrupted narrative of its development in all its aspects. Nevertheless, long periods are wholly unknown, partly owing to the destruction of documents, to fierce conquest or internal disturbance, as when iconoclasts fought against iconodoules, and partly because whole provinces, particularly in Asia — though also in Europe — were never explored. All gaps have been filled in and the impression given is of a connected tale, but in spite of this ability, which has now become a tradition in the compilation of such works, capital problem remain unsolved and an endeavour will be made here to set them at their true values.

The first is the hard one of origins themselves.

It is admitted that Byzantine society created none of the elements which form this rich and brilliant synthesis of art. Nothing is owed to new inspirations; no particular note of a new race is struck; there is no influence of a special milieu, no discovery due to the existence of an artist of genius, all we can trace in the development of Byzantine civilization being the presence of able writers and perfect technicians, all seeking to give greater proportions to

borrowed models. Roman, Greek and Oriental art united to give that interesting blend: the Byzantine. And, because everything was subjected to the State, progress, under the aegis of the proud Eastern Empire, was possible.

This is surely so in the case of technique. From the Roman, Byzantium took, if only for a moment, the form of the basilica, with its three longitudinal divisions, with the apses of the judge, to which two others were adjoined, with lofty tribunes. Something, too, of the Greek sense of proportion was instinctively maintained, but for the most part these technical elements are of Oriental origin.

If an eminent researcher in matters of architectural technique is to be believed, this origin was mainly an Armenian one. It is true that Mr. Strzygowski, wholly reversing his doctrines, now sees in the wooden dwellings of the north, if not also in the tents of the nomad, the origin of all towns, and their builders to be the originators of the models which were later adopted by the nations building in marble, thus relegating these to the place of mere copyists. But Armenia, the ancient and the great, was never anything else but — after the tradition of Urartu — a refuge for the imperial Persian tradition, not so much a country aspiring to wider frontiers and a capital of its own, therefore unable to achieve either a period of definite crystallisation. From the moral point of view she was never able to virtualise the qualities of a strictly determined nation. The rôle which she played in the history of the Orient, in which she had so interesting a mission, was to collect the memories of the great eastern empires and to transmit them to the western, the Anatolian and the Byzantine.

The love of finely-worked detail, the necessity of invoking the aid of polychromy, the use of widely diverse materials to obtain strange and new effects by their com-

bination, the splendour, variety, richness and gorgeous display is a particular characteristic of Mesopotamian, as well as Syrian and Egyptian artistic civilisation.

A historical synthesis was created in these countries, to which each of the nations representing eastern civilisation had contributed something purely its own. Byzantium, then newly-created (comparable with the transformation, in our own times, by Mustapha Kemal of the erstwhile historical village of Angora into the capital of an aspiring and vigorous nation) was not able to maintain competition with this accumulation of treasures, forming a perfect artistic unity: the art which followed in the train of Constantine was not sufficient to vanquish this overwhelming rivalry. As the new Roman Empire was and remained open to all forms of borrowed art, so it took this, the most costly of all, as it would have taken any other. And by this adoption it felt no humiliation, any more than there was humiliation to be found in the use of the Greek tongue for an unchanging church, in the use of the political form of government, of law, of literature. Everything was tribute to the Empire, everything formed a part of its rights and patrimony, once acquired by conquest. If the Latin competitors could have been vanquished by a series of victories, their French or Italian language, their mediaeval thought, and their art too would have been a portion of the war-prizes of Byzantium.

An oriental ornamentation, an exclusively oriental ornamentation, in a style which began 4,000 years before, as witness the palaces and cemeteries of Ur, a dome applied to solid Roman buildings of cheap brick, covered only by costly polychromatic marbles, and all expressed in the ancient Hellenic values of proportion, this is, compressed into a simple formula and without the mouthing of pseudo-

scientific rhetoric, Byzantine art. Successive new discoveries in Western Asia will merely tend to point the moral.

The second problem consists in the *phases* of the art. Such phases in the transmission of an art can equally be determined by archaeological or scientific discovery, or by the initiative of superior intelligence, no less than by practical usage and revolutions of thought.

But no great technical discovery took place in the millenium of Byzantine existence. It seems that the crowning of a basilica with a cupola had already been realised in Asia before the opening of the new Constantinopolitan era. The celebrated architects of Justinian failed in building the cupola of Hagia Sofia not because it was the first attempt — in which case it would not have been made with the costly materials necessary for an imperial basilica— but because the dimensions were so great as to bewilder them. No such catastrophe attended the efforts of an artist in the west, an unknown artist in the Île-de-France, to transmit the weight of the dome not to the outer walls, which could thus be carved in the most refined and apparently dangerous manner, but to independent buttresses.

I have affirmed that genius was not to be found in those countries where everything was a mere matter of teaching, a traditional transmission, where no revolution could occur except in the struggle for power, the riots of the amphitheatre or the brawls of the street.

A new current of ideas, however, was introduced by iconoclasm, tending to purify the orthodoxy of all suspicion of idolatry in an epoch when the abstract creed of Islam was impressive to many minds. A complete change was enforced by the two epochs of triumph in this direction. The icons disappeared from the public life of the people, notwithstanding that in private life they were maintained,

so that in remote corners of the provinces the technical skill of fashioning them was never lost. No reproduction of the human figure was permitted, and it was perhaps in this moment that sculpture itself, hitherto allowed, was expressly prohibited. The classical models, never forgotten or omitted from the ornamental, as is shown by the miniature still extant, were still more cherished: a new form of ornamentation, of fruit and suchs of heroic episodes, as on the pagan sepulchres, of historical processions, and surely also of such abstract lines as in the Mohammedan temples, was introduced and maintained. The old usages returned at the moment when the worshippers of holy images gained the power, and very little of the official art, cultivated for some decades, remained. And this is all which was brought forth by such changes of mind. The great revolution represented by the school of Bardas, by the research of Photius and by the literary works of Psellos was not greatly felt in the development of an art which seems to have found in ornaments novelties merely of a secondary importance.

The great influence for the new type of architecture came only from the ever-increasing importance of monastic bodies. The spiritual needs of the members of a monastery were essentially different from those in a city where all ritual was to be celebrated within the walls of a great basilica. The body of the church itself, frequented at most by a few neighbouring peasants, had no reason for preserving exaggerated proportions: the choir became the most important part of the structure, where the brothers could assemble to sing; on this part the light had to be concentrated, and not on the pews above, or on the «ship» beneath. Later, an open porch, an exonarthex, was necessary for receiving the public, who were not commonly admitted to the interior. A mystic sentiment



gave preference to the constant recurrence of the cross and the cruciform rather than the rectilinear features of the basilica, contrived by the introduction of interior vaulting and later extended to the external lines of the building too. Such is the church on Mount Athos, of the provincial convents and monasteries in the remoter districts which end by encroaching on the capital itself. As the number of smaller houses of prayer for small communities of monks increased, this type became general and transmissible to the neighbouring realms of Byzantine imitation.

This is why the periods of this art cannot be established.

First, under Constantine, and then under his successors, we come across no attempt, in the course of two whole centuries, to delineate the uniform Byzantine church or palace: the Roman tradition is still too strong. All means were employed to maintain this tradition in art as well as in legislation, upon coins, in the law-academy of Beyrouth, in the armies, in certain works of literature (as in the memoirs of Ammianus Marcellinus, at a period when the emperor Julian was the imitator of the ancient Hellene Lukianos). Thus Constantinople was, by the will of its founder, as regards the Empire, much as Aachen was for Charles the Great, a heap of carted furniture.

The second epoch is represented by Justinian and his immediate successors up to the growth of Islamitic influence. It was no slow preparation for a magnificent, amazing burgeoning. The Queen of Sheba had come to present her thousand gifts to imperial Solomon who enjoyed this munificence and considered it as due to his high rank. The Roman foundation remained, but the Orient wastefully lavished on its pure lines all the accumulated treasures of a long train of years.

To hinder a return of iconoclasm, of this insolent

intrusive revolt, the army of the new monks was formed, a phenomenon as important for Byzantium as was for the West the substitution of the forces of Benedict by the powerful legions of the Dominicans and the wandering friars of St. Francis. The monk was no longer, as in early Christian times, a hermit, a lover of desert places, a yogi striving to suppress all that was human in himself. He was no longer to be an element of unrest in the towns, ready to foment or suppress a riot. His goal was to have his own stronghold, with a military organisation and discipline, prepared to fight and preach, *ad libitum*, against the enemies of the church. He dwells on inaccessible rocks, as on the Holy Mountain or on the peaks of the Thessalonian mountains.

In their retreat they were at the same time architects, sculptors, painters, theologians, historians, poets. All manner of combat was thus at their disposal. A whole epoch lay to their hands. A hermit, Athanasius, and an emperor, Nicephore Phocas, gave their patronage to the community.

But the Latin Empire intervened, causing Greek retreats in the valleys of Asia Minor, at Nicaea, at Trebizond, under the mountain of Epirus. By their return the Byzantines had no longer the old power to avert foreign influences. These came now from the West, a wholly changed West, which was over-populated, full of energy and of faith in its future, from the west of successful crusades, of prosperous Italian commerce, which had colonised the eastern shores of the Mediterranean with its occidental lords, kings of Jerusalem, Dukes of Antioch, Counts of Tripoli and Edessa. The wives of the emperors came from this Latin eastern world, from Italy, from lesser German principalities. The character of these eastern dynasts was, as for Manuel Comnene, that of a warrior knight, proud of personal risk and adventurous exploits.

In art too a change was to be observed. Architecture began to favour the palace of the emperor, which ascended to the heights of the Magnaura. The lines of religious edifices were no more to be modified, but the ornamental was to change. Occidental influences were to be traced in painting. The icon-style was no longer the same in the celebrated monastery of St. Luke, and similar influences were found in remote parts of the Macedonian districts during the 11th and 12th centuries. So too, in the 14th century, the mosaics of the Kahrie Djamissi in Constantinople, the pictures of Mistra, and the corresponding painting in the Wallachian Argeş, present expressive figures, overlaid with an all-pervading realism.

A discussion was commenced on the origins of this change which is also to be found in Italian art, Siena, in common with Byzantium, having the same method of presenting the Madonna and the Saints. Which of either is the teacher and which the pupil? The solution is to be found in the fact that the majority of the Italian merchants resided for a time in Constantinople and various oriental cities, and that analogous political and social forms existed for more than three centuries in the east.

And now, at least, what is the ultimate limit of this Byzantine art?

We speak of Serbian or Bulgarian art, in the sense of national products. This is erroneous. All art produced within the theoretical boundaries of the Empire, as far West as the Adriatic and East to the Danube, is Byzantine. Notwithstanding occidental elements to be traced in such Serbian monasteries as Studenitza, with its carved frescoes after Italo-Dalmatian models, the Byzantine is ubiquitous: the money and the patronage alone belongs to the new States.

And Roumania, with its elements of Gothic, of Renaissance and of French influence?

Had Byzantium been a closed synthesis, Roumanian art would have been different from the Byzantine. But the Byzantine synthesis remained ever fresh, and in this sense it includes all that which, with additional elements, has been accomplished by the Roumanians.

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## PRESENT-DAY HISTORY AND HISTORIANS

I have been privileged to witness many far-reaching changes in the historiography of our times, so let me ask that my long experience should serve as an explanation and, if necessary, as an excuse for the methods I myself pursue in the writing of history.

In the now remote days of my youth I was a pupil at the small Roumanian university of Jassy of a man who has left some trace on the European thought of his period, Alexander D. Xenopol. A former student in Berlin, first and foremost preoccupied by questions of Roman institutions, a man of philosophical rather than historical tendencies, an economist and seeker after definite laws in the complicated field of history, he was later attracted towards historical studies, but he studied in his early years the now unjustly despised doctrine of Buckle, and his six-volume history of the Roumanians, no mean achievement, shows this early familiarity with reading abstract ideas. It is, in spite of many errors of fact, a solid mass of work in which the chaos of the pragmatical is always dominated by superior conceptions.

Something of the Buckleian era remained in the minds of his generation and, by means of his teaching, passed into my own being too. For them history was not an immense chaos of bygone deeds culled from different sources, critically analysed and held together only by the loose ties of territorial unity and chronological sequ-

ence. Everything had to be explained and, in their opinion, an explanation could be found and had to be found, because unexplained things, bred as they were to studies of natural science, jurisprudence, economics and metaphysics, could not exist. The facts were ruled, for them as for Buckle, by the influence of the natural surroundings or, according to Xenopol, by laws similar to those of nature, but by ties of succession not of contemporaneity.

It was a matter of thought and large horizons continually opened before the searching mind. No seminary for preparing each student to anything in the domain of particular research existed at this time and, notwithstanding this, if the immense majority left the university without having made their universal discovery, preserved for eternity in the thesis of their doctorate, some distinguished searchers and thinkers were set loose, completely formed and trained on their own personal methods by influence of this generous mind, ever fond of new ideas and original interpolations.

All studies of history were presented in the same sense as by Xenopol. We learned that of the Romans, following the pages of Duruy, directed by the remembrance of the Gibbonian thought, and Greek history in the volumes of Grote and Curtius — a very different spirit from that of the later Belloch (Curtius I was to meet later in Berlin, accomplishing, like von Gizycki in ethics, his duties as a teacher in spite of age and infirmity, thus affording an object lesson to the new generation).

This school contributed valuable work to historiography in the first half of the 19th century. Seldom were such great and enduring works written as the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, and of Philip the Second by Prescott, those dealing with the revolt in the Low Coun-

tries by Motley, the history of Charles the Bold by Foster Kirk, or of the United States by Bancroft.

Besides this succession to the historians of the 18th century, who were led by general ideas and sought literary form adequate to their conception of personalities and developments, the German philosophy of the opening years of the 19th century, the diplomatic and archivist studies of the French Benedictines some decades earlier, the scruples of the archaeologists gave rise to another directive in the writing of history: the methodical pursuit of truth, the attainable verities in the facts. For other schools, strong, enlightened minds were necessary, with some literary talent and notably an experience of life: their interpretation had ever the personal character of a creative spirit; for the second, good schooling, a normal intelligence and the sense of honestly accomplishing their duty to the university sufficed.

The democratic directives of contemporary life, as well as the necessity of having teachers of history for the secondary schools, archivists and librarians for the public repositories of knowledge, favoured the development, the universal expansion of this second school. A product of bureaucratic Germany, where everything could be accomplished without direct contact with the world, within the four walls of a study, and not of the organic Germany, brilliantly represented by the most open mind which ever interested itself with history (that of Leopold von Ranke), it was extended to other nations by the enhanced prestige of victorious German arms after 1870. Not however in conservative England, where such splendid works as the « Constitutional History of England » by Stubbs, who as a professor was obliged only at rare intervals to hold the lectures which were later collected in a rare volume, were written without the aid of foreign

methods, but in contemporary France, under the influence of Gabriel Monod, educated in the German universities — for him the Franco-German war was a personal tragedy (see his « Français et Allemands »). Opposed to the spirit of the Sorbonne, which was considered antiquated, the École des Hautes Études took the leadership of the movement. Never was a stranger discipline more impressively exercised over young minds as here: Monod himself, my own good old teacher Charles Bémont, Giry, the author of the best treatise on diplomacy ever written, that consistent doubter of martyrology, Monseigneur Duchesne (who possessed more than a touch of Voltairian irony), minor ones such as the searcher of institutions, Thévenin, the more neglected Roy, were representative of the current. Good chronology for selected proved facts, not unconnected with the imperative need of a rounded French form, but a certain mistrust of general ideas and a bitter contempt for all that bore the appearance of literature (and literature was dilettantism), that was our creed.

Against the proceedings of the Roman historian of Roman history, Ettore Pais, a new Italian school, influenced by the presence of Belloch as a teacher in Rome, gave the opposite history of republican and imperial Rome, by Monsieur de Sanctis. Here, too, everything had to be renewed and only critically elaborated facts could be presented as authenticated truths. The era of higher conceptions, which were considered dangerous, was carefully closed.

But in that same Germany which generated these methods and imposed these inviolable limits, a cry of revolt resounded, heralding, in Berlin and Leipzig, the commencement of a hard and long-contested struggle between two factions of historians. Karl Lamprecht had begun to preach.



He was not a revolutionary against realities not to be despised or suppressed. With him was revived not the old phraseology dealing with certain doubtful facts, chosen first and foremost to embroider the sumptuous garment of Rhodian rhetoric. The metaphysics, traces of which can be discovered in his mentality, that of an honest if crude German peasant, with something of Luther in his lineaments as well as in his manner of thought, inspired, but could not also guide him. But the man who began with patient research among the ancient miniatures of his country, without neglecting their material aspects, was strong in the belief (very different from the materialistic « naturalist » Buckle) that moral factors govern the life of mankind and that they can be identified with types. Types changing and recurring in such regular rhythm as was for the first time conceived by the genius Vico. Thus was the theory of the human race, beginning with the type and ending with the most outspoken individualism, evolved and applied to German history, before final crystallisation in his American lectures.

Lamprecht's theory, applied to no other history, notwithstanding the polite offers of his Japanese pupils, will not endure, though much of his noble work is worthy of preservation: his broad outlook, his faith in psychological factors, his conviction that all manifestations of human life are parts of one connected whole, of one preconcerted scheme.

After the world war, a very different directive seems to have had its source of inspirations otherwise than in Lamprecht's ideology. I refer to the recent theories of Spengler, so much discussed by the few and so naively accepted by the multitude. He seems, insofar as it is possible for a trained mind to pursue such ideas, both to accept for himself and to preach to others the doctrine that, following a rhythm of its own, humanity sets up civilisations

which unfailingly pass through the same phases of birth, growth, decay and oblivion. According to Spengler, our own civilisation, that of the west, is at the end of its long development and we are about to become the spectators of its final death agonies. A certain number of past civilisations are presented in a convincing and impressive manner, with undeniable literary skill, in proof of this. For all this Spengler is no historian, being the mere champion of information drawn from secondary sources, choosing only those facts which favour his theories and his bias. The uninformed public can see no danger and can therefore not avoid it.

In the success of this clamorous craft of self-advertisement to which belong, in another field of literature, the historical romances from Paris and the semi-literary improvisations of Emil Ludwig, many recent books have their origin. With a sovereign contempt for the facts, presented recently in a long series of volumes, such as the English ones from Cambridge and the collection of «syntheses» directed by Mr. Berr, they destroy all that was hitherto definite and secure. A bolshevism in historiography as childish and impertinent as the other doctrine, which corresponds to the new portraiture and sculpture of human beings the like of which is yet to be born, to the architecture without profile and proportion, to the poetry whose first requirement is to be deprived of all rhyme and rhythm. The psychosis of the new generation should be manifested in history too.

It is natural that a witness of these important changes in his own speciality should try, after forty years of experience, and after having studied the histories of most countries on this globe, minutely as well as along the broad lines of material and moral currents, to prepare a synthesis of his own. It appeared at Paris, in the four

volumes of my « Synthèse de l'histoire de l'Humanité », with many unjust criticisms of detail and, occasionally too, abuse, as in the « Revue des Questions Historiques » from the pen of a very young man who had specialised only in the local history of his native Brittany. I will explain its principal object.

For me the history of mankind is an organism having its organic necessities, its organic development, possessing a body and a mind.

In this organism, territories and nations appear for the first time at the precise moment when they possess one of two qualities: — either to represent the whole, to be « representative » in the sense that Emerson referred to personalities, or to be in advance of the rest of mankind, giving it new inspiration and becoming the leading factor in its development.

Large and small states, great or small groupings are, in the history of mankind, not interesting from this point of view, but only insofar as concerns the qualities already mentioned. Often a second-class nation, possessing little territory, would attract the attention of the historian because it identified itself with the current movement or prepared to become great in the future.

To look in such a book for facts regarding a country for a set number of years is to have no appreciation of the intentions of the author and the critic mentioned above could therefore speak in his own sense of a work of « less than embryonic character ». It is possible to forgive the aggressive modesty of his estimate.

In this presentation of history many changes in the present mode of writing occur owing to the necessity of suitably presenting the new point of view itself.

The prehistoric has no legitimate claim to the predominance attributed to it by the present-day. There is no true guidance to be found in the vague language of excavated pottery and flint arrow-heads, nor in the aesthetic but doubtfully accurate interpretations of such disinterred relics, resulting oft-times in the discovery of a society of cave-dwellers worshipping a hitherto unsuspected and quite fabulous deity.

The prejudice of successive national monarchies of the past can no better withstand the judgment of the historian. He rather gains the impression that the state of the gods, the state for the « four corners of the earth » is successively helped and sustained, to the end of their power, by *all* oriental nations. None of them, when occupied by a dynasty foreign in our sense of the word, has the humiliating sentiments of a vanquished nation. The gods have only changed their representative, the instrument of *their* domination, and the newcomer, as in Egypt, be it Cambyse, Alexander or Caesar, adopts the traditional forms respected by his predecessors in entirety. With this the *Hellenic* role of the Macedonian, for instance, disappears: he leads his peasants in the name of vengeful Achilles to the conquest of a world which, immediately after the victory, causes the victor to be a king in its sense, a divine monarch, as Nebuchadnezzar, to whose spirit Babylon, under all rules, has remained true.

Greece is a very different matter. It is outside the pale of godly monarchy, inaugurating by its revolt the reign of man in politics as well as in thought and art. But not the visible Greece of Athens, which speaks for all others (notwithstanding that not all moral leaders whose biographies are connected with Athenian life were born in that city) so much as the Greece of Southern Italy, the monarchical state of Sicily — as opposed to the Persian



Wayside Cross (Roumania)

thalassocracy on the one hand and the Etruscan encroachments on the other,—is of the greater importance in the development of the general scheme of history.

Rome, as it began to appear to the more recent French historians, was no more a conqueror. It sought not world domination: it was called to this destiny because of the impossibility of peace by any other solution. It accomplished as a city what Alexander compassed as a hero, what the half-Greek Hannibal strove to achieve. The Romans, at no time and in place, attempted to change the life of the aboriginal peoples over whom they assumed the mastery. They merely supervised the progress of their conquests, each of which became a Roman province, while preserving its ancient traditions.

Christianity appeared as a new power, as a menace to imperial supremacy. In its modified form, very different from its initial Palestinian pastoral form, it gave to the world, accustomed to live under a single government, its instinctive unity. This has been the greatest achievement of the religion of love tending, in its perfected organisation, to become the best means of dominating all nations.

The middle ages began with the moment that the first barbarian state, that of the Franks, adopted Christianity and served Christian ends. So the invasion of the Germans and Turanians too loses much of its recognised importance. They are no longer the founders of a new era, bringing with them, against tyranny and dissolution, their patriarchal and personal dependency, their liberty and purity of morals. No enemies and, still less, despisers of Rome, they served, revered and would have liked to resemble her. The theory of the catastrophe which heralded the mediaeval epoch has been attacked in more recent days by an Austrian, Herr Dopsch. The ancient times con-

tinued in the newer and, if continuity was not perfect, it was merely because perfection has ever been impossible.

To the barbarian states, Byzantium appeared as the true, indeed the only, Rome, which remained as the sole undefiled source of royalty, whence all new things sprang. Theodoric was only its viceroy in Italy. The conquest of the peninsula by Justinian, as well as his conquest of Africa and the East coast of Spain, was not an invasion in the true sense, but merely the return of the true master. Theoretically speaking, Byzantium never relinquished its rights.

Compared to the realm of Charles the Great, it was much stronger and had a degree of legitimacy to which the Frank could never successfully have aspired. The emperor in Constantinople never recognised an impossible equality with Charlemagne, the usurper in the West, whose ascendancy was prepared by a long series of Italian disturbances which aimed at giving the whole world over to western thraldom. Because Charlemagne himself did not confine this authority to the West, he became, according to his own theory only, emperor of the world. Similarly Eirene, his supposed wife, is herself not an empress but, as she appears on coins, an « emperor »!

Nor was Otto the First a German conqueror of Italy. He was in reality adopted by the Italian realm: being sought in marriage by Adelaide, Queen of Italy, she considered herself as reigning in her own right. The second Otto, destined to die for Italy in Italy, was an Italian, and the third, son of a Byzantine princess, an Oecumenic emperor preparing himself for Rome as well as for Constantinople.

Now the capital energy of the middle ages was French. They changed, through such women as Agnes the Burgundian, the character of the emperors. The French

spirit of Cluny ruled the Church. The voice of St. Bernard called the mediaeval world to its duty. The crusades were almost exclusively French; England, for instance, still being in the early years of the Norman conquest.

The son of a Norman princess, Frederick the Second, was brought up as an Italian: this serves to explain his Roman laws and his constitution which was exclusively feudal and yet infinitely superior to the English Magna Charta, with its so-called « Liberties ». The French attempt in the 14th century to Francize the empire they at one time claimed for themselves: see, after Otto of Brunswick, educated in France, Henri of Luxemburg, or the half-French Charles IV. In France began a holy realm, with the ninth Louis, then a true monarchy, stronger under Philippe le Bel (a much stronger one than the adventures of Frederick the Redbeard in Italy, which he invaded eleven times though he could never remain as master). The Hundred Years' War was not an Anglo-French conflict, but the struggles of two dynasties for the priceless possession of France: without Joan of Arc it would have been possible to complete the conquest of England, begun by the Norman dynasty, pressed on by the Aquitanian element in the dynasty, by counsellors such as Simon de Montfort, by the French bankers; in England, more than ever in France, lived the French literature of the middle ages.

As regards modern history, not so much the conception as the lines of presentation, must be changed. The 15th century was still mediaeval: what was modern in the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI? Francis I employed mediaeval forces for the modern purpose of gaining territory, and his realm is still mediaeval. In Europe there was a single absolute monarchy, that of the Turks. The knights of the desert, the mercenaries of the Palaeologues,



under Mahomed the Second and Solieman the Magnificent, were truly Byzantine, viz: Roman Caesars. Under their sceptres the Christian nations, who are commonly said to have lived under oppression, continued the same local existence as they had done under the rule of Christian emperors. All western activities were of secondary interest to the ruler of three continents, the master of the Mediterranean and the Euxine. Louis XIV was the first modern king of France, but modern France, unitary and centralised (the created France not the historical), was the work of the political struggles of the Revolution.

The Revolution was not the beginning of a new era. Its ideas and methods were to be found at the beginning of the 15th century in the riotous Paris of Caboché. Without the intervention of the « absolute » monarchy the outburst would have forestalled Mirabeau by four hundred years. But the former free life of the cities, the greatest thing in that greatest epoch of mankind, the middle ages, was crushed. The political importance of the bourgeoisie was recognised by Louis XIV. The destruction of the Court by the shy half-Teuton Louis XV made of the new bourgeoisie of the salons the intellectual leaders of France. The philanthropical debility of Louis XVI gave the final blow to the already tottering edifice as the Bastille, the institution of the old kings, was conquered because it was never defended. This is why I began my contemporary history with America, the first to employ the theories of French philosophy, the first to uphold a popular, and this time a true popular movement of liberty.

Nevertheless, in the middle ages, a new principle of historical life was presented: the Roman territories, practically abandoned by the Empire and unoccupied by the barbarian, developed in a free and patriarchal manner, free forces such as Venice, Genoa, peasant confederations

such as the Swiss Cantons, the clans of Scotland and the new - wholly new - States such as Roumanian Wallachia.

Recognizing the part played by Latin-America in the revolutionary movements towards 1820, demonstrating the strict relationship between these all movements, I have been unable to pass over the often leading rôle of the South-East in the formation of contemporary Europe. After the dynastic states, I have presented the national — or, better said, ethnographical — states which have emerged triumphant from the melting-pot of the Great War. But at the same time I must indicate the economic movement, preparing, as it undoubtedly is, yet another new grouping of the nations of the world: the world-wide competition between territorial and national products, characterising the new era, the leading moral ideas of which have yet to breast the horizon.

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## A ROUMANIAN MARKET TOWN

To an American, or for the matter of that to anyone unacquainted with Roumania, the existence and particularly the origins of a Roumanian market town is hardly comprehensible without some explanation from the geographer and historian.

In America a new settlement is due to the discovery of fresh sources of wealth and the initiative of enterprising men. In a few months, its importance and character begin to become apparent. In its externals it is like other groupings of inhabitants. The types of social life are merely repeated yet once more.

Far different from this, however, was the old Roumanian town. Sometimes it originated from the necessities of trade routes, from the need of bringing the products of a valley to a central market, from the fame, noised abroad, of a celebrated holy image, or from the presence of a stronghold. It has been a general European occurrence. But the manner in which its concretion was slowly established is quite different from the neighbouring countries inhabited by other races.

The small locality of 5,000 inhabitants, Vălenii de Munte, where I spend the summer months and where I have sought to spread what I consider the true ideal of practical culture demanded by the changed conditions of my country, may serve to demonstrate well



Wallachian Farmhouse

enough the interesting process of building up an urban centre.

But first to deal with its name. *Vălenii de Munte* signifies the inhabitants of the valley of the mountainous part of the region; more picturesquely but not more accurately: — the valley dwellers of the mountain. A torrential river, the Teleajen, a name which is reminiscent of the Italian Telesino, has assisted in the assemblage of large groups of peasant, labourers and carters for the transportation of goods. It is one of the most charming spots in Upper Wallachia; and the neighbourhood of Transylvania (the name of which alone evokes the vision of cool tinkling streams and shady woods and thickets), through the passes of Cheia<sup>1</sup> and Bratocea<sup>2</sup>, contributed in the past to the larger development, to the slow enrichment of an active and sympathetic population. All are *Văleni* in the special sense of *vale*<sup>3</sup>. The village under the lofty eminences which are big enough to be called mountains<sup>4</sup> is *Vălenii de Munte*.

All such villages retain the names of their founders in the remote and obscure past, which are those of their progeny. The newcomers are adopted by the natives based on the true legitimate possession of the soil. Consequently *Vălenii de Munte* is the concentration of a certain number of these settlements: a descendant of Berivoiu, for instance, is a Berivoescu, in the village of Berivoești. Each with its own tiny old church, beside others, each with its particular church, each claiming a separate progenitor, the name of the ancestor taking the suffix *ești*: only to such as came later, uniting with the aboriginals, were

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<sup>1</sup> The key.

<sup>2</sup> From the Slav *brat*: brother. Cf. *Norocea*.

<sup>3</sup> Valley. The peasant sings «*I-auzi valea cum răsună*».

<sup>4</sup> In Roumanian: *munte*.

given a name in which the suffix *eni* betrays their foreign origin: Costeni, the colonists of the coast (Roumanian: *coastă*).

For the needs of commercial traffic, for the carriers of Transylvanian wares, a market was set up, with its inns<sup>1</sup> and shops for the sale of small cheaply manufactured articles and iron-ware, better than those which came from the crude hands of the gypsies, the traditional metal workers of all the Roumanian provinces after their invasion by the Mongol hordes in the middle of the 12th century. This market, the *târg*, still exists and, before the fresh reform of the High Road<sup>2</sup>, old wooden columns supported the blackened roofs of *şindile*<sup>3</sup>. In their murky depths, as in the shops of old Portugal, in Évora for example, the old-fashioned merchant, always a Roumanian (not, as in Moldavia, a Jew), leisurely attended to the peasant who came only on holidays to replenish the provisions of his tiny white dwelling, or to sit for a few hours under the shelter of dried branches to sip a glass of the delicious local wine, to the strains of the old and young gypsy fiddlers, all born musicians.

Certain of the richer landowners had their abode in these pleasant and serene surroundings. Tall houses arose with sunny *cerdac*s<sup>4</sup> set upon the same wooden columns which characterise the old-time inns, and with stately pyramidal roofs and small windows. The coach of which the lesser boyars were proud, traversed the streets, paved as in ancient Roman times with large round slabs of stone, the *caldarâm* of the Turks, and the importance

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<sup>1</sup> In Roumanian *cărciume*. Their number is very great to this day, despite the restrictions of the law.

<sup>2</sup> *Drumul Mare*, from the Graeco-Roman: *dromus* and the Latin *maior*.

<sup>3</sup> From the Saxon: *schindels*: viz. small shingles of pine.

<sup>4</sup> From the Turkish, *tchardak*.

of each petty lord was gauged according to the beauty of the swift horses, by the majestic bearing of the swarthy gypsy coachman. Rivalry arose over the richness of the equipages thus admired, the height of the houses, the number of dinners which never ended before daybreak, and often not then, the splendour of the balls which were quickly imitated from the western fashion, the marriages, and funerals, to which all priests, banners and crosses were brought to render the last honours to these mighty ones, who in life had vied with each other for temporal splendours.

Factions were formed by favourites and these loyalties were carefully cultivated by the faction-leaders by baptising children, by leading young couples to the altar, by distributing on all occasions agreeable and useful little gifts. It was as the life in the Albanian clans, the retinue of a small western baron or provincial knight of the middle ages. The new constitutional regime of the last century gave these clans, or cliques, the high-sounding names of Liberal or Conservative — poor modest men, busy with the cultivation of plums, the making of the national beverage (*tuica*), the commonplace interests of a very circumscribed existence — and during more recent times the *social cooperatives* of the Liberals and the followers of the Peasant party.

A princely fortress has dominated the road since the 15th century: underground passages, masses of old stones testify to its existence. A church was necessarily connected with it. I myself have found, under its renovated roof, Slavonic manuscripts with ornate lettering, Transylvanian prints in the Roumanian of the 16th century, together with holy images in the Byzantine style, the remnants of the scattered dowry of a mighty empire. Later, in the second half of the 17th century, a merchant

of Văleni, who had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, restored the old wooden church. The portrait of this pilgrim, Stoian, may still be seen on the walls of the new structure, clad in his fur coat, while near him is portrayed the then reigning Prince of Wallachia, Șerban Cantacuzino, crowned as an emperor, continuing the line of the Byzantine Caesars, whose descendant he was. It is a handsome brick edifice with an ornately decorated door, with a laughing mask in the occidental style below: carved stone sash-frames enclose the narrow windows. The partition separating the worshippers from the closed altar is made of stone and in its niches serene figures of stern Byzantine lineaments represent the life and martyrdom of Our Lord: beneath, the large holy images were roughly covered with wrought silver, reproducing the features of the pictures. Many vivid frescoes brighten the walls.

A great earthquake half-destroyed the pilgrim's gift, but it was rebuilt. A second time the same fate befell it. A family of minor nobles helped to restore it thoroughly. They are portrayed on the wall at the entrance beside imposing scenes of the Last Judgment, the elect singing and the damned about to savour the everlasting torments of hell. The men, in their customary fur coats and round Turkish hats, the pretty women in white caps, flowing tresses and long and sumptuous robes sparkling with delicate flowers. The Greek artist sent by the monks of the monastery of the Holy Mount of Athos, to which the rich church was dedicated, added figures of a heroic size in a more modern style, subscribed with Greek inscriptions, similar to the old pictures of Cretan half-occidental character.

Here also I came in search of respite from my labours, before the railway brought Văleni in touch with the outer



world. It was in the white months of winter. Everything seemed so archaic. It was like the descent through the ages to the simple days of patriarchal life and noble struggles. From the mountains, down frozen paths, came peasants riding on small swift horses like the knights of yore when they returned victorious from battle. During the Christmas festivities children, according to tradition, wearing glittering paper garments and gilded crowns, brought me in songs the ancient story of Herod. And the bells, which were later destined to become the victims of the German occupation, tiny innocent bells which surely never dreamt of becoming huge Teuton guns, rang clearly through the sunny morning air from all four churches of the silent peaceful community.

I brought here, to the small house I first occupied, with the shadowed balustrade and blackened wood roof, the noise of a motor for the newly-established printing press. I hoped to make a centre of industry of this beloved nest and my imagination traced the lines of the future streets for my workers. But Văleni is not America. The enlarged printing press still continues, but without profit: the industrial city, alas, has remained in the clouds.

In the old house where I live, everything is preserved as though the boyars of Văleni still lived out their lavish lives. The neighbouring house, until recently, was the abode of an old blind lady who had known prosperity among her family and relatives. She died during the German occupation, poor, forsaken and alone but for a single servant to care for her — nothing lacking to complete her unhappiness.

And now, despite these dreary reminiscences, fresh life is brought into the old rooms to which a new and sunny building has been added. The help of our American brothers was one of the principal impulses for this resurrection.

An institution for young girls, newly-graduated village school mistresses of Greater Roumania, brings together a happy and laughing crowd which this year numbers forty five. They come from all parts of the country, Roumanians as well as Russians, several Saxons from Transylvania, Swabians from the Banat, often Magyars. They live like sisters, friendly and ready to help each other. I lecture there on World History, Roumanian History, the History of Literature and Art, and university professors aid us. One lecture a day in the summer and once a week in the winter, for two hours and more, and with what warm interest they all listen! No desks, no distinctions, no rewards and no punishments. A sound curiosity, true love for the subject in hand are the sole binding links. The students compare notes taken at their assembly and seek to reconstruct the text as to ideas and form. After a year they are wholly transformed: instead of the shy pupils formed and deformed in the State schools, they are now strong, proud, sincere souls, prepared for all the struggles and disappointments of life: « national and moral missionaries » is what I call them. What tears at their departure, what touching promises for the future!

In a spacious garden a small house has been thrown open for similar girls of other nationalities, who would learn better Roumanian because they are convinced that it will be useful to them. No constraint is placed upon them, nor is the language forced upon them. The pupils may follow the courses given for the « missionaries » — and they all attend regularly.

For overworked women students of the universities, the benevolence of the Princess-Mother has provided a small property as a shelter for the summer months. During this session (July 15th to August 15th) hundreds of students of both sexes and of all ages, conditions and culture

come to the summer courses where the problems of the day are freely and fearlessly discussed. A whole month of fraternal life which, for most of them, is the dawn of a new moral sense in their lives. Then the pupils of the permanent yearly school are chosen, but not for their knowledge — for the quality of their souls.

Thus may an old market-town become a place where the future of the nation is annually prepared with true hearts and open minds, and to be imbued with new impulses and ideals.

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## THE ROUMANIAN SYNTHESIS

There is no subject under the sun entirely devoid of interest to human society. All that concerns mankind forms a unity, and the duty of the scholar is to discern and to present it in some form or other. The difference between great and small nations, between large and small territories is of no value to the seeker after novelty, nor for the creator of new syntheses. All that is characteristic, all that can supply impulse and determine a movement, is in itself of interest. In the great problems of the more important human groups the relation is often to be found in an isolated corner, where a small nation, or such a one as has lost most of its components conserves the predominant features of its particular being. Without knowing to a certain extent the life of all men, there is no possibility of comprehending one single individual.

This is true not only of all human problems, but also of all branches of science as well.

The celebrated Roumanian bacteriologist, Babeş, in his maiden speech as a newly-elected Fellow of the Roumanian Academy, said, with true insight and a deep sense of human nature: « There are no small subjects; by digging yet deeper under them one reaches, willy-nilly, the great fundamental truths of science ». Because, may I add, we see different sciences, but all are the expression of the same mind seeking the secrets of a Nature which is strongly unitary, notwithstanding the deceptions of



Entrance to a peasant dwelling (Roumania)

our great mistress of error and delight, the Goddess Illusion.

I say all this as an apology for bringing before an American public the problems — already solved — of the Roumanian synthesis, at a time when the question of future synthesis preoccupies the minds of all thinkers in this immense country, which has become a new fatherland for human beings drawn from nearly all the races of the globe. This question was recently defined by a clever French sociologist, Monsieur Siegfried, as the new and arduous struggle between the old Puritanism of the first settlers combined with that of their later associates who were rapidly fused into the same religious and linguistic community, and the over-numerous newcomer, holding other points of view, other variations of feeling and other habits of thought. Attack and defence, new and old America. To a virile and discriminating French mind this seems to be the truth, but, if other methods than that of reducing the infinite varieties of facts to a few broad lines be employed, it is not certainly the ultimate verity. Here, a new form of mankind is in course of development, a slow development because the components live under the domination of natural ties, of religious organisations and of theories to be found in books. I will try to show how a synthesis of nationality, language, popular customs and art developed in the course of a millenium on the banks of the Lower Danube and the slopes of the Carpathians without recourse to fighting against such obstacles, in what manner the Roumanian Nation, composed of nearly twenty million people, was slowly but surely moulded. The sense of the ancient Latin proverb « *Ab uno disce omnes* » can thus be changed as far as the broad lines of the achievement are concerned.

However, to come to my subject.

Nineteen centuries ago, a large but dispersed society inhabited not only the territory of the present-day Roumania, but also the whole Balkan Peninsula, the islands of the Archipelago and Asia Minor: the Thracians, neighbours of the Illyrians who dwelt on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. After a century or two, however, they had disappeared; with the single exception of the Greeks on the shores of all seas in this south-east corner of Europe, Latin-speaking subjects of the Roman Empire alone led a life in which all the traditions of the apparently completed past were to be recognised. Three centuries after this process of blending two very different civilisations, the Slavs, continuing the great movement of nations towards Constantinople and the great cities of new Rome, occupied the vast valleys of this territory not only as invaders, but as peaceful inhabitants: Roman and Slavonic tongues were spoken on the same spot. In a certain number of years, before 1000 AD certainly, a single mode of speech served for the manifestations of an apparently homogeneous people.

As these people began to organise, in forms corresponding to the oldest imperial traditions, under *domini*, who were called « domni », in their residences the Catholic priest sang the Mass in his way, while the poor Orthodox celebrant in his wooden church continued his accustomed oriental rites. The Gothic church of the princess, a foreigner, stood side by side with the Orthodox edifices in which all forms of the great Byzantine tradition were represented: Greek, Serbian; the art of the city and of the village and monastery, all were manifest.

There were two principalities: Moldavia in the north, the older, Wallachia in the south; a military and a popular state: two dynasties of opposite character, ever-ready to fight no matter who the opponent. At the beginning of

the 15th century, however, only Orthodoxy remained, a single style for the churches of both principalities.

In the 18th century, under the influence of western philosophy similar forms of administration occur. In the 19th, prompted by the general awakening of consciousness to nationality, we find the same national soul. At the beginning of yet another century the race was strengthened by the addition of such parts of the national territory as, during long centuries, had been occupied by the Hungarian kings in Transylvania or more recently filched by the Austrians in the Bukovina and the Russians in Bessarabia.

In this moment, too, a great part of the Roumanian race is not subject to the free realm, but lives under four regimes of foreign domination, Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Albanian. In the realm of United Roumania we have today one million and a half Hungarians and Szekler, many thousand Germans, Transylvanian Saxons, Swabians in the Banat, German colonists in the Bukovina and in Bessarabia, more than a million German and Magyar-speaking Jews, and a goodly number of Great and Little Russians. But in a century or two a greater synthesis will certainly be achieved with nearly all these elements under the rule of the same state and under the influence of a strong national vitality.

All these changes can, and shall, be explained. It is my purpose to find reasons for these tendencies towards the necessary unity, and for every new difficulty encountered.

To sum up: the reason for this historical phenomenon is the association to work and the moral sense of brotherhood in such a work, which is enlightened by higher ideals.

There is a generally accepted fable that the Romance grouping on the banks of the Danube is the outcome of the conquest of Trajan, that in the new provinces, wrested



from the renitent Dacians, he introduced colonists from all regions of his great Empire. None can deny the imperial measures to increase the numbers of the inhabitants, to add urban elements of a higher culture and calibre, capable of discovering new sources of wealth and working the mines. But long before this official decision and its results, a popular expansion introduced not first here, but particularly in the districts south of the Danube, such components of the population as had the same standard of life as the old indigenous population. As in the South of Gaul, the Romanization of which was possible only by an influx of foreign immigrants, numerous farmers and shepherds (these last finding in the Pindus the same possibilities of transhumance as those of Gaul in the Appenines) abandoned Italy, which had become a country of great cities, of villas and of slavery, nourished with imported food, to seek and find a larger field of activity in this third peninsula of Southern Europe. Living side by side, tending herds, ploughing diligently the same fertile soil, the two races mingled in a single mass of peasants, scattered in villages leading moral lives in which the traditions of two different, but not too different civilisations were united.

Not the great idea of the Empire, not the decisions of the imperial legates, not the prestige of a higher nature, nor the influence of the Latin-speaking merchants accomplished this so much as the human fellowship engendered by sharing the same daily toil. This active community was also necessary for the meeting of later imported elements: otherwise the searchers for gold, the licensed legionaries, the adventurers, the men of the Caledonian Mountains, the mystical Syrian, the worshipper of the ox Apis could never have been thrown into the same melting-pot to form the resulting exclusively homogeneous community.

When the Touranians, masters of the Steppes, the Huns, Avars, Petchenegs, Cumans, Tartars came with different manners of life, they were wholly incapable of influencing this ever-developing synthesis. There was no partaking in the work, no means of striking a new note in this historical social symphony.

It was otherwise with the Slavs.

The character of their invasion is imperfectly recorded.

They came, not as mild dreamers, devoted to the gods of stream and river, nor were they the teachers in the agricultural sense of much older imitators of Rome as the ancestors of the Roumanians in the 6th and 7th centuries. But neither were they, on the other hand, the wild warriors capable of destroying all trace of their predecessors in the domination of the Balkans. I have sought to show the means they employed in crossing the Danube, ways which correspond to the great routes of ancient civilisations. Some were left behind in extended groups of villages, and these were easily assimilated by the great Roumanian masses. Where the Slavonic agricultural terms are numerous in the Roumanian language, this is not to be explained by the Roumanians having been taught by the newcomers; the old inhabitants were accustomed to ploughing the fields, but the Slavized-Greek merchants on the right bank of the Danube later exercised a strong influence upon the Roumanians.

No other foreign influence was to change the substance of a new and entirely consolidated nation. Though the Magyars were sent into Transylvania, they only formed isolated oases, in the boroughs of Carolingian imitation and in the neighbouring villages. The religious separation between these Catholics and the Orthodox Roumanian population was an insuperable obstacle. The Saxons were brought from their ancient lands on the Moselle for the

better cultivation of the fields, but against these colonists, too, who were to form cities by themselves in the sense of the west, the same religious barrier was reared. Each of these nations remained as in an entrenched camp. Transylvania evolved a separate character which it has conserved to this day. As the Teutonic knights were called about the year 1200 from their distant strongholds in the Holy Land to be the guardians of these Transylvanian marches against the Pagans of the orient, they assembled Magyar colonies the better to delimit these borders. As a certain number of the Roumanian free-men too had had this same mission before, they intermingled, the Magyar language predominating, even among non-Magyar types, which is to be found in a minority of this highly interesting population. The Transylvanian ethnographical aspect gained a new note by the creation of these so-called Szekler (or men of the « seats » or « tribunals » of justice).

About the year 1000 the first political foundations of the Roumanians are to be traced on the right bank of the Danube, under the influence of the Byzantine Empire, which had restored its northern frontier. Princes were mentioned in the Annals of Eastern Rome in the epoch of the Comnenes, in the neighbourhood of Silistra and in the present-day Dobrudja. This is a Byzantine form of state-creation. At that time a great part of the Roumanians on the left shore of the Danube lived in free associations of peasants which I call « Romaniae ». Here we have another, rural, form of organisation. Some of these groups united in districts in the valleys, and possessed as military chiefs, and ranking superior to the civil judges, the dukes or, to use a Slavonic term, the voevodes. The second form evolved. The similar organisations of Transylvania were doomed to decay after the consolidation of the Magyar conquest.

In the middle of the 12th century the groups of the right bank of the river Olt, under the shelter of the Hungarian stronghold of Severin, lived separately, on this river and the neighbouring river Jiu. The left bank was occupied by a mightier state, the capital of which was Argeş. Here the Prince borrowed the externals of his kingly neighbours in Transylvania as symbols of his rank and this voevode wore garments of purple and coronet of pearls and gold belts, as found in the grave of Basarab, Prince of Argeş. This is the third organisation for a nation which, here and in the Balkans, from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, began to prepare itself for a historical mission, to be curtailed only by the Turkish invasion. A fourth form, the Hungarian province ruled by a voevode appointed by the king, was set up in the new Roumanian province of Moldavia, which was later colonized and ruled by a small group of Roumanian warriors imported from the Hungarian shire of Maramureş.

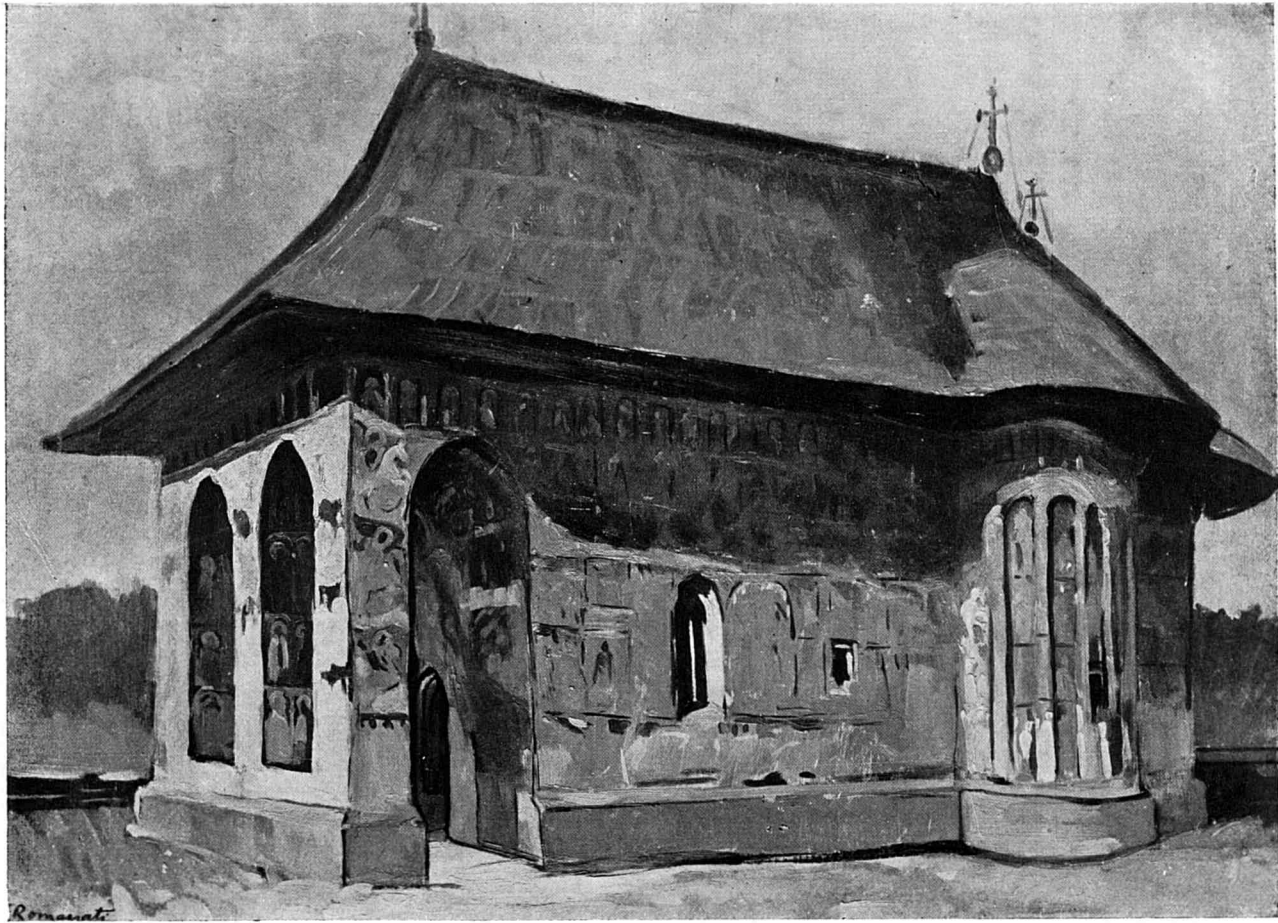
In a certain number of years a single form remained for all free Roumanian groupings, notwithstanding that two dynasties maintained the two-fold existence of the principalities of Roumania: Wallachia, which stood as a unity for the « Roumanian territory » and that on the banks of the river Moldova, known as « the Roumanian country of Moldavia ». The popular authority of the judges and dukes, the new settlement of knights, the necessary imitation of the Byzantine Empire melted before a new conception of the State. The Prince was the master of the territory and of his subjects; this was Byzantine; but he submitted to the guidance of and accepted the guarantees of the nobles (boyards) who were all knights in the feudal sense and ever-ready for battle; this was Angevine and came from Hungary. Before his « majesty » the least of the peasants could present himself with com-

plaints and requests: this was popular and of very old tradition.

Moldavia and Wallachia had in the beginning marked differences of organisation: the first under the stronger influence of Hungary, the second also subject to the interference of Poland, which had extended its frontiers to embrace the former Russo-Lithuanian state. In the 15th century very little remained of this differentiation. The political synthesis existed and, as the Phanariots of the 18th century began their reforms, these were extended over the two principalities without discrimination.

The people had long been united. The same mode of thought and feeling, the same traditions and the same enduring superstitions were common to each. The Roumanians living in the mountains of Maramureş (the original conquerors of Moldavia came from here) were and still are able to understand and sympathise with the riverdwellers of the Danube: only between the Roumanians of ancient Dacia and their co-nationals in the deep valleys of the Pindus is this practically an impossibility: the language differs in certain essentials, when not in the morphology and the basic details of the vocabulary. Now the great families have begun to disappear, because of the accustomed changes of the princes from one principality to another, the old sense of a particular right for the now extinct dynasties having faded away. Each prince who was allied to the indigenous nobility brought his relatives with him. A single class of leaders was formed in this way during the course of the 18th century.

In the religious field this same transformation was rapidly accomplished. The catholic propaganda of the Franciscans and the black-gowned fraternity of St. Dominic owed their earlier successes to the need for the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia of military aid from the neigh-



An Old Church (Bukovina)

bouring realms of Hungary and Poland. Latin bishops officiated in both capitals in the 14th, and, to a lesser extent, in the 15th century. But the people remained faithful to their ancient oriental creed. Not by discrimination of dogma, but because Orthodoxy, a religion of poor village priests, of improvised bishops was not the gift of a foreign hierarchy, but the arduous and protracted creation of their own evolution, a Christianity of folk-lore. The two churches, each with its own metropolitan (that of Moldavia having, at the end of the 16th century, almost patriarchal rights), remained, but intercourse between them was that of perfect fraternity. When, in the 17th century, the Greek Creed was endangered by Calvinist propaganda led by the Hungarian princes in Transylvania, both the Roumanian religious chiefs acted in concert to oppose it successfully. Where this did not avail, the inmates of the numerous and well-populated monasteries of ancient tradition, a unitary organisation of calligraphers, miniaturists and artists of all branches, a truer product of the religious sense of the single nation, were there to uphold the Rite.

The highest expression of a people is through its art and literature. In this branch too, the accomplishment of the Roumanian unity took place with amazing rapidity.

The first churches and their ornaments were imported. Two Latin buildings in the former capitals of the principalities were the first to be erected, followed by good copies of Byzantine and Serbian models in Wallachia. Skilful silversmiths from Transylvania or from Dalmatia provided the metal work. But in the middle of the 15th century the younger principality of Moldavia was courageous enough to set in motion the elaboration of an artistic synthesis. The form of the Byzantine church, with

the pronaos before the « ship » with the three apses of the choir and of the altar was necessarily conserved, but, as the artists were Saxons from Transylvania, they brought the manner of ornamentation used in the cities of their small and mountainous fatherland with them: so did the Gothic enter into the new and indigenous form of Roumanian art. This is not all: the eye of the Moldavian was accustomed to the rich colours of the clear azure skies, with the diverse aspects of the flower-studded meadows and the vast yellow undulating cornfields. All this was introduced into the ornamentation of the church in the making. Thus, besides the interior pictures, which were at first the work of Greek artist-immigrants, other means were employed to ensure a triumphant polychromy; the buildings were erected on a green stone foundation: red and blue enamelled bricks formed the longitudinal ribs of its frame, the blind, or Lombardic arcades, which are also to be found in many Byzantine examples, were emphasised, at the point at which the arches met, by plaques of faïence of all colours of the rainbow, while rows of them were used under the roof which, as in the lowly huts of the peasants, were built of a mosaic of shingles. A special artifice gave the smaller tower a double foundation, while the great belfry, in the centre of the lofty walls, dominated the whole, presenting an ensemble of perfect harmony and good proportions.

This was the form embraced by the very soul of the nation, and, to make it more gay still, an open peristyle was added: at first in Moldavia. With a stone surround separating these two ranks or aisles of blind arcades, and a gorgeous embroidery of clear and bright external mural decoration, also first employed in Moldavia and later in the neighbouring principality, the definitive form of Roumanian ecclesiastical art was reached, to be conserved until



the middle of the 19th century. It was the adaptation of occidental and oriental traditions to suit the needs of the local folk-lore.

The same thing occurred in literature. At a time when the monks, the secretaries of the princes and the writers of the meagre annals now surviving in the Slavonic tongue, borrowed from the Slavs in the Balkans and from the Ruthenians under the sceptre of Poland, the poetry of the people sweetly sang the sufferings of loving hearts and the valiant deeds of warrior-princes, of which the Serbs, masters of the ballad, and themselves imitators of the French, were the teachers. No difference existed in these products of the general Roumanian soul between the higher and the lower classes of the Eastern and Western districts; the wandering shepherds took with them the plaintive doinas and the singers at the feasts of the princes did not attempt to differentiate between Wallachian or Moldavian epics.

When, in the 17th century, cultivated literature appeared in the Roumanian language, Moldavia took the lead, her chroniclers recalling the glorious Latin origins of the race and her priests inculcating in the people a mild Christianity, as that of the Archbishop Dositheus, who translated the psalms in verse. All that was achieved in the northern principality was imitated, adopted and developed by the southern. About 1690 the Gospel, after many attempts, was presented in a definitive form. A single Roumanian style abolished the particularities of the different provinces. As in the popular ballad, the same note of generality, the same possibility of its being understood by all members of the nations is the characteristic feature of this literature.

Of later days the cultured poets and writers of prose in the 18th and 19th centuries naturally employed this rare

element of moral community for the race. The highest modern representative of Roumanian poesy, Mihail Eminescu, gives to his finest lines, full as they are of philosophical thought, a form which is understood by the meanest peasant in Roumania, so innate is the understanding of the sentiments pervading the work of the poet.

This is the most solid foundation of national life and, because of this, it imbued a peasant-army, at a time of arduous struggle for national identity, with invincible, if instinctive, solidarity.

The Roumanian synthesis which today plays its allotted part in forging into homogeneity the masses of diverse race and tongue in the present-day Roumania, which, despite these obstacles to progress, nevertheless possess a certain identity of aims and aspirations, has been the achievement of one class and one class only: the peasantry. They have infused their fundamental folklore with all that was brought by the alien or discovered by the cultured. All syntheses proceed from the truest representatives, from the most virile factors of a society. Thus has it been with Roumania and thus, may I say, will it be, notwithstanding all theories and traditions, all counsels or obstruction, in this great America.

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## THE BYZANTINE IN ROUMANIAN AND THE ROUMANIAN IN BYZANTINE ART

That an art exclusive to a single country or representing the qualities of a single people exists is decidedly to be denied. An unbiassed examination of the so-called Byzantine art tends to prove this.

As art, as culture, Byzantium is an abstract conception which can be transferred by circumstance to other countries, to serve other races. The classical sense of it contains a synthesis of the Oriental with Greek and Roman elements which came to be blended into an altogether novel, harmonious and characteristic type. But this synthesis, once achieved, was capable of modification and it suffices to show that other nations than the Greeks and Slavs adopted the Byzantine formula to transform it into yet richer compositions, to prove this. The factors responsible for producing this change, at once logical and comprehensible, were: the nature of the new soil to which the alien form was transplanted and the nationality, the state of civilisation and the lives of the new workers and artists. In the awakening and development of Roumanian art this is clearly visible.

The earliest extant structure of brick and stone is to be found at Argeş: the celebrated church of the princes, with its beautiful 13th century frescoes in the manner of the mosaics of the Kahrieh Djamissi or the pictures of the Mistra, which represented a revolutionary period in the art typical to the Byzantine countries. The style

is that of the Greek churches in the western provinces or on the holy mount of Athos. The technical composition of the walls corresponds to the ancient methods employed in the Balkan Peninsula. The inscriptions under the numerous paintings is partly in Greek and partly Slavonic.

Later churches, as Vodița, Tismana, Cozia, Cotmeana, demonstrate the character of the Serbian art of the regions of the Danube. The general form is preserve and the ornaments encircling the windows present, notwithstanding the restorations of the 17th century, the eagles of the Nemanides. Radu cel Mare (the Great) erected upon the Dealu-hill, which dominates the ancient capital of Târgoviște, a stronger building, the Veneto-Dalmatian style of which is be traced in the dedicatory inscriptions.

When later, about 1500, Neagoe Basarab caused to be built an imposing episcopal church at Argeș, the same type of architecture was adopted, the chief characteristics being the excellence of the sculpture with which it was profusely decorated, and of the materials used. With the twelve columns of the pronaos and the oblique windows of the two main towers it is a somewhat larger example of the Serbian church at Krusevac. The now demolished metropolitan church of Târgoviște, with its numerous towers, was similar in appearance and was a repetition on a yet larger scale of the Argeș church.

This development, however, could not continue. After the definite fall of the Serbian states it was difficult to find artists of this race. It was long since the last of the Greek masters who might have helped the Roumanian princes in their desire to erect stone churches had disappeared and it was not until about the 15th century that the Saxon craftsmen of Transylvania, already renowned for their skill as metal-workers, were entrusted with the making

of the candelabra, crosses and other ornaments of the old Wallachian churches. It has been said that the inscriptions of Dealu have been identified as being of Dalmatian workmanship, and it is possible that these same hands carved the more ancient ones upon the tombs of the first princes to be interred at Argeş. This tradition of shapely and symmetrical Latin script is maintained throughout the whole of a long series of funerary inscriptions in the principality. Further than this the influence of the Italian occident did not go.

It is otherwise with Moldavia.

The Greeks and Slavs of the south were rarely to be found in the northern state, bounded by the Transylvanian mountains and the Russo-Polish plains. More probably therefore Polish craftsmen were introduced for the building, at Baia, the first humble capital of the province, under the shadow of the Carpathians, of a Catholic church for the Polish Princess Rynghalla, the wife of Alexandru cel Bun (the Good), the true founder of Moldavia. But afterwards under the glorious rule of Stephen the Great, the artists, whose relations with the princes may be studied in contemporary documents, were Saxons from the neighbouring city of Bistriţa. They were asked to erect a church corresponding to the requirements of the Eastern Rite and after to decorate it.

But, as they knew only their own Gothic style of building, which was a miniature of the great German originals, the Byzantine pattern was bound to undergo changes due to the unexpected influence of an art which was very different in origin and meaning, being based on other principles and having developed along quite other lines. In the Moldavian church of the time, the Byzantine plan was rigorously adhered to, viz: pronaos, ship and altar, the customary three apses formed the choir and the altar

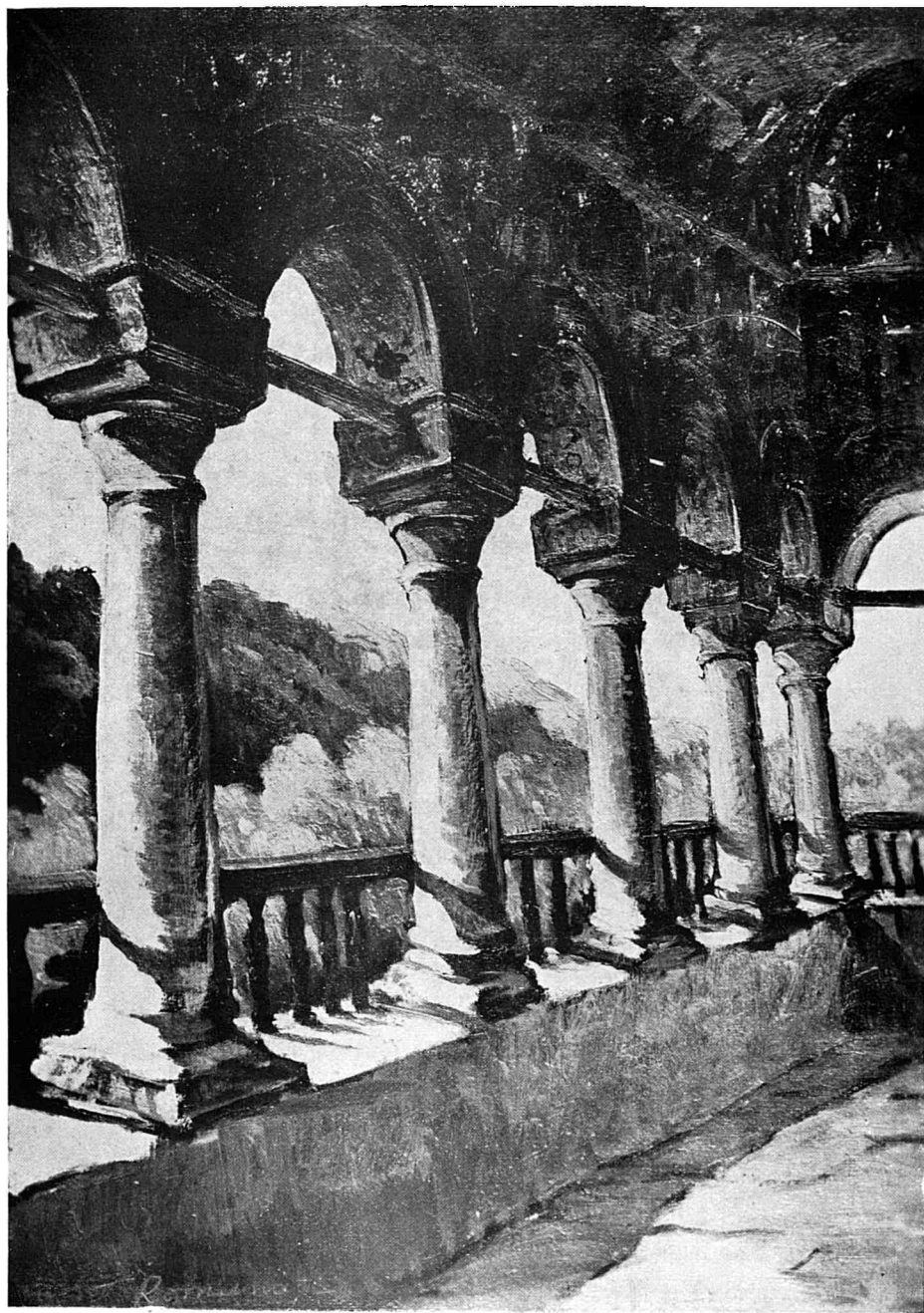
was concealed from the worshippers by a high carved wooden screen; the colours used for the somewhat severe pictures were restricted to dark blue and shades of violet. Nevertheless, the arches of the lesser door, of the main ogive, of the imposing windows of the façade and of the minor ones of in lateral walls, were all formed of Gothic like intersections and broken arches.

This was not sufficient for the acclimatization of the Byzantine forms in this country, whose interests were in great part directed towards the west. The Moldavian nature demanded its due.

Her Russian winters, abundant in snow, require a special roof, both high and of deep pitch: and the result is a complete transformation of the roof-line, which has come to be an element of characteristic beauty. In the spring the fields and glades in the centuries-old forests are covered with a smiling world of flowers of all kinds and of vivid hues, recalling a Botticellian landscape. This has had a direct influence on the style of decorations, hence the bewildering opposition of reds, blues and greys in the mural paintings and frescoes which at once ravish and impress the observant eye. The torrential rains of the province too urged the need of strong foundations and this need of strength has resulted in the horizontal broad outer continuation of the walls, the prispa, which the peasants use and foregather in through the long clear summer nights.

All this determined sweeping changes, interesting innovations of diverse origin in the traditional art borrowed from Byzantium and subjected to the usage of the Transylvanian craftsmen.

The foundation of the Moldavian churches was made of grey stone. Brick was employed for the greater part



The Cloisters-Hurezi Monastery (Wallachia—18th Century)

of the walls, either free red brick or of faïence. At the intersection of the cloisters small discs of faïence are also inset, forming multi-coloured groups of red, yellow and green imposed on the darker red surface. On the belfry the same coloured ornamentation is to be found.

Only one thing was omitted by the architects: the need for light was completely overlooked. The rays of the sun hardly entered through the narrow windows. In the interior of the church priests and worshippers foregathered in semi-darkness. The church was all too small, also, to hold those participating in family ceremonies which required the blessing of the priest. Thus, in the Moldavia of the 16th century, the outer narthex took form, an example being that of the church at Bălinești. In the second half of the following century this innovation became more or less general.

Towards 1550 the Wallachians adopted this synthesis, which was the work of their northern brethren. In the warmer climate of the former province the porch was even more necessary than in Moldavia. The principal features of the Roumanian church, however, could not be further changed.

The artists in both principalities were no aliens from the Balkan Peninsula or the more appropriate occidental states. Foreign craftsmen were employed by the rich princes who wished to perpetuate the memory of their reign by the erection of churches. In the burial church of Cozia the works of the last Serbian painters are to be found.

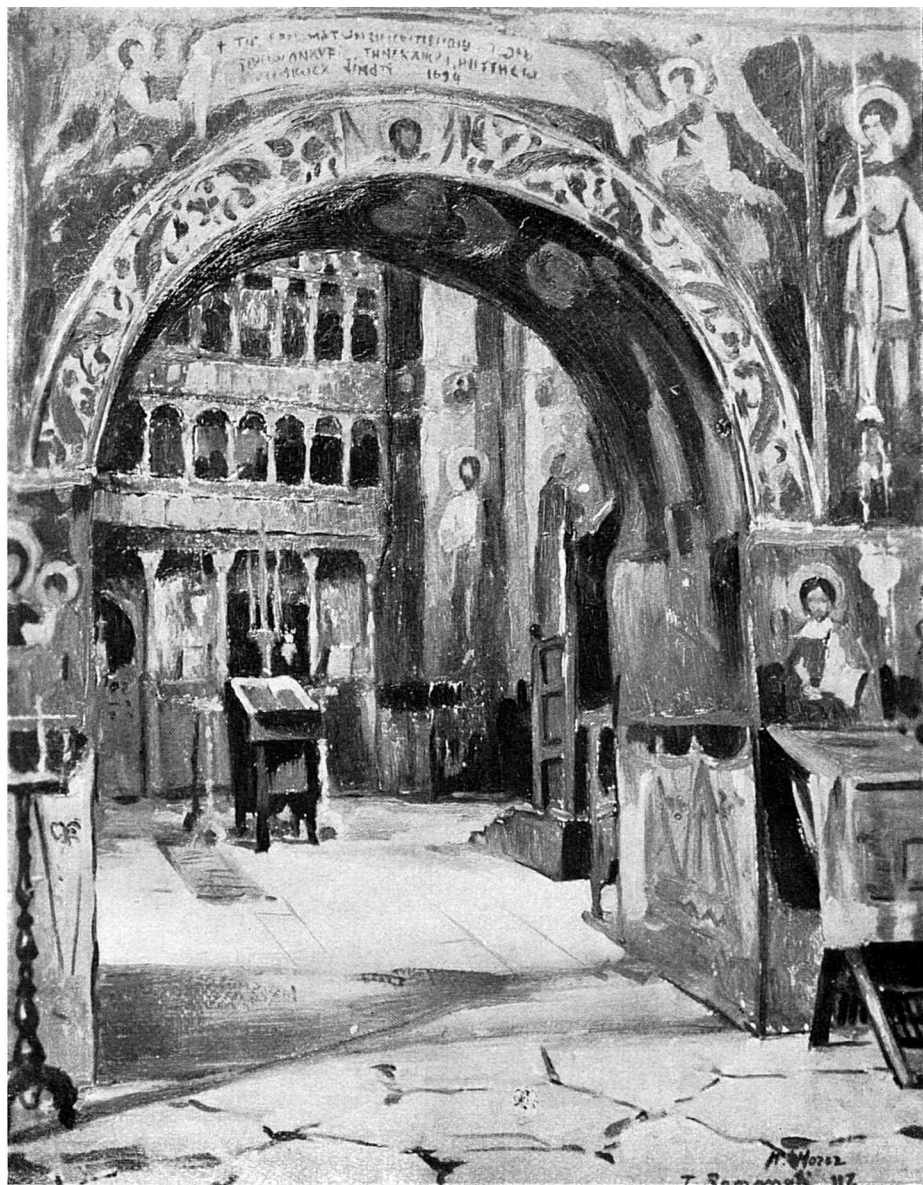
But now a new era of a strongly uniform character had begun. Each new development is determined by the qualities of the race, but the workers were subjected at the



same time to the two-fold influence of Turkish art from the east and the Western Renaissance.

Turkish influence was first perceptible in the opening years of the 17th century and exclusively in Moldavia. Only an architect who had lived for many years in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire could have introduced those innovations which are to be found in all churches of the northern principality up to the latter part of the century. This new influence was chiefly noticeable in ornamentation: large flowers and stars, quadrates of geometrical shape were added to the groins of the vaults. Tomb-stones appeared enriched by similar ornaments. In Wallachia, the Orient, a more extended Orient has given to the architecture of the province the floreated and foliated door and window frames (where they do not assume the old Gothic lines of Moldavia), the carved profusion of the burial stones and, towards 1700, figures of stucco on the outer walls of churches or in the interior decoration of palaces, representing grapes, flowers, Persian lamps and Asiatic birds.

But the stronger influence is of local peasant inspiration. It corresponds to the designs of the carpets and rugs, of the skirts and other garments, of many objects used in the villages. The church is literally covered with a cloak of vividly hued figures. Prophets of Israel, the tree of Jesse and the genealogy of the Virgin, the Sybils and Sapients of ancient Greece, the joys of Paradise and the torments of Hell, figures representing the hereditary enemies of the peasant, sinners of all grades down to the man who comes too late to church, not omitting the usurer and the grasping merchant, all these form the interesting gallery of folklore in South-Eastern Europe, and were duly made to play their part in the church-decoration.



Iconostasis in a Roumanian Church

In this manner Byzantine art, which had a stronger appeal to the more cultivated classes, descends to the sentiments and the tastes of the humble peasant. It also affords striking proof of the truly democratic soul of the Roumanian people.

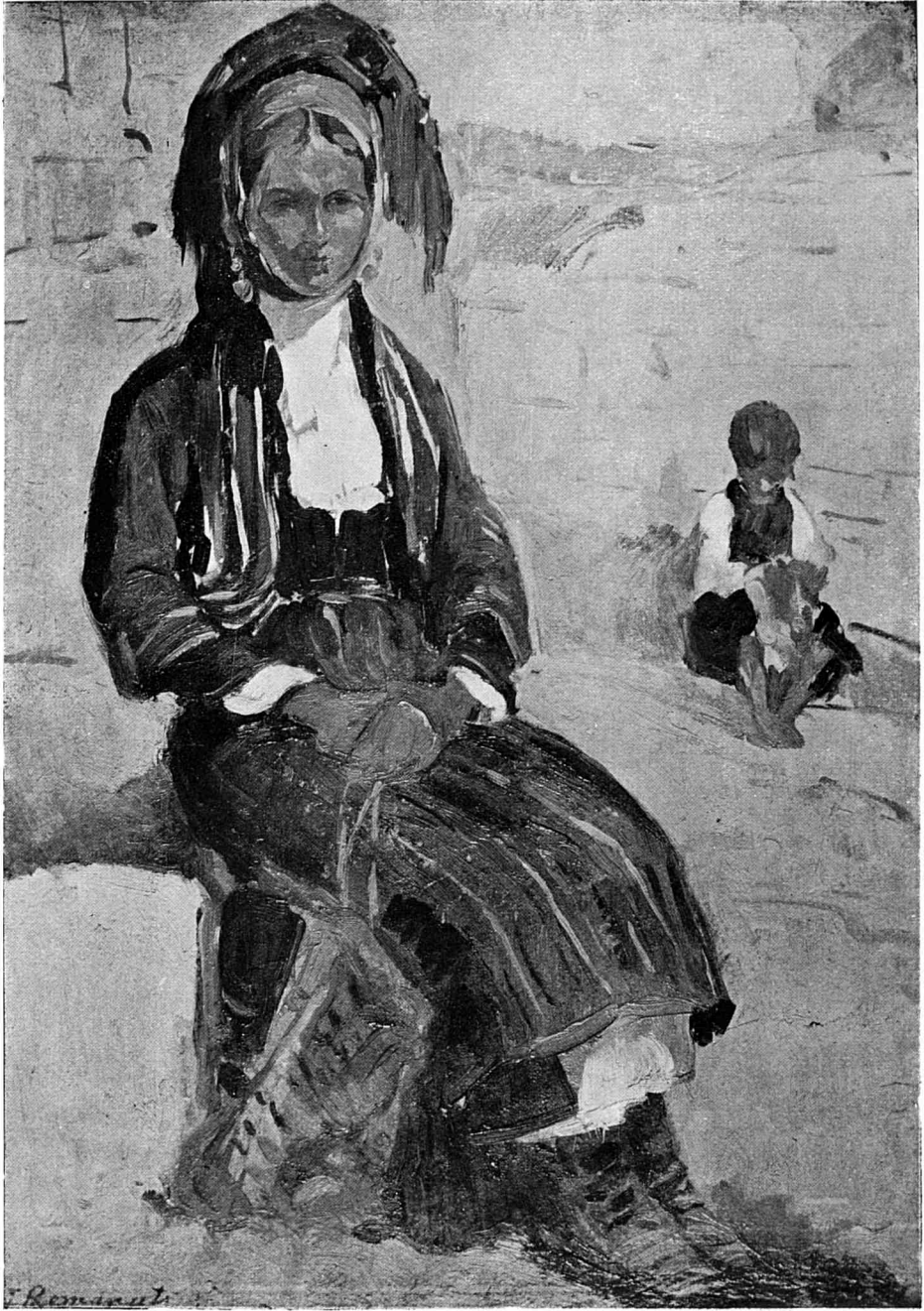
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## ROUMANIAN ORIGINS AND PROBLEMS

Perhaps the best way to become acquainted with a country, instead of reading books, often grounded on other books, without the truthful accent to be found only in the uncorrupted and ancient sources, is to search personally the historic places to obtain a knowledge of the past and to link together the present aspects of nature with the memories of forgotten ages. Therefore would it not assuredly be preferable as a method of initiation into the true soul of the Roumanian and into the real meaning of his country?

It is such impression about Roumania that I propose to create as an historian who, during his life, has had many opportunities of visiting all parts of his native soil. Of course, if it is too unusual, I hope my readers will forgive the indiscretion. There is nothing so difficult as repeating a certain collection of ideas under one and the same form. However, I may achieve my end, for I would lead the reader along the very paths trodden by the peasant, the prince, the founders of states, the conquerors and other great figures of our historical progress.

On the green slopes of the Oltenian and Wallachian mountains with swift-running rivers and charming little white huts clustered round the imposing belfry of the humble church with its brightly-coloured wallstraces are to be found of the primaeval life of this hardy race, on which the waves of foreign invasions have broken in



A Roumanian woman (Macedonia)

vain, and the oppression of ruthless masters has been relentlessly wasted. Thus are to be conceived the first groupings of the peasant communities.

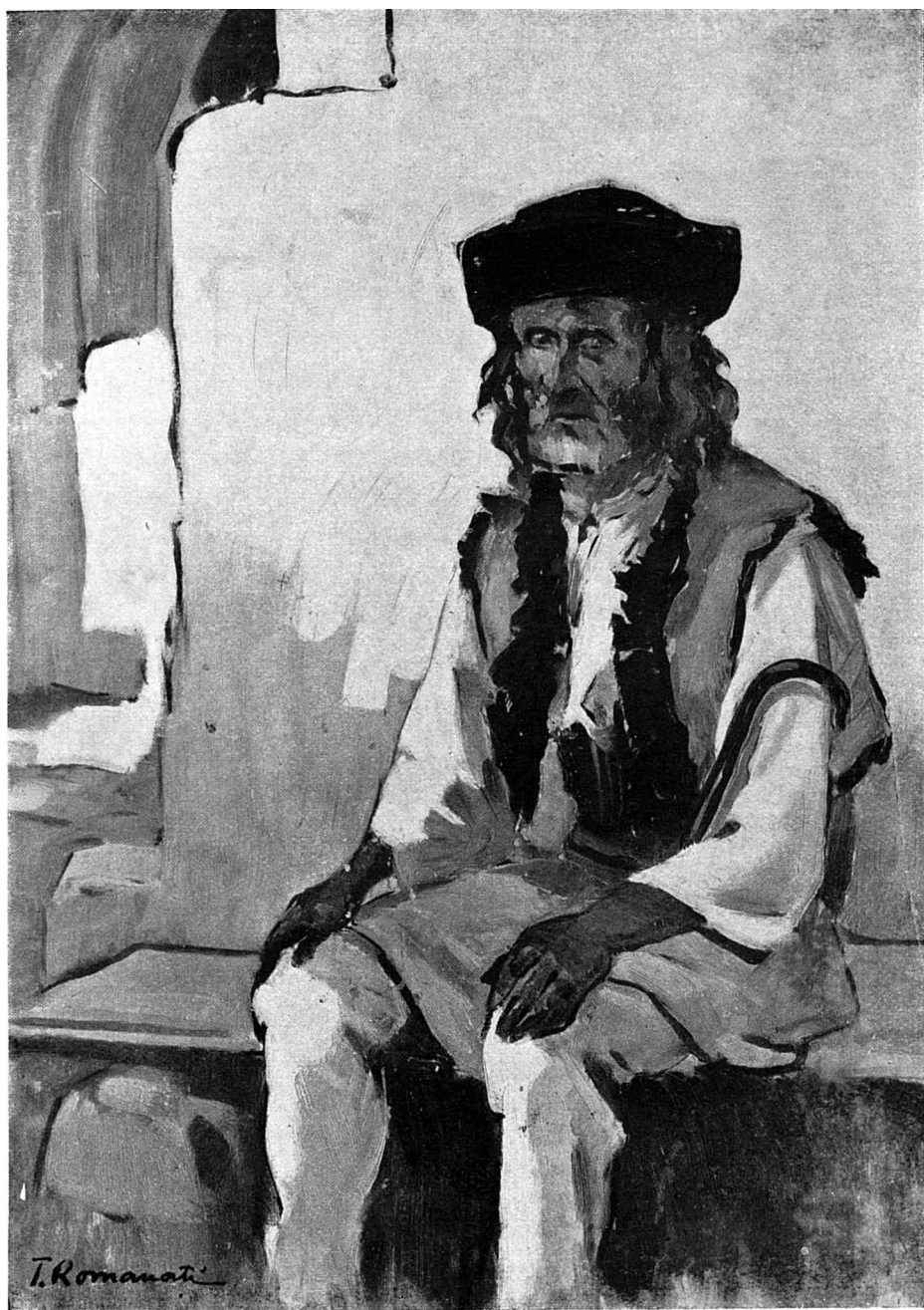
Rome had withdrawn its legions and the simple elements of provincial administration. No barbarian was eager to conquer these abandoned people who could offer them no promise of rich booty, no accumulated riches, nor any opportunity for reaching the inevitable goal of all invaders, the imperial Rome of the East, Constantinople. The cities have disappeared, as they were new and not consolidated, being mere fortified places affording barracks for soldiers, markets for the neighbouring peasants and — though seldom — administrative centres offering opportunities of life at a higher level. But the former Dacian villages persevered notwithstanding the hardships of the time and they maintained, in a Roman form, the tradition of a very ancient popular civilisation, bequeathed to them by their Thracian forbears. In them no warriors now dwelt and the warlike qualities of the following of Decebalus no longer existed in their patient souls: only when attacked were the military virtues of their fathers awakened. Long and peaceful centuries began to be for this Latin-speaking race of shepherds and tillers of the soil. They had no history worthy the chronicling, no laws to be codified, no stone memorials to be preserved through the ages. The great battles were fought in the Balkans, on the main road to the City of the Caesars, where new frontiers were traced and new lines of demarcation were established. Withdrawn from the noise of conflict and the making of history, treasure of energy were transmitted from generation to generation.

But later, in the fourteenth century, under the Apostolic crown of Hungary, which had assumed the mission of converting all pagans, another people formed themselves.

When one comes from the former country of Maramureş, now divided between Roumania and the Carpathian Ruthenians under Czechoslovakian rule, and descends into the valleys of the so-called Austrian Bukovina and, further, into the larger settlements of the vanished principality of Moldavia, one encounters representatives of another race—tall men of war-like appearance with long hair and swarthy skins, with the dignified demeanour of true aristocrats. They possess a certain courtesy of manner and dignity which no injustice or oppression has been able to diminish. Knights under the Angevin banners, defenders of the marches against the pagans of the east, counsellors of autochthon princes: such was the Moldavian chivalry.

And a new state has sprung up whose monuments are not only churches, but ancient strongholds, scattered at all strategic points of the principality and guarding the homes of the princes. Everything in the principality has a war-like character.

From the feeble political beginnings of Wallachia a stronger organisation was slowly shaped. First judges over groups of small settlements throughout an entire valley: then, in times of danger, dukes after the manner of the Frankish rulers of Central Europe under the Carolingians, the armed apostles of the Catholic faith; finally, greater than any of these, was the popular emperor, ruling over a whole country, the *domn*, whose title derived from the Latin *dominus*. These last were capable of defending themselves from the ambitions of the Hungarian kings who had, at that time, conquered that part of the Roumanian territory of traditional right known as Transylvania. In the mediaeval *ensemble* they attained a yet more advanced stage of development. The tomb of Bassarab, the reigning prince of the first decades of the 14th century,



Peasant. (North Moldavia)



yielded to the fortunate discoverer of a later period a diadem of pearls, a red silk surcoat embroidered with the lilies of the French dynasty then reigning in Hungary, besides a golden belt and rings of the same metal. All these were evidence of a monarchy, unique in the Europe of its time, which combined such imposing borrowed symbols of royal rank with the truest traditions of its rural descent.

The peaceful Moldavian peasant of today appears just to have returned from a hard-fought battle with the invaders of his fatherland, be he Tartar or Turk, or those neighbours who dreamed of extending their boundaries to the shores of the broad Danube or the Black Sea. Impoverished the Moldavians might have been, but they were not humiliated by a vassalage which was never true serfdom in the occidental meaning of the word. Their « boyar » was the descendant of their former leaders in the battles for the common heritage. In him they revered their own past of suffering and revenge. A village was not, as in Wallachia, the homing-place of a clan descended from the same ancestor, the founder of the community, but was a military unit as well. In time of danger, when beacons burned on the hills to herald the approach of hereditary foe, they assembled under the leadership of their *vătămă* (« captain » from a Slavonic derivation of « hauptmann ») eager to fly to the assistance of their supreme lord, the Domn, an untiring defender of the Christian faith, as was Stephen the Great, for instance, in the 15th century.

Today the Wallachian peasant indifferently regards the passer-by clad in dark garments of orthodox cut, which contrast strangely with his own picturesque white shirt and cream tight trousers: to him he is merely an interloper, much as the crow in his near-by corn. In Moldavia any « foreigner » apparently of a superior station of life

is invariably saluted by the peasant or his woman, but this is no servile gesture towards a master, it is rather the outward manifestation of welcome and, in an untutored people, an exquisite courtesy. In the South-East of Europe, and perhaps in other countries as well, there is no nobler gentleman than the rustic, for whom the present-day, despite all its constitutional legislation, has been ungrateful and a cruel deception. In the neighbouring « county » of Maramureş — cradle of Moldavian dynasties and of its most ancient nobility — the peasant, on whom the strong drink peddled by the Jews has had such dreadful effects, still considers himself a born knight and addresses his equals in the terms of the 14th century, used at the Courts of their relatives and ancestors, the Moldavian princes.

Thus there were two originally very different groupings. One was that of the free peasants in the districts of the judges, slowly uniting to form a state in the manner of the Swiss federation, or the clan kingdom of Scotland — a mediæval popular « Romania », maintaining until the dawn of the stronger political organisation of today the expressive quality of Roumanian principality, of a « Domnia » (empire) over the entire Roumanian country. The second, in the beginning, was only sovereignty over the Moldavian valley, a collection of strongholds arrayed against the Turks and Tartars, a dependency of the defensive works in Transylvania, a march of the Hungarian kings, which, after being consolidated, asserted its rights successfully to independence. The aboriginal peasant was not a conquered subject, merely because he had offered himself as a collaborator in the arduous task of destroying the peril from the East.

A rivalry between the two states was unavoidable. It was a consequence of their principles, and endured

long and, in the main, disastrously. The union of all Roumanians was thereby impeded for five hundred years.

Had there been a single ruler for the north and south, they would have been able to resist not only the rapacity of their Christian neighbours, the Hungarians and the Poles, but also the onslaught of the Ottoman Turk who considered himself the legitimate heir of Byzantium. What is more, that division into different and rival states was a hindrance to the revival of a Roumanian political life in Transylvania, where the Magyar kings to whom an Apostolic mission of conquest and of proselytism had been entrusted, had established their dominion since the beginning of the 12th century, though maintaining a local «voevode» and respecting the country's ancient customs.

Many were the times when the Moldavians and Wallachians, either of their own accord or following the commands of their Turkish suzerains, have entered this fair province, winning victories over the Hungarian nobles and Saxon bourgeoisie, settled there in the 11th and 12th centuries. But they always returned, retaining only places of refuge or useful markets in this region which was never alien ground. Had it not been for the dual character of the Roumanian life east of the mountains, Transylvania, which for the Roumanian had no separate entity, would long ago have been incorporated in the Roumanian state, as it is now, by a natural consequence of the Roumanian unity.

Austrian diplomatists foretold this result, even as remotely as 1859, when Moldavia and Wallachia were united under the rule of Alexander Cuza.

But Transylvania remained a country of peasants, and exclusively so. It had no ancient leaders other than the priests, themselves of rustic origin and character, there

being no class-distinction between the bishops and their congregations. The former Wallachia was partially transformed under the influence of the neighbouring Moldavian chivarly. The first principle of the free village in the autonomous valley remained, however, not only within the archaic bounds of the state, but above all in the very hearts of the people.

Today, Roumania's greatest problem is to mould all these tradition together: Moldavian aristocracy, organised Wallachian peasantry and the Transylvanian free yeomen. Second in importance is the problem of bringing the minority population: Hungarians, Saxons (both of ancient descent), Russians and Germans (newly settled), into the great movement of a new economic and cultural era. But this latter problem can never be solved until the first becomes reality.

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## FRENCH INFLUENCE IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

It is commonly accepted that French influence in Eastern Europe concerns Russia and Poland first and foremost. This is an erroneous conception.

Russia was subject in the 16th century to English influence, mainly evident in the commercial intercourse subsisting between the two countries and English trading with the Arctic Sea, Archangel and elsewhere. Peter the Great pursued western ideas which were partly Dutch and partly Swedish, and the Russia of his time was nothing more or less than a patchwork of Germanic design. Only under Catherine the Second, and without reference to the real needs of Russian society itself, the French of the 18th century became the teachers of the already Europeanised higher-classes of the Russian Empire. It was the imposition of an overwhelming — one might almost say overweening — imperial personality and not a necessary phase in the development of this society. The little Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, despite her German origin, introduced the Parisian philosophy.

In Poland, French customs, the French language and literature were first introduced through the casual marriage of a princess of French blood, de Nevers-Gonzague, with the two kingly brothers on the throne of Poland, Wladislaw and John Casimir (the latter of whom retired temporarily to Paris and had his first burial place in the

church of St. Germain), then by the advent of Marysienka, a minor noble's daughter, who espoused John Sobieski, the liberator of Vienna, which thereafter remained indebted and intimately attached to his smart wife. In the 18th century this fashion extended itself over the whole of Polish society, and Stanislas Poniatowski, unfortunate and unjustly ridiculed, the last ruler of the once-glorious realm, was at the same time almost president of a Court academy in the sense of the Parisian « cercles » of the time.

A much earlier origin than either of these is to be sought in regard to South-Eastern Europe.

French influence did not here commence with the development of the French monarchy. It is much older and represents the advance of the race itself. It must be connected with the great mediaeval phenomena of the crusades which afforded French chivalry and also the masses of frantically enthusiastic peasants led by the half-mad Peter the Hermit, not merely an opportunity of meeting a new world, but of making known to its peoples their own manner of life. They built castles and created baronies, counties, dukedoms and principalities; in fact a complete constellation of new States not only in Asia, but especially in the occupied provinces of the Eastern Empire from Phillipopolis to the farthest parts of Morea, from Asia Minor to the coasts of the Adriatic Sea.

It is impossible to say how important was the presence of the French nobility, especially in Morea. In the capital itself the number of knights was very small: the greater part of the warriors who had gone campaigning for the sake of Christ and their own gain returned to their countries, bringing with them only the record of an extraordinary, almost fabulous achievement. But in the peninsula of Greece the feudal knights remained: they built strong castles on the tops of mountains and ruled numerous

vassals of Greek blood. The ruins of these fortresses are to be seen to this day. Athens itself had, up to the moment of its transformation into a copy of antiquity, a French tower in memory of the departed dukedom of the invaders.

But this influence extended itself over other fields of Greek life. The French in the middle ages were the creators of epic literature, the *chansons de geste* of France being the source of the inspiration for the *Nibelungenlied* of the Germans. Within the stone walls of the castles, the old songs of the distant homeland were frequently heard, and they were not exclusively confined to the members of this brilliant chivalry. The subject nation too was incited to give the same form, in verses of similar composition, to the same subjects or to such as were to be found in the local traditions and memories. So Blanchefleur was adopted as an image of the adored one, and the history of the Morea, with its fights and victories, its adventures and reverses, was clothed in a foreign garment, forming the well-known version in two of the western languages. Later, when a Greek «condottiere», a *stratiote* was lauded in long lines of a western type, the original note of this borrowed literature was recognisable.

In the 14th century this world, divided and exhausted by continual strife, had ceased practically to exist: Catalans and French, Navarrese and Teuton knights in their fierce struggles killed the « Frankish » influence in the Morea and in the adjacent provinces of the Greek peninsula.

An epoch began in which all the efforts of the French tended towards the creation of a ruling monarchy of Roman type, almost to be realised under Philippe le Bel, and interrupted by the brilliant and disastrous return of the Middle Ages in the form of the Hundred Years War. France was separated from England, from the England which was prepared, by a long process of infiltration, to

become a second home of French literature and spirit, Henry VI of England and France, being the son of Catherine, a French king's daughter. Charles VII and Louis XI were enabled, thanks to their policy of caution, to attain this supreme goal. At the beginning of the 16th century the King was master of his subjects and could employ them for his adventures in foreign countries. In this way, the poor young prince Charles VIII was able to dream the crown of Constantinople, the inheritance of the old Latin emperors of new Rome.

With the accession of Francis I, the king of all illusions, began another era of French influence in South-Eastern Europe. The belief that he was the sincere associate of the great Turkish sultan Suleiman against the imperialistic intentions of the Spanish-Germanic Charles V is deep-rooted. In a chapter of mine *Points de vue sur l'Histoire du Commerce de l'Orient à l'Époque Moderne*, I have endeavoured to show that no political treaty was ever concluded between the Turkish and French rulers, and that the French only obtained the right to trade which was identical with the older agreements with the mediaeval Catalans. In reality it was only a cooperation of the two fleets (the Turks having an opportunity of seeing Toulon), but not of two armies. Notwithstanding this, such support from a civilised state greatly impressed the Turks with the belief that the western world of the Christians, of the « Franks », had a single chief, and that chief not the invisible Pope, who possessed no troops capable of armed conflict, but the French « padishah », whose ambassadors were treated with respect and satisfied in any requests couched in the name of their master.

The era of the French representatives at the Ottoman Court had begun, and was much more important before



the civil wars of France began; the Turk later being less ignorant of foreign lands not to realise the decadent and perilous condition of the new « padishah » in this centre of christianity. Besides, the French Government was not sufficiently generous in such presents as the Turk considered a just recognition of his importance, and the prestige of ambassadors like de Germigny, de Brèves and others suffered accordingly. Despite their poverty, however, they succeeded in placing on the throne of Wallachia one of the numerous pretenders of the time who asked money and introductions from the Most Christian Monarch. Peter Cercel (Ear-ring) was one of these and ruled in Bucharest for two years by the will of the effeminate Henri III, whom he imitated in manners and dress. Others of these adventurers who found a loaf of bread, but no more, beyond the collar of a French order in Paris, were not so fortunate in their pursuit of a vain and transient crown of vassalage.

To the gallant Henry IV and to Louis XIII, whose great minister, Richelieu, had other preoccupations in the disputed West, the Turkish Orient and its neighbouring countries failed to afford much interest. The crusade for rescuing the oriental christians existed only in the disciplined classical verses of Malherbe. The Rhine and not the Dardanelles or the Danube had first claim on the attention of French diplomacy. A new phase of influence was not due until such time as the resplendent majesty of Louis XIV burst upon a dazzled world, to become the type for all monarchies in the world, perhaps even for contemporary Sultans.

Now in the East, as in the West, each prince would have his court, his obedient nobles waiting on him and his pleasure, his official history, his literature and art, whichever most appealed to him. A characteristic example

was that of the Wallachian ruler, Constantin Brâncoveanu, upon whom so dread a destiny waited (He was executed in Constantinople, after having been forced to look on while his sons were beheaded before him). He built and restored churches and monasteries, erected for himself and for his numerous family beautiful castles like that at Mogoșoaia near Bucharest; he kept a large retinue of boyards who had deserted their country houses in order to be ever under his eye; he commanded a chronicle of his reign to be written and ordered it to be changed accordingly as his own interest and sympathies waxed and waned.

Under the Regency, the revolutionary dissolutionist spirit of the so-called « philosophy » took hold on all minds. The salons of clever women took on the importance of the Court where Louis XV despised no means of avoiding great ceremonies and brilliant pageants. The thinkers and theorists on an abstract system of society were the teachers of the contemporary world which depended on their approval or condemnation. The reign of Voltaire had begun.

Nor was the East indifferent to this sweeping change of ideas and manners. Parallel to the Portugal of Pombal, the Spain of d'Aranda, and the Naples of Tannucci, Turkey too had her reformers. French adventurers were received in the houses of the mighty, who wished to give to the old world of the Ottoman Constantinople not only the prestige, but also the power which would result from drastic changes in all branches of the administration. At one moment there was talk of introducing in the capital of the Empire a parliament or assembly similar to that of the later French notables. Various technical and scientific French works were translated into the Turkish language. A printing press, an innovation contrived by a

former Ottoman Ambassador to the French Court, too was tolerated. Selim the Third may be considered to have been a faithful simulacrum of the contemporary French King.

In the Roumanian Principalities, the French emigrants, Carra, de la Roche, Nagni and others, brought with them the ideas of the same triumphant philosophy. As secretaries of the princes, as teachers of language, they were able to exercise considerable influence over the ruling classes of this cultivated society, which was never entirely able to disassociate itself from all that French taste and fashions represented. The old libraries of the Roumanian boyards were full of books chosen from the best current literature of France. Many reforms, such as the liberation of the peasants, held up to that time in the chains of mediaeval bondage, were due, when not to these counsellors, to the spirit of French thought, which had penetrated deep into the Roumanian soul. The high school, where the Greek tradition of grammar and dry literary exercises had held dominion, was wholly transformed. At the same time as Poland became renascent by adopting without reserve the directions of the philosophers, so the establishments of Jassy and Bucharest, consecrated to the study of natural sciences and living languages, courageously took the new road. Roumanian students began to look for higher education in the foreign universities, and they were soon to be seen in the schools of Germany (for medicine), but above all in France, in Paris even, notwithstanding the fact that it was a forbidden city in those revolutionary times.

This important change was brought about not only by social intercourse, but by the native and foreign schools. French literature was procured and was to be found in the majority of the houses of the well-to-do. Long lists of

such imported works are to be found in old papers. In Vienna, which in the second half of the 18th century was a great city, there were available most of the important works by French authors in published translations, nor were translators wanting in the Roumanian Principalities themselves, where the spirit of Voltaire and Rousseau was largely spread and one among the poets of the old regime, Conachi, gave a Roumanian rendering of Pope's «Essay on Man», which had naturally first been translated into French.

The Revolution had not the great echo which might have been expected however. Some songs, a few pamphlets, and that is all.

Napoleon had no sense for the ever-increasing national spirit of the South-Eastern European States. For him all these countries were but means of satisfying his intricate and changing policy of alliances with Russia or Austria. He recognised the annexation of both Roumanian territories to the Empire of the Czar. French influence was not to be renewed and strengthened by this greatest of all epics. It was later when French classicism had supplanted the moribund philosophy that the noble cry for liberty of Rhigas and Salomos was to be heard.

Not only was the new French poetry translated by the best representatives of the new Greek generation and especially by the younger set in Roumania (Eliad, Alexandrescu, Alexandri, Negruzzi and Bolintineanu), but the romantic ideas, the new sentimentality, the ardent enthusiasm, the feverish imagination of the poetry invaded and permeated politics. The struggle for liberty against the Russian menace, the noble outburst for the reunion of all the Roumanian provinces were due, no less than the Greek aspirations to the reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire, to French romanticism.

The result of this influence in Turkey too brought about the astonishing revolution which crystallised into a complete transformation of public administration, the work of the young enlightened generation of Reshid, Ali and Fouad.

After this poetical state of mind, which dominated all nations and all states for several decades, Napoleon III, nationalist, democrat, socialist and mystic, but first and foremost the true successor of his famous uncle, the renovator of the old Roman forms, was the real and supreme ruler of all South-Eastern Europe.

From him the Turks imbibed the dangerous idea of a unitary empire, without historical privileges for national territories, such as the future united Roumania, which were considered as suzerain « provinces » and their hereditary rulers as mere chiefs of provinces; an idea which was transmitted by the victorious Sultan Abdul Medjid to the depressing period Abdul Hamid's rule. In Constantinople not only the administrative routine, but the financial policy also was French. Roumania was liberated from Russian intrusion by the Crimean war, and it was the will of the French emperor against the resistance of his own diplomatist which was responsible for the union of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Roumanian prince for both Principalities, the great reformer John Alexander Cuza, was an admirer of Napoleon, who sustained his new throne with all his immense authority.

The fall of the Second Empire rendered France impotent to pursue her former policy in these countries.

What remained of a work of so many centuries was here, as in Russia, and especially in the Roumanian cities, the formation of a wholly denationalised upper class — and the success of the present Russian revolution can also be attributed to this moral condition. In Roumania public

demonstrations of students in Bucharest in 1906 were all that was necessary to recall this class to a sense of its duties. The performance of an immoral French revue at the National Theatre brought matters to a head, and a riot broke out in which the national aspirations of the populace were clearly manifested. A collision with the police ensued and the situation was so serious as to necessitate the army being called upon to cooperate in the restoration of order and the suppression of hot-heads. As I was reminded of this in Paris at the delivery of my first lecture to the Sorbonne, I answered that the «*beau monde*» which had wanted to show «*Madame Flirt*» in those days had had German sympathies during the Great War, while the young rioters had given their blood for the common cause, helping to preserve the honour and existence of their great moral educator, France.

After the conclusion of peace French influence in all the States of South-Eastern Europe was renewed. The prestige of the victory was and is immense. Serbia, which was a sub-Germanic State in the matter of culture, has completely changed her direction. The young generation, educated in France, has determined this sudden transformation. Bulgaria is a suppliant for forgiveness for her attitude in time of war. In Roumania the new directives of this beneficial influence are linked up with the precise sense of the obligations each nation has and should have towards its own traditions and moral needs. Instead of forming a parasitical clan, it tends to inspire the life of an entire national community.

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## IS ROUMANIA A BALKAN STATE?

In recent times the qualification « Balkan State » has too often been applied to Roumania. In a recent book, a notable French journalist, Monsieur Maurice Pernot, has connected, in an exposé on the present situation in South-Eastern Europe, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Roumania. For the Italians, too, « Balcania » is the new name given to all provinces appertaining to the old Byzantine Empire whether on the right or left bank of the Danube, but it seems to me that the definition is erroneous whether geographically or historically intended.

In my endeavour to rectify this false impression, I have no thought of pouring unjust scorn upon the rich and beautiful regions of the Balkan peninsula, whose inhabitants, now masters of independent and progressive states, have earned the highest praise for their long endurance under the Turkish yoke, for their valiant defence of the Christian faith, and for their infinite love for the ill-starred cradle of their race. But between them all, Hellenic or Slavonic foundations and the Roumanian State, great differences are recognisable.

The Balkans were a possession of the Byzantine Emperors. Later, Slavonic rulers, Bulgarian and Serbian were merely their imitators. The system of government, not centralised, but composed of isolated units in constant touch with a central power, preserved the ancient imperial

character. In the Carpathians, the Empire was absent; no barbarian system of government was at hand to exercise the same power. Great cities had disappeared, the rural group was the sole surviving reality. The peasants lives in separate villages, each of them a patriarchal autonomy; the idea of the emperor gave a certain cohesion to these scattered units of social life. That was all. In time of war a group of villages would organise itself under the leadership of the dukes. After a time one of them became a *domn* (dominus), exercising power and having almost imperial sway over his subjects. His country was « the Roumanian lands » in the strictest national sense, not a state of the Balkans, not an ambitious copy of the Roman Empire of the East.

No political difference can be more strongly marked than this. In the Balkans the Christian regime was substituted by the last form of Rome, the Mussulman Rome of the Turks. The old system was preserved under the new masters: nothing essential was changed. Upon the left bank of the Danube the complete autonomy of the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia was not diminished by the acceptance of Turkish suzerainty. They were the same rulers with the imperial might of the old emperors and, further, the Crown of the Byzantine Caesars seemed to be surrendered to them, the natural protectors of the Eastern Church. The four patriarchs lived under the control and by the grace of these crowned leaders of the Orthodox community. The Turks merely occupied the fortresses of the Danube, alone considered the conquest of the Sultans. In the interior there was no community with the Turk. The political masters held no rights other than that of granting investiture to princes « by the Grace of God » — never the grace of an earthly monarch, — and to receive annual tribute. Pashas commanded in Buda,



but never in the Roumanian capitals, where the cross remained unviolated and soaring above the pinnacle of the political structure.

But many writers of history — not to confound these with historians — continue to speak of the Christians of the Balkans, Roumanians and others who, at almost the same time, broke their fetters and became free, as if Roumanian freedom had been interrupted for a single hour during the five hundred years of vassalage under the Rome of the Sultans.

From the geographical point of view, Bulgaria is today the only Balkan state, Yugoslavia extending to the borders of Italy, Greece being Mediterranean and European Turkey the almost negligible extension of an Asiatic State.

From an ethnographical point of view, the differences are not so clearly visible. Strong similarities between the races are at first apparent. The same Thracian ancestors are present on both Danubian shores; the Illyrians only appertaining to the Adriatic side of the Peninsula. The same Greek influence in the vicinity of the Pontus, the same process of popular romanization, and the same occupation by the Roman Empire. Slavonic invasions too were common to all.

But, to the north of the great river, the Scythians did indeed exercise an unseen and enduring influence, especially in Moldavia, upon the Thracians; the Getae and the Dacians settlements of Western Transylvania, and in the highlands. Notwithstanding the tardy character of the Roman colonization, first of shepherds and agriculturists, then of colonists of Trajan, this new Latin nation was not so much exposed to the domination of the barbarians, who went further afield in their search of richer treasures and securer strongholds, quickly abandoning, for a richer prey,

these hills, woods and marshes. In the Balkans the Roman language remained only in the depths of the Pindus, on the shores of the western sea, and in the broader plains of Thessaly. In the Carpathians, Slavonic words were only added to the old stock of clear Latinity. From the Danube to the Beskides, from the great river of the west, the Theiss, to its counterpart in the east, the Dniester, all this, to this day, is Roman.

Where then does the peninsula of the Balkans begin? A comparison with the two other peninsulas of Southern Europe may usefully assist in answering the question. Spain springs from the Pyrenees, the more southerly sierras being only the frontiers of the different provinces; Italy commences at the Alps, the Appennines representing the backbone of her body. In the third peninsula the rôle of the Pyrenees and of the Alps passes not to the Carpathians, a mountain range of Central Europe, connected with Poland and Slovakia and directed by their prolongations towards the west, but to the true peninsular range, termed the Balkans (Turkish: mountain), its junction with the Carpathians at the Iron Gates being interrupted by the Danube. The Rhodope is the only Balkan sierra to the south, while the Pindus can be considered as the Appennines of these countries. Each valley is dependent on the others. Through this system of mountains all provinces of the Pindo-Balkans are interconnected: Roumania, with the Sarmatian plains of Moldavia tending towards the Russian infinity, and the flat cornfields of Wallachia running down to the Danube, is decidedly a separate country.

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## DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

The whole of Europe and the America of George Washington were conquered, dominated and ruled by the new ideals of social and political life evolved by Jean Jacques Rousseau. The watchmaker's son from Geneva conceived the life of human society as a mechanical contrivance susceptible to adjustment along the abstract lines of theory; the citizen of a small community, in which a restricted number of privileged persons enjoyed the exclusive right of governing the rest in their Major and Minor Councils, he could nevertheless conceive a state controlled by all its citizens. The master of an infinite number of dialectical subtleties, a powerful and elegant champion in intellectual warfare, a writer of emotional power who carried with him in an artificial world something of the freshness of his native valleys and lake, he exercised, notwithstanding his complete ignorance of history and his deliberate self-estrangement from all practical realities, an influence without parallel in his day.

Rousseau's democracy, applied to such different forms as the unfortunate Louis XVI's France, governed by courtiers and a sceptical bourgeoisie, and the English provinces of North America, created by farmers of religious and gentlemanly humour, could not but end in failure. This failure is, in our present day, an ineluctable fact: we shut our eyes in order to avoid seeing the decay

of an edifice built upon evanescent clouds, the menacing cracks in crumbling walls, the absolute need of making up our minds either to abandon everything which, up to today, had been a fixed and certain article of faith, or of perishing under the ruins of our disillusionment.

Other forms of democracy are, indeed, to be found in the development of human society. Rousseau, however, could not see them. In Venice, where he played the part of an impertinent, pretentious secretary to the French Ambassador there, the old and mediaeval regime, based on the participation of all citizens, had disappeared at the commencement of the 13th century, when the Great Council was closed, no longer permitting the entry of new families into the stronghold of a proud and cunning aristocracy. In his own city, and in the neighbouring Swiss cantons, the mediaeval life in the isolated peasant communities of the valleys had given way to the domination of the wealthy bourgeoisie communities of the cities: hardly a trace was left of the original clan predominance. All over Europe the princes, and the wealthy urban classes were in the saddle.

## I

In the Balkan peninsula a transformation had also taken place which had destroyed the old systems in which an organic historical democracy had, for a time, prevailed.

I shall sketch this first in the Roumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, particularly the latter, which was the product of the free and gradual combination of peasant communities, whereas Moldavia, in the north, was founded by immigrant Roumanian knights in rebellion against their overlord, the king of Hungary, who won for themselves a province wrested from the grip of the Mongol raider.

The aboriginal population, the Dacians of the highlands, who replaced their more ancient brethren on the banks of the Danube, had a king, Decebalus, who died unconquered in defence of his homeland against the legions of the Emperor Trajan. Under him, however, ruled not only other Dacian chiefs, but also the petty chieftains of other local federations. There were no cities before the Romans founded them: these intelligent barbarians, half won over to Roman civilisation, ordinarily lived in villages or «davas» north of the Danube and «paras» in the Balkans. They were unlike the Gauls in their «cities» dominated by the aristocracy of warriors. The country was the village and the village was wholly free, certainly autonomous.

The legend of a new society built from the ruins of the old by Trajan's colonists must, in my opinion, be abandoned. It is not possible to admit that the fusion of two such different elements; of the patriarchal, pastoral Dacians and the army veterans, the retired officials and the prospectors after gold and other metals could have been accomplished between Trajan's final and completely victorious campaign in 106 A. D. and the evacuation of the Roman province of Dacia by Aurelian in about 270 A. D. I am inclined to think, therefore, that it was more likely that the denationalisation of the inhabitants was brought about by the imperceptible, gradual infiltration of the surplus rural population of Italy, as Rome began to import her food from overseas and slave labour and the growth of large estates ousted the free peasantry from the peninsula. The first condition for a process of denationalisation is a majority of the invading population of the same occupation as those whose country it invades. The national character of the ancient Thracians could be altered only if newcomers of the same mode of life formed

the starting point, viz: shepherds and agriculturists. The inhabitants of Roman Dacia who were city dwellers, accustomed to the advantages offered by great cities, had probably abandoned their threatened homes at the first call of the Emperor when he felt himself for a time unable to maintain his power on the left bank of the Danube. Had they received no such order, they also could have gone on living in their country after the occupation of the barbarians.

It is false to say true that the former alternative has no parallel in Roman history. When the city of Nisibis was ceded by the Romans to the King of Persia in the fourth century A. D., the citizens were not invited to leave: on the contrary they were ordered to accept the sovereignty of their new master, and promptly answered that they were capable of maintaining the liberty of their homes against any enemy.

It must be remembered too that the barbarians were not conquerors in the proper sense of the word, no consistent adversaries of Rome, whom they revered even after they had ceased to have cause to fear her; that in theory their position was that of «foederati» of Caesar, who gave them a province as his vassals, or rather as a territory for the sustenance of the new military auxiliaries of the Roman State. But Dacia was a country of peasants, and no peasant ever leaves his lands because a new prince reigns in the stead of the old. In modern history, in which psychological situations arise quite unparalleled in the darker ages with their simple instincts uninfluenced by more complex desiderata, there are numerous other examples. A village can develop into a city, not merely one of the type of most Roumanian provincial towns, whose churches show them to be mere conglomerations of the old rural organisation, but a veritable fortified, mediaeval strong-

hold, like those founded by the Saxons in the 9th century. A city can decay, its limits can be contracted, as in the case of Bordeaux in the Middle Ages, it can be transformed into a mere group of cottages.

The villages of ancient Dacia were romanized by the natural advance of the Romans, as in the Balkans they assumed the same Roman elements: in their private lives, however, very little can have been changed. We know nothing of the organisation of the Dacian rural community, but it is probable that the «davas» in Dacia and the «paras» in the Balkans were ruled by local chiefs who were in their turn the vassals of valley-princes, the supreme leader being a king of the type of Decebalus. Rome introduced, at the moment of conquest, the new forms of colonies and *municipia*; both are typical of urban life and, although they may have influenced economic conditions in the villages, the two forms of settlement were obviously too divergent to modify one another.

Even after the Emperor had abandoned the populations of both Dacias, that of Trajan and Aurelian's substitute province, the villages of the north Danubian province continued to look upon the imperial authority as emanating from their legal master, as the legitimate form of government. For the modern Albanian the chief of the State, now an independent «monarch», is an *mbret*, which is an abbreviation of the word «imperator». Among the Roumanians of the Balkans, Albania's neighbours, the word «amira» became current for «emperor». This was a relic of the Ottoman conquest of the emirs, the later sultans and padishahs; for the great mass of the nation, the supreme political leader is the *împărat*. Princes and kings have only borrowed names: *craiu* from the Slavonic name of Charlemagne, *kral* (Polish *korol*, Hungarian *király*); only the Emperor, whom the Slavs called «Czar»,

retained his ancient and venerated title. The title of king has no such antiquity: for the Roumanian never lived under the rule of the German *könige*, called *reges* by the Romans (Russian: *knyaz*) nor under the Touranian « khagans », whose title has survived in the Carpatho-Danubian countries only as applied to the sovereign of the later Tartars: *han* or *han-tatar*. This is also the reason why, while the coming of the Avars created an *Avaria* in the Western Balkans, and the Italians in Western Europe inhabited a *Langobardia*, the Gallo-Romans a *Francia*, the Roman population of both banks of the Danube retained the name of *Roman* (*român*) and speaking Roumanian (*românește*) in the *Terra Romanesca* (*Țara Românească*).

With no foreign overlordship, this isolated fragment of Rome was constrained at last to adopt a political system similar to that found, for instance, in Central Gaul in the 5th century, where the rural population, while preserving all deference to the Emperor, elected kings (*reges*) of the type of Syagrius or Aegidius. In « Roumania » however, the ruler's authority was at first confined to the narrow limits of the « sat », the free defensible village (from the Latin: *fossatum*, a fenced establishment). By a reversion to the most elementary and natural conditions of human society, the power was vested in the elders, who may be compared to the aldermen of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, the Greek *gerontes*, who persisted up to mediaeval and even modern times, the Russian *starosti*. The title of these lowly senators was « *oameni buni și bătrâni* » (*homines boni et veterani*), like the *boni homines* frequently mentioned in the mediaeval manuscripts of many Italian regions. In all Roumanian popular records up to a recent date, the witnesses are always such « good old villagers ».

Directed by their prestige and their counsel, the small unit lived an existence of its own. Thousands of title-deeds



show in detail the forms of this modest but highly interesting village organisation. Although the public functions were usually held by a small number of elected officers, a popular assembly, an *adunare* or *sbor* (this latter being the Slavonic term) was invariable. Most of the Italian cities were ruled by senators after the Byzantine system, the new Roman system established by Justinian on the ruins of the Gothic domination. Historically Gothic rule in Italy was itself a simple vassal state of the Empire, entrusted to the German chief, who was a ruler over his own tribe, which acknowledged the Emperor as the supreme overlord: Theodoric was an exarch, an imperial delegate and, by this only, the theoretical chief of all Italy — a position of undoubted inferiority to that of the present day viceroy of India, who rules the British provinces and controls the autonomous Rajah states. Besides the senators and the *exercitus* or army, which cooperated freely with the Imperial and popular authorities, were the magistrates or *iudices*, whose title was hellenised in the Southern province as *kritai*. In Venice the Byzantine duke, the later Doge, came to wield an authority superior to all judges; in Rome, the Pope destroyed the power of his civil rivals; in Southern Italy, the judges persisted until the arrival of the Normans; Sardinia, until the close of the Middle Ages, was divided into *giudicature*.

The case was similar on the Danube, where, owing to different circumstances, the earlier abandonment by the Romans being the chief cause, the judge appeared as early as the second half of the 4th century. He was master, not of Roman colonists, but of Goths who had no other chieftain than this *iudex Thervingorum*, Athanarich by name. The title is not to be found in any other part of the original German civilisation: the Germans of all branches

were ruled exclusively by kings or by dukes. It follows, therefore, that Athanarich's rank was inevitably borrowed from the Roman population, which was associated with, rather than subject to, the newcomers. The German word for judge, *richter*, comes, as is well-known, from the Roman *rector* and it is curious to observe that, in the Roumanian language, *dirigere*, the verb corresponding to *regere*, has survived in the verbs *a drege*, *a direge*, while one who directs and would have borne the Roman title of *director*, is known as a *diregător*, or *dregător*.

The judge in Roumania, as in Sardinia, where, for some reason, general conditions resembled those of Roumania very closely, had a whole district under his rule, in most cases the whole community of a valley. This district was named, and is so named to this day in Wallachia (which was formed gradually by the free combination of small judicial districts), a *județ* (*judicium*); the limits of the modern districts do not differ greatly from those of the old peasant communities. In Moldavia the historical process was different, the State here being formed artificially from fortresses, each with its *ținut* or *tenutum*.

A Transylvanian document, fortunately preserved, of the late 16th century, shows the customary manner of electing the judge in olden times. The peasantry assembled in the church which, as in cities in the west in mediaeval times, was used as the communal meeting-hall. A certain number of candidates were chosen after a first scrutiny; it was only after a second vote that the village leader, whose tenure of office was for life, was finally elected.

When defensive wars were undertaken, the members of these free rural microcosms were led to battle by a duke. His Latin title is lost in the mists of time, the 17th century *ducă* and the modern *duce* being only neologisms from the Italian. A Slavonic term, *voevode*, which has

the same meaning, replaced the original title, probably on account of the latter's similarity to and possibility of confusion with the third person of the present indicative tense of the verb *a duce* (Latin: *ducere*).

At a later date it was undoubtedly possible, among the Roumanians as among their Italian kinsfolk or the Hungarians, for the judge to be merely a rural functionary of the feudal landowner. This was, in fact, his status in that part of « Țara Românească » conquered by the Hungarian kings, who were in the first place voevodes (as they are indeed called in the Byzantine sources), at any rate up to the reign of Stephen the First.

The Carolingian duke, the French governor on the middle Danube, where the Avars had been vanquished and whose inheritance passed to the Moravian kings, as Sviatopluk, and later to the Hungarians, was appointed by the king, the emperor of his nation, and in the Danubian countries no such title existed. It is therefore probable that the duke was elected by the judges, just as these latter were themselves elected by the peasants in an assembly convoked and presided over by the « oameni buni și bătrâni ».

In the middle of the 13th century, after an earlier Roumanian organisation on the right bank of the Danube, round Silistra, had disappeared, the Roumanians south of the mountains were now ruled by judges only, who also bore the princely title of « *cnezi* » (singular: *cneaz*, as in Russian). In the « judicature » of Argeș, however, was a free voevode, who refused to recognise the authority of the Apostolic king in Hungary, the successor, appointed by the Pope, of the Carolingian dynasty. Later, he brought under his sceptre the territories on the right bank of the Olt, and represented, for the whole nation, the local, patriarchal successor of an emperor, who could

not or would not appear in person — and never, indeed, appeared again after Manuel Comnene in the 12th century.

As, in Latin, the *dominatio*, the equivalent of the Greek *basileia*, was not accepted by the first Caesars, whose *imperium* was not to be confounded with the Eastern conception, so, in Roumanian an *împărat* (empire being *împărăție*, an emperor's wife: *împărăteasă* and his daughter: *împărătiță*) dominates (Roun: *domnește*), no corresponding verb being formed from the title of *emperor*. Was this peasant emperor a conqueror? History records no war of aggression in Wallachia, as in the later formed Moldavia, where the whole sense of the *domnia* was adopted. The highest dignities were obtainable by election, a source of power for the elected as well as for the electors. The first characteristics of the traditional constitutional forms in the Roumanian lands are their elective and local character. The princes, except when imposed from overseas, long remained elective. The usual way of imposing a prince was for his father or predecessor first to associate him with his own power. Thus Mircea cel Bătrân (the Old) who died in 1418, associated his son Michael with him in Wallachia during his own lifetime, so that he was assured the succession. Some years later, Alexander the First adopted the same procedure towards his son Helias in Moldavia. In the middle of the 15th century, Stephen the Great, son of an assassinated prince, did not rest content with the victory which he won over the usurper: he gathered together the whole country, of every class, down to the peasantry, and had them « elect » him. In the same way, the young scholar Demetrius Cantemir, was elected at the end of the 17th century, after the death of his father. In Wallachia, Matei Basarab was proclaimed in this way by the army; Constantin Șerban and Constantin Brâncoveanu assumed power in the same way. The elect-

oral system is also found during the Phanariot period, in the 18th century; Constantin Mavrocordato, Alexander Ghica in Wallachia became princes by popular vote. In 1821 the Wallachian peasantry, who revolted against their oppressors, claimed the right to nominate their chief, Tudor Vladimirescu, «domnul Tudor». It is true that Vladimirescu had previously lived in Serbia, where, as an officer in the Russian army, he had seen «the great captain of the people» at the head of an armed «parliament», but in Serbia too, it was the same popular tradition of South-Eastern Europe which inspired the idea of a revolution capable of creating a lasting State.

Much more uncommon that the elective principle was the second characteristic, of local authority, which lasted until the modern era of borrowed constitutions, which began with the «Regulament Organic» of 1834.

Before these attempts to change the character of a life which had developed naturally for more than a thousand years along gradual, organic lines, the greater part of public affairs was concluded, confirmed and sanctioned within the village itself. At the sale of a property, only the presence of the «oameni buni și bătrâni» and of the neighbours was necessary; these neighbours were relatives, the village having been formed by the expansion of a single family, all members of which bore the name of the ancestor; thus, if he was a «Ion» (or John), they were all called *Ionescu* (Johnson). Each village had its scribe, who committed the contract to writing; the prince had merely to confirm it. The military contingent to be furnished by the village in time of war was trained and led by the «captain» of the same group, the *vătăman* (a word derived from the German: hauptmann). As the officers of the state had financial needs, the charge was apportioned,

through the village, by its headman, who knew the capability of payment of each individual; this procedure was known as the « cîsla ». The schoolmaster was also appointed by the village, as was the practice in Transylvania, under Hungarian rule, up to modern times. Some traces of economic community of goods survived up to very recent times, e. g., in the usufruct of the forests, lakes and waste-lands.

Religion itself preserved this local character during the first centuries after the foundation of the Roumanian race. The priests, known as *preoți* (from the Latin: presbyter. In Albanian it is *prevt*) or *popi* (from the Latin), had often no canonical consecration. Some were theological teachers by hereditary right, being the sons of priests; in Transylvania whole priestly lines were formed in this way. Others had sought consecration from the superiors of the monasteries, who played the part of the *chorepiscopi* in Gaul. Others, again, were consecrated by the Slavonic bishops on the right bank of the Danube. Thanks to this, not only the Cyrillic alphabet, but the old Bulgarian language, the « Slavonic », tongue of the gospels and of the liturgy, found their way into the Roumanian church. When the two States of Wallachia and Moldavia took definite shape, the princes received from Constantinople a regular, canonical form of the church, which was made official. The influence of the bishops and archbishop-metropolitans was, however, weak to the last among the secular clergy who, based on the village autonomy, constituted one of the great forces of the State.

Yet the Roumanian villagers were able to make of their natural community, of their mediaeval « Roumania », not only a State, but a free government on a democratic basis; the whole nation developed its forms of historical and natural liberty. In the beginning of the 14th century

all «judicatures», all «voevodates» were under the control of a «prince» resident in the castle of Argeş, concealed in a valley of the Carpathians. The *domn*, who styled himself «sovereign of all the Roumanian land» and who resided first at Argeş, then in Târgovişte, and finally, descending towards the Danube, at Bucharest, was a ruler of a territorial unity which in theory represented a whole nation, a single race. He claimed to have sovereignty over all Roumanian districts, including those in fief to the Hungarian ruler, an usurper who ruled in the name of the Holy See of Rome, patron and organiser of crusades against heretics such as the Roumanians. The northern river-valley of Moldavia was, of course, included in this unity, together with the adjacent valleys of the Suceava, the Sereth, Pruth and Dniester, which were held under the nominal rule of the Tartars who, in the 13th century, had swept over the Russian steppe, laying claim to all territory in their path as far as the Carpathians. The Hungarian king, however, who, in the 13th century, had endeavoured to create a Roumania of his own in the south, wished to make of this borderland a Hungarian march against further invasion from Mongolia. This king, himself a cavalier of good French stock and the representative of crusading chivalry rather than a national sovereign, sent one of his knightly followers, the Roumanian noble Dragoş, across the mountains. An ancient stronghold of the Hungarian realm had existed before the Tartar invasion, south of the newly-created fief, around the episcopal see of Milcov, which was transferred after the Tartar invasion to Bacău. The two Hungarian districts were conquered about 1360 by the rebellion of Bogdan, another Roumanian voevode, originally from the valleys of the Maramureş highlands. Bogdan styled himself, in opposition both to the ruler

in Wallachia and to his former liege lord, « Roumanian Prince of Moldavia ». His successors were of the whole territory as far as the Dniester by 1400, so lightly was it held by the Mongol invaders. The division of the free Roumanian territory, which had detached itself from the subject province of Transylvania, was destined to endure until the eventful year of the first national union in 1859, followed by the second union in 1918, when Transylvania, and those parts of Moldavia which had been taken at a later date (Bukovina to Austria, Bessarabia to Russia) rejoined Roumania, and the wounds inflicted in 1100 by the Hungarians and in 1360 under the influence of an event in Hungarian history were at last healed.

National division in the Middle Ages, continued in the modern and contemporary eras, was also the fate of the other races in South-Eastern Europe. After the destruction of the first Bulgarian Empire by the Byzantines and their allies, the Norman Russians of Kiev, at the end of the 10th century, a new and free « Bulgaria » arose in Macedonia, with the support of the new nations, the Albanians and the Roumanians of the Pindus. In the 14th century, while the « emperor », the counterfeit of the Byzantine Caesar, reigned in Trnovo, a second Bulgaria arose at Vidin on the Danube, representing the Serbo-Bulgarian districts of the west; a third Bulgaria succeeded to an older Byzantine fief embracing the Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea, the Roumanian, and certain Bulgarian, villages of the hinterland. This kingdom, which had its capital at Varna, occupied the territories covered by the ancient Scythia Minor, the later Turkish Dobrudja.

The Serbs first formed a State on the coast of the Adriatic: then, in the interior, which was Byzantine and Orthodox, there arose a new State, the Rascia of the



Nemanides, which was destined gradually to absorb the other. The Hungarian conquest gave rise to a third Serbian province, corresponding to the Roumanian Moldavia, the Serbian Banate on the banks of the Bosna: and out of this Bosnia, by the revolt of a voevode, upon whom Frederick III, the Emperor of the West, had conferred the title of Duke in the 15th century, arose yet another Serbia, the « Serbia of the Dukedom » (or Herzegovina, derived from the Hungarian *herczek*, viz the German *herzog*, meaning « duke »). The Serbia on the Danube with its centre at Belgrade, the later Serbia of the Despots Stephen, George and his sons, is quite different from the Macedonian Serbia, and, when, in the 15th century, kings were reigning in the Macedonian districts, and a despot, the nominee of Byzantium, in Thrace, Thessaly (then a separate province) formed the ultimate stronghold of the race of Stephen Dushan, the King-Emperor.

The former small state of Zenta, afterwards became Črnagora, or Montenegro. In the same century, Ragusa, a Roman city and a former dependency of Venice, became the intellectual and commercial centre of the Serbian world.

This division was ill-starred and, indeed, fatal: it was impossible thereafter to form a new synthesis of culture. This was because none of these regions possessed any geographical unity.

Greece herself was divided in the Middle Ages into three parts: the Roman Greece of Byzantium, as an extension of the Eastern Roman Empire, the patriarchal Greece in the semi-autonomous province of Morea, and the Latinised Greece, under French, Catalans and Navarrese, whose work was carried on by the mightier Venetians from Corfu to Crete and by the Genoese to the shores

of Scythia Major and Minor. The cities on the border of the Euxine were in the ancient times rich, ancient colonies of the Ionian and Dorian Greeks: Histria, Tomi, Kallatis and their dependencies such as Halmyros, but in the *vici* of the interior, on both banks of the Danube, the old Getic and Thracian life pursued its way under Roman forms.

## II

Political division for the Roumanians was lasting, but in a completely unitary terrain. This was the origin of the important syntheses which gives them a place in world history. From Transylvania came the powerful influence of the German colonies of « Saxons », concentrated there by the Hungarian rulers after 1100. Wallachia received the heritage of the Slavonic countries subdued by the Turks, and was enriched by currents of western influence. Moldavia accepted the culture of Red Russia, and was brought into contact, through Poland, with the Latin Renaissance. Later, through French secretaries and teachers, she came, much more strongly than any other Roumanian province, under the influence of every form of western civilisation. Never was a single State in a position to blend so many different currents of culture together and to create, by healthy rivalry, a new form in the moral life of European civilisation.

If Roumania, the old Țara Românească, the modern Roumania, represents mediaeval « Roman » democracy at its fullest and most solid development by contrast to the international and inter-territorial empires whose last manifestations — Austria-Hungary and Russia — perished in the Great War, so the other « Roumania », not on the Black Sea but on the Adriatic, might have formed a second Roman State, had circumstances not prevented the development of its natural tendencies.

Here, too, the attention of historians has been obstructed by points of detail, to the detriment of the broader vision, while national prejudices also have prevented them from taking a clearer observation of the general position.

I will begin with the most typical example of a «Romania» estranged from its first tradition and transformed into an exponent, on the shores of the Adriatic, of a very different historical existence: Ragusa, known to its Yugoslav masters today as Dubrovnik, — formerly an important harbour and centre of commerce, a city of rich pageantry, the cradle of poets and writers — is today a decayed borough (one might almost say a «rotten borough» if its intrinsic value as a political constituency be considered). Today, it is an oasis of historical records, holding within its high walls the beautiful remnants of a mediaeval Gothic art, surrounded by a splendid African vegetation and, unfortunately, in the course of the last few years, has become a haunt chosen by the idle rich of various European States in search of sunshine.

The Illyrian village which gave it its first name was hellenised as Epidaurus, later to be Romanized into the *civitas* preserved in the present-day name of Captat. For some time Byzantium retained the mastery of the Adriatic coasts, the Imperial fleet giving her the decisive advantage in the conflicts with Narenta corsairs. As soon as the vast hordes of Slavs, deserting their eastern Danubian homes, poured into the Balkans, however, this province was completely overrun by the barbarians. It is all too commonly supposed that the barbarian invasion signified conquest, domination, direct rule, and, in short, a complete transformation of all conditions of life if not, as in Ragusa itself, the immediate abandonment of the language hitherto employed. On the contrary, here, as everywhere else (and

the life of St. Severin remains to show how very different was the reality in Pannonia, which was traversed by the bands of Germanic appertaining to the minor races such as the Heruls), the invaders could only move along the great Roman highway and over the country immediately adjacent. They were incapable of laying siege to the cities, still less of administering government as the Romans understood it. They were impelled neither by hatred nor contempt for the old order of things: they entertained no ambitious plans of founding a new State, nor were they bent on setting a catastrophe in motion. What they desired was loot and tribute: the ambition of their chiefs was to be recognised as overlords. This indeed they wanted, but nothing more (so in the territories which later formed mediaeval Austria, as Eugyppius, St. Severin's pupil and biographers, shows): it has been repeated in terms of contemporary critical history by the Austrian professor Dopsch.

Ragusa, then, was not conquered: indeed, she was invincible. Weak and deserted, [defended only by her tiny army, called a *bandon* or *bann* (so at least the 7th century Byzantine chronicler, Theophylactus Simocatta, testifies of the right bank of the Danube), she was better able than the city of the Pannonian saint to withstand sudden attack from neighbouring barbarians. Like the cities on the right bank of the Danube under the Emperor Mauricius, like the ancient Roumanians in their villages, she preserved the enduring memory of her only legitimate lord, the Caesar of New Rome. She even remained an imperial city, ready to receive into her harbour the imperial fleet in its varying campaigns against Saracens and Normans, ready to send tribute to the remote capital of the Empire, to commemorate the heir of Constantine in the prayers celebrated at her Catholic cathedral, to employ

the Byzantine weights in her monetary system, the coins of which bore the Byzantine image of Christ surrounded by Greek script: many Greek works remained in use, legal terms as well as words of the every-day vocabulary. The Byzantine Saint Blasius, successor of the old Illyrian and Hellenic deities, remained the protector of the commonwealth. Here and there eastern influences may be seen in the Gothic forms of Ragusan art.

This unchangeable fidelity was not only directed towards the idea of empire and to Byzantine forms. Any influence, in any field, which recalled Byzantium, i. e, the Roman domination or the Roman law, was sure to find a welcome both in ancient and latterday Ragusa. The submission to Venetian rulers, which began in the days of the campaigns of the Doge Orseolo against the pirates of the Adriatic, was renewed more than once before the establishment of the Latin (Franco-Venetian) Empire in Constantinople was to become an enduring reality in the 13th century. The cession of all Venetian rights to the Crown of Hungary, as the rightful heir of Charlemagne, in the year 1358, was only the admission of another form of adherence to the Empire, as far as Dalmatia was concerned. The Venetian rule was imposed because Venice, a Byzantine city on the Italian shore of the Adriatic, governed by Doges who at first were appointed by the Emperor, and enjoyed at the hands of Byzantium a commercial monopoly in the waters of this sea, was, in the sight of Dalmatia and others, only an instrument of Byzantine rule. In rendering obedience to the functionaries sent from Venice — the character of whose rights cannot be otherwise explained — the old Ragusans felt that they were only treading the straight path of fidelity to their Emperor. When the Roman Kings in Southern Italy, (who were *de facto* rulers over all Italy, but at the same

time heirs of Eastern Rome by the traditions of their territories, by the Greek style of their chanceries, and in their ecclesiastical art, by their ambitions and plans of conquest), when these kings, for two brief periods achieved the same position in Ragusa as their rival Venice, as representatives of the Eastern Empire, submission was inevitable for the Ragusans who merely regarded this as a new form of legal Imperial authority. The quasi-domination of the Serbian king Stephen Dushan in the 14th century must be regarded in same light. He was not only master of a great part of the Dalmatian coast, and a citizen of Venice, but as « Emperor of the Serbs and Romans » he constituted yet another embodiment of the imperialism represented on the old Byzantine lines by his rivals and enemies, the Palaeologues of Constantinople. Remaining theoretically bound to the emperor, the abandoned city was constrained to organise herself, her constitutional power, and, to the end of her existence, notwithstanding the great influence of the Venetians, she remained true to the initial forms of the common life.

These forms sprang from the same needs as were felt by the Roumanians, and found similar expression. In the first place, of course, came the « good elders » who formed the Senate of the Commonwealth, afterwards called the *pregadi* (*pregati* — called), as in Venice. But as the Roumanians allowed the convocation of larger assemblies, as in Venice, outside the daily work of the senators, all the old families, all citizens could be called together in the *Consiglio Maggiore* — a *Consiglio Minore* being called afterwards for decisions involving political desiderata to be taken —, so Ragusa, too, had a greater and a lesser council. Naturally there was a magistrate whose functions were the most important of all, comprising not only the dispensation of justice, but also the general control of affairs.

Under the influence of the Frankish regime in Dalmatia and Pannonia, which worked through counts, acting under the supreme authority of the dukes, the original title of *judex*, which is found in all neighbouring cities, was changed to *comes*, and, as the Slavs near-by had kings after the German fashion, this « judge-count » became a *knez*. He and the Councillors were the masters of Ragusa.

The same state of things can easily be traced in all the other cities of the Dalmatian coast. In Zara, the capital, which passed repeatedly from Hungarian to Venetian rule and back again, and undoubtedly also in Sebenico and in Traù, which are mentioned by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenete as free communities, not occupied by the barbarians of the interior; in the Albanian cities of Durazzo, Dulcigno, Antivari; in Ragusa's hated rival Cattaro (Kotor), with its splendid harbour, on the crescent-shaped *bocche*; in the islands which fringe the shore, Cherso, Osero, Arbe — everywhere — the judge and his councillors rule the community. The system extends as far as the urban communities of the Pindus, such as Scutari. All of these were, in theory, imperial *civitates*, all have their traditions: this is the common element which constitutes these rudimentary « *Romanias* ». Natural ties grew up between these nuclei of liberty, of traditional historical organic democracy. Assemblies, or *sbors*, were held, originally perhaps for law-suits, but also for other purposes, and, just as the Roumanians elected their judges in the churches (in the Greek community of Venice the magistrates to this day are elected in S. Giorgio dei Greci), so the site of the assembly (which the Albanian tribes called a *kovent* — from *conventus*) was near a church: that of S. Sergio, or another. Close similarities, due to their common origin, existed between the laws of the different cities.

This can be seen from the new statutes drawn up in the era of the Venetian supremacy.

All the necessary elements for the creation of a « Roman » State were present on the Adriatic coast. It could have had a language of its own, since a special form of vulgar Latin had been evolved in the region, besides the Roumanian dialect spoken by the shepherds or caravan-leaders in the mountains (a variety of the Latin tongue which is today extinct. Bartoli was able to cull this treasure from the lips of the last survivors of this « Roman » population).

Instead, after Venice had been expelled by the treaty of 1358, Hungary was able to retain possession of Dalmatia until a new Venetian victory regained the inheritance of Doge Orseolo. Ragusa alone preserved, as before, her special position on the former Roman coast. Later, the Turks extended their domination to the Adriatic, and, masters of Albania, they took the place of the former suzerains of Ragusa, receiving annual tribute from the ambassadors of the tiny republic, whose days of liberty were only ended by the Napoleonic edict of 1804. At the same time the Slavonic language ousted the old Roman still spoken and used in the Senate at the end of the 15th century, and the Venetian of common usage.

What was the reason for this political failure — a definitive one, inasmuch as, when Austria collapsed, the considerable majority of Serb-speaking Dalmatians caused the district to be allocated to the new Southern Slav State?

Firstly, it was because these free cities had lost their peasant populations, from the early days of the Slavonic invasion. Under the influence of the unceasing flood of peasant immigrants, the numerous Romance population, which existed in the 7th century, lost its language and therewith, the assurance of its origin. Ethnography alone



can discover, by cranial measurement, the true character of these villagers: it admits too that the great majority of Montenegrins are not Slavonic.

An important congregation of Roumanians, Vlachs or Vallachs (for origin cf. Welsh, Walloon), lived in the mountains at the end of the Middle Ages. They fed their flocks and sold their fresh cheeses, their *caseus de Valachia*, in Ragusa and other cities of the sea-coast, their pastoral commerce extended as far as the Holy Mountain of Athos, where, finally, they were excluded, on account of the presence of their women, who accompanied them. No caravan leader enjoyed more repute than the Vlach. In the 14th century they probably still spoke Roumanian: in any case, their names preserved the characteristic feature of the suffixed article (*drac-ul* the dragon, from *drac*, draco). A century later, the coastal Vlachs still used this termination, but these Morlachs, these Vlachs of the sea, were united to the Slavonic shepherds of the interior, to whom they bequeathed their ethnographical name. In Serbia today only a few scattered groups recall to the ethnographer, by this or that feature, a vanished zone of Romance people.

The erstwhile Romance peasant had now become, as I have said, a new element in the invading forces which surrounded the slowly yielding and changing cities. The denationalisation of the urban centres was rendered increasingly inevitable by the change in the most conservative of all elements of any population, the peasantry.

The preservation of the Romance peasantry was not the only condition necessary for the formation of a modern Romanic State in the Balkans. To hold their own against the Slavonic menace they needed a definite principle of organisation. This was present for the Roumanians when they were assailed, but not vanquished by the

Apostolic kings of Hungary. The regions of the Theiss and the western borders of Transylvania were the first to be occupied by the invading Hungarians, who were then able, at the beginning of the 12th century, to enter Transylvania proper, where the Mureş pierced the western ramparts of the mountains, creating strongholds for the bishops and burgraves, on the Carolingian principle, and attempting to secure exploitation of the salt and gold mines. In order to gain the southern and eastern portions of the province as well, they were forced to employ the Teutonic knights recently expelled from the Holy Land. These built their castles on the northern slopes of the Carpathians, and Hungarian peasants, the Székler, were sent to watch the frontier which marched with the Touranian nations of the steppe. Thousands of Roumanians, especially in this eastern region, abandoned their original language and ethnographical character, becoming assimilated to the Székler: in some cases the sole element preserved was the Greek creed. But to change the nature of the whole Roumanian population was a physical impossibility: the number of the conquerors was too small—so small that the king was forced to resort in foreign countries the elements necessary for the consolidation of the invaded territories. The Hungarians were never an invading flood of the intensity of the Slavs in the Balkans. To bring the southern slopes of the Carpathians within his dominion, or at least within his fief, the Arpadian monarch of the 13th century, after the havoc wrought by the Tartar incursion, was forced to call to his help fresh knights from the Holy Sepulchre, the knights of St. John, to whom was promised the Banate of Severin with all the adjacent Roumanian districts. In this way the numerous and powerful peasantry of these districts, endowed with a strong military system,

were enabled to bring about the foundation of their free state as a democratic « *domnie* ».

But in the hinterland of the Adriatic sea-shore the military force in the rural districts was that of the Serbs and Bosnians. No Roumanian voevode or duke, except the modest of the scattered Vlach *cete* (sing.: *ceată*), existed in the surrounding lands, while among the Roumanians of the Danube the chiefs became crowned dukes against the kings leaders by the wish of the Pope or the Emperor, but foreign kings. The political catastrophe of the Romance world in the Balkans and the Pindus was thus complete. Only the Roumanians of Thessaly, who were both numerous and brave, persisted, a phantom remnant of the ancient glories of the race. Sustained by their Macedonian brothers, they were enabled to aid foreign states: first in the region of Ochrida about the year 1000, then, at the end of the 12th century, in Thessaly itself.

It should be added that a principality on the Lower Danube, near Silistra, existed under the Comnenes. Furthermore, the small state of the Zenta at the end of the 14th century, and the Dobrudja, a hundred years later, bore witness to their Roumanian initiative. Everywhere, however, they found the traditions of the first Bulgarian state, an « empire », opposed to that of Byzantium: they found the Bulgarian church, employing the old Slavonic language of the province of Salonika, with a new, Cyrillic alphabet; the cities were Slavonic and every state formed in the cultural atmosphere of an older political organisation must enter into all its customs and adopt all its forms. Thus the boyard-sons of Ochrida, the Asenides of Trnovo, the Shishmanide princes of the 13th century, the Balshides in Adriatic Zenta, a Balica, a Dobrotitch in the maritime provinces of the Euxine became Slavs in the second generation, like the greatest, richest and most highly-cultured of their

subjects, whom the arms of their tireless peasants and shepherds defended.

Like their predecessors of true Slav-Touranian blood, they were impelled towards the possession of Constantinople, the conquest of which by the Latins was an encouragement for Ioniță (Johannicius for the Pope) — the third of the brothers who revolted about 1200. Their highest hope was to be crowned in Hagia Sofia, but, failing to achieve this summit of their ambitions, they contented themselves with the title of Czar, which the true Bulgarian sovereigns had borne on the shores of the Euxine. Pontifical chanceries might style them « kings of the Vlachs and Bulgars » and speak to them, on occasion, of their Roman ancestry: but for them the highest praise was to be recognised as the successors of Czar Symeon, the pupil and rival of Byzantium, the truest « emperor » of all Bulgarian Czars.

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Thus the Romance element in the Balkans worked in two different forms and by two different means towards the formation and maintenance of Slavonic States. Firstly, through the old peasants of the Adriatic, transformed into authentic Slavs by serving a series of Serbian chiefs, princes, kings and emperors, who colonised many of the « transhumant » Vlachs on the lands of the monasteries which they built; secondly, through the initiative of Roumanian chieftains, admitted as such by Byzantium, whose revolt against imperial oppression and cruelty gave the weakened and depleted Bulgarian upper classes the opportunity of renewing their lost State, with the benediction of the national Slavonic church. On the left bank of the Danube only, has mediaeval « Romania » survived to modern times as a solid national state, ruled by sovereigns of an imperial character.

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Interior of a peasant dwelling in Roumania

## THE BACKGROUND OF ROUMANIAN HISTORY

Each country is interesting in itself, but it is often more interesting still to consider what is its significance for the development of mankind, for the culture of humanity as a whole. The older school of historical writing concentrated on establishing individual facts, while the broad lines of historical development were often neglected. For this reason the public, while buying the books, was but little impressed by them. Nowadays the main attention of the historian shall be directed towards tracing the great currents which penetrate and inspire natural societies, and the syntheses created within their limits.

I will try to bring before my audience the significance of Roumania's past in different ages: in antiquity, in the Middle Ages, and in the more recent periods of Continental history.

Firstly, Roumania can show an unbroken continuity of those elements which dominated European pre-history. Her soil is rich in treasures belonging to the millenia which preceded the appearance of written language. The manner of construction of the small huts and of the better houses in the village — and such elements were transmitted to later forms of art —, the superstitions, the character of the popular arts, as displayed in the rugs and carpets, in the shirts, in the wood-carving, the ornamental

spoons and spindles, the metalwork, belts and the like — all go back to pre-historic times. The colours themselves in their nuances and blending and in their technical preparation form a part of the same primeval heritage. Scattered fragments of this art are to be found throughout all Southern Europe, from the Basques to the Slavs of the Balkans, among the Greeks and the Turks. They extend into Asia Minor and up to the boundaries of Persia (at least as regards the linear forms); they are found in Little Russia, in Slovakia and Bohemia, in some parts of Hungary and as far as Sweden and Finland, whither they were transmitted by the Goths who, in their old homes on the Dnieper, borrowed them from the Thracians. The principal features of this highly developed art passed through Asiatic channels, across Siberia — which in remote antiquity was much more densely inhabited than it is today — to the American Continent, where it descended as far as Mexico and the neighbouring republics; the penetration extended by unknown routes, and to a limited degree, as far as the Polynesian Archipelago. But the region in which this art presents itself in the most highly developed form is undoubtedly Roumania. It is characterised by the transformation of natural objects and aspects into a system of geometrical lines: it is an abstract, mathematical, stylized conception of beauty.

The race itself, the ancient Thracian race, whose tribes, the Getes and the Daces, occupied the basin of the Lower Danube and the slopes of the Carpathians, in close union with its neighbours, the maritime Illyrians, lives on today, Romanized in speech, in the countries inhabited by the Roumanians. More closely than the other descendants of the same ethnographical stock they have preserved the physical lineaments of their barbarian ancestors, despite

all additions to the aboriginal stock effected by the slow, unnoticed penetration of the Roman invaders.

It is certain, however, that the element introduced by the Romans, the Latin influence, was a large one. Trajan was not the first to introduce this element among the villages of the conquered Dacians. Before his organised measures, and on a far larger scale, a popular immigration of shepherds and ploughmen had taken place, which transformed the ethnographical character of the Balkan and Danubian countries. The immigrants re-cast the original inhabitants in a new mould. These too, became Romans; they acquired the habit, and the right to be called by that glorious name. The colonists of the victorious Emperor found the ground already prepared by their explorers and pioneers. The Roumanians, who, despite their partition into two principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), bear the common name of Roman, constitute the most striking example in history of the Romanisation of a rural population through ethnical infiltration ignored by the official world.

In the course of time, the Empire was divided into an Eastern and a Western half — although the theoretical conception of unity did not, and could not, change. At this epoch, under the reigns of Constantine and Theodosius, the greater part of the Balkan peninsular could be considered as definitely Romanized. In some cases the funeral inscription employ Greek letters for Latin words; the poor had no occasion to commemorate on their gravestones nationality to which they belonged. Only the sea-coasts were populated by Greeks. The flood of Slavonic invasion brought important changes. Out of this Roman unity of the East, the Roumanians alone survived. They are the only representatives to-day of the whole Eastern Latin world.



They were abandoned by the Empire during Aurelian's reign, but not in the common acceptance, by a sudden withdrawal of the legions and officials. This was only a practical and temporary concession to the threatened danger of invasion. The Emperors retained all political rights. The barbarians were tolerated in a province which was kept on the registers of the State, and they could figure as mere «foederati». But there was no Roman force to protect the citizens, and no German or Touranian king was interested in ruling over poor districts where the cities had vanished, over a population living on a patriarchal system. The «Romans» were forced to organise their life of purely popular lines; wholly free, subject only to patriarchal rule.

This is no isolated example. The campagne of Rome was a «Romania» at the end of the classic age, and the name of «Romagna» has clung to it to this day. The island of Sardinia was divided into small popular units. Venice, in its origin, was merely a miserable haunt of simple fishers obeying no rulers beyond their own humble chieftains. The South of Italy can show a long list of similar communities. So, too, the «Romanches» in the Alps, who call their language «Ladin».

The Danubian Romans, in their «Romaniae», recognized the supreme authority of the distant Emperor, the Imperator (the *mbret* of the half-Romanized Illyrians of Albania), but it was very seldom that they enjoyed the opportunity of seeing him. In their homes, therefore, they entrusted the first duties of administration to the «good old men» (*oameni buni și bătrâni*: homines boni et veterani) similar to the old senators of Venice. As in Sardinia, judges (Roum: *juzi*; sing.: *jude*) decided all matters of justice. In time of war, the territories of several judges combined in a duchy, under a duke, who bore the Slavonic

title of *voevod*; the duchies coalesced into counties (*teri: terrae*) and, in the absence of an Emperor, a peasant Emperor, a *domn* (*dominus*), who could not assume the full title of the Caesars, took the first place among the various popular chiefs. The oldest democracy of Europe was alone able to create a State of its own which preserved the name of « Roman Country » — « Țara Românească ».

Another characteristic of Roumanian history is the way in which, thanks to geographical conditions, it was able to combine all currents of Art, and, to a lesser degree, all tendencies of thought, Eastern and Western alike, in an ethnographical synthesis. Before the Slavs of the 7th century altogether disappeared as an ethnical component, such tendencies as could form a corresponding synthesis in the moral field of artistic creation were retained. The primitive popular tradition formed a common basis connecting them all.

Byzantine art was transplanted into this new soil immediately after the foundation of the earlier southern principality of Wallachia. Hence it passed naturally into the northern principality of Moldavia, and into that part of the Daco-Roumanian heritage which was still enslaved: Transylvania. It was forced, however, to adopt the basic local characteristics: the love of bright, striking colours, invariable in Roumania. Thus the frail wooden improvisations and stones dipped in cement — the former serving as a frame for the latter — were replaced by better, larger stone buildings with a narthex — later doubled by an open peristyle — a nave and a secluded, mysterious altar, in front of which stood a wall or wooden screen covered with religious scenes and figures. The Gothic of Transylvania added only ornaments of carved stone round the windows and doors: crossed lineals of window frames and a series of tall, interlacing ogives. The outer walls

were covered, after the manner of popular art, with materials of variegated colours, including discs of ceramic at the point of intersection of the arches and under the eaves, and with religious paintings. The gracious shape was crowned by a small turret, the belfry being set in the surrounding walls, which were as thick as those of a fortress.

Literature kept its popular character. Monks and nobles worked on the unchanging foundation of the ancient peasant tradition. A style common to all provinces was created as early as the 16th century, the Gospel being translated under the influence of the spreading hussitism in the early years of the fifteenth. The old rhythm of the popular ballads and lyrics of love, desire and sorrow continued to set the tone for all poetical work. Byzantium contributed only literature dealing with the Orthodox religion, a type for chronicles, works of rhetoric and world histories and, incidentally, the old Indian tales adopted into Greek literature. In the 16th century the renaissance came less from decaying Transylvania than from Poland. In the middle of this period came a complete translation of the difficult Herodotus, while the Moldavian Metropolitan Dositheus issued a Psalter in folk ballad form, in rhymed verse. Literary individualism began to manifest itself, the propensity to write personal memoirs in a desultory and capricious form, as shown by Miron Costin, a pupil of the Polish school. His son Nicholas, another historian and champion of the Latin origins of the nation, was a scholar in the sense of the Western Latinists. In Prince Demetrius Cantemir, who was forced to take refuge in Russia after the catastrophe of his great ally the Czar Peter, unexpectedly defeated by the Turks in 1711, the Roumanian race had an universal genius, able to treat in different languages

— Roumanian, Latin, Greek, Turkish, Slavonic — all topics, from the Oriental songs to a geography on the lines of the anthropogeographical essays of our own days, and to a history whose lines of original development preceded and inspired the parallel ideas of Montesquieu. French philosophy was introduced by a large number of émigrés, who were employed as teachers of languages and secretaries by princes and nobles; freemasonry had some adherents, including members of the clergy, in the latter half of the eighteenth century. French romanticism, French liberalism swept over the Roumanian cities in the past century, while German thought, which later exercised a strong influence, combined to form a new modern synthesis.

Withal, the fundamental elements in the traditional intellectual and moral training were not lost. Mihail Eminescu, the greatest Roumanian poet, and one of the foremost poets of modern Europe, shows the influence of the Germans in his enunciation of the fatal emptiness of all being; of Alfred de Vigny in the defiance which he hurls at human destiny; of the popular mind in his use of the most picturesque legends of his nation, of all the charms inherent in the rich and delicate Roumanian nature.

It was through Roumanian channels that new currents of science and arts began to flow in South-Eastern Europe; it was Roumanian intellectuals, such as Nicolae Milescu in theological studies, Demetrius Cantemir, Fellow of the Berlin Academy, in the new lay directions, Antiochus Cantemir in classical French poetry, Herescu (Cherascov) in the theatre, who introduced Russia to spheres of knowledge other than the Byzantine. Serbia was a subject country under Turkish domination, Bulgaria did not exist; the Greeks were long tutored by the Moldavians and Wallachians, who paid for and controlled their religious organizations, in the holy places, from Thessaly and

Mount Athos to Jerusalem and kept up, for the benefit of Greek scholars and pupils, schools which had been built for the sons of the native nobles in Jassy and Bucharest; who printed, in their capitals and convents, books which were distributed as a work of charity to all the Christians of the East: Greeks, Slavs, Caucasians, Arabs and Syrians. The natural majesty of the Eastern Empire shed its glow upon the Courts on the lower Danube. And by those same capitals, in those same schools, under the guidance of those same ambassadors of Western thought, the ideas of political revolution, of radical reform, of national liberty, were transmitted to all the nations of the European South-East, living before Byzantine influence.

And to-day, too, when any influence has to penetrate to those countries, it must necessarily begin by making its way to Bucharest, the centre of all Roumanian life and activity, the true intellectual capital of South Eastern Europe.

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