

New Europe College Yearbook 1995–1996



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Contents

New Europe College

7

Some Eastern European Neuroses

ANDREI PLEȘU

11

VLAD ALEXANDRESCU

Du dualisme en théorie de l'énonciation

19

TEODOR BACONSKY

Devastatio Constantinopolitana

53

CAIUS DOBRESCU

War, Revolution, Carnival: Three Attempts at Integrating
Politics and Literature (1880–1970)

79

AUGUSTIN IOAN

Modern Architectural Discourse After the Death of Stalin

143

MARIANA NEȚ

The Gastronomic Discourse

187

LIVIU PAPADIMA

The Emperical Study of Literature

237

CARMEN-ADRIANA STRUNGARU

Biological Roots of Human Vocal Communication

291

MIHAI-RĂZVAN UNGUREANU

The Biography of an Illustrious Stranger: Samoil Botezatu

321

CONSTANTIN OVIDIU VERDEȘ

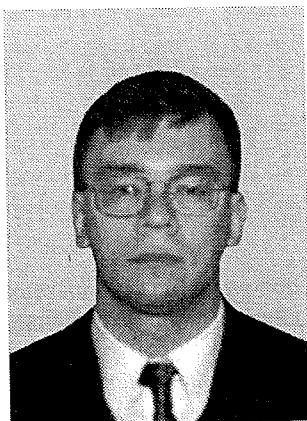
Textes de frontière, contextes de transition

357

LAURENȚIU VLAD

Des echos roumains dans la presse française l'illustration, 1843–1944

403



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The Biography of an Illustrious Stranger: Samoil Botezatu

Apparently Samoil Botezatu did not receive too much attention from historians. Nobody ever acknowledged him as a major cultural personality, as a deserving officer or as an influential politician. Nevertheless, he is one of the most prominent individuals of the nineteenth-century Moldavian cultural milieu, and his literary, teaching, and theatrical activities gained him a well-deserved reputation in Iași during the 1830s and the 1840s. For this reason he is included in literary dictionaries which, in rather brief entries, mention a few details concerning his cultural activities; however, the information provided is utterly insufficient. In my opinion, Samoil Botezatu represents a typical case of cultural integration in the society of modern Moldavia. His name alludes to a religious conversion;¹ his entire biography — both his personal life and his cultural activity — is therefore all the more worth being analyzed. The following study represents but a mere biographical research on a personality who has apparently embodied the symbolic image of social and professional achievement in a culturally fluid environment. The reader may also be prompted to consider it as the story of someone's successful social integration, by means of cultural affinities and affiliations. Botezatu was an emancipated 'marginal' — to use Robert E. Park's sociological icon —,² who gave Moldavian intellectuals a relevant example of 'oriented' cosmopolitanism. The present study will also tackle this aspect. No matter how barren this research may appear to the exigent reader, one should take into account the clear-cut limits of the project, the article's scope and purpose. The author's meager powers should, therefore, be forgiven.

Information concerning Botezatu's life is extremely scarce. No thorough research has yet been made and there are not enough elements to draw a satisfactory biography. Dictionary entries usually begin by mentioning an issue of the magazine *Albina românească* (no. 68, 17 September 1830) in which Samoil Botezatu introduced himself as being a teacher of German at the '*Gimnazia Vasiliană*' in Iași. The note states clearly that Botezatu was of Romanian origin and that he had just arrived from Bucovina, as well as the fact that, prior to his arrival in Moldavia, he taught German at the Pedagogic School in Cernăuți. Disparate data is to be found in Vasile A. Urechia's *Istoria școalelor naționale de la 1800–1864* (tomes I, II, IV), published in Bucharest in 1892. In *Istoria*

teatrului din Moldova, Teodor T. Burada, a contemporary of Samoil Botezatu, supplies the following details concerning this subject: ‘*Samoil Botezatu was born in Transylvania by the year 1790 and lived in Iași for a long time. He has also been secretary of the Health Board in Iași. He died in the capital of Moldavia around 1856. Because of the excellent manner in which he performed his duties, the government awarded him the rank of serdar.*’³ Unfortunately, almost all information in Burada’s book is false! Sheer misunderstandings also abound in an article by N. Iorga, who considered Samoil Botezatu to be of Jewish descent.⁴ Lucian Predescu, the very famous author of the *Enciclopedia ‘Cugetarea’*, perpetuated Burada’s historical mistakes,⁵ even though by the time he wrote his major work he had access to articles written by either Dumitru Furtună (published in 1938 in a regional magazine),⁶ or by Mihai Costăchescu.⁷ The latter took for granted and used information gathered by Gheorghe Ghibănescu in an attempt to write the history of the Pedagogic Institute for Schoolmistresses of Iași.⁸ In my view, these lacunae are due to the lack of archival research (with a notable exception: Urechia’s efforts to uncover the real dimensions of Moldavian modern cultural life were extensively based on archival sources). *Dictionarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900* [The Dictionary of Romanian literature from its early beginnings to 1900] brings new data into discussion. The author of the entry, Florin Faifer, considered all available sources related to Samoil Botezatu’s life and cultural activity before sketching a biographical outline.⁹ Faifer also quotes a Transylvanian encyclopaedia according to which Botezatu was of Transylvanian origin, even though the note in *Albina românească* refers to a different place of birth.¹⁰ In recent years, Professor Horst Fassel, from the University of Iași, has written about Botezatu,¹¹ including the latter’s work in a comprehensive book on the history of the teaching of German in Iași.¹²

I succeeded in re-tracing Botezatu’s paternal genealogy to Bucovina, and finally found confirmation of the information published in Gheorghe Asachi’s magazine. The name *Botezatu* is not uncommon in northern Moldavia — a region where various ethno-cultural groups mingled with the Romanian majority for the past three centuries. In Suceava, the census of the fur merchants and skimmers made on 31 January 1673 mentions a certain Vasilie Botezatu who lived on the Main Street. Dumitrașco and Toader, sons of one *Botedzat*, lived on the Fruntea Street.¹³ Over a century later, on January 25/February 4, 1792, several inhabitants of the city of Suceava asked the Orthodox Administrative Council of Bucovina to intervene with the authorities — represented by the Imperial Regional Commissariat — to stop the demolition of the Sf. Gheorghe (the ancient Metropolitan Church) and the Adormirea Fecioarei churches. The document mentions two individuals bearing the name *Botezatu*, namely Toader Botezat and Gavrilă Botezatul, as residents in Suceava.¹⁴ An agreement concluded

on 10 August 1795 between residents on the domain of the monastery of Zamca and Nicolae Capri, the administrator (*vechil*) of the Armenian community bears, among others, the signature of one Gabriel Botezat. The act refers to all duties incumbent upon the townsfolk during the toiling of the soil they had taken on lease.¹⁵

More important still than any of the above-mentioned persons is Ioniță (Iuoniță) Botezat of Suceava. He was a teacher and transcribed documents and, for a while, a clerk with the District Court of Law. He endorsed a series of writings and records employed in judging several civil causes, such as the lease-deed of July 7, 1789,¹⁶ the commercial contract of April 16/27, 1798,¹⁷ a contract interesting the baron Neculai Andrieș von Capri, of September 6/17, 1798,¹⁸ a lease-deed of November 19, 1800,¹⁹ a marriage contract of January 30, 1802.²⁰ He called himself a *pisar*, using the Slavonic term for transcribers hired by the State Chancellery. Apparently those who knew Ioniță Botezatu considered him to be a person of some distinction. He was versed in legal matters and in the proper use of German, the official language of the province at the time, as well as in that of Romanian. Undoubtedly, he enjoyed high reputation and respect throughout his life. It is for this reason that I have identified him with the person who, on September 26, 1830, wrote a letter to the bishop of Bucovina, complaining about the persecutions suffered by his son, Samoil. The text of the letter is the following:

‘Holy Father Bishop,

I, the undersigned, grieving sorely in my heart, dare reveal the following, and in so doing act as a private person, not in the line of duty — just a spiritual son disclosing all his sorrows.

Firstly,

*I, the undersigned, am now in the thirty-ninth year of employment as a trifialnic teacher [dascăl trifialnic] with the Trifialnic School [Școala Trifialnică — ‘trifialnic,’ from Latin *trivium*; school offering courses in Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric; my note] in Suceava, and have been married twice; I have come to spend all my fortune and the dowries on the studies of a son of mine, Samoil, who has completed eight years at the Latin School in Cernăuți, and two more of Philosophy, and another three years at the High School in Cernăuți; and as a student he has learned well. Whereupon sensing the pressure put on [those of] the Greek Orthodox faith and understanding from various people that unless he becomes a Catholic he stands no chance to obtain a teaching position, one which he dreamed of ever since he was a child, he went to the master Aufseher Mr. Panchevici and told him:*

— Sir, pray advise me, for I have now spent so many years here, in Cernăuți, learning: Should I entertain any hopes to be appointed teacher — yes or no?

And [he] was given the following answer:

— *Should you become a Catholic, you will soon be appointed!*

Yet he, unwilling to give up his faith, was forced to leave his native country and had to seek his fortune elsewhere. Therefore he asked the honorable government for a passport and left for Moldavia.

Secondly,

For this I have spent my fortune to the last penny, for I have hoped that, when sick or old, shall I live long enough, my son will be here to support me. Still, I am not envious of others, such as Ioan Livițchi from Văscăuți, Săvinescu, Pavlovici, and Ranca from Călinești, who have received the Catholic faith and thereby secured [what they have achieved].

And now Moldavians, having understood that there is no justice and that they shall not be granted positions meant exclusively for the Galicians, have sent their sons across to Moldavia, for fear of conversion, for which reason the number of pupils has also dropped sharply.

And the complaint I dare bring before You, Holy Father, for You are the Head of our Church and our spiritual shepherd, has been prompted by my sorrow and the weakness of my old age.

Suceava, the 26th of September 1830.

*Your Holiness' spiritual son and humble servant,
Ioniță Botezat, teacher.*²¹

Presumably Ioniță Botezat lived long after his son emigrated to Moldavia. As elected representative of the town of Suceava, on 19 July 1841, he signed the bill of donation the Moldavian Prince, Mihai Sturdza, had issued on behalf of the town, granting its inhabitants full rights to use the territories of Tătărași and Areni.²² The mayor, Michael Winiarski, and Ariton von Pruncul also signed the act. His presence among the notabilities, nobles and wealthy merchants, suggests the symbolic rank and the influence he had, at a time when his son was already living in Moldavia.

The letter offers clues for a more complete biography of Samoil Botezatu. One can easily sum up the duration of his studies: eight years of Latin, two years of Philosophy, and three years of High School, *i.e.* all in all, thirteen years of study. Assuming that Samoil had left Suceava around 1830 — the year his father wrote to the bishop in Cernăuți —, he must have started to go to school in 1817, when he was 8 to 10 years old. This was the average age for the first contact with school and learning. Consequently, with a two-year approximation, we can infer the date of his birth to be around 1807–1809.

Though I have tried to find proper confirmation of Botezatu's birth date, I have been unable to track down any marriage record or death certificate. One can only presume that he was married and had children. While Director of the School for Girls in Iași, Botezatu occupied some rooms in the building, which housed both the classrooms and the dormitories of the school. Lack of comfort

prompted him to address the Board for Public Education on March 11, 1848, asking to be granted living quarters more adequate with his social position; '*I am a Principal and I also have a family,*'²³ he wrote. I have tried to find a record of Botezatu's death, to check the date mentioned by D. Furtună in his brief article. Furtună considers Botezatu's burial place was in Iași, in the cemetery of the St. Pantelimon Church.²⁴ Unfortunately, all the records kept by the priests there have been destroyed, and so was the graveyard. The date mentioned by T.T. Burada (1856) has no solid proof; besides, Burada gives a different birth date (1790) from the one inferred above. The many differences between Botezatu's real biography and that supplied by Burada make the latter rather unreliable.

However, investigations have revealed the existence of a death certificate, noted in a civil register, and dated August 26, 1867. The document mentions a certain S. Botezu, aged 60, a clerk of Orthodox religion, married to Rarița Botezu, aged 56. Both lived in Iași, in the 4th *arrondissement*, very close to the church of St. Panteleimon. S. Botezu died on August 24, 1867, at 3 o'clock in the morning. It is very possible that S. Botezu was an acronym Samoil Botezatu had used in his later years. Several occurrences allow us to infer the assumption is correct: the initial letter of the first name, the approximate birth date (S. Botezu was born around 1807), the position he held and his religion, the confirmation of an existing marriage, the confirmation of his death and the place where he was buried. The alteration of the name (from Botezatu to Botezu) is no exception. Botezatu's contemporaries used to change their names to lend them an 'updated' ring, *i.e.* more *bourgeois*. For instance, the above-mentioned death certificate is signed by S. and Rarița's son, Nicolae, aged 27, with a French sounding version of the name: *Bottez*!²⁵ Moreover, Moldavians were all aware of the obvious significance of the original name; almost all the Botezatus were suspected of being of Jewish origin, or of concealing an early conversion to Orthodox Christianity.

There are enough reasons to consider the year 1830 as the one in which Samoil Botezatu finally settled in Iași. The note published in *Albina românească* recommended him as a new-comer, eager to find an appropriate employment in education. Soon after he began to earn his life decently, he moved to a house right in the middle of the city, in the 1st *arrondissement*. He rented it from a wealthy Jew, Mincu Marcovici. Mincu Marcovici was, beyond all doubts, one of Botezatu's acquaintances, perhaps even a friend: along with Constantin Carp, Nicolae Canta, Enache Cogălniceanu, Andronache Donici, Alexandru Beldiman, he attended courses at the Prince's Academy in Iași, during the years Botezatu taught there. They visited the same intellectual circles and had some famous Greek scholars for teachers, such as E. Vulgaris, or Dimitrios Gobelias, whose fame and influence with the Court gave them the status of permanent residents in the Moldavian capital.²⁶ Documents indicate that Botezatu paid rent for these quarters until 1835, the year of his designation as Principal at the School for Girls.²⁷

Replacing Botezatu's extended biography with a *cursus honorum* provides the same results for the interpretation of his social integration in the Moldavian society. *Condica rangurilor boierești...* [The Register of Moldavian Noblemen, 1835] mentions him as **medelnicer**.²⁸ Botezatu was ennobled by Prince Mihai Sturdza himself, on 11 November 1835, the Prince's Orthodox saint patron day.²⁹ As director of the School for Girls in Iași, he became **serdar** (1839).³⁰ In consideration of the diligence with which he carried out his duties, Botezatu was awarded the rank of **paharnic** in 1843.³¹ In 1844, he was made **căminar**.³² A later register of noble ranks lists him as **ban** (1851). Eventually he became **aga**, a title he held until his death.³³ This social and hierarchical evolution proves the swift and thorough integration of the Bucovinan newcomer in the Moldavian society. It also demonstrates the success of his personal strategy of integration was based mainly on the strength of his professional qualification, proven in favorable cultural circumstances. The pace of his social ascension shows Samoil Botezatu was an intelligent, competent, well-educated individual, endowed with a strong belief in the spiritual power of Orthodoxy and who was resolved to make his own way up by using all the moral means he could draw on. Apparently he maintained close ties with all those who showed him friendship and helped him whenever necessary, or who relied on him. As a result he turned these personal assets into valuable means of socialization. He succeeded in reflecting a good image of himself onto his peers, through an appropriate public and moral behavior, due largely to his German education and spirit.

Samoil Botezatu was one of the first Romanians to teach German in a Moldavian public school, during the first half of the nineteenth century. The teaching of German was known to be mostly a private educational activity, and it usually involved native German speakers. However, among the important Moldavian intellectuals of the early nineteenth century there were many scholars who had been brought up in the German language or who had been educated in German-speaking intellectual milieus, had a good command of the language and were interested in all aspects performing to German modern culture. For example, Gheorghe Asachi — to whom Botezatu owes his teaching career in Iași — had lived in Vienna for five years (1822–1827) as a diplomatic agent for Ioniță Sandu Sturdza, Prince of Moldavia between 1822 and 1828. Asachi had previously studied in Vienna and Rome, and had no difficulty in growing familiar with the spirit of central European culture.³⁴ His wife, Elena Tauber, was the daughter of the *Hofmeister der königliche Kapelle* in Vienna; she taught German to the two sons of Mihai Sturdza while the future Prince of Moldavia lived in the Austrian capital.³⁵ It is not surprising that Mihai Sturdza, one of the most educated contemporary Moldavian boyars and a sincere admirer of the Prussian political establishment, considered German language and German education to be appropriate for his sons. Sturdza himself was a polyglot and proudly boasted

his wide classical knowledge. So were both his wives, and he wished his offsprings to be raised in the same way. The German spirit seemed to act pervasively throughout the entire Moldavian society. Apparently Asachi named one of his daughters, Hermiona (b. 1823), after the main character in *Hermione, die Braut der Unterwelt*, a drama written by the Viennese Fr. Wilhelm Ziegler and successfully played for almost twenty years in Austrian theaters.³⁶ Hermiona Asachi herself translated dramatic plays from German into Romanian, and taught her mother tongue in private. Another prominent cultural figure, the poet Alecu Donici, learned German, Russian, and French by the time he was living in St. Petersburg, in his early years (before 1825).³⁷ Because of their small number, German-speaking intellectuals more or less knew each other and found ways to keep in touch constantly, thus helping themselves to find reasons for communicating and lobbying. They definitely shared a certain sense of intellectual community and were perfectly aware of all the advantages incumbent to their outstanding social position.

German was largely considered to be the most suitable language for public order and social discipline.³⁸ For almost half a century French had been regarded as the language of social communication and gentlemanly conduct. To speak French, to read French books suggested an European attitude toward culture, closely related to the status French culture enjoyed at the end of the eighteenth century and during the Napoleonic era. However, French was also the language of a terrible revolution, of social unrest and unleashed violence. After 1815 and following the growing influence of German Romanticism in Europe, the speaking of German and a German-like behavior became the epitomes of those personal qualities any 'civilized' European who would respect and have consideration for the importance of legal matters, should always prove. Moreover, Germans seemed to be endowed with a specific sense of respect toward all kind of hierarchies pending to the establishment, thus enabling them to pass for examples of what a modern human society should look like in the first half of the nineteenth century. To the question why should German spirit become an educative example to a country ravaged by a series of successive and ruthless wars, and whose political foundations had been thoroughly shaken up, Mihail Kogălniceanu found an answer while in Berlin, in 1835: '*En Allemagne on est plus tranquille, l'instruction est plus profonde, les mœurs sont plus innocentes et les coutumes plus patriarcales.*'³⁹

All significant mutations in the socio-political climate which had occurred at the beginning of the century, the long series of wars between the Ottoman and the Russian Empires, the sudden replacement of elected or nominated Princes, the ceaseless political instability affecting Moldavia and its inhabitants, made Moldavian intellectuals yearn for a firm government and a befitting leadership. German language impregnated the Romanian cultural milieu with the idea of

social harmony, which would have been put to work through the joint efforts of all classes and social categories. German language and the principle of social order — as Costache Conachi, a famous, rich nobleman and poet, put it — ‘*are destined to regulate public life*’.⁴⁰ By the beginning of the nineteenth century the orientation toward a moral reform of the public spirit slowly made its way; the emphasis it laid on a proper employment of the German social and civic model became obvious in the 1830s. The adoption of an increasingly open mind towards German culture — in a broad sense — also engendered the bridging of the cultural gap between local culture and what was deemed to be the West (Germany and France), political motivations resulted from the revolutionary course steered by France.⁴¹ Transformations inspired by the new constitutional body of laws (**Regulamentul Organic**, 1832) required a new type of citizen, one always ready to do what the Moldavian society would ask of its members. Botezatu belonged to such a category: he was devoted to hierarchies, showed no interest in political dissent, was respectful of the ruling classes and aristocratic system. Neither him, nor his protector, Gheorghe Asachi, had been affected by the 1848 revolution in Moldavia; they refused to take part or pay any attention to it.

His political passivity is due to a bitter experience. In November 1835, he meddled in politics, and signed (or copied) the *Adresse des grands Boyards de la Moldavie a sa Majesté l'Empereur de Toutes les Russies*, a protest addressed to Czar Nicolas I, the official Protector of the Romanian Principalities, against Prince Mihai Sturdza and his government, the actual target of the *adresse*. The document — drafted by a handful of boyars concerned with the strong-hand regime that had been institutionalized in 1834 —, in spite of its diplomatic and tactful phrasing, suggested a radical change in the nature of the home and foreign policies inaugurated by Sturdza's regime. Botezatu's participation had been undoubtedly prompted by the relationships he had developed with aristocrats during the very first years of his Moldavian sojourn. However, politics could endanger the status of a newcomer and bring his professional career to a halt. He, therefore, might have been advised against any participation in actions planned by the political opposition parties, for the sake of his life and career. The indefinite and discouraging result of the document and the lack of political abilities put an abrupt end to Botezatu's political pursuits.⁴²

The nature of the links between Samoil Botezatu and Gheorghe Asachi deserves special attention. The latter realized that Botezatu's intellectual biography and educational background befitted his own projects very well. The note Botezatu published in *Albina românească* does not represent only a personal advertisement, it is also a sign that he had already been accepted as teacher and acknowledged as such by the intellectual community of Iași. The step Botezatu had made put him into direct and close contact with his Moldavian intellectual

peers, who were, more or less, politically active. *L'accesso nella famiglia dell'intellettualità* opened doors for him that were generally closed to new-comers, and eventually led him to fame and public *reconnaissance*. Asachi gathered around him intellectuals who were eager to be granted a specific social and symbolic status in contemporary Moldavian society. Therefore, due to the personal strategy on which Asachi always drew in cases of cultural and social integration, he managed to offer Botezatu private jobs, such as that of teaching German to members of local aristocratic families.

German natives were quite well known for their being employed by wealthy families who wanted their children to be taught in German. They also proved themselves able to organize the teaching of German in private boarding schools: in 1831 a certain Hönig taught in a French-ruled private school in Miroslava, on the outskirts of Iași (the Lincourt-Chefneux private boarding school).⁴³ E. Tollhausen, who came from Frankfurt am Main, happened to be chosen by the local authorities in 1834 to teach German at the *Gimnazia Vasiliană*, in Iași.⁴⁴ Ch. Flechtenmacher, a well-known Moldavian lawyer of Transylvanian German origin (he came from Brașov [Kronstadt]), taught German literature at the *Academia Mihăileană* in 1836.⁴⁵ Less than twenty years after the introduction of the **Regulamentul organic** (1832), the intensive teaching of German was a common feature with almost every private school in Moldavia; admission examinations in German were also customary;⁴⁶ for instance, this was the case at the ‘Concolî’ private school, in 1833.⁴⁷ In April 1837, a report drawn by the Department of Internal Affairs for the Board for Public Education mentioned six private schools, with a registration quota of 116 pupils (four schools for boys and a private school — *Cuénim* — in Iași only), which included German in their curriculum as a compulsory course.⁴⁸ A similar report, dated September 1839, mentions eight Moldavian schools (and 99 pupils), which were resolved to employ teachers of German.⁴⁹ Friedrich von Kühntal, who was teaching German in 1838 at the *Academia Mihăileană*, also held classes in various private schools until the 1860s.⁵⁰ Various foreign residents in Moldavia were likely to register their children with schools providing compulsory German classes. In March 1840, the Armenian community of Iași embarked upon drafting the statutes of an Armenian school, where pupils would have been given the opportunity to learn Armenian, Romanian, French, and German.⁵¹

Wallachians shared the same concern for the cultural importance of German teaching. The reasons were unchanged: a clear and unbiased reaction to the socially pervasive French ‘materialism’, as Ioan Maiorescu — a Transylvanian teacher who had settled in Wallachia and the father of the famous Romanian literary critic Titu Maiorescu — put it, in 1837.⁵² A reputed nineteenth-century autobiographer, Colonel Grigorie Lăcusteanu, began to learn German during his stay in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Transylvania), where his family had fled the

1821 Greek revolutionaries who had invaded the country. He later resumed his study in Bucharest, attending the lectures given by a teacher who taught both German and Greek.⁵³ In 1833–1834, German was taught in only one private school in Bucharest, by a certain Anton Stamatopol; 19 children attended courses in Greek, French, and German.⁵⁴ The chair of German language at the St. Sava College in Bucharest came into being somewhat later (August 1845). This was headed by K. Schweder, a native German who, prior to that date, had also taught it in some private schools in Bucharest. The director of the Department for Schools, P. Poenaru, explained the social necessity of teaching German in relevant words: *'There is a public wish to establish a connection between these courses and to their similes [...], not only because this language is one of the most cultivated languages today, but mostly because of the relationships which have been established between this Principality and Germany, in the realm of commerce.'*⁵⁵

In Moldavia, apart from their private character, these 'supplementary courses' were organized by the Board of the Gimnazia Vasiliană. Whoever intended to study German at the Gimnazia without being one of the registered students, could do it in private with the help of a teacher who was on the payroll of the Gimnazia Vasiliană, namely Samoil Botezatu (in May 1830).⁵⁶ Eventually, Botezatu began to be noticed by influential people, whose children he successfully taught. His powerful friends and supporters as well as his teaching abilities prompted the authorities to include the teaching of German among the supplementary courses held at the Academia Mihăileană, along with Roman law taught by Ch. Flechtenmacher, Greek — taught by Grigorie Therapianos, French (Ét. Monton), Russian (V. Peltechi), and music (Prof. Paulicec).⁵⁷ However, in the course of 1831, Botezatu resumed his private activities and taught German to wealthy people of different ages and social positions. That year, *Albina românească* published the following note: [Samoil Botezatu] *'teacher of German, Latin, and Moldavian [...] would like to announce that he is ready to teach these languages to noble houses.'*⁵⁸ Needless to say that, apart from his private activity, he never abandoned the prospect he had been offered thanks to Asachi's influence, namely the opportunity to work in the only University in Moldavia. Samoil Botezatu taught at the Academia Mihăileană until 1847.

Because of its position in the curriculum as supplementary course,⁵⁹ German could be taught exclusively in the afternoon, from 4 to 6 p. m.; this was the timetable during the summer semester of the 1831–1832 academic year.⁶⁰ Examination subjects included basic grammar, theory and exercises.⁶¹ The number of pupils attending courses in foreign languages increased steadily and at a fast pace. A report by Gh. Asachi addressed to the Board for Public Education, dated September 29, 1832, ended with a request made to the government to restrict public access and to unconditionally limit admission quotas for foreign language courses. The report stated: *'only students from the Academy and pupils*

*from the High School are welcomed to learn one of the modern languages (or even two by turns), provided they prove remarkable talent and skills in this respect.'*⁶² During the following school year, Botezatu taught from 11 to 12 a.m. every working day of the week. The schedule credited German classes with six hours per week, the same amount of time as Russian, and half the time allotted for the learning of French and classic Greek.⁶³ Botezatu employed the same methods as his colleague who taught Russian, V. Peltechi.⁶⁴ In his introductory classes he taught reading and writing, and continued with German grammar and the conjugations of verbs.⁶⁵

In the meantime, Botezatu's social position apparently grew ever more secure. He was earning a good salary (2400 lei/ year) in 1833.⁶⁶ His academic position was assimilated — according to the rank system established by the **Regulamentul Organic** — with that of director of a civil ministry department.⁶⁷ Due to the good recommendations he had, Botezatu was given a second assignment; the position thus obtained being directly related to his classes and his work. On January 15, 1832, following Gh. Asachi's proposal, the Board for Public Education (consisting of Prince Mihail Sturdza, Veniamin Costache — Metropolitan of the Moldavian Orthodox Church —, and C. Mavrocordat), pledged its plan to set up a three-month course *'to prepare candidates for teaching positions in departmental primary schools in Moldavia.'*⁶⁸ Botezatu was immediately credited with lectures in Pedagogy, mainly because of the way in which *'he had carried out similar obligations while in Bucovina'*. Asachi urged the appropriate public authorities to increase the latter's income, too. As of February 15, 1832, Botezatu took over his auxiliary duties. Many of those who passed the final examinations in Pedagogy (July 16, 1832) later joined Botezatu's classes of German at Academia Mihăileană: Theodor Stamate (then part-time teacher in Iași), C. Zefirescu (teacher in Huși), V. Pavlovici — Paulini (teacher in Focșani).⁶⁹

The year 1832 happened to be a good one for Botezatu. He won public recognition for his linguistic skills, as well as for his pedagogic accomplishments and for the steadfast determination with which he completed tasks pending to his various jobs. Asachi noticed his pedagogic training and suggested he should write a book on didactic methodologies. As a result, *Despre metod* [On Method] was published September 1832, under the names of both Asachi and Botezatu.⁷⁰

When the Academia Mihăileană opened its doors in the early autumn of 1834, Samoil Botezatu began teaching German to undergraduates. Meanwhile he had to take up responsibilities as director of the School for Girls. Soon after that, the *Reglementul școlilor publice din Principatul Moldovei* [Regulations for Public Schools in the Principality of Moldavia, June 1835], the country's first modern educational constitution, drawn by Gh. Asachi, became effective.⁷¹ Consequently, the teaching of German finally acquired a distinct status among

the other subjects usually taught in Moldavian schools. This is why the general educational syllabus for the Academia Mihăileană as well as for all public schools in Moldavia (*Tabloul gheeneralnic a materiilor de învățătură care să paradosesc în Academia Mihăileană și shoalile publice din Moldova*), printed in Iași in 1835, mentions the teaching of German among the 'general courses in Philology'. It was aimed that the course would address two different groups of students; students in one group were supposed to study to become teachers of German literature.⁷² Samoil Botezatu was in charge of the German grammar courses (for undergraduates), and E. Tollhausen — a native German speaker — taught German literature.⁷³ Botezatu's colleagues were largely foreigners or Romanians from other provinces who had settled in Moldavia when they were young: Ch. Flechtenmacher taught German and Latin,⁷⁴ N. Draghinici taught Latin, V. Paulini, T. Verescu, and V. Peltechi taught Russian, Ch. Tissot and A. Malgouverné taught French, L. Répey taught French literature, N. Porphirogenitos taught classic Greek, and N. Cuculli taught Latin.⁷⁵ Botezatu's income was about 2400 lei per year.⁷⁶

The invitation to the grand opening of the Academia Mihăileană, dated June 16, 1835, which had been sent to all employees the day before the ceremony, was signed, among others, by Botezatu.⁷⁷ The syllabus named three week days during which German was taught as supplementary course, during the morning and in the early afternoon.⁷⁸ Since the number of students attending the supplementary courses became disproportionately high compared to the facilities provided by the building, the Academic Board (comprising Gh. Săulescu, V. Fabian, Major Singurov, and Gh. Asachi) ordered the academic staff to continue teaching during the holidays.⁷⁹ The excellent pedagogic achievements of the first semester of study prompted the Board for Public Education to address Prince Sturdza an official request to endorse the awarding of noble titles to the most distinguished scholars of the Academy (October 29, 1835). The document was annexed to a report concerning the general condition of schools during the 1835–1836 academic year.⁸⁰ As a result, on November 8, 1835 (Prince Mihai Sturdza's saint patron day) Samoil Botezatu was granted the title of **medelnicer**, a recognition of his meritorious pedagogic activity during the three years he had been in Moldavia.⁸¹

Teachers of modern European languages seemed to be in fashion. They parroted notoriety with foreign lecturers. On July 1, 1836, the Board for Public Education decided to offer accommodation to two pedagogues, one French and one German, at the 'Institute for Noblemen in the vicinity of the Academy'. Both of them assumed to do their best in 'training the students in Rethorics and good manners.'⁸² The newly elected Academic Board (Gh. Asachi, Gh. Săulescu, Damaschin Bojincă, Ch. Flechtenmacher, Major Singurov) took the problem into consideration, and sent a report to the Academy (November 29, 1836).⁸³

Eventually, in March 1837, the Board for Public Education (Metropolitan Veniamin Costache, Ioan Canta, Ioan Ghica, Gh. Asachi) notified Prince Mihai Sturdza of the decisions the Academic Board had taken. Their report (no. 67 of March 18, 1837), included recommendations aimed at improving the syllabus. The text pointed out the role 'modern and classic languages' were supposed to play in the proper education of younger generations. Modern languages were thought to be 'models as well as life suggestions'. The document further stated that 'bringing up pupils and students [...] requires an extremely careful supervision', one that only foreign pedagogues would be able to perform. These newcomers were to be from France and Germany, and were supposed to have 'an acknowledged proper behavior and the appropriate qualities for such a service'. The document was enacted by Prince Sturdza on March 20, 1837.⁸⁴

A modest income, compared to his family's needs, prompted Botezatu to accept other public employments, such as translating German documents into Romanian (1836), which constrained him to neglect the regular courses at the Academy. The Academic Board promptly reacted by reporting the case to the Prince (report no. 157 of July 3, 1836), and asking him to release Botezatu of 'the German-Romanian translation tasks, because his numerous employments are detrimental to teaching activities.'⁸⁵ This reaction was perfectly motivated: the number of students attending Botezatu's classes had grown during the previous academic year. Most students preferred German to Russian and even to French. All in all, 20 students out of 397 had chosen German instead of other languages — thus outnumbering by far those who had opted for Russian as a foreign language.⁸⁶ This development eventually drove Professor V. Peltechi, in charge of the Russian classes, to extremity. Peltechi tried hard to change the timetable and thereby increase the attendance figure for his classes. Unfortunately his efforts were in vain; he finally gave up Russian classes in favor of French and German courses. As of November 7, 1839, he began teaching Romanian and Latin.⁸⁷

At the beginning of the 1837–1838 academic year, Botezatu had the opportunity to thank Gh. Asachi for what the latter had done for him. Botezatu was one of the signatories of the message whereby the academic staff at the Academia Mihăileană — 'corposul profesoral' — expressed their gratitude toward Gheorghe Asachi as the latter gave up his position as director with the Board for Public Education. Others such as **căminar** Flechtenmacher, **paharnic** Gh. Săulescu, **medelnicer** Vasile Peltechi, **medelnicer** Teodor Verescu also signed the message.⁸⁸

Botezatu taught German reading, writing, and translation in the first form, grammar (up to verbs), dictations, translations, dialogues, and Gothic hand-writing in the 2nd form, syntax (up to the use of adverbs), translations from famous moralist authors, dictations, and writing in the 3rd form.⁸⁹ The syllabus for German courses

remained almost unchanged during the following years, until the closure of the Academy. The number of attendants did not vary too much either; students of German always outnumbered those of Russian.⁹⁰ For a while, Botezatu's income remained unchanged: 2400 lei per year, with installments paid at irregular intervals, until April 1843.⁹¹ However, Botezatu apparently did not mind, and carefully observed the syllabus and the school's regulations. This attitude with regard to the financial hardships of the Academia Mihăileană brought him even more disciples.⁹² A reputedly reliable person, Botezatu was always nominated in the examination boards for regional schools. For instance, on 15 July 1839 he took part in a public examination in Botoșani aimed at evaluating the activities and the results of teachers. He came to be known to everybody as '*the professor from the Academia Mihăileană*'.⁹³

The textbooks Botezatu used were from Austria. It can be inferred that he had become accustomed to work with them while studying German in Cernăuți, in Austrian Bucovina. In the meantime, he also wrote his own textbooks. On November 5, 1838, the Central Administration ordered the Academic Board to have all the professors at the Academia Mihăileană fill in a questionnaire, concerning the textbooks they would recommend their students to read and study. Botezatu mentioned a German primer, printed in Austria and translated by him into Romanian, and a manuscripted Romanian-German grammar. The latter was never printed.⁹⁴

After 1840, the transformations undergone by the educational system and the subsequent financial cuts prompted the Academic Board to turn once again to the status of supplementary courses and analyze it. In its report to the Board for Public Education (no. 38 of 2 September 1840), the Academic Board asked for a limitation in the number of supplementary courses. The Board turned to the example of a teacher of French, St. André, who had not managed to gather the minimum number of course attendants (twelve) set up by the Board along with other compulsory legal provisions regulating the organization of educational activities. Apart from this, supplementary courses were apparently filling the entire learning time of the students.⁹⁵

But the most significant change of attitude as regards the role of modern foreign languages in Moldavian schools is related to an extremely delicate matter, which eventually led to fierce disputes over the fate of Moldavia's culture and over future developments in its educational system, namely what was to be the main teaching language at the Academia Mihăileană? On 23 October 1843, the Academic Board (I. Ghica, Th. Stamati, P. Câmpeanu, Gh. Săulescu) decided that one out of the two most important European languages (French and German) should be compulsory for all the students who were registered with the Academy. As long as the teaching of German was concerned, this could have resulted into the transition from a somewhat uncertain and less important

position in the syllabus to a first-rank position, similar to that of Romanian, the national language, for instance. It was I. Ghica — at that time Principal Inspector for Schools — who took the initiative and brought the questionable educative role of the Russian language into discussion, into a more or less subtle attempt to eliminate Russian from the syllabus. His skepticism was shared by almost every other member of the Board. There were no voices against silencing any initiatives trying to restore the status Russian language had during the Russian military occupation of the country (1828–1834). Eventually, the Board set an inconvenient time of the day during which Russian could be taught as supplementary course: in the afternoon, from 4 p. m. onwards. Almost surprisingly, if one considers the political meaning of such a settlement, the Central Administration (Alecă Balș, N. Suțu) approved the proposal (30 October 1843).⁹⁶ However, soon afterwards I. Ghica left his office (perhaps because of diplomatic pressures), and a second project aiming to reform the educational system (the so-called 'German project', authored by Neugebauer) granted the teaching of German a 'supplementary course status', thereby pushing it back among the peripheral disciplines in the structure of the curriculum, and disregarding a notable detail: upon a request the Board had made sometime ago,⁹⁷ Academia Mihăileană had accepted to appoint the two foreign pedagogues (one German and one French). This was a sign, which proved that German had lost 'the battle of languages' to French. In fact this change actually followed a much more complicated process of cultural re-orientation, one which became obvious by the middle of the century: the growing interest for French culture finally diverted public attention from German and made the latter resist only in German-speaking intellectual milieus.⁹⁸

It will be very relevant to briefly consider Botezatu's most favorite students. This would give the reader a hint as to the pedagogical and scientific abilities of the teacher himself characterized by Asachi in 1843 as '*one of the most outstanding Moldavian professors, a former teacher of German and the director at the School for Girls in Iași*'.⁹⁹ Sending students abroad to take advantage of scholar — and fellowships was not uncommon in a society whose wealthy members praised and highly regarded Western educational methods, be they German or French. Encouraging, sending and supporting young people to travel and study in prestigious foreign universities has a history of its own, one at least as old as the history of the modern educational system in Moldavia.¹⁰⁰ In August 1833, Gh. Asachi addressed the Central Administration the first suitable proposals. One month later, in September 1833, the selected students (T. Stamate, Anton Velini, C. Zefirescu, A. Costinescu — all undergraduates) asked the Administration to facilitate their registration with the University of Vienna.¹⁰¹ Eventually, the Central Administration accepted their request provided they fulfilled one particular condition: '*Because a decent knowledge of German is*

indispensable in order to attend courses in the Austrian provinces, the supplicants will take it upon themselves to learn the language before the beginning of spring.¹⁰² The candidates therefore attended the German classes held by Botezatu. The official announcement issued by the Central Administration on 10 May 1834 stated that all applicants for scholarships have been allowed to continue their studies in Vienna, by means of state-granted fellowships. The nominees — all of noble origin — were also supposed to meet part of their regular accommodation costs. Anastasie Fătu, a famous naturalist and physician, was given the right to work in Vienna as well. A wealthy Romanian merchant, Hagi Constantin Popp — ‘a wise man and a friend of our nation’ — was in charge of students staying in Vienna. Later on, his brother, Dr. A.C. de Popp, took over the responsibility.¹⁰³ At the last moment, Anton Velini was replaced by Alexandru Corlățeanu, a teacher from Huși. The latter was determined to earn a specialization in German, the language parents in Huși wanted their children to be taught in.¹⁰⁴

How far did Botezatu’s students get after they graduated is important for our research, too. Theodor Stamati graduated Philosophy and Arts at the University of Vienna (10 May 1837). Alexandru Costinescu, the father of the future minister for Public Finances Emil Costinescu, knew German, French, Italian, and Greek. He studied Mathematics, Physics, Applied Geometry, Mechanics, Engineering, Architecture, Astronomy, Geodesy at the Viennese Polytechnic Institute. C. Zefirescu knew German, French, and Greek, and was registered with the same institute. He attended courses in Technical and Specific Chemistry, Commerce, and Mining Engineering. He also worked for some time in several Bohemian factories and at the Institute for Mines in Schemnitz, Hungary. All six of them earned excellent references¹⁰⁵ and upon their return were immediately offered full-time academic positions with the Academia Mihăileană, as of the beginning of September 1838.¹⁰⁶ Stamati took the Chair of Philosophy, and started to teach Elementary Mathematics (first form), and Theoretical and Experimental Physics (second form). Costinescu taught Engineering and Basic Mechanics (fourth form), and Zefirescu began teaching Technical and Specific Chemistry (to postgraduates), and Commerce (fourth form).

As usual, there were students who bitterly disappointed their teachers. Leon Filipescu, for instance, was sent to an institute in Hohenheim, Stuttgart. He did not succeed to take any of the examinations, but instead managed to stir the local policemen against him. As a result, the Central Administration asked the Prince (report no. 94 of 12 June 1839) to bring him back home, and replace him with C. Zefirescu. The latter was supposed to register with the Institute of Agronomy in Altenberg, Hungary, and to work at Archduke Charles’ experimental farm. By sending Zefirescu there, the Central Administration hoped that, as a postgraduate, he would be able to take a chair at the new Institute for Agro-

nomy in Iași, although this institution was just a part of an ambitious and generous project.¹⁰⁷ Zefirescu left Moldavia for a second time and went to Weissenburg, near Troppau, in Moravia. Soon afterwards, he applied for the Austrian citizenship, and never returned to Iași. As late as 1845, the Central Administration was still trying to recover one hundred gold florins from him, to cover expenses made by the State for his education, to which extent it was sending him countless letters of request. The negative answers — brought back by Dr. Czihak, the Principal of the St. Spiridon Hospital in Iași — left the office no chance to recuperate the financial loss.¹⁰⁸

Much to his former professors’ surprise, Leon Filipescu managed to stir the enthusiasm of an academic audience only a few days after his return to Iași. Though his previous disrespectful behavior had brought shame onto Moldavian academic representation abroad, Filipescu soon worked his way up and, in 1841, became Associate Professor with the Academia Mihăileană.¹⁰⁹ He later took the Chair of Rural Economy at the Seminary in Iași. On 10 January 1843 he asked the Central Administration to support one of his bold scientific projects: the publishing of a German book he had translated while in Germany (Dr. Schlipers’ *Manualul popular de economie rurală*). The Academic Board and the Director of the Agronomic School — Mihalic de Hodocin — reviewed the book and its translation, commending its scientific and didactic qualities, and eventually approved its publication.¹¹⁰ In 1845, Leon Filipescu temporarily took the place of his former teacher, Samoil Botezatu, and taught German at the Academia Mihăileană.¹¹¹ In 1838, the Academic Board asked the Central Administration to send Filipescu once more abroad in Germany, together with Gh. Asachi’s son, Dimitrie — himself an engineer and an architect —, and Gh. Lemeni, who was born in Bucovina and was a native speaker of German. Gh. Panaiteanu-Bardasare, who graduated the high school in 1840, joined the latter at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, where he continued to study Painting and History of Art with Professor Schwankenthaler.¹¹²

Botezatu earned his reputation not only as a teacher of German, but also as Director of the School for Girls in Iași. The institution was established in compliance with **Regulamentul Organic** (Chapter Two, Article 422).¹¹³ It began to function on 8 November 1834¹¹⁴ in a building which belonged to the Monastery of Bărboi in Iași. In 1836, the school moved to another building close to the Church of Sf. Ilie.¹¹⁵ The general syllabus first comprised three years of study, and later four, due to the growing number of attendants. The staff was rather limited: Botezatu was Director and ‘*Professor-in-Charge Head of Staff*’, Ioan Mielu, the priest, was father confessor and ‘*the teacher of Religion*’, Elisabeta Alexandrescu taught household skills; they were joined by a superintendent, sister Susana, and a manager, Iordache Gheorghiu.¹¹⁶ The staff changed several times over a fifteen-year period: the school hired an engineer, Gustav Hof-

mann, to give an introductory course in Technics,¹¹⁷ and a teacher of Drawing, Stavsky — ‘a distinguished painter, who has married and settled in Iași’.¹¹⁸ Elisabeta Alexandrescu, the teacher of household skills, died in 1838¹¹⁹ and her position was filled by another well-educated and skilled lady. Botezatu, who deftly run the school, remained Director until 1849.¹²⁰

The syllabus was oriented mainly toward the teaching of household skills¹²¹ but there was also room for Romanian literature and grammar, geography, and calligraphy — subjects taught by Samoil Botezatu in 1840–1841.¹²² In 1843, he taught Arithmetics and Geography.¹²³ However, the money he earned was never enough to support his family, even though he was once again teaching German in private and continued to give courses at the Academia Mihăileană, maintaining his position there.¹²⁴ Botezatu had to confront a huge set of administrative problems, and to keep a watchful eye on everything that happened in the school. The managerial archive confirms his tireless efforts.¹²⁵ He scrupulously recorded all the difficulties he had to face and the decisions he took, from measures aimed at bringing down the AWLs and the refurbishment of the school’s furniture¹²⁶, to the expelling of pupils, proper educational management of the increasing number of students, to fund-raising for scholarships and relations in the staff. Botezatu’s diligence, tenacity and finesse earned him the rank of *căminar* — following a favorable report made by the Board for Public Education on 3 March 1842.¹²⁷ For years and years, *la mémoire collective* of former pupils and teachers at the School for Girls evoked Botezatu’s figure and good-hearted behavior. Half a century later, Theodor Codrescu¹²⁸ and C. Gane¹²⁹ still remembered the official opening of the school and the awarding ceremony held in the summer of 1835. Botezatu’s contemporaries were moved by the interest all the girls apparently had for increasing their knowledge as well as by the pedagogical skills and the distinguished intellectual quality of the staff: ‘A l’école des jeunes filles on enseigne dans 4 années les mêmes objets et encore toutes sortes d’ouvrages de mains et le dessin.’¹³⁰ Ceremonies were always carefully prepared: all classrooms were decorated with bunches of flowers, and objects made by the pupils were on display. The day of the summer examinations, the young girls, aged 8 to 15, were assembled in the school’s courtyard. Dressed in white, with a girdle in the colors of the national flag, they readily answered the questions, phrased by a special commission, that were asked to them in public. The audience consisted of representatives of central and local authorities, councilors of the Central Administration, priests, clerks, nobles, ‘and an impressive number of elegant ladies’. The Board for Public Education delegate opened the ceremony with a speech in which he thanked the Prince and His government, and the outstanding Head of Staff at the School. As the school was under the patronage of Her Highness the Princess, the prince’s family usually took part in the ceremony, or at least had the girls, accompanied

by Professor Samoil Botezatu, invited to the palace. On this occasion, teachers and students received important prizes. In June 1839, after the Director of the School for Girls presented the official report to the Prince, Botezatu was granted the rank of *serdar*.¹³¹

Samoil Botezatu’s relationship with Gheorghe Asachi developed into a long-lasting friendship between men of letters. Whenever Asachi went through a difficult moment in his life — regardless whether the authorities or his other friends were responsible for it, Botezatu did not stand apart, but encouraged and supported his benefactor.

One of the most significant examples of this long-lasting relationship concerns Botezatu’s affiliation with a group, which had planned to produce the first Romanian-German conversation dictionary. The event also sheds light on the intellectual quality of Asachi’s friends. Similar projects had been undertaken earlier in Wallachia (Ioan Heliade-Rădulescu in 1831, for instance). A widespread interest in publishing dictionaries paralleled the classical tendency of interpreting contemporary cultural needs as subjects of literary research, in terms of establishing grammatical categories, of ‘academizing’ words and language altogether.¹³² The Moldavian project, which envisaged the creation of a functional linguistic instrument capable of defining and purifying the lexical contents of the Romanian language, dates from 1839. Ten years later, an editorial in the magazine ‘*Albina românească*’ dealt exclusively with outlining the ambitious cultural project. Apart from technical details associated to its content and scope, Asachi also wrote: ‘A philosopher once said:’ *the lexicon of one’s language is the capital book of that nation.*’ *The Academy [Academia Mihăileană] in Iași has been striving for a long time now to gather Romanian words, so that, by putting them together with those gathered by Romanian scholars from Bucharest and from Transylvania, a lexicon would become available which, in the long run, will give Romanians everywhere a language sharing common features.* According to Asachi, all Romanian words, including those which are ‘less familiar, belong to idiomatic speech, are mentioned in early documents, or even are concocted by the authors themselves’ would have to be listed in a special appendix. Asachi invited Romanians everywhere to take part in the editing, and to send proposals for words to be included in the dictionary, ‘together with their meaning, and with a note specifying the place or the source of the word, or the particular purpose for which the word had been conceived.’¹³³ What Asachi had in mind at that time were the German initiatives and researches in the comparative study of languages, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹³⁴ Botezatu was precisely the right person for making such remote examples and precedents clear through translation and proper interpretation.

The scope of this cultural project was immense. Asachi frequently referred to the existence of a group within the Academia Mihăileană which was in charge

of all the work. In the first half of the nineteenth century, when ‘*differences between men of letters were not so clear*’,¹³⁵ such a body of intellectuals would have contributed to the creation of a specific cultural identity, and by means of common interests, aims, and public behavior, would have developed a socio-cultural feed-back. The group was also said to promote the project, laying stress on its nation-wide importance and cultural role. However, regardless how attractive the academic plan was, one pre-requisite had to be fulfilled before actual work could begin. I hereby refer to a *Maecena*, whose existence would have been instrumental in covering the costs implied by such an enterprise. Private support for cultural initiatives in societies which lack an autonomous cultural network (system) should seek to actively encourage creation in those fields of research which the State cannot afford to support financially. The Moldavian society of the nineteenth century was deprived of an active, institutionalized cultural network, able to sustain itself through a direct business-like relation between the authors (the offer) and their public (the cultural demand).¹³⁶ Moldavian culture also lacked an established and acknowledged cultural identity, in which a sponsor would have liked to invest, in order to catalyze and animate further creation. There was no sense of what culture may induce to the self-definition of Moldavians as part of the Romanian nation; culture seemed to have no specific and immediate social or political utility. The only financial solution for elaborating and editing a dictionary was a substantial sponsorship, to which nobles and bourgeois alike could contribute. Unfortunately, it could have been easier to raise funds in Wallachia, where people acted more associatively, than in Moldavia.¹³⁷

Asachi was the first who signed the subscription list compiled for the publishing of the dictionary and entitled: ‘*Prospectus for the publishing of a Conversation Lexicon by subscription — translated from German into Romanian by a Moldo-Romanian society of men-of-letters, under the direction of aga Gheorghie Asachi*’ (10 March 1839). All the members of this ‘society’ knew German, and were educated in German schools: **paharnic** Gh. Săulescu, Dr. P. Câmpeanu, Dr. Th. Stamati, Alex. Costinescu, **medelnicer** Samoil Botezatu, I. Albineț.¹³⁸ The list was discreetly sent throughout the Romanian provinces, according to an advertising plan that had been sketched beforehand.¹³⁹ Meanwhile, a certain Dr. Risel finished drawing another Romanian-German dictionary. In March 1839, the Central Administration sent it directly to the Academic Board, to have it analyzed and its importance assessed. The Board rejected the manuscript and turned down an invitation to edit it, invoking the author’s poor knowledge of Romanian grammar and lexis (letter no. 13 of 20 March 1839). The document also mentions that ‘*the Board itself has been engaged for a long time in planning a recollection of all sources necessary to a Romanian dictionary, which will be presented to the Central Administration*’. This letter was

signed not only by Gh. Asachi, but also by P. Câmpeanu, Th. Stamati, and Gh. Săulescu; hence it may also be interpreted as an attempt at defending the monopoly Asachi’s group had over national cultural initiatives.¹⁴⁰

In July 1839, the Central Administration ordered in advance more than a hundred copies of the forthcoming dictionary, offering in exchange an important amount of money: 2,000 lei.¹⁴¹ In 1842, *Albina românească* released new information concerning the project: authors were to sign their contributions with numbers (consequently Asachi signed with a ‘1’, Botezatu with a ‘4’, Albineț with a ‘5’ etc.), printing had already begun, and the first galleys, out of twenty, were almost ready.¹⁴² After a couple of weeks, the magazine announced the first fascicle was on sale; the first volume of the dictionary was planned to be comprised of four such fascicles.¹⁴³ The Transylvanian magazine *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură* immediately disseminated the news throughout the province.¹⁴⁴ However, despite advertisements and scientific and cultural interest, the linguistic enterprise died shortly after the first fascicle was delivered. By that time, Asachi had lost his influence with the Prince, and the funds the Central Administration had allotted for the entire project were cut off.

Samoil Botezatu wrote a lot;¹⁴⁵ to him, writing was another means of strengthening his intellectual status, besides giving lectures and teaching courses at the Academia Mihăileană and at the School for Girls.¹⁴⁶ Asachi apparently encouraged his literary activity as he supported any of Botezatu’s cultural intentions.¹⁴⁷ In 1835, he copied and deciphered D. Cantemir’s *Hronicul romano-moldo-vlahilor*, working together with **paharnic** C. Săulescu, who compared the original and the translated versions.¹⁴⁸ He was attracted to Voltaire’s dramas, such as *La Henriade*, and, in 1839, started to write poetry.¹⁴⁹ When Asachi set up a new weekly entertainment magazine, *Icoana lumei. Foaie pentru îndeletnicirea moldo-românilor*, he thought of Botezatu to take on the editorial responsibilities.¹⁵⁰ During the first year of its existence, Botezatu signed thirty-eight articles on various subjects: biographies (Copernicus, Galilei, H. Cortez, W. Penn), zoology, history (*The Ancient Amerindians and Their Buildings, Israel’s Exodus from Egypt*), geography. The greatest part of his writings concern travel memoirs and descriptions based on German subjects.¹⁵¹ Their number and the absence of any further reference to Botezatu dating from 1849 onwards, prompt us to believe he had left Moldavia for a while, to visit Germany or/and Austria. Upon reading his articles, one comes across words that did not exist in Romanian, and were borrowed from German. Botezatu re-composed them using phonetic transcription, and tried to acclimatize unusual neologisms, following Asachi’s recommendation to enrich the national language with as many neologisms as necessary. Thus, ‘Wilhelm’ became ‘Vilhelm’, ‘Hawai’ became ‘Havai’, ‘Cortez’ became ‘Cortet’.¹⁵² After *Icoana lumei* went bankrupt, Botezatu began to publish translations in various other popular almanacs. *Calendarul pentru poporul ro-*

mănesc pe anul 1845 (IV) for example, published a fragmentary translation of Wilhelm de Kotzebue's *A Trip Through Moldavia's Carpathians* (pp. 153–175).¹⁵³

An encyclopedic nature, Botezatu could not avoid the contact with drama-turgy. Apart from its cultural significance, the theater provided an opportunity to socialize in a milieu in which public contacts and recognition opened doors otherwise closed to foreigners or new-comers. Theater could also imply an author's leaning toward Western cultural influences. Besides, Asachi equally mastered drama and theatrical performances, and his contributions in this field were remarkable. The Music and Drama Conservatory was set up on 15 November 1836 as a result of Asachi's cultural projects. The Board of the Conservatory was comprised of Gh. Asachi, **vornic** Stefan Catargiu, and **spătar** Vasile Alecsandri; Samoil Botezatu was the secretary.¹⁵⁴ Botezatu never limited himself to administrative duties and became an enthusiastic actor. On 23 February 1837 he played Boureau in August von Kotzebue's minor vaudeville *Die schlaue Witwe oder die Temperament*. The play had been translated by Asachi, who had also translated Kotzebue's drama *La Pérouse*, equally played during the very same days. Botezatu was accompanied on stage by Gh. Căliman (who was finally awarded a pocket watch for his role by **postelnic** Gh. Pruncu), I. Albinet, Dimitrie Gusti, I. Dimitriu, Alex. Asachi. Most of them taught at the Academia Mihăileană. This proves that drama playing was mainly a small-group intellectual entertainment, involving high-class scholars related to Asachi, and an aristocratic public. Actors, who were people of poor condition, were never considered to be worthy enough to give a performance in front of a cultivated audience. However, '[...] *the first theatrical performance in our country's national language*' was successful; only three days later, Asachi decided to repeat the show.¹⁵⁵

Social interest in the theater in general was not purposeless. In early nineteenth-century European societies major cultural enterprises such as Asachi's have always been linked to a process of renewal (*le renouvellement*) with regard to morals.¹⁵⁶ What Asachi wrote on the occasion of the official opening of the Conservatory tallied perfectly with the common opinion on the role the principle of social order should assume in a modern society, based on strict social discriminations: '*This institution can influence in a positive way the discovery of musical talents and the development of a national theater, which is a genuine school of public conduct, or morals, and a source of innocent pleasures.*'¹⁵⁷ '*Every social class, every category of people,*' wrote a Bucharest magazine in 1835, '*hurry to the theater, as if it were a school of morals, of wisdom and good manners, wherein, enjoying oneself, everyone can acquire those virtues which are most useful to social life.*'¹⁵⁸ Theater, drama, as a literary genre, could influence the progress of society, could determine its movement toward order and social peace, by peacefully 'revolutionizing' its moral structures.¹⁵⁹ Theatrical performances promoted a new type of moral rhetorics, which followed

the urgent political and social issues of the day, and focused on the image of the flawless individual, at peace with the establishment and aware of his civic importance.¹⁶⁰ Culturally borrowed rules of social conduct could be exemplified by theatrical performances, as well as through literature and literary interpretations of contemporary realities.¹⁶¹ The idea of using theater as a mean of social and moral propaganda was deeply rooted into the consciousness of the public itself, since most of those who could afford to go to the theater were military men or state officials. The public, therefore, proved sensitive to the social message and significance of plays, to general symbolic suggestions, no matter to what degree they were cultivated. Recalling the performances of the National Theater in Bucharest during the 1840s, the French diplomat Felix Colson wrote: '*Il n'est fréquenté que par les uniformes et les plumets, dilettants galonnés, qui ne causent pas moins bien musique qu'art militaire.*'¹⁶² They listened to what they understood to be '*the voice of national regeneration*', as the contemporary poet Vasile Alecsandri put it. The Prince himself took advantage of the political outcomes of the moral stance and summoned Asachi to write as many plays as possible '*to the moral benefit of the entire nation*'. Since German was the language of social order, and German literature and philosophy could teach the feeling of respect common people should pay to social hierarchies and rulers, since theater too would show the results of the application, the teaching of German was, therefore, closely related — in Asachi's projects — to the social role of the theater, as well as to that of the schools.

Prompted by Asachi, Botezatu began to pay attention to literary dramas. In 1838 he copied the vaudeville *Pansionul de fete în vreme de război* by A. D'Emmery and E. Cormon, translated and revised by C. Negruzzi,¹⁶³ and, in 1840, Voltaire's *Alsire*.¹⁶⁴ Botezatu's collaboration with Negruzzi is not incidental: Negruzzi used to amend — both grammatically and stylistically — any text presented to him by amateur or professional writers.¹⁶⁵ Asachi's historical drama *Petru Rareș* was duplicated by Botezatu in 1837, and collated by the author. The play was read and approved by the Board (Camille de Barozzi, the principal press censor, was a member of it).¹⁶⁶ *Petru Rareș*, in a version multiplied by Botezatu, was played successfully by Conservatory students on 8 April 1837.¹⁶⁷

Samoil Botezatu's preferred German author was, by far, August von Kotzebue. His propensity toward this minor German novelist is probably due to Gh. Asachi's literary preferences. Von Kotzebue's writings exalted the strict Prussian moral rules of conduct, the total and unconditional subordination to every state initiative, the acceptance of modern state authoritarianism. This alludes implicitly to the adjournment of any critical attitude. It is also relevant that August von Kotzebue, who invoked the necessity of preserving public order, ended up murdered by a German revolutionary student in 1819 because he opposed social unrest and the rallies against the government stirred up by Romantic revolutionaries. To Moldavian intellectuals, Kotzebue's death resembled a mar-

tyrdom on behalf of the modern establishment *Regulamentele Organice* and their continental similes had built in the decades following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Moreover, von Kotzebue's writings originated in the German cultural space, deemed to represent the epitome of European culture and civilization, the spiritual expression of social order.¹⁶⁸ Botezatu was the first Romanian intellectual to translate some of von Kotzebue's plays.¹⁶⁹ In 1835, he put into Romanian *Die Uniform des Feldmarschalls Wellington*.¹⁷⁰ Apparently, the translation met with Asachi's unconditional approval.¹⁷¹

That very same year, Botezatu's translation was published together with J.F. Junger's comedy *Amestecătoriul în toate*; both plays were bound together in a single volume, printed at Asachi's publishing house, 'Albina'. The book was eulogically reviewed in 'Albina românească'¹⁷² and ran almost immediately out of print.¹⁷³ One can easily recognize Botezatu's translation because of the terms he used — most of them archaisms and literally adapted neologisms.¹⁷⁴ In 1840, the theater column in *Albina românească* included another play by Kotzebue translated by Samoil Botezatu (*Nenorocita pătire a Boureanului, e.g.*).¹⁷⁵ The latter, together with *Amestecătoriul în toate* and *Înșelătorul înșelat*, were performed until 1848, by which time their fame had faded away.¹⁷⁶

The end of Botezatu's theatrical activity corresponds to the beginning of his career as a writer; he wrote articles until his death. Later on, after his luck and celebrity withered, he quietly retired at a mansion nearby Iași which he had purchased from a nobleman (*postelnic* Iordachi Tătaru), in 1842.¹⁷⁷ Samoil Botezatu's death marked also the end of a generation of newcomers who dedicated their lives to utopian social ideals. The teaching of the German language was merely a pretext, ingeniously instrumented by the Prince and his paramount political associates, Asachi *y compris*, to promote the structural changes the regime undertook in 1834. In nineteenth-century Moldavia, people like Botezatu were engaged in achieving bits and pieces of a remarkable project related to a German version of social modernization. No matter the model was not French or Russian — its outcomes would have been entirely Romanian. Therefore, a detail like the following should not surprise us: in the 1890s, more than two thirds of the Romanian M.P.s knew German very well.

Notes

1. On the significance of Botezatu's family name, see my 'Câteva aspecte ale regimului asimilării confesionale în Moldova. Genealogii de 'botezați', in *Arhiva Genealogică*, I (VI), (1994), 1–2, p. 232.

2. R.E. Park, 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man,' in *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII, 6 (1928), pp. 881–893.

3. *Apud* T.T. Burada, *Istoria teatrului din Moldova*, Chișinău, 1991, p. 124, n. 1.

4. N. Iorga, 'Istoria evreilor în țările noastre,' in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 1st series, XXXVI (1913), p. 201, n. 2.
5. Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia Română*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 120.
6. D. Furtună, 'Căminarul Samoil Botezatu,' in *Cuget clar. Noul 'Sămănător'*, III, 23 (15 December 1938), pp. 355–357.
7. M. Costachescu, 'Samoil Botezatu,' in *Anuarul centenarului Școlii Normale de Învățătoare 'M. Sturdza'*, Iași (1935), pp. 17–28.
8. Gh. Ghibănescu, *Școala Normală de Învățătoare 'M. Sturdza'*, Iași (1935), p. 123 sqq.
9. Fl. Faifer, 'Samoil Botezat' in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 121.
10. C. Diaconovici, *Enciclopedia română*, I, Sibiu, 1898, p. 548.
11. Horst Fassel, 'Samoil Botezatu, einer der ersten Deutschlehrer in der Moldau,' in *Volk und Kultur*, 27 (1975), 12, pp. 44–45.
12. Horst Fassel, *Deutschunterricht in Jassy (1830–1992). Wissenschaftler und Lehrer als Vermittler im West-Ost-Dialog*, Tübingen, 1993, p. 16 sqq.
13. Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, *Suceava. Documente privitoare la istoria orașului, 1388–1918*, I, Bucharest, 1989, doc. 199, p. 337.
14. *Ibidem*, doc. 321, p. 514.
15. *Ibidem*, doc. 330, p. 530.
16. *Ibidem*, doc. 318, p. 510.
17. *Ibidem*, doc. 334, p. 542.
18. *Ibidem*, doc. 336, p. 544.
19. *Ibidem*, doc. 342, p. 552.
20. *Ibidem*, doc. 348, p. 559.
21. The Romanian original is far more relevant:

'Înalt Presfintite Stăpâne,

Din gios iscălitul cu mare jele a inimii sale descoperă în următoare pricină, însă privat, nu din slujbă, ca un fiu dohovnicesc arătându-și toate ale sale dureri.

1- tăi. Fiindcă iscălitul al 39-le an slujește la Școala Trifialnică a Sucevei ca dascăl tr(i)ff(i)alnic [since 1791–1792 — my note] și având doao însurăciuni, toată agonisată avere, cât și zestrile, le-au cheltuit cu un copil al său, anume Samoil, fiindându-l la Cernaui la Școala lătinească 8 ani, până au isprăvit, și 2 școli a filosofiei și 3 ani au fost la Școala di Căpitenie în Cernaui; ca pripărant cu bune sporuri s-au arătat. Iar văzând el atâta gonire asupra legii grecești și înțelegând di unii și alții aceasta cum că care nu s-a face catolic nu să pute așeza în slujba dăscălească, la care el din copilărie s-au tras, au mers la domnul aufseher Panchevici și i-au zis:

— Domnule, mă rog să mă sfatuești, ca eu iată acum am petrecut atâția ani aice la Cernaui cu școlile, am vro nedejde de așezare ca dascăl sau ba?

Au luat acest răspuns:

— De vei lua lege catolicească, apoi degrabă vei fi așezat.

Și el, nevoind a-și lăsa lege, au trebuit sa-și(i) lasă patria și să margă în altă țară a-și căuta hrana sa. Și luându-și pas de la cinstit(a) gubernii, s-au dus în Moldova.

2-le. Eu pentru aceasta am jertfit toată avere me de am rămas ca un calic, socotind că la slăbăciune me sau la bătrânețali meli, di vor fi lungi, voi ave o sprijineală di fiul meu. Și totuș(i) nu bănuiesc văzând pi alții care au primit lege catolicească, precum Ioan Livițchi di la Văscău(i), Săvinescul, Pavlovici și Ranca di la Calinești, ci au dobândit cu aceea.

Și acum moldovenii văzând că ei n-au dreptate a încăpe la slujbă, ce numai ga-
lițienii, cei mai mulți au trecut pe fiii lor în Moldova, tot di frica **uniației** (în sensul
de 'convertire' — n.n.), de cari pricina și numărul școlerilor foarte s-au scăzut.

La care jeluire, Preosfințiilor Voastre, ca unui cap legii noastre și păstori sufle-
tesc, durere și slăbăciune a bătrânețelor mă sălescu.

Suceava, la 26 septemvrie 1830.

Al Preosfințiilor Voastre fiu dohovnicesc și plecată slugă,

Ioniță Botezat, profesor [m.p.]' (*Ibidem*, doc. 383, pp. 636–637).

22. *Ibidem*, doc. 390, pp. 649–656.
23. Arhivele Naționale — Iași [further referred to as National Archives, Iași], Școala
normală 'M. Sturdza' collection, 3/1846–1850, ff. 23 v. — 24; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II,
p. 171.
24. D. Furtună, *op. cit.*, p. 356.
25. National Archives, Iași, Stare civilă Iași. Morți collection, 881/1867, no. 475.
26. C.I. Andreescu, 'Istoricul Liceului Național din Iași (1835–1935)', in *De la Academia
Mihăileană la Liceul Național — 100 de ani, 1835–1935*, Iași, 1935, p. 18.
27. In *Vidomostiia cuprinzând casele boierești, lăcuitorști, bisericști și dughenile află-
toare în orașul Iași*, 9 October 1835; National Archives, Iași, Ministerul de Interne collec-
tion, tr. 696, op. 772, dos. 1084, f. 133 v.
28. National Archives, Iași, Manuscrise collection, 1639, f. 14.
29. National Archives, Iași, Secretariatul de Stat collection, 345/1835–1855, f. 207; the
decree bears the number 250 of November 8, 1835.
30. *Ibidem*, *loc. cit.*; decree no. 849/09.07.1839.
31. *Ibidem*, *loc. cit.*; decree no. 1728/25.04.1843.
32. *Ibidem*, *loc. cit.*; decree no. 1974/12.05.1844.
33. National Archives, Iași, Secretariatul de Stat collection, 1742/1851–1856, f. 480;
decree no. 181/24.04.1852. See also *Carte de rangurile boierilor din Principatul Moldovei
hărăzite de Pre Înțeleptul și Pre Luminatul domn Grigorie A. Ghica voievod, domn Țării
Moldovei, orânduită sub direcția secretarului de stat, cavaler Alexandru Sturdza, 1851* (Library
of the Romanian Academy, Manuscrise collection, 5374).
34. Gheorghe Asachi (1788–1869) attempted to modernize the Moldavian educational sys-
tem and contributed at the foundation of new schools and academic institutions modeled after
Central-European institutions (a Polytechnical Institute in 1818, *Gimnazia Vasiliană* in 1828,
the School for Girls in 1834, Moldavian rural schools, *Academia Mihăileană*, with its two chairs,
Philosophy and Law, in 1835). The latter was the first university in the Romanian Principalities.
Asachi also established the first Moldavian modern magazine, *Albina românească*, in 1829,
and contributed to the first theatrical performance in the Romanian language (1816).
35. E. Lovinescu, *Gheorghe Asachi. Viața și opera*, Bucharest, 1927, pp. 37–39.
36. G. Bogdan-Duică, 'Traducătorii români ai lui August de Kotzebue (1830–1850),'
in *Omagiu lui Titu Maiorescu*, Bucharest, 1900, pp. 191–192, n. 1, 4.
37. V. A. Urechia, *Istoria școlilor de la 1800–1864*, II, Bucharest, 1892, p. 268.
38. A French traveler, Saint-Marc Girardin (*Souvenirs de voyages et d'études*, Paris, 1852),
wrote about the languages spoken in Iași. According to him, German, French, Turkish, and
Russian were the most important languages the boyars employed in the first half of the nine-
teenth century; *apud* Simona Vârzaru (ed.), *Prin Țările Române. Călători străini din seco-
lul XIX*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 61.
39. Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Scrieri*, Bucharest, 1913, p. 141.

40. See 'Scrisoarea lui Conachi către mitropolitul Veniamin despre învățăturile din
Moldova,' in Costache Conachi, *Poesii, alcătuiți și tălmăciri*, N. Vogoride-Konaki (ed.), Iași,
1888, p. 336. Conachi himself was educated in Vienna, at the turn of the 18th century (see
Dalila Lucia Aramă, 'Un moldovean student la Viena în anul 1800: Costache Conachi,' in
Almanahul Parohiei Ortodoxe Române din Viena, XIX [1980], pp. 280–283). Veniamin Cos-
tache, the metropolitan of Moldavia, shared Conachi's opinions about the social adequacy
of German. 'German is one of the most useful languages on Earth,' he wrote on the 15th of
August, 1827 (Th. Codrescu, *Uricariul...*, VII, Iași, 1886, pp. 93–95). After 1821 Veniamin
Costache sent Gheorghe Săulescu — subsequently teacher of German at the Academia Mihăi-
leană in Iași — to Vienna, to study modern European languages, German philology, and philo-
sophy. In 1833, Săulescu published one of the first Romanian grammars, using German methods
and sources (C. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 26).

41. A typology of feedbacks to foreign cultural models in P. Cornea, 'Pașoptismul și
cultura germană, partea I, II,' in *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, XXXII, 3 (July–September,
1983), pp. 64–65 sqq., and 4 (October–December, 1984), pp. 56–61, respectively.

42. The address dates from 9/21 November, 1835; see Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, VIII, Iași,
1886, pp. 120–159. See also D. Ciurea, *Moldova în vremea lui Mihai Sturdza*, Bucharest,
1947, p. 65.

43. *Albina românească*, 36 (September 24, 1831).

44. *Idem*, 98 (November 18, 1834).

45. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 322.

46. The social status and significance of German are in some respects similar to the status
enjoyed by the French language, which, to Moldavians, was the language of courtesy and social
relations (see *infra*). For the status of French in Moldavian private schools, see N. Cartoian,
'Pensioanele franceze din Moldova în prima jumătate a veacului XIX,' in *Omagiu lui Ramiro
Ortiz*, Bucharest, 1929, pp. 67–75.

47. C. I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

48. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–376.

49. *Ibidem*, pp. 121–124, 199.

50. H. Fassel, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

51. *Ibidem*, II, p. 201.

52. See P. Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc*, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 682–684.

53. Sanda Vârjoghe (ed.), *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, Galați, 1991, p. 16.

54. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 240.

55. 'Există astăzi o obștească dorință pentru adăugarea acestei învățături [...], nu numai
pentru că această limbă este una din cele mai cultivate din ziua de astăzi, dar mai ales pentru
contactul în care se află acest prințipat cu Germania în privința comerțului' (*Ibidem*, II, pp.
293–294).

56. *Albina românească*, 33 (May 4, 1830) (supplement); V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147.
Private classes have always represented a good opportunity to become known and to develop
good relationships with the local aristocracy. By the mid-1830s, Th. Codrescu, author of the
Uricariul... collection of documents, was recommended by a nobleman (Dimitrie Scarlat
Miclescu) to teach French and Romanian grammar to the offsprings of some wealthy people.
At that time, Codrescu was employed by the Academia Mihăileană, as teacher of French.
He later admitted that that particular recommendation had secured his admission 'in the
aristocratic world,' one by which he 'grew strong'. His brother, Mihalachi, gained a similar
recommendation from Prince N. Vogoride during the latter's trip to Constantinople, in August
1844. See Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 204.

57. D. Pompeiu, *Monografia Liceului Național din Iași*, Iași, 1907, pp. 10–15. Paulicec's appointment is listed under no. 1374 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *Bibliografia analitică a periodicelor românești*, I, 1790–1850, 2nd part, Bucharest, 1966, p. 675; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
58. No. 13774 in I. Lupu *et al.*, *Bibliografia...*, p. 677.
59. See the 'Statute of Moldavian Schools' presented to the Russian General P.A. Kisseleff before the end of March 1832, in D. Pompeiu, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.
60. *Albina românească*, 34 (May 1st, 1832). Frenchman Ch. Tissot was teaching both German and French.
61. *Idem*, 54 (July 13, 1832), and 57 (July 22, 1832).
62. 'Numai alieții din institut și școlarii din gimnaziu au voie să învețe pe rând una din limbile moderne, sau și două, dacă au talant și începuturi întru aceasta'; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
63. See *Tableau des leçons au Gymnase de Jassy pour le cours d'hiver l'an 1832*. The daily program of the pupils was particularly severe: they were supposed to wake up at 5–5.30 a.m., pray between 5.30 and 6, prepare their lessons between 6 and 7.30, have breakfast from 7.30 to 8, have classes between 8 and 11, have a break or supplementary courses from 11 to 12, then lunch and an afternoon nap between 12 and 2 p. m. Classes started again at two in the afternoon and lasted until 6 p. m., followed by a break between 6 and 7, and again by study between 7 and 9. Supper was served at 9 p. m., and the last prayer was said at 10 (National Archives, Iași, Secretariatul de Stat collection, 117/1832–1834, f. 43).
64. See the records of the semestrial examination held on April 26, 1833 in C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51.
65. Cf. A.D. Xenopol, 'Memoriu asupra învățământului în Moldova' in A.D. Xenopol, C. Erbiceanu, *Serbarea școlară de la Iași*, Iași, 1885, p. 135; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 244.
66. Cf. 'Foaia cheltuielilor de peste an ce au a se face pentru ținerea șoarelor publice în Moldova,' in Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, XVI, Iași, 1891, p. 393.
67. Academic positions were assimilated with those of directors of ministry departments, whereas school teachers were assimilated to section principals in ministries; see V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
68. *Albina românească*, 6 (January 21, 1832).
69. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201.
70. H. Fassel, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
71. For an interpretation of it see G. Bădărău, 'Organizarea și conținutul învățământului public din Moldova între anii 1832 și 1848 (I),' in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol' din Iași*, XVII (1980), p. 354.
72. Cf. M. Bordeianu, 'Date noi privitoare la istoria învățământului românesc,' in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol' din Iași*, XIV (1977), p. 330; see also C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.
73. M. Bordeianu, *op. cit.*, p. 331; see also V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 296–297.
74. Flechtenmacher strove hard to stress the role of Poetics, giving examples from German classics. His income was about 6,000 lei/year. See C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 237.
75. See G. Bădărău, *Academia Mihăileană (1835–1838). Menirea patriotică a unei instituții de învățământ*, Iași, 1987, pp. 94, 180; N.A. Bogdan, *Orașul Iași*, 2nd ed., Iași, 1913–1915, p. 258 sqq.
76. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
77. *Ibidem*, p. 64; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

78. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
79. *Ibidem*, pp. 68–69.
80. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 292; G. Bădărău, 'Organizarea și conținutul învățământului public... (II),' in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol' din Iași*, XVIII, 1981, p. 221.
81. T. Verescu, V. Peltechi, and Emanoil Mavrodin, Secretary of the Board for Public Education, were awarded the same rank; *Buletinul Oficial*, III, 89 (November 10, 1835), p. 572.
82. *Idem*, IV, 54 (July 9, 1836), p. 396.
83. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
84. *Ibidem*, pp. 85–86; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–364.
85. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
86. *Ibidem*, p. 75.
87. *Ibidem*, pp. 94, 241 (n. 500).
88. Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, IX, Iași, 1887, pp. 29–30.
89. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 48; C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 88; *Buletinul Oficial*, V, 76 (September 26, 1837), pp. 293–295.
90. Twenty-four students were enlisted during the 1839 summer semester (D. Pompeiu, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44), twenty during the 1840 summer semester (C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 96), twenty-five during the 1842 winter semester (*ibidem*, p. 101; see also V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 202), twenty during the 1843 summer semester (C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 104), twenty-five during the 1845 winter semester (*ibidem*, p. 107), seventeen during the 1845–1846 academic year (*ibidem*, p. 109).
91. *Ibidem*, pp. 92, 101. He complained about these unexpected financial delays and, together with several of his colleagues (I. Albiș, I. Ionescu, D. Gusti, T. Codrescu, G. Schia-voni), signed a formal request addressed to the Prince asking for an increase in their financial rewards (V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225).
92. See Alex. Lapedatu, 'Cronica lucrărilor pregătitoare pentru întâia reformă școlară în Moldova, 1844–1845,' in *Un mănunchiu de cercetări istorice*, Bucharest, 1915, pp. 82–83, appendix 2.
93. No. 13430 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *Bibliografia...*, p. 660.
94. Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, IX, Iași, 1887, p. 86; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 54–56.
95. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–161.
96. *Ibidem*, pp. 240, 264; C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
97. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–256.
98. We employed the term 'battle' to match Vasile Alecsandri's description of this process: 'French-educated and German-educated people formed two rival parties, each of them trying hard to catch up with the development of society and to promote the ideas [i.e. political and social principles] of the countries where they had been raised' (in *Opere*, IV, Bucharest, 1974, p. 341).
99. V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
100. See D.C. Amzăr, 'Studentii români în străinătate. Date și interpretări statistice' in *Cercetări literare*, IV, 1940, pp. 215–248. Amzăr gives a comprehensive list of all the students who came from Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia and registered with the University of Berlin, beginning with 1821; some are very well-known names: Mihail Kogălniceanu, Dimitrie and Grigorie Sturdza — Mihai Sturdza's sons — Emanoil and Grigorie Costache — the Metropolitan's nephews — Petre and Mihail Cazimir, Ioan Palade, Nicolae Aslan, Nicolae Burghilea etc. See also V. Grozav, 'Știri noi privitoare la bursierii români în străinătate (1820–1877),' in *Revista Arhivelor*, tome XXXII, 1, XLVII (1970), pp. 111–112.
101. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53, 55.

102. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 245–247.
103. *Ibidem*, pp. 267–268. See also N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, VI, Bucharest, 1903, pp. 111–112 (the Moldavian students addressed a letter of gratitude to C. Popp for his exquisite behavior and help; they also asked for an increase in their scholarships).
104. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
105. N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 112 (a copy of a decree issued by the Imperial Commission for Studies 'an die Niederösterreichische Regierung' on 18 October 1834, confirming that 'die aus der Moldau gebürtigen sechs Jünglinge, welche sich hier den Studien zu widmen wünschen, als ausserordentliche Schüler zugelassen [...] erteilt werde'). Their assiduity to learning is endorsed by Hagı C. Popp who, in a letter to the Metropolitan, wrote the following: 'The students' behavior and application to learning was worth the funds the State has raised on their behalf; so was their selection, too' (*ibidem*, *loc.cit.*).
106. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52–53.
107. *Ibidem*, p. 115.
108. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 111; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 163, 304.
109. *Ibidem*, p. 271.
110. Dr. Schlipper was director of the Agronomic Institute in Hohenheim; see Al. Andronic, Gh. Ungureanu, 'Învățământul agricol în Moldova în prima jumătate a secolului XIX,' in *Studii și cercetări științifice, Iași*, Istorie, IX, 1958, 1–2, p. 115; V. Apostolescu, 'Din trecutul instituțional agricol: Comisia de agronomie și economie rurală din Moldova,' in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol'*, Iași, XXIII, 1986, 1, p. 274.
111. A.D. Xenopol, C. Erbiceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
112. C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 130, 162–163, 206. For a comprehensive bibliography and their biographies, see Ion I. Solcanu, 'Gheorghe Asachi, fondatorul învățământului plastic din Moldova' in *Gh. Asachi. Studii*, Bucharest, 1992, pp. 84–92. For Fătu's and Velini's biographies, see V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 377–378. For other biographies of Romanian students at German universities, see Elena Siupiur, 'Intellektuelle aus Rumänien und den Südosteuropäischen Ländern an deutschen Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert (II. Teil),' in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, tome XXXIII, (1995), 3–4, pp. 251–265. (Gregorie and Emanuel von Kostaki attended courses of Law in Lemberg and Heidelberg, in 1837; Lascăr Rosetti studied Law in Heidelberg, too (p. 260). Pavel Câmpăneanu attended Philosophy in 1851. Dimitrie Alexandru Sturdza, son of Prince Mihail Sturdza, attended Law courses in Göttingen, Berlin, München, and Bonn, in 1851. See Siupiur, *idem*, p. 261.)
113. Cf. *Analele parlamentare ale României*, I, 1856, 11, Bucharest, pp. 220–222; C.I. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.
114. *Albina românească*, 88 (14–26 October 1834); *Buletinul Oficial*, II, 25 (30 September 1834), pp. 426–428. See also G. Bădărău, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–215.
115. N.A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 259. Private schools meant for the general education of girls were somewhat of a routine in Iași; one of them was mentioned in 1811, even though there were only nine girls who attended it (see T.G. Bulat, 'Un pension de domnișoare la Iași în 1811,' in *Cercetări istorice*, XIII–XIV, (1940), pp. 414–423.
116. Cf. M. Bordeianu, *op. cit.*, p. 330 (see *Tabloul ghegeneralnic...*).
117. Hofmann left the school because of a quarrel with Samoil Botezatu; see V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 380–381.
118. *Albina românească*, 10 (2 February 1839).
119. *Idem*, 28 (10 April 1838).

120. The National Archives in Iași preserve the certificates Botezatu had offered to members of the academic staff; see, for example, National Archives, Iași, Documente collection, 549/61.
121. See, for example, 'Programa examenului public urmat în Iași în 20 mai 1836 la Institutul pentru învățătura fetilor,' in The Archives of the 'Mihai Eminescu' Central University Library, Documente collection, 58; V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, pp. 332–333.
122. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
123. *Ibidem*, p. 260.
124. Up to 1845 Botezatu used to receive a monthly salary of 3,000 lei; cf. 'Budgetul Casei Școalelor pe anul școlastic începător de la 1 octombrie 1844 până la 1 octombrie 1845,' in Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Information concerning his monthly income in The Archives of the 'M. Eminescu' Central University Library, Manuscrise collection, 1/1745–1863, ff. 163, 164, 168, 182, 182 v. In 1847, his salary was raised to 5,000 lei, cf. 'Tablou a școalelor publice în Moldova,' in A.D. Xenopol, C. Erbiceanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 234–235.
125. National Archives, Iași, Școala normală 'M. Sturdza' collection, 1/1834–1839; 2/1840–1851; 3/1846–1850.
126. In relation to the general status of Moldavian schools, shortages, and payment problems, see National Archives, Iași, Secretariatul de Stat collection, 184 (238)/1832–1858.
127. National Archives, Iași, Secretariatul de Stat collection, 648 (I)/1839–1849, f. 227.
128. See Codrescu's exhortation at the unveiling of Asachi's statue in Iași, on 14 October 1890, in *Uricariul...*, XVI, Iași, 1891, p. 429. See also Th. Codrescu, 'Amintiri despre Gheorghe Asachi,' in *Arhiva*, II (1890), 5, p. 341. An outstanding note in Rudolf Suțu, *Iașii de odinioară*, I, Iași, 1923, pp. 118–119.
129. C. Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, II, Chișinău, 1991, p. 430; *idem*, *Acum o sută de ani. Cronica lunară a anului 1834*, Bucharest, 1935, pp. 104–105.
130. Cf. 'Notices sur l'état de l'instruction publique en Moldavie, 1841,' in A.D. Xenopol, C. Erbiceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
131. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 292–293; II, pp. 120–121, 178.
132. Cf. M. Zăciu, 'La critique roumaine et la relation littérature-société,' in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* (1973), 1, p. 5: 'Le souci de poétique perçant sous la philosophie des Lumières commence par se confondre avec le besoin de fixer certains catégories grammaticales et prosodiques tendant à saisir la réalité de la terminologie et du 'langage' de l'oeuvre'. Records of similar initiatives date from 1834 (Simeon Marcovici) and 1840 (Iordache Goleșcu). See also D. Popovici, 'Primele manifestări de teorie literară în cultura română,' in *Cercetări de literatură română*, Sibiu, 1944, pp. 167–193; G. Ivașcu, 'Introducere,' in *Din istoria teoriei și a criticii literare românești, 1812–1866*, Bucharest, 1968, pp. 5–72.
133. 'Un filosof zice: "...lexiconul limbei este întâia carte a unei nații'. Academia de Iași se îndeletnicește de mult cu adunarea de cuvinte ca, cu împreună lucrarea învățaților români, atât din București, cât și din Transilvania, să poată înființa lexiconul, ce cu vreme va putea statornici între români haractirul limbei.', etc. *Ibidem*, II, p. 138.
134. See Franz Grisellini's case in E. Coseriu, *Limba română în fața Occidentului*, Cluj, 1994, pp. 72–86.
135. L. Volovici, *Apariția scriitorului în cultura românească*, Iași, 1976, p. 109.
136. See P. Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc*, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 256–257.
137. *Idem*, 'Cultura și literatura română în perioada pașoptistă,' in *Istoria literaturii române*, II, Bucharest, 1968, p. 249.
138. 'Prospect pentru tipărirea prin subscriere a Lexiconului de conversație, adus pe române de pe limba germană de o societate de literați moldo-români, sub direcția d. aga Gheorghie

Asachi,' in *Creșterea colecțiilor Academiei Române*, 1911, octombrie-decembrie, Bucharest, 1911, p. 289.

139. See *Albina românească*, 10 (1839), *Curierul românesc*, 10 (1839), *Gazeta de Transilvania*, 2 (1839); no. 29 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *Bibliografia...*, 1st part, Bucharest, 1966, p. 5.

140. V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

141. *Albina românească*, 57 (20 July 1839).

142. *Albina românească*, 13 (1842), no. 35 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

143. *Albina românească*, 15 (1842), no. 36 in *ibidem*, *loc.cit.*

144. *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, 6 (1843), no. 37 in *ibidem*, *loc.cit.* The fascicle was presented at the Academia Mihăileană Jubilee exhibition, cf. A.D. Xenopol, C. Erbiceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

145. Lists of titles in Horst Fassel, *Traian Bratu și germanistica ieșeană*, Iași, 1981, and in *idem*, *Deutschunterricht in Jassy...*, pp. 110–111. Most of his articles are listed in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *op. cit.*, 1st part, 1790–1850, *passim*.

146. See Dim. Păcurariu, 'Clasicism și tendințe clasice în literatura română. Traducerile și semnificația lor (1750–1830),' in *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, XXVII, 3 (1978), pp. 355–367.

147. Asachi was supportive of all his literary companions, who were not necessarily prepared to write literature. See the sociological analysis of nineteenth-century intellectual conversion to literature in Elena Siupiur, 'L'écrivain roumain au XIX^e siècle. Typologie sociale et intellectuelle,' in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* (1980), 2, pp. 35–54.

148. Library of the Romanian Academy, *Manuscrite* collection, 113. The notes referring to the transcriber are at f. 341. See also I. Bianu, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești. BAR, I–300*, I, Bucharest, 1907, p. 259; G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești. BAR I–1600*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 38.

149. In *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, 25 (1839); Th. Codrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

150. First bibliographical mention in N. Hodoș, Al. Sadi-Ionescu, *Publicațiunile periodice românești*, I, 1820–1906, Bucharest, 1913, pp. 322–323. A brief survey of its history in I. Hangiu, *Dicționar al presei literare românești (1790–1982)*, Bucharest, 1987, p. 169. In 1846, Botezatu hired Zaharia Columb, who was born in the region of Banat, to write articles for this magazine. The latter was the author of the first German textbook in Romanian (1855), and was reputed as one of the finest teachers of German throughout the country. For a while, Columb directed the famous *Liceul Național* in Iași (1868–1874, 1876–1878); see Horst Fassel, 'Relații literare româno-germane. Zaharia Columb,' in *Anuar de lingvistică și istorie literară*, 28, 1981–1982, pp. 105–107; *idem*, 'Zaharia Columb, der Verfasser des ersten Deutschlehrbuchs in der Moldau,' in *Deutschunterricht in Jassy...*, pp. 57–63.

151. Fl. Faifer, *op. cit.*, p. 121, dismissed them as 'literary vague narrations'.

152. On early nineteenth-century neologisms in Romanian literary texts, see Alex. Niculescu, 'Le Roumain littéraire entre l'Orient et l'Occident,' in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* (1975), 2, pp. 4–19 (a list of sources included); Klaus Bochmann, 'Der Wortschatz der rumänischen Aufklärung im Europäischen Kontext,' in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* (1979), 2, pp. 19–29.

153. See G. Răduică, N. Răduică, *Calendare și almanahuri românești, 1731–1918*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 439. Various editions of the almanac *Calendarul pentru poporul românesc* include many other translations by Samoil Botezatu: 1853 (vol. XII) — *Luptele*

furnicilor, pp. 94–98 (see *ibidem*, p. 444); 1858 (vol. XVII) — *Biserica numită 'La ceasul cu apă' <Sevilla>*, pp. 38–44; *Bărbatul și femeia*, pp. 60–61; *Rugăciunea de noapte*, pp. 67–80 (see *ibidem*, p. 448), (vol. XVIII) — *Cine este cu Dumnezeu, cu acela este și Dumnezeu*, pp. 29–55; *Un mântuitor rar*, pp. 58–65; *Amazoanele din Siam*, pp. 70–72 (see *ibidem*, *loc.cit.*). However, the huge number of French translations (385) outnumbers by far the number of German translations (83) made between 1780 and 1860. See P. Cornea, *Pașoptismul...* (I), p. 64.

154. This was based on the similar society that existed in Wallachia; see V.A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 398–399; N.A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 314. For the history of the National Theater in Iași, see T.T. Burada, *Cercetări asupra Conservatorului filarmonico-dramatic din Iași*, Iași, 1888, pp. 5–7; I. Masoff, *Teatrul românesc. Privire istorică*, I, Bucharest, 1961, p. 223; M. Cozmei, 'Gh. Asachi, animator al mișcării artistice din Iași în prima jumătate a secolului XIX,' in *Gh. Asachi. Studii*, Bucharest, 1992, p. 101.

155. T.T. Burada, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–11.

156. I share D. Păcurariu's opinion as stated in his *Romantismul românesc*, Bucharest, 1969, and in *Studii literare*, II (Ioana M. Petrescu ed.), Cluj, 1974. The following example restores the image of what Henry H.H. Remak called 'a political and practical, i.e. pragmatic, Romanticism' ('West European Romanticism. Definition and Scope,' in N.P. Stallknecht, H. Frenz (eds.), *Comparative Literature. Method and Perspective*, London — New York, 1973, p. 290). It definitely applies to early nineteenth-century Romanian Romanticism, whose specificity still needs to be defined.

157. *Albina românească*, 13 (14 February 1837): 'Acest așezământ poate înrăuri într-un chip foarte favoritor asupra dezvelirii talentelor muzicale și în formarea unui teatru național, ce este adevărata școală a moralului și izvorul plăcerilor nevinovate.'

158. 'Toate clasele societății, toate treptele alerg la teatru ca la o școală de morală, de învățură și de bunăcuviință, unde fiecare parte poate desfășurându-se să dobândească virtuțile cele mai de trebuință la viața socială.' In *Gazeta Teatrului Național*, 2 (1 December 1835), apud G. Ivașcu, *Din istoria teoriei și a criticii literare românești, 1812–1866*, Bucharest, 1967, p. 201.

159. Cf. Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România*, Al. Duțu and A. Creția (eds.), Bucharest, 1982, p. 284. The idea of the social and political role all literary genres played in the formation of an adequate 'national' identity proved pervasive and long-lasting. For Alecu Russo, literature was the very expression of the national existence (in *Scrieri*, Bucharest, 1954, p. 44). For the role moral propaganda assumed during the nineteenth century, see M. Zăciu, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

160. Cf. Al. Duțu, *Eseu în istoria modelelor umane*, Bucharest, 1972.

161. We owe the extensive application of this fruitful interpretation of the nature of social communication through literary means to Al. Duțu. He referred to the English case in 'English Literature of the Enlightenment in South-East Europe,' in *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Etudes Balcaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII, Sofia, 1971, pp. 307–310; 'Civilitate engleză și moralism sud-est european,' în *Cartile de înțelepciune în cultura română*, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 156–162; 'Gentlemanliness and Patriotism — Two Forms of Enlightened Moralism,' in *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* (1976), 1, pp. 4–11.

162. F. Colson, *De l'état présent et de l'avenir des Principautés Roumaines*, Paris, 1839, pp. 177–178.

163. At that time, Botezatu was Director of the School for Girls. Negruzzi corrected the manuscript ('a îndreptat smintelile'); Library of the Romanian Academy, *Manuscrite*

- collection, 1022. See also *Cuget clar. Noul 'Sămănător'*, III, 18 (11 November 1938), p. 288; I. Bianu, G. Nicolaiasa, *op. cit.*, III, Craiova, 1931, p. 272; G. Ștrempel, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
164. T.T. Burada, *Istoria teatrului în Moldova*, Chișinău, 1991, p. 124, n. 1.
165. This was the case of **comis** Dim. Balica, who, in January 1843, sent Negruzzi a historical drama translated from Greek; see Al. Lapedatu, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–124.
166. Library of the Romanian Academy, Manuscrise collection, 3577, 3578; G. Ștrempel, *op. cit.*, III, Bucharest, 1987, p. 179.
167. *Albina românească*, 29 (11 April 1837).
168. For the role of August and Wilhelm von Kotzebue in Romanian culture, see N. Iorga, 'Wilhelm de Kotzebue și momentul de prefacere modernă a societății moldovenești,' in *Revista istorică*, XIX (1933), pp. 115–117, or the volume edited in Bucharest, in 1934; C. Turcu, 'Un călător german acum un veac prin județul Neamț: W. von Kotzebue,' in *Anuarul Liceului de băieți 'P. Rares'*, Piatra Neamț, 1942.
169. G. Bogdan-Duică, 'Traducătorii români ai lui August de Kotzebue (1830–1850),' in *Omagiu lui Titu Maiorescu*, Bucharest, 1900, p. 193. Botezatu's example is not singular; in Wallachia, I. Văcărescu and I. Voinescu II showed interest in von Kotzebue's writings, as well (see *ibidem*, pp. 181–191, 195 sqq.).
170. Kotzebue's plays and novels came into fashion during the 1830s. In Hungary, his entire body of works was published in 20 volumes (1836); a second edition came out in 1839 (*ibidem*, p. 194). Thirteen of Kotzebue's plays had been translated until 1848, in comparison to 14 by Moliere. The public response they enjoyed was comparable (P. Cornea, *op. cit.*, p. 66).
171. *Ibidem*, p. 199.
172. No. 478 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
173. D. Furtună, *op. cit.*, pp. 356–357.
174. *Idem*, 'Încă o traducere a lui Samoil Botezatu' in *Cuget clar. Noul 'Sămănător'*, III (1939), 28 (19.01.1939), pp. 435–437.
175. *Albina românească* 11 (22.02.1840); no. 19512 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *op. cit.*, 3rd part, p. 969.
176. N.A. Bogdan *op. cit.*, p. 286; see no. 19617 in I. Lupu, N. Camariano, Ov. Papadima, *op. cit.*, p. 974.
177. In Cozmoaia Valley, close to Cetățuia Monastery; cf. D. Furtună, *Căminarul Samoil Botezatu*, p. 356.