

The Romanity of the Romanians

As Reflected in the Accounts of Foreign Travelers between the Years 1710 and 1810

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Introduction

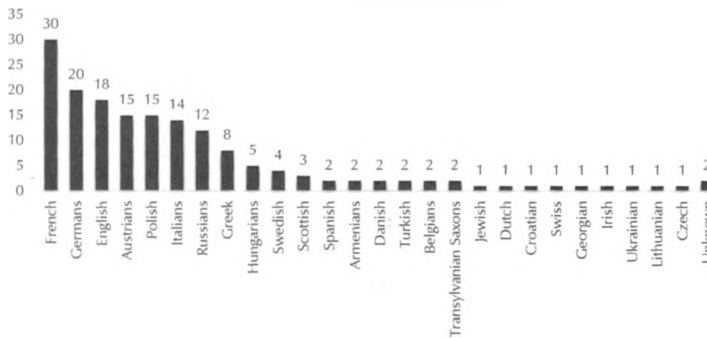
STARTING WITH the end of the 17th century, there was increasing interest in the spaces located at the periphery of the civilized world, where economic, cultural and human transfers took place. The awareness of certain western groups with regard to the space in the eastern part of the continent had already been raised, and the interest only increased with the passing of time.

The Romanian Principalities, as well as the states in their vicinity, came back to the attention of the great European powers as the territories occupied by the Turks were freed by the armies of the Habsburg Empire.¹ In the present work we are investigating the accounts of foreign travelers about the Romanian Principalities during the period of maximum domination of the Ottoman Empire. Broadly speaking, at that time Transylvania came under the domination of the Habsburg Empire and was subjected to a reformist experiment aimed at the modernization of the province that had, in the long term, positive consequences for the Romanians. In the current case we will focus our attention on the accounts that speak about Romanians, more specifically about their origin. The topic drew the attention of specialists, especially of historians and philologists.² The Romanity of the Romanians is part of a vaster research that seeks to identify those elements of the Romanian Principalities that place them and the Romanians in the West and in the East, respectively.³ Consequently, the correct identification and indication of the Roman origin of the Romanians and of their language represent an important argument in favor of placing them within the Western civilization. It is, indeed, one of the few arguments in this regard, because a great part of the political elite in the Romanian Principalities had a different cultural background, which makes the Romanians closer to the Balkan/Eastern/Oriental world.

For the period of time analyzed, namely the one between the years 1710 and 1810, we identified the accounts of 171 travelers who crossed the Romanian space.⁴ Although their origin is not always relevant, we observe the presence at the top of the list of the travelers of French origin. France was still the main power in Europe at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The French are followed by the Germans, the English and the Austrians, important powers with major interests in the East. We also have 14 Italian travelers, but they are

present especially for commercial and religious reasons. There are also 12 Russian travelers, but their number is not very relevant since Russia also had other routes through which its representatives could reach Istanbul.

GRAPH 1. THE TRAVELERS' ETHNICITY

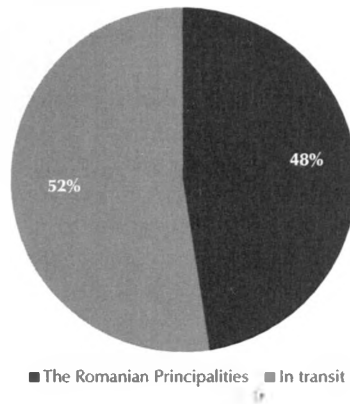


In our research, we also aim to identify the professions of the voyagers who crossed the Romanian space. Our analysis indicates that 54 of the travelers were senior officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (consuls, commissioners in charge of commercial affairs, diplomats) and 53 of the voyagers were officers or people with connections to the army; 24 were members of the clergy, and 22 had liberal professions and were animated by scientific and professional curiosities. We also have a tsar, and the professions of six of the travelers are unknown. The vast majority of the voyagers had higher education. The political and economic interests of the great powers in the era outweighed the scientific and personal ones, and the main avenues of professional training were still in the western part of Europe.⁵

GRAPH 2. TRAVELERS' PROFESSION



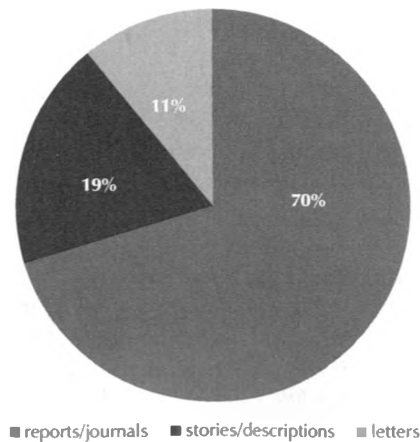
GRAPH 3. COUNTRIES CROSSED



We must also mention that among the 171 travelers about whom we have information so far, 89 only transited the Romanian space, and 81 had the Romanian Principalities as their destination. This is an important distinction, because the accounts of the travelers who only transited our country are, at least theoretically, subjective and superficial, due to the small amount of time they spent in the Romanian Principalities.

An important aspect of the research methodology is the one regarding the type of documentary sources left by the foreign travelers.⁶ After processing the information in this regard, the following situation resulted: 123 reports/journals, 33 stories/descriptions, and from 19 travelers we have the letters sent to their recipients. From two of the travelers, two types of accounts were kept, namely reports and letters.

GRAPH 4. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES



The Origin of the Romanians. Travel Accounts

IN THE period we are researching, numerous travelers transited or remained in the Romanian Principalities. Of the ones that left written accounts concerning their missions, only a small part wrote about the origin of the Romanians and their language. The small number of such accounts can be explained by the intellectual background of the travelers and the reasons for the trip. As we have already seen, the intellectual background of most of the travelers is not one pertaining to the Humanities. Consequently, the vast majority of them are preoccupied with the political realities, with the economic and religious activities. Furthermore, a significant part of the travelers are political and military representatives of the great powers, paying attention to the geopolitical realities in this part of Europe.

Given the relatively small number of accounts regarding the origin of the Romanians, our intention is to focus on all of this information, in a chronological analysis. Out of the 171 identified travelers who left documentary accounts about their trips through the Romanian Principalities, only 22 explicitly spoke about the origin and language of the Romanians. From the perspective of the intellectual background of these 22, most of them were trained in the field of Humanities.

Antonmaria del Chiaro resided for many years in Wallachia, as secretary to the voivods Constantin Brâncoveanu, Stephen Cantacuzino (Cantacuzene) and Nicholas Mavrocordat (Maurocordato).⁷ The Florentine secretary stayed in Wallachia and familiarized himself with the realities of this country. As a result, numerous comments that he made on the history of the Romanians, in general, and on the political, social, economic realities, and daily life, in particular, are based on his personal experience, but also on the sizeable information he gathered from contemporaries and from the works on the history of Wallachia that he consulted. Starting with the spring of the year 1710, he is an eyewitness to the events that he describes, and his information is either firsthand or taken from an eyewitness worthy of trust. Quite often the information came right from the voivode, the court steward, or from the ladies.⁸ Having received a thorough humanist education, Antonmaria del Chiaro was also interested in the Romanians' past. Even in the initial project of his research he aimed to prove, with the help of the sources of the era, the Romanity of the Romanians.⁹ This is why we can consider him a reliable source when it comes to his information about the Roman origin of the Romanians. In his synthetic work *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* (1718), the former royal secretary writes the following:

They call themselves, in their language, Romanians, and their country, namely Wallachia, Țara Românească [literally, "The Romanian Country"], their language the Romanian language and, in fact, if there are still some who would doubt that the modern Romanian nation comes from the Romans who settled here in the colonies, may they attentively observe their language, and they will realize that the Romanian language is nothing but simply a deformation of Latin.¹⁰

Familiarized with the ancient and medieval sources regarding the Romanity of the Romanians and having contact with the Romanians in Wallachia, Antonmaria del Chiaro mostly addresses the foreigners, who had little information on the history of this nation located at the periphery of the eastern Roman world. Those who knew ancient and medieval history, the specialists in Romance languages, had no difficulties in understanding how the miracle of the survival of the Romanians among the non-Latin people around them occurred. The foreign travelers who had no historical or philological training and who were coming from Western Europe could hardly understand how a nation that was the successor of the Romans had managed to survive north of the Danube. Their bewilderment was even greater because the voyagers found the Romanians in a difficult economic and social situation and it was hard for them to accept that this impoverished people was descended from the most powerful people in antiquity. Antonmaria del Chiaro suspected that most of the readers would doubt his claims and he urged them, especially his compatriots, to compare the Romanian language with the Latin language and notice the similarities between the two languages.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Friedrich Schwanz von Springfels (c. 1690–1728), originally from Transylvania, was sent to Jena by Prince Francis II Rákóczi, the leader of the anti-Habsburg revolt of the years 1701–1711, to study mathematics and military engineering. On his return to Transylvania, the political realities were different, as the Habsburgs had managed to defeat Rákóczi and to pacify Transylvania. He was one of the artisans behind the construction and modernization of the road that crossed the Carpathians to Turnu Roșu, along the Olt Valley to Cozia, called Via Carolina. He spent a few months in Oltenia, which had come under Habsburg domination, to supervise the modernization of the access route from Transylvania to Habsburg Oltenia. Beyond these tasks, Captain Schwanz von Springfels had another mission, to draw up the map of Oltenia and of the boundaries with Transylvania, Wallachia and Bulgaria.¹¹ The map is accompanied by a description of both the places recorded on it and of the inhabitants, preceded by a short historical-geographic presentation. The description was intended as an explanation to the map. It came to us in two versions: one submitted on 30 April 1723 to the authorities in Vienna but finished in 1720,¹² and the other one, slightly different and showing a previous stage of completion, attached in 1780 to the second edition of Samuel Köleséri's work, enriched with the description of Oltenia's subsoil by Michael Schendos van der Beck, being itself a republication of the Venice edition from 1724.¹³ In his description of Oltenia, Friedrich Schwanz von Springfels writes the following on the origin of the inhabitants:

Therefore, the name Vlach (Wallachian) came about as a corruption of the Slavic word Vloch, and it has remained so until today. The inhabitants prefer to call themselves Romun, that is Romanians, but the Transylvanian Saxons call them Bloch, a word that comes from an erroneous quotation and reading of the word Vloch, because Romanians use in their writing and alphabet many Greek letters and instead of V (they use) B, thus, according to this common Greek way of writing Bloch instead of Vloch, they also call the people like this; this is why there's no need to derive this denomination from somewhere else, like Enea Silvio from Flaccus, because in the times when the Dacians started to rise against the Romans,

*Augustus had to settle with keeping them away from the Romanian lands and Principalities and to banish after a famous defeat the king of the Goths (!) back to his possessions. . . . Nobody uses the name of Flacciana. That these inhabitants are the successors of the Romans can be seen in their morals and language, the latter being more similar to Latin than any other corrupted language in Italy, France or Spain.*¹⁴

Although the author has no complex philological and historical knowledge, he tries to explain in the spirit of the era the two names under which the Romanians were known in the Middle Ages. Thus, the Romanians called themselves Rumun, which means Romans or Romanians, also bearing in their name the conscience of being the successors of the Romans. In the same way, for those who would doubt this, Friedrich Schwanz von Springfels asks them to compare Romanian with Latin and thus observe the similarities between the two, another proof of the Roman origin of the Romanians. By morals the author understands the aspects of daily life, the mentalities, customs and traditions of the Romanians. Friedrich Schwanz von Springfels criticizes Enea Silvio Piccolomini's theory from the mid-15th century, which explains the etymology of the name Wallachian, by which the Romanians were known by foreigners. This way, the author tries to explain why the Romanians are also called Wallachians by foreigners, especially by the Slavic people, or Bloch, by the Transylvanian Saxons, without however providing a conclusive explanation. It's important that both authors bring up as an argument the language spoken by the local population in order to demonstrate the Romanity of the Romanians.

Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel (1727-1790) was also interested in the political and economic realities of Moldavia and Wallachia from the second half of the 18th century. In 1753, at the proposal of ambassador Roland Puchot Des Alleurs, he is appointed consul of France in Crimea. As soon as he takes this office (1754), Peyssonnel starts gathering material for a work on the peoples who lived at the mouths of the Danube and on the shore of the Black Sea. He gathers sizable information regarding the Moldavian villages under the rule of the khan, and about the political, financial and commercial relations of Moldavia and Wallachia with the Tatars.¹⁵ Appointed consul in Canea (Crete), in the autumn of 1758 Peyssonnel crossed Moldavia, which had been ravaged by the Tatars of Krim Giray, who had picked up 40,000 slaves, countless cows and rich loot in the space of a week. After a short stop in Jassy, in the company of his compatriot, merchant Pierre-François Linchou, Peyssonnel heads for Wallachia, stopping in Bucharest at the end of 1758.¹⁶ During this trip, Peyssonnel gathers data and information regarding the Romanian Principalities, as well as their form of government and their riches. Although he is mainly concerned with identifying the resources of the two countries, and with the earnings that France could make here, in the work *Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube & du Pont-Euxin* we can also find some observations on the Romanians' past and origin. Using older works, the author positions himself among the ones who consider the Romanians to be the successors of the Romans, and the Romanian language as related to Italian and other Romance languages.¹⁷ In his work, published several years after visiting the Romanian Principalities, the author records that

The Romanians bear even today the name of Romans and, exiting Focșani, a city straddling the border between Moldavia and Wallachia, I was amazed to hear a peasant respond to one of my servants who had asked him where we were: “à venit domieta la tzara roumounească,” which is: Your Grace, you have come to the Kingdom or to Wallachia.¹⁸

Without being specifically concerned with the Romanians' past, Peyssonnel brings up as a supporting argument a personal experience that he had in Focșani, on the border between Moldavia and Wallachia, where a citizen explained to his servant that he was in Wallachia, an argument deemed sufficient by the author to claim that Romanians had the conscience of their Romanity.

Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711–1787) of Ragusa (Croatia), one of the most brilliant scientists of the 18th century, born to a mother of Italian origin and a Serbian father, accompanied Lord Porter, an English diplomat, from Constantinople through Bulgaria, Dobruja and Moldavia. He wrote a *Journal* (1784) in which he describes the places he crossed, providing us with precious information.¹⁹ Crossing Dobruja, in the summer of 1752, Boscovich stayed overnight in Satu Nou, where he met “Christian residents who were speaking Romanian, a very different language from Bulgarian. It’s a mixture of various languages, especially Italian and Latin”²⁰ and when he arrived in Jassy, he wrote the following on the language of the country:

The country’s language is a mixture of various languages. It has something from Slavic, from Turkish; but most of it is taken from Latin and Italian and one can find many of those Italian words, derived from the Latin ones, just as one can also find many Latin words that changed [even] in the same way in which the Italians inserted them in their current language. This made me believe that the origin of such great similarity between their language and Latin mustn’t be derived from the old Roman colonies or from their exiles, or from the first centuries of the church, as many told me there, but rather from the trade they made with Italians several centuries earlier, and from their colonies.²¹

In this case, Roger Joseph Boscovich doesn’t challenge the Latinity of the language, but only the fact that it stemmed from the Romanization of the province of Dacia by Emperor Trajan. According to the scholar, the major influence of Latin over the Romanian language would be due to Romanians’ contact with Italian merchants in the Middle Ages; this would also explain the numerous Italian words in the Romanian language, a theory which is however not in accordance with historical truth. It’s also worth mentioning that, according to the author, the Romanians he met in Jassy had the conscience of being the successors of the Romans, and that the language they spoke had the Latin language as its foundation, an aspect challenged by the author.

Abbot François-Xavier de Feller, a member of the Jesuit Order, was born on 18 August 1735 in Brussels.²² He served for a while as rhetoric professor in various cities of Belgium, in Luxembourg and Liège, and, after the suppression of his order, in 1773, he devoted himself to the career of publicist. De Feller arrived in Hungary on 15 May 1765 and settled in the following year in Monok, as a preceptor of Count Miklós Andrassy’s children.²³ Here he met Count d’Ybarra, general director of the mines in Transylvania,

who invited him to Bistrița (Bistritz, Beszterce), where his residence was. There de Feller would spend most of this trip. During the voyage to Transylvania, he recorded his impressions almost every day.²⁴

Abbot François-Xavier de Feller followed the route from Szolnok to Košice, Debrecen and Oradea (Großwardein, Nagyvárad), entered Transylvania, arriving in Cluj (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár), and then in Bistrița. On the way, the Jesuit monk met the Romanians, towards whom he showed a certain reluctance, due to the advice received from the authorities.²⁵ On his trip from Oradea to Cluj, he was accompanied by some Romanians and, following the experiences of the voyage in their company, some of his negative impressions towards them would change. The Romanians often appear in the accounts of our traveler in different positions and situations, and on one such occasion he speaks about their origin and language. Thus, when entering Maramureș, the abbot writes the following in his travel journal:

*I have seen multiple times in Szolnok groups of Ruthenians and Romanians who live in Maramureș. These people are Orthodox Christians, but united with the Roman Church. . . . The other Romanians, who live in Banat and Transylvania, are mostly schismatic and much crueler than those in Maramureș. . . . Ruthenians speak the Muscovite language, which is a Slavic language. Romanians have their language, which is very similar to Italian. They claim they are a Roman colony, which is very likely.*²⁶

The abbot is well informed about the origin and religious affiliation of the Romanians. For instance, he knows that the Romanians in Maramureș became united with Church of Rome, which made them more open to new things. They are presented in contrast with the Romanians in Banat, whom the author deems cruel. The voyager's negative image of the Romanians in Banat most likely stems from the religious movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie from Cioara, connected with the Serbian hierarchy in Karlowitz. It's known that, especially after the last movement against the unification with the Church of Rome in 1759–1761, most of the Romanians reverted to Orthodoxy. The abbot's trip took place three years after the religious conscription made by the imperial authorities among the Romanians in Transylvania, and the events that had taken place were still fresh in the mind of the authorities. Our traveler manages to notice the differences between Romanians and Ruthenians, even if both peoples were Orthodox, a part of them coming under the authority of the Church of Rome. The element that differentiates them, in the abbot's opinion, is the language spoken by the two nations. The Romanians have their language, which very much resembles Italian, while the Ruthenians speak the Muscovite language, a Slavic one. A second argument employed by de Feller is the Romanians' awareness of their Roman origin, the local people claiming to be the successors of the Roman colonists.

Abbot de Feller, when entering Transylvania, probably also under the influence of the Romanian porters who accompanied him in the Criș Defile, whom he came to know better after he heard them talking and saw how they acted and thought, writes the following on the origin of Romanians:

It seems certain that these Romanians are a Roman colony, as they say. Noi suntem romani: Nos sumus Romani (We are Romans). Their language resembles Italian, French, Latin; some words are not the same, ox, cow etc. Others are similar, like foc (from focus)—fire, apa (from aqua)—water, gât (from gutur)—neck, feintana (fontaine)—fountain, bună seara (bons soir)—good evening. In this rhapsodic language one can find Hungarian, German, Slavic, Greek, etc. words. Their greeting is “good health.” Their accent and tone are truly Italian, although less delicate. Their script is Greek, a bit modified, the way Serbians use it. In Blaj [Blasendorf, Balázsfalva], in Transylvania, there is a Romanian printing press.²⁷

If, when leaving Hungary, when meeting the Romanians from Maramureș, our traveler doesn't know that they are the successors of the Romans, after familiarizing himself with the Romanian population, the author becomes convinced of that. He thus declares every time about Romanians that they are the descendants of the Romans, providing as an argument the language they speak, the traveler himself comparing words from Romanian with the ones in Latin and noting that some of them are identical. The author opines that Romanians preserved their ethnic identity with the help of their language, and some of them, especially those who attended schools, among them the Roman Catholic Romanians, have the conscience of being the successors of the Romans.

From Giovanni Crisostomo di Giovanni, a Greek born in Zagora, Thessaly, who joined the Franciscan Order, we have his answer to the Propaganda Questionnaire, along with his report as prefect regarding the Catholic missions in Moldavia. From the answer provided by the author to question number 54, we find out that “Everyone speaks the Moldavian language because it is a very easy language, much more so than any other, comprised mostly of Latin and Italian.”²⁸

François Baron de Tott (1733–1793) was the son of a Hungarian rebel who sought refuge and settled in France after the defeat of Rákóczi's anti-Habsburg movement in 1711. On the occasion of his mission to Crimea, Baron de Tott passed through Moldavia, first when he was heading towards his destination in 1767 (September), and then, when leaving Crimea, he crossed on horse the south of Bessarabia and Dobruja, on his way to Constantinople. These trips are described in the work *Mémoires du Baron de Tott, sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, published in Amsterdam, in 1784, and in Paris, in 1785. In this work, de Tott makes the following observation: “Moldavia and Wallachia were in ancient times a Roman colony. Even today people speak there a broken Latin and this language is called ‘Roumiè,’ the Romanian language.”²⁹ In this case, too, the traveler correctly notices the Romanity of the Romanians, the fact that the language spoken by them is a broken Latin; more correct would be to say that it is a type of Latin that went through the complex process found everywhere in Europe in the formation of new languages and peoples.

Ignaz von Born (1742–1791), a renowned Austrian mineralogist, was born on 26 December 1742 in Alba Iulia (Weißenburg, Gyulafehérvár), where his father was a mining engineer, but at the age of 8 he leaves Transylvania. He studies philosophy in Vienna, enters the Jesuit Order, but leaves it soon after. He then moves to Prague, where he studies law. From here, he embarks on a long journey, through Germany, France and the Netherlands, after which he returns to Prague, where he abandons law and pursues

the study of natural sciences, mineralogy and mining. Very soon after, he comes to be known in the scientific world, becomes a member of the scientific academies or societies in Stockholm, Siena, Padua and London. He didn't however limit himself to specialized studies.³⁰ He had a serious general knowledge and spoke multiple languages. Besides his scientific activity, he concerned himself with literature and even history.

At the beginning of his scientific career, in 1770, he sets off on a study trip in Banat and Transylvania. He first explores the mines in Upper Hungary, then heads towards Banat. He passes through Pest and Szeged, and at the beginning of June arrives in Timișoara (Temeswar, Temesvár), where he stays for ten days, after which he visits the rest of Banat, studying, among others, with great interest the mines in Sasca, and the foundries in Bocșa (Bokschan, Boksánbánya). In the first half of June he leaves Banat and explores the mines in Săcărâmb (Nagyág), Zlatna (Klein Schlatten, Zalatna), Baia Mare (Frauenbach, Nagybánya), and Baia Sprie (Mittelstadt, Felsőbánya).³¹ On this trip, in the first part of his expedition, Ignaz von Born meets the Romanians from Banat. The mineralogist preferred to record his impressions in the form of the letters sent to Johann Jakob Ferber, a famous mineralogist of that time. In the third letter sent from Timișoara on 20 June 1770, he writes the following:

*The inhabitants of Bannat are Raizes, Wallachians, and a fourth part Germans. The Raizes are said to be originally a Scythian people, in former times inhabiting Dacia, now called Servia. They call themselves Srbi. Their language is a corrupt Sclavonian or Illyric dialect. The origin of the Wallachians is less certain. They call themselves Romun, a word which in their language equally signifies a Roman and a remaining man, and makes it doubtful whether they are the remnant of Roman colonies, or of a people conquered by the Romans. The Roman medals, tombs, and other monuments, found in the mountainous parts, and near the Danube, are valuable evidence of they having been in former times subjects of the Romans, in either sense. Even their language, which in greater Wallachia (Zara more) is spoken very crudely, while in Transylvania (Ardellia) has the reputation of being spoken very elegantly, is a corrupt Latin. However, I do not conceive how so many Italian words, such as aramă (copper), mâncare (food) and many more, which have no connection with Latin, came to be used by them. The termination of their words in general, and the conjugations in the Italian manner, have been mixed into the language of this nation.*³²

From the records made by Ignaz von Born it doesn't result that he challenged the fact that the Romans conquered Dacia and Romanized the province. The doubts of this mineralogist with autodidactic preoccupations for history are related to the fact that the Romanians are the successors of the Roman colonists or of the conquered and Romanized Dacian population. Although he was a polyglot, the voyager didn't understand the complexity of the Romanization phenomenon in the province of Roman Dacia and in the regions north of the Danube. The archaeological discoveries of Roman and post-Roman nature, the presence of numerous words from Latin in the Romanian language, as well as the Roman conscience of the Romanians, also proved by their name, were evidence of the direct connection between Romans and Romanians. Ignaz von Born didn't

understand the complex phenomenon of the apparition of new peoples and languages in Europe, following the contact with the Slavic populations in the East and the Germans in the West. Thus, if the Romanians north and south of the Danube were born from the Eastern Roman world, the Italians, French, Spanish and Portuguese were born from the Western one. In this equation, the numerous Italian words existing in Romanian were inherited from Latin, and some of them find themselves in both Italian and Romanian. Those with no Latin origin come either from German or Slavic, comprising the superstrate of the two languages, respectively.

A record on the origin of the Romanians, nevertheless without mentioning that they are the descendants of the Romans, was made by Joseph II in the “Report on the Trip Through Transylvania” in the spring and summer of 1773. The report drafted by the sovereign is a synthesis of the problems he found in Banat, Transylvania and Maramureş, accompanied by a list of solutions proposed to Maria Theresa, but it also contains the following passage:

*These poor Romanian subjects, who without a doubt are the oldest and most numerous inhabitants of Transylvania, are so tormented and overwhelmed with injustices by everyone, either by the Hungarians or the Transylvanian Saxons, that if you truly investigate their fate, it is pitiful . . .*³³

The account of the soon-to-be emperor highlights the difficult situation of the Romanians in Transylvania, subjected to the abuses of the Hungarian nobility and Saxon aristocracy, the emperor also mentioning the ancientness and number of this people. The ancientness and number of Romanians will be two of the arguments that Bishop Inochentie Micu will rely on when requesting to the imperial authorities and the Transylvanian Diet a status for the Romanians equal to that of the other nations in the province.

Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer (or Bawr) was born in 1731 in Bieber, Germany. An officer during the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer spent some time in Wallachia and Moldavia. He drafted the project of a big geographical and military atlas, to serve as an introduction to the history of the war in which he was already participating. With the help of his staff officers, he drew the maps of the provinces on whose territory the war took place, namely Moldavia, Wallachia, Podolia, Volhynia, Crimea, Bulgaria and the Straits, as well as the main battle lines, like, for instance, the siege of the fortresses of Khotyn, Tighina (Bender), Cetatea Albă (Akkerman), Kilia, Brăila, Giurgiu etc. He also left us a description of Wallachia, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie, avec un Prospectus d'un Atlas Géographique & militaire de la dernière guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane*, published in 1778. In the subchapter regarding the inhabitants, the author makes numerous considerations on their language and origin.³⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer acknowledges the Romanians' Roman origin, as a result of the conquest of Dacia by the armies led by Trajan and of the Romanization of the regions north of the Danube. Proof in this regard are the Romanians' conscience of being the successors of the Romans, the name of Roman being proudly kept by the inhabitants, as well as the Latin origin of the language they speak. The German officer notices that numerous foreign influences, especially Slavic, entered Romanian, which led

to its alteration, without however modifying its structure, as it remained a language of Latin origin. In this case, too, the historical evidence is complemented by linguistic arguments and by elements related to the Romanians considering themselves the successors of the Romans. Wilhelm von Bauer also remarks that foreigners call Romanians by the name of *Vlach* (Wallachian), a term of Slavic origin, the Romanians, like other European peoples, having two names, one by which they call themselves, and the other by which foreigners call them. Romanians call themselves by the ethnonym *român* (Romanian), of course, with the different variations *rumun*, *rumân*, etc., proof of the Roman origin of Romanians.

The Venetian Francesco Grisellini (1717–1787), a cartographer and naturalist, stayed between the years 1774 and 1776 in Banat, being the author of an *History of Banat* (1780).³⁵ The first months of his stay were devoted to excursions and study trips. In June and August 1774, he stays in Lipova (Lippa) and Caransebeș (Karansebesch, Karánsebes). In April 1775, he explores the Banat Mountains in the Caransebeș region, attentively observing, alongside the scientific and geographical conditions, the realities related to the population and its way of life. In June and July, he sails from Timișoara to Orșova (Orschowa, Orsova). In the following year, he visits the plains region. This is when he finishes the map of Banat, on which he had been working for some time. When, at the end of 1776, Joseph Karl of Brigido was named commissioner plenipotentiary (vice governor) of the Kingdom of Galicia and replaced in Banat by his brother, Pompeo of Brigido, Grisellini left Banat, too.³⁶ In the seventh letter sent to Baron Pompeo of Brigido, “On the Romanians Living in Banat,” Francesco Grisellini writes the following: “[About the name of Wallachians]. One thing is certain, that this nation never attributes this name to itself: they call themselves *rumuni* or *rumagnesch* and prove enough through their language that they are of Roman origin.”³⁷ In other words, Grisellini, who spent three years in Banat, knows that the Romanians call themselves *rumuni*, but that foreigners call them Wallachians; moreover, the Romanians prove through their language, as the other authors also observed, that they are of Roman origin. In this case, too, the Romanians’ name, as well as the language they speak, are conclusive proof of their Romanity.

Alexandre Maurice Blanc de Lanautte, Count d’Hauterive (1754–1830), during his stay in Moldavia, drafted three materials regarding this principality, namely *The Journal of the Trip from Constantinople to Jassy (February–March 1785)*, *Memoir on the State of Moldavia in 1785*, and *Memoir on the State of Moldavia in 1787*, presented to ruler Alexander Ypsilantis. In the work *Memoir on the State of Moldavia in 1785*, the author makes several considerations about the Roman origin of the Romanians and about the kinship between Romanians and Italians, starting from the language they speak.³⁸ Furthermore, he also includes several entries on the origin of the Romanians in the *Memoir on the State of Moldavia in 1787*.³⁹ In the same document, the French author also talks about the language spoken by Romanians:

It would be a pity for the Moldavian language to die, because it is the last remnant of the steadfast Roman way of life. It is the same Roman language, only not that of Cicero and of the century of Augustus. It is much older than that. The Moldavian language is that of

*Romulus's soldiers, it has kept the roughness of their customs and all the rudeness of their behavior.*⁴¹

In his turn, the journalist Jean-Louis Carra (1742–1793) writes the following on the Romanian language:

*The Romanian and Moldavian languages are, with a few exceptions, one and the same language. This language is derived from Latin: pâine—pane (bread), mâine—mane (tomorrow), apa—aqua (water), vin—vinum, vinut (wine), and partly from Slavic and Russian: slugă = servitor (servant), prăpădit (miserable) from prapal = pierdut (lost), from Polish: voivoda = voievod, prinț (voivode).*⁴¹

General Louis Alexandre Andrault de Langeron (1763–1831), of French origin, enters the Russian service by participating in the Russo-Turkish wars waged in the Romanian Principalities. In the work *Journal of the Campaigns Made in the Service of Russia*, drafted in 1790, the general makes a few short observations on the origin of the Romanians in Moldavia and Wallachia.⁴² The French officer acquired this information from better prepared authors who wrote about the origin of the Romanians, which he checked on the spot, in the two years he spent in the Romanian Principalities. In essence, de Langeron correctly understands the conquest and Romanization of the Roman Dacia province. He has no problem in acknowledging the Romanity of the Romanians, but disagrees with the fact that Romanians are the successors of the colonists brought in Dacia. He considers, starting from the social status of the Romanians in the principalities during the Phanariots, that the Romans who colonized in Dacia were corrupted by alien elements, especially by nomads. This accounted for the difficult social and cultural situation of the Romanians he knew. Some of the information presented in the work is not accurate, in the way it is described by General Langeron, especially the fact that the province of Dacia, conquered by the Romans, was depleted of its local population. Langeron, like the vast majority of foreign travelers who approach the problem of the Romanity of the Romanians, notices the fact that Romanians had the conscience of the fact that they were the successors of the Romans and that the Romanian language is derived from Latin.⁴³

We find some information on the name of the Romanians in Stefano Raicevich's (1739–1792) work, *Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche intorno la Valachia e Moldavia* (Naples, 1788). Discussing the origin of the Romanians, Raicevich, following Franz Josef Sulzer's point of view, considers that the political elite in Wallachia and Moldavia was of Slavic origin, and the Romanians, the successors of the Romans and Dacians,⁴⁴ called themselves *Roumones* or *Romani*, to distinguish themselves from the nobles, who called themselves boyars.⁴⁵ According to the author, the successors of the Romans had an inferior status in comparison to the political elite of Slavic origin. The theory of the existence of an elite among the conquerors and the subjects, who were descended from the Romanized population, was however ruled out by recent research.

Charles-Marie d'Irumberry, Count of Salaberry, was born in Paris, on 6 September 1766. Right after the onset of the French Revolution, he leaves Paris, on 5 October

1790, goes to Vienna and, from there, to Turkey through Hungary. After a short stay in Constantinople, which he leaves on 19 April 1791, he heads towards Malta, Naples and Marseille, where he arrives in November 1791. Salaberry published his travel impressions under the title *Voyage à Constantinople, en Italie, et aux îles de l'Archipel, par l'Allemagne et la Hongrie*, issued in Paris in 1799, in an epistolary format. He follows Raicevich in the description of the Romanians' origin.⁴⁶

William Hunter and his brother passed through the Romanian Principalities in the summer of 1792, on a business trip. In the journal in which he recorded his travels we can also find some information on the local population.⁴⁷ The author learned from the Romanians that they were the successors of the Romans, but this unfortunately doesn't enable them to have remarkable achievements. Without having a philological preparation, William Hunter bases his claim on the information and data gathered from the locals.

Count Johann Centurius von Hoffmannsegg (1766–1849), who belonged to an old Rammenau family from Saxony, was passionate about natural sciences. At the end of July 1794, the count of Hoffmannsegg arrives in Mehadia, after a trip in which he received all the necessary permits from the military-administrative authorities, given that the region he was crossing was part of the border guard districts, being subjected to a special regime.⁴⁸ Johann von Hoffmannsegg's work was published in 1800 under the form of letters sent by the author to his sister, Mrs. von Kleist.⁴⁹ About the Romanians, the author writes the following:

*This nation, rightfully considered the successor of the old Roman colonies and which was very numerous in these regions, comprises the population of a great part of Banat and Transylvania. They [the Romanians] have their own language, which is completely unique and obviously derived from Latin, and very similar to a broken Italian. In this language, they don't call themselves Wallachians, but Romanians.*⁵⁰

Johann von Hoffmannsegg, a naturalist by profession, correctly understands the complex process behind the Romanians' origin. In this case, the traveler of German origin came into contact with the Romanians from Banat and Transylvania. The evidence regarding the Romanity of the Romanians is, from the author's point of view, the language they speak, but also their conscience of being of Roman origin. Moreover, the traveler notices the fact that the inhabitants call themselves Romanian, not Wallachians, the way foreigners call them.

The classicist geologist and ancient text editor James Dallaway was born in Bristol, on 20 February 1763. After attending Trinity College in Oxford, where he obtained his bachelor's degree in theology, in 1784, he becomes vicar in Rodmarton and then in Rodborough, in Gloucestershire. James Dallaway leaves London on 20 March 1794, accompanying Sir Robert Liston, the new ambassador to Constantinople. The English delegation would arrive in the Turkish capital on 19 May 1794. At the end of April and the beginning of May, the English travelers crossed Transylvania and Wallachia. James Dallaway recorded in the work, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad*, published in London in 1797,

the following information on the Romanians: "As descendants of the colonists of Trajan, they still call themselves Romans and their language is a mixture of Latin and Slavic, the first being very altered. At the Court, modern Greek and Turkish prevail."⁵¹ James Dallaway, a good connoisseur of classical languages, also notices the Romanity of the Romanians, having as a starting point ancient information on the conquest and colonization of Dacia, but also the direct observations regarding the language spoken by Romanians. The English scholar notices the presence of words of Latin and Slavic origin, but also the fact that the official languages and the languages of culture in the Romanian Principalities under the Phanariots were Greek and Turkish.

Andreas Wolf, a physician by profession and of German origin, a native of Transylvania, was called two times, between 1780 and the beginning of 1783, and between 1788 and 1797, by the voivodes of Moldavia to treat some members of their family.⁵² He had the opportunity to visit the country extensively and to observe with his own eyes the local realities.

*The Romanian nation was born from a mixture of old Thracians, of Romans and Slavs . . . Thus, their language can be considered a single main branch that bears the name of Romanian . . . I was very much surprised during the first days of my stay in Moldavia, when I heard people speaking Romanian and I was still asked: Do you speak Moldavian? And I answered: I speak Romanian, but not Moldavian. I was told, indeed, that it is the same language, only that many words differ (in subdialectal pronunciation) from those in the Romanian language of Transylvania.*⁵³

A Transylvanian Saxon, Andreas Wolf learned Romanian and managed to identify the dialectal differences between the types of Romanian spoken in the three countries. From the humanist authors to the illuminist ones, he gathered information regarding the Romanity and ethnogenesis of the Romanians. Andreas Wolf is the only traveler who speaks in his records about the Dacian substrate, the Roman stratum and the Slavic adstrate.

Robert Murray Keith (1730–1795), a career diplomat and representative of Great Britain at the Peace Congress in Svishtov, also made reference to the Latin origin of the Romanian language, when he met the Romanians in 1790.⁵⁴

Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822), a clergyman, naturalist, mineralogist and traveler of English origin, during a trip of professional training as a preceptor through the Tsarist and Ottoman Empires, also transits the Romanian world, on his way back home. He obtains information from the political elite in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, as well as from the numerous works consulted after returning to his homeland. On the local population in the Principalities, he writes the following:

*Nothing seemed to us more worthy of our attention than their language. It is not enough to say that it is very closely related to Latin: in many aspects, it is a clean Latin, the difference between our way of speaking Latin and their way being only the pronunciation. All the names of useful objects for travelers, especially supplies, are Latin. What is the reason behind this, if not the colonists sent by the Romans to this country? . . . The current local population call themselves Romanian, pronounce the word like the Greeks, with the Omega sound . . .*⁵⁵

Edward Daniel Clarke, who crossed the Romanian Principalities in the space of several weeks, insists, like most of the travelers, on language as an element of ethnic identity. The Latin language is for the English traveler more than a mere language that Romanian descends from, it is even a clean Latin, due to the numerous words that were preserved in Romanian. The explanation for this situation is simple for the voyager, namely the colonization of Dacia by a Romanized population. Furthermore, an important element is the affiliation to the Roman civilization, preserved through the name Romanian. In other words, the Romanian language, which is overwhelmingly Latin, and the Romanians' name are evidence of the Roman origin of the Romanians.

In his turn, Vince Batthyány (1772–1827), imperial adviser, a passionate traveler with a fine intellect, roamed both the Habsburg Empire and several foreign lands and countries, arriving in Bucharest, on his way to Constantinople. In the trip undertaken in the year 1801, he passed through Transylvania and Wallachia, along the route Sibiu, Turnu Roșu, Pitești, Curtea de Argeș, Bucharest, Silistra, Varna. The author manages to generally piece together the history of the places he crossed, as well as that of the Romanians, the majority inhabitants of the Romanian Principalities.⁵⁶ Afterwards, the author, relying upon direct observations made about the Romanians, makes the following considerations:

*In Comloș we were amused to see a bunch of Romanians seated in a group and playing cards, loud and quarrelsome, providing along with their language hard evidence of their resemblance to the Italians, who are always busy in the main cities of Italy.*⁵⁷

In other words, Vince Batthyány, alongside the language spoken by Romanians, very similar to Latin, takes into account their behavior and attitude, similar to those of the Italians, to whom they are related. About the language, the author knows very well that it is the successor of Latin, due to the Romanization of this province.⁵⁸

Adam Neale (1780–1832), a military doctor of Scottish origin, crossed Wallachia and Moldavia in 1804. He makes the following observations about the Romanian population in these provinces:

*The costume and warlike appearance of the Moldovans are striking as a picturesque, they remained almost the same as in the time when Hadrian . . . victoriously brought the Dacian ancestors to the Roman capitol, which the Roman artists carved in bas-relief on the Column of Trajan. The color of their hats distinguishes them from the Romanians in Wallachia, whose fur hats are black, while those of the Romanians in Moldavia are white. Their speech is as rough and manly as their looks, being composed of Latin words mixed with Slavic and Turkish words.*⁵⁹

Adam Neale is well informed about the province's past. He knows that the province of Dacia was colonized with a Romanized population, and that the Romanians speak a language of Latin origin, with numerous Slavic and Turkish terms. Quite interesting is the use of the information on Trajan's Column regarding the garb, the traveler remarking the similarities between the traditional garb of the Dacians and that of the Romanians.

On the same note write Charles-Frédéric Reinhard (1761–1837), general consul of France, with the residence in Jassy, in 1806,⁶⁰ and Armand Charles, Count Guilleminot (1774–1840), a French officer sent by Napoleon to Wallachia.⁶¹ Charles-Frédéric Reinhard underlines the fact that the Romanians speak a language of Latin origin, but write in Slavic, because the political and social elite is of Slavic origin.⁶² Adam Neale, recounting his trip throughout Moldavia in 1805, erroneously considers the Romanians to be speaking Latin, due to the similarities between the two languages.

Conclusions

THE ACCOUNTS of the foreign travelers of the 18th century and the first decade of the following century are full of observations regarding the language spoken by the inhabitants of the Romanian lands. For the period of time analyzed, namely the one between the years 1710 and 1810, we identified the accounts of 171 travelers who crossed the Romanian space. Only 27 of them refer to the origin of and the language spoken by Romanians. Of the travelers who talk about the Romanity of the Romanians, 12 have liberal professions, 8 are diplomats, 6 are officers, and one is a merchant.

All the travelers consider the Romanian language to be the successor of Latin, based on the similarities between the two. The Latinity of the Romanian language is, for this era, a fact accepted by all the travelers who write about the origin of the Romanians.

The travelers who write about the Romanian space use various documentary sources, especially historical, geographical, and philological ones. To these older sources, we can add numerous works published in the 18th century, especially on history and geography, featuring information on the origin and language of the Romanian people. Other travelers, less instructed, gather their information directly from Romanians, remarking with surprise that this country speaks a language that many of them, especially the Italians, can understand. Therefore, most of the voyagers come to the conclusion that the Romanian language is the successor of Latin.

The scholars, those who have liberal professions, are closer to the truth, managing to understand the process of formation of the Romanian language, with its three main components: the Dacian substrate, the Latin stratum, and the Slavic adstrate. Among the voyagers that wrote about the origin of Romanians, 22 clearly established that Romanian emerged from Latin, while 21 also spoke about the origin of the Romanians, which they correctly retraced, considering them the successors of the Roman colonists settled in Dacia. For all the travelers who arrived in the Romanian Principalities, the language spoken by Romanians represents the decisive element in determining their origin. Historical data, such as archaeological sources or ancient and medieval chronicles, which talk about the Roman origin of the Romanians, are of secondary importance when it comes to identifying the Romanians as the successors of the Romans. Most of the travelers managed to correctly piece together the ethnogenesis and glotogenesis, as well as the presence of numerous Slavic and Turkish words in Wallachia and Moldavia, and of Hungarian and German ones in Transylvania. We also have five foreign travelers who

managed to distinguish between the name Romanian, used by the people themselves, and that of Wallachian, only used by foreigners when referring to them. This aspect is, in their opinion, an argument in favor of their Romanity. □

Notes

1. See Călin Felezeu, *Statutul Principatului Transilvaniei în raporturile cu Poarta Otomană (1541–1688)* (Cluj-Napoca, 1996), 107–119; D. Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum: Din istoria formării națiunii române*, new edition, with additions and clarifications (Bucharest, 1984), 134; Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii și începuturile formării națiunii române*, translated by Marionela Wolf, foreword by Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca, 1994), 87.
2. See Vasile Arvinte, *Român, românesc, România*, 2nd edition (Bacău, 2004); Adolf Armbruster, *Romanitatea românilor: Istoria unei idei*, 2nd edition (Bucharest, 2012); Ioan-Aurel Pop, *De la romani la români: Pledoarie pentru latinitate* (Bucharest-Chișinău, 2019).
3. Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident: Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800–1848)*, translated by Maria Carпов (Bucharest, 1995), 41–58; Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România: Originile: Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*, translated by Aurelia Dumitrașcu, 2nd comprehensive and revised edition (Bucharest, 2000), 121–125; Pop, 18–19; Lucian Boia, *România, țară de frontieră a Europei*, 4th edition (Bucharest, 2012), 27–56; Paul Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească văzută de călători străini (sec. XV–XVIII)* (Bucharest, 1973), 39–59.
4. The analysis was carried out especially based on the following documentary sources: *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 8, edited by Maria Holban (lead editor), M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, and Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 1983); *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 9, edited by Maria Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, and Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 1997); Petre P. Panaitescu, *Călători poloni în Țările Române* (Bucharest, 1930); N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, edited by Adrian Anghelescu (Bucharest, 1981); *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 10/1, edited by Maria Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, and Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 2000); *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 10/2, edited by Maria Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, and Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 2001); *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, new ser., vol. 1 (1801–1821), edited by Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, and Marian Stroia (Bucharest, 2004); *Călători străini despre Țările Române: Supliment II*, edited by Ștefan Andreescu (Bucharest, 2016); Ioan Horga and Sorin Șipoș, *De la “Mica” la “Marea Europă”: Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera nisăriteană a Europei: Studii și documente/De la “Petite” à la “Grande Europe”: Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l’Europe: Etudes et documents*, French translation by Delia-Maria Radu (Oradea, 2006).

5. Gilles Bertrand, "Voyager dans l'Europe des années 1680–1780," in *Les Circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680–années 1780*, edited by Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire and Pierrick Pourchasse (Rennes, 2010), 247. To see: Édouard Thomas Charton, *Voyageurs anciens et modernes ou Choix des relations de voyages les plus intéressantes et les plus instructives depuis le cinquième siècle avant Jésus-Christ jusqu'au dix-neuvième siècle, avec biographies, notes et indications iconographiques: Voyageurs du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1863); id., *Voyageurs anciens et modernes ou Choix des relations de voyages les plus intéressantes et les plus instructives depuis le cinquième siècle avant Jésus-Christ jusqu'au dix-neuvième siècle, avec biographies, notes et indications iconographiques: Voyageurs modernes: Quinzième siècle et commencement du seizième* (Paris, 1865); Edmond Bonnaffé, *Voyages et voyageurs de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1895).
6. An analysis of the accounts left by the French travelers to the Romanian Principalities can be found in Paul Cernovodeanu, "Les Voyageurs français en présence des réalités roumaines de la période phanariote," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 13, 5–6 (1974): 737.
7. See C. Boroianu, "Antonmaria del Chiaro," *Studia bibliologica* (Bucharest) 3 (1969): 115–132.
8. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 8: 368.
9. *Ibid.*, 366.
10. Anton-Maria del Chiaro Fiorentino, *Revoluțiile Valahiei*, translated by S. Cris-Cristian, with an introduction by N. Iorga (Iași, 1929), 7; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 8: 366; Iorga, 314; Armbruster, 210; Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească*, 54.
11. Additional information in Friedrich Schwanz von Springfels, *Descrierea Olteniei la 1723*, edited by Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan (Brăila–Cluj-Napoca, 2017).
12. *Ibid.*, 63.
13. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 8: 43; von Springfels, 117–119.
14. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 8: 46; von Springfels, 117–119.
15. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 9: 391.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Charles de Peyssonnel, *Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube & du Pont-Euxin* (Paris, 1765), 192–195.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 9: 452–454.
20. *Giornale di un viaggio da Costantinopoli in Polonia dell'abate Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich Con una sua Relazione delle rovine di Troja* (Bassano, 1784), 86; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 9: 460; Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească*, 55.
21. Boscovich, 126–127; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 9: 477.
22. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 10, 242–243.
23. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 9: 556.
24. *Ibid.*
25. "The priest wanted to try out my magnifier and to inspect my medal; I told him right away, through the translator, that it was made of copper, being afraid of getting killed in the woods that I had to cross, if he knew it was made of gold; because I had been warned in this regard. But I then noticed that this fear was pointless, and vain, like others with which some tried to influence me." *Ibid.*, 560.
26. *Ibid.*, 558.

27. Ibid., 560.
28. Ibid., 450.
29. *Mémoires du baron de Tott, sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, 2nd Part (Amsterdam, 1784), 54; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 9: 609.
30. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/1: 90.
31. Ibid.
32. *Travels Through the Bannat of Temeswar, Transylvania, and Hungary, In the Year 1770. Described in a Series of Letters to Prof. Ferber, on the Mines and Mountains of these Different Countries, by Baron Inigo Born, Counsellor of the Royal Mines, in Bohemia*, translated from the German by R. E. Raspe (London, 1777), 14; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/1: 95.
33. Ileana Bozac and Teodor Pavel, *Călătoria împăratului Iosif al II-lea în Transilvania la 1773/Die Reise Kaiser Josephs II. durch Siebenbürgen im Jahre 1773*, vol. 2 (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), 92.
34. *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie, avec un Prospectus d'un Atlas Géographique & militaire de la dernière guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane, publiés par Monsieur de B**** (Frankfurt-Leipzig, 1778), 18–19; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/1: 149.
35. *Lettere odepistiche di Francesco Grisellini . . . ove i suoi viaggi e le di lui osservazioni spettanti all'istoria naturale, ai costumi di vari popoli e sopra più altri interessanti oggetti si descrivono, Giuntevi parecchie Memorie dello Stesso Autore che riguardano le Scienze e le Arti utili*, vol. 1, edited and introduction by Angela Lasorsa (n.p., 2008), III; Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească*, 58.
36. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/1: 385.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., 692; Nicolae Isar, *Mărturii și preocupări franceze privitoare la români: Secolele XVIII–XIX* (Bucharest, 2005), 17.
39. *Memoriu despre starea Moldovei la 1787 de comitele d'Hauterive* (Bucharest, 1902), 79.
40. Ibid., 253.
41. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/1: 251; Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească*, 56.
42. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/2: 939.
43. Ibid.
44. Stefano Raicevich, *Voyage en Valachie et en Moldavie, avec des observations sur l'histoire, la physique et la politique, augmenté de notes et additions pour l'intelligence de divers points essentiels*, translated from the Italian by J. M. Lejeune (Paris, 1822), XV.
45. Ibid., 4–5.
46. Charles-Marie d'Irumberry de Salaberry, *Voyage à Constantinople, en Italie, et aux îles de l'Archipel, par l'Allemagne et la Hongrie* (Paris, 1799), 105.
47. "The natives, however, are proud of their origin, which they trace back to the Romans in ancient times. It's a pity that this pride doesn't inspire them to undertake something worthy of such famous ancestors." *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 10/2: 1106.
48. Ibid., 1179.
49. Ibid., 1180.

50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 1215.
52. Ibid., 1266.
53. Ibid.
54. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, suppl. II, 385; Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească*, 57.
55. E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, vol. 8, *Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land*, 4th edition (London, 1818), 250; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 1: 59.
56. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 1: 72.
57. Ibid., 80.
58. Ibid., 98.
59. Ibid., 182.
60. Ibid., 250.
61. Horga and Șipoș, 47; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 1: 363; Isar, 34.
62. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 1: 250; Cernovodeanu, *Societatea feudală românească*, 58.

Abstract

The Romanity of the Romanians As Reflected in the Accounts of Foreign Travelers between the Years 1710 and 1810

The accounts of the foreign travelers of the 18th century and the first decade of the following century are full of observations regarding the language spoken by the inhabitants of the Romanian lands. For the period of time analyzed, namely the one between the years 1710 and 1810, we identified the accounts of 171 travelers who crossed the Romanian space. Only 27 of them refer to the origin of and the language spoken by Romanians. Of the travelers who talk about the Romanity of the Romanians, 12 have liberal professions, 8 are diplomats, 6 are officers, and one is a merchant. All the visitors consider the Romanian language to be a successor of Latin, based on the similarities between the two. The Latinity of the Romanian language is, for this era, a fact accepted by all the travelers who write about the origin of the Romanians. The travelers who write about the Romanian space use various documentary sources, especially historical, geographical, and philological ones. To these older sources, we can add numerous works published in the 18th century, especially on history and geography, featuring information on the origin and language of the Romanian people. Other travelers, less educated, gather their information directly from the Romanians, remarking with surprise that this country speaks a language that many of them, especially the Italians, can understand. Therefore, most of the voyagers come to the conclusion that the Romanian language is the successor of Latin. The scholars, those who have liberal professions, are closer to the truth, managing to understand the formation of the Romanian language, with its three main components: the Dacian substrate, the Latin stratum, and the Slavic adstrate. Among the voyagers who wrote about the origin of the Romanians, 22 clearly determined that Romanian emerged from Latin, while 21 also spoke about the origin of the Romanians, which they correctly retraced, considering them the successors of the Roman colonists settled in Dacia. For all the travelers who arrived in the Romanian Principalities, the language spoken by Romanians represents the decisive element in determining their origin. Historical data, such as archaeological sources or ancient and medieval chronicles, which talk about the Roman origin of the Romanians, are of sec-

ondary importance when it comes to identifying the Romanians as the successors of the Romans. Most of the travelers managed to correctly piece together the ethnogenesis and glotogenesis, as well as the presence of numerous Slavic and Turkish words in Wallachia and Moldavia, and of Hungarian and German ones in Transylvania. We also have five foreign travelers who managed to distinguish between the name Romanian, used by the people themselves, and that of Wallachian, only used by foreigners when referring to them. This aspect is, in their opinion, an argument in favor of their Romanity.

Keywords

Romanity of the Romanians, Romanian Principalities, foreign travelers