



THE GERMAN “BERTOLDO” IN TRANSYLVANIA. ON THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL TRANSFER FROM WEST TOWARDS EAST AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

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Giulio Cesare Croce’s small chapbook “Bertoldo” from the beginning of the Italian 17th century has spread all over Europe under the sign of the Enlightenment and according to the translation concept of “belles infidels”, being adapted and transposed so as to correspond to the “taste” of an enlightened readership of the 18th century. On the basis of the German translation of the French adaptation, G. C. Croce’s “Bertoldo” has reached also the Romanian speaking culture, being translated into Romanian and published in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) in Cyrillic alphabet in 1799. In the centre of our research lays the concept of “cultural transfer” and the role that the German translation has played for the dissemination of the Enlightenment’s ideas on Romanian soil. Through a widely ramified translation activity with complex nuances and with different goals (and less through original works) we see in this era of the Romanian Enlightenment a deep transformation in mentalities and conceptions fulfilled under the circumstances of a multi-layered reality awareness. G.C. Croce’s “Bertoldo” represents from this point of view a perfect example for the process of cultural transfer from Western to the Central-Eastern Europe at the end of the 18th century, a transfer that is not accomplished through a mere imitation of the “dominant” German culture (that in its turn operates on a French model), but through adaptation and appropriation techniques, through the so called “cultural translation” that takes notice of the specificity and particularity of the target culture.

Keywords: Enlightenment, Cultural transfer, Cultural translation, Adaptation strategies, The Fürstenspiegel (ruler’s mirror).

Introductory Theoretical Framework

The Romanian literature at the end of the 18th century faces a clear metamorphosis as the Enlightenment’s ideas penetrate step by step and through different ways the Romanian cultural soil and the medieval order of society, politics and arts gives its place to a new conception on the society, the individual and his role in the world. The Enlightenment is a time of intellectual exchange in which one begins to display complete faith in reason and science, a time when we see a full and global liberalisation in many areas of life (the so called progress optimism) and when a new kind of education and pedagogy is emerging in order to disseminate knowledge and contaminate all society layers with a new kind of sensibility, freed from superstition and blind faith in the supernatural. The Enlightenment supported and promoted the large circulation of ideas, the interexchange and interdependency of the various schools of thought through an active cultural trade. This trade took various forms, from the migrations of intellectuals to the circulation

of books, from the exchange of letters to collective works published internationally. The translation was (and still is) a special kind of this formal trade between cultures, a historical subsystem based on a special field of action and on socially established norms and conventions, expectations and moral concepts (Prunc: 1997, 107). Concentrated around the large publishing centres of Europe, the translation activity in the 18th century brings together works from a large spectrum of interests, from the educational sciences, philosophy to books of science popularization and light fiction (Wehinger: 2008, 7), all selected according to the criteria of enlightening the reading public through direct teaching or, by more allusive means, under the pretext of entertainment. The translation theory and practice under the sign of the Enlightenment was marked by the discussion around the importance of the receiving culture. In greater or smaller degrees¹, the translators of the time display a disregard to the "original" and focus more and more on adapting this original to the specificity and particularities of the receiving culture, by eliminating passages or adding ones, by commenting on a specific episode or explaining different realities or elements that were supposedly not clear enough for the new reading public (Scherl: 2014, 58-64).

This type of "cultural translation", as we will further call it, is a special form "cultural transfer"², in which the social, economic and literary pattern of the target culture plays a decisive role in the act of reception. We speak here of a type of reception, not in the sense given by Jauss and Iser in the Konstanz school of thought, but as a double way exchange that marks both the receiving and the original work, transforming them, giving them new meanings and accents, adapting them to a new kind of sensibility and world view. By exemplifying this concept through discussing a chapbook from the 17th century we try on the one hand to illustrate the role of the German language for the dissemination and spread of Western Enlightenment's ideas in the Romanian principalities³ and on the other, the adaptation strategies employed by the Transylvanian translator in order to appropriate a foreign material to his own cultural pattern.

The chapbooks are perfect examples for this type of trade and appropriation strategies because, even if they are not collective works, they do represent the entire social and economic framework of a specific time, due to the fact that they assimilate and incorporate folkloric elements and investigate a specific thinking pattern and mentality of a community. The chap books have always had a clear tendency towards protest against a feudal order of society and towards a battle for freedom and social equity (Chițimia: 1963, XVI) and by the 17th century it was a preferred genre due to its dialog-structured form that made them easier to reach the intended public. The popularity of the chap books derives from their immediate and direct connection with the daily life and with the current problems of the society. These social-

¹ We differentiated here between the extreme forms of the French translation practice, the English conception of the role of adaptation and transposition and the more moderate one practiced and theorized by the German philosophy. See here: Scherl, Sophia: *Die deutsche Übersetzungskultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Meta Forkel-Liebeskind und ihre Übersetzung der 'Right of Man'*. Berlin 2014, especially the introductory pages: 11-64.

² For the concept of "cultural transfer" we follow the theories developed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner. See Espagne, Michel/Michael Werner: "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert". In: *Francia* 13 (1985), pp. 502-510; Espagne, Michel (ed.): *Frankreichsfreunde. Mittler des französisch-deutschen Kulturtransfers*. Leipzig 1996; Lüsebrink, Hans-Jürgen (ed.): *Kulturtransfer im Epochenbruch. Frankreich-Deutschland*. Leipzig 1997.

³ In the 18th century there were three main Romanian principalities (known also under the name of Donaufürstentümer): Moldavia (the Eastern part of the present day Romania) and Wallachia (south of the Carpathian Mountains and North of Danube) were under Ottoman influence. Here ruled the so called "Fanariots", Greek noblemen that paid to the High Porte a place on one of the two thrones. These "Fanariots" brought with them the entire court and a group of intellectuals educated in the West, so they remain for this period of time intermediates between Western and Eastern Europe, as Greek becomes the intermediate language for the circulation of ideas and schools of thought. On the other hand there is also Transylvania that was part of the Habsburg Monarchy at that time. Being affected by the Maria Theresia's and Joseph the II's reforms in education, by the Reform and Contra-Reform, many intellectuals left Transylvania to study abroad, mainly in Budapest and Vienna, but also in Paris and Venice, coming back with the full cultural baggage of the Western Enlightenment. For this part of the present day Romania, the German language played a decisive role as transportation language for the Western ideas into the Central and Eastern part of Europe.

political and ethical elements that were almost always intertwined in the epic structure of a chap book served perfectly the ideals and conceptions of the Enlightened Europe by linking the need for an individual Enlightenment to a larger community framework (Werner. In: Schmitt (ed): 2011, 246-247). Thus the chapbooks remained a fashionable genre throughout the 18th century, although we see great mutations in form and the epic structure and a clear shift in meaning. Giulio Cesare Croce's work "Bertoldo", illustrates exactly this process of transformation from a Renaissance's carnivalesque writing with a clear entertaining and satirical aim to a highly educated and moral based prose that served the reading public to achieve a higher level of understanding the social and moral order of its time. Furthermore we see here not only a transition in time but also a spatial one, since the material travelled from West to East employing in each stage different interpretation patterns and adaptation strategies. This time and space transfer of meaning is highlighted once again through this special form of "cultural translation", a cultural activity that was based on a highly and intensely commerce of cultural goods (Wold. In: Mengerl (ed.): 2010, 229).

Giulio Cesare Croce's "Bertoldo" and Its European Circulation

The story of Bertoldo ("Le sottilissime astuzie di Bertoldo", 1606), written by the Italian popular singer and poet Giulio Cesare Croce della Lirra, narrates the marvellous adventures of the wise and ingenious peasant Bertoldo that arrives out of curiosity at the court of the king Albioni. He impresses the king with his clever remarks and keen observations, giving useful insight in social and political matters. The king grows fonder and fonder of him and asks him to remain in his court but the peasant, smart and equally impertinent, arouses the envy of the courts men and the hate of the queen, a situation that will give raise to a number of comical episodes, where the protagonist barely escapes with his life from the traps set by the queen and the others. After a number of episodes where he humiliates the queen and enrages the king, he is sentenced to death. Bertoldo manages to escape by delaying his execution and telling clever and entertaining stories to the guards. He tries to disappear in his country home, but the king misses him too much and brings him back to the court where peasant dies a couple of years later because the air and life style in the city has shaken his health. In his honour the king makes a monument and writes a beautiful epitaph that will remind everyone on the sagacious nature of this peasant.

Croce's inspiration source was another chap book that dated from the late Middle Ages, written in Latin and known all over Western Europe under the name "Salomon und Macolf". Almost a century after the first known version of this Latin dialogue, Croce transformed it in a prose work as a completely different kind of literary fiction with new accents, different effect intentions and functions.⁴ The unexpected success of Bertoldo among the merchants and middle class from different Italian cities made Croce write a sequence, the story where we can find this time a *satira negativa contro il villano*, a reversed story that narrates the adventures and life of Bertoldo's son Bertoldino. In "Le piacevoli e ridicolose simplicita di Bertoldino" (1608) he constructs, according to the carnivalesque principle of similar but contrasting pairs, the image of a simpleton as a perfect counterpart of his father. After Croce's death the popular writer and composer Adriano Banchieri from Bologna under the pseudonym Camillo Scalingeri della Fratta (1567-1643) wrote another sequel of this story, presenting this time the life and adventures of Bertoldo's nephew, Cacasenno who was even dumber than his father. But the success of the "Novella di Cacasenno, figlio di semplice Bertoldino" (1620) was due to the fact that it was published and sold together with the former two, having little of the literary virtues of the previous two books. The

⁴ This is a time of transition from Renaissance to Baroque and especially in the literary field we see a clear tension between the old and the new. The deviation from the norm of the classical harmony produces an emphasis on the spectacular that goes further towards the marvellous, the spectacular, macabre and miraculous, transforming the realistic elements of ugly and foul into literary and aesthetic categories. Giulio Cesare Croce's literary creations depict a vivid image of the country side life at the end of the 16th century and it is to this depiction that he connects a burlesque and comical approach of the court life, achieving the artistic literary recognition of his contemporaries. See also Lackner: 1979, p. 90-97.

famous painter Giuseppe Maria Crespi, named also Lo Spagnolo (1665-1747) took some of the scenes from these three books and depicted them in paintings that contributed to the circulation of this popular story also in the higher educated and pretentious aristocratic circles. The publisher and academic Lelio dalla Volpe from Bologna sought the opportunity and employed in the first half of the 18th century the painter Ludovico Mattioli (1662-1747) to reproduce and engrave 20 of Crespi’s paintings into copper. He further planned to adapt Croce’s work in an epic poem in 22 songs, namely six songs for Bertoldo, eight for Bertoldino and eight for Cacasenno. He employed for this job 24 writers from different Italian cities; each writer composed a song, wrote allegories and moral considerations, added historical-linguistic observations and literary critical notations and in 1736 in the publishing house of dalla Volpe appeared the great satirical epic poem *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno in ottava rime* (Bologna 1736) (Lackner: 1979, 193-194).

The small novel of Giulio Cesare Croce was translated also in New Greek, Portuguese, Spanish, French, Romanian, German, English, Croatian and Polish. From Portugal it travelled as far as Brazil. The Romanic versions of “Bertoldo” differ in few respects from the Italian original. The intentional structures seem to appeal to the expectations and reading experience of the 18th century readership and so the dialogue type of writing, the alternation of question-answer lines and the proverbial type of expression were maintained in most of the translations, finding proper ground for the formation of new meanings.

The Romanian “Bertoldo”s

The reception of “Bertoldo” in the Romanian speaking literature in the last third of the 18th century was carried out – similar to the rest of Europe – in an age, in which the premises for the expansion of the Enlightenment had been already laid. At the beginning of a productive translation activity, in which the translation of “cărți de delectare” [chapbooks] played a significant role in the tendency towards aesthetic experience, we find the first known manuscript of the “Bertoldo” story in the year 1774. This is a translation from a Greek intermediate (the first attested Greek translation of Croce’s work is dated in 1646 in Venice) that moves around in the Romanian-speaking culture under the larger sign of the imaginative literature: it is translated as a chapbook by an anonymous translator that is it is meant for a broad spectrum of readership. This translation of a Western European original through a Greek intermediate was an ordinary practice in the two Romanian principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) due to the fact that these two regions were under the Ottoman influence that placed on the Romanian thrones Greek noblemen (Chivu. In: Verebceanu: 2002, 8). At the same time, every large European centre sheltered large (highly educated) Greek colonies characterised by a strong and meaningful trade of cultural goods between them. Greek was thus a language of transporting the Western European Enlightenment into the Central and Eastern Europe, linking and bonding the two cultural areas.

This translation from Greek didn’t find its way towards a printing house; it remains in manuscript and circulated all around the country. We have today eight different manuscripts of the so called “Moldavian Bertoldo”, all written in Cyrillic alphabet, in the Moldavian dialect (Georgescu: 1999, 69-224)⁵. The omissions and reductions can only be attributed to personal understanding and transposition

⁵ The first manuscript was dated in the year 1774 (ms. 328, the former Zabelin 230) and it is found in the Historical Museum in Moscow. The second (1775, Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. BAR Nr. 1417, f.57r-113r) is called “Istoriile lui Bertoldu după cum să arată înaintea” and has 63 chapters. The third is a miscellanea manuscript (Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. BAR Nr. 1067 f.34r-70v) and it is named “Începutul vieții și a faptelor lui Bertold, de ce au făcut și lucrat în viața lui”. One may find a fourth manuscript in the University Library in Bucharest (Ms BCS Nr. II 24, inv. 4249 f.148r-189v) under the name “Istoria lui Bertodor filosoful și cu împăratu Alboi, ? . Logoban ce au stăpinit toată țara Italiei”. Also in the Library of the Romanian Academy is registered also the fifth manuscript (Ms. BR 2088, f.152r-155r), that was written between the years 1793-1975. Two other manuscripts have been written at the beginning of the 19th century: “Întrebare între Bertodor și între Împăratu” (Ms. BAR Nr. 2189, f.1r-42r, 1813) and “Începutul istorii lui Bertoldor cu Logoban împărat” (ms. BAR 1759). All these

difficulties of the copyists. In a study published last year, we tried to demonstrate that these eight manuscripts represent copies of at least two separate translations of a Greek version or versions, because they differ in a number of aspects (number of scenes, omissions, additions and so on but also linguistically, different translation strategies that indicate two separate translators) (Chiriac. In: Hoişie: 2014, 157-163), but the second Greek intermediate still needs to be found in order to demonstrate beyond any doubt this theory. Bertoldo, as piece of an imaginative literature, brought from the West not only the educational baggage but also the aesthetic forms of dialogue, proverb, language games, double meanings and so on that were not yet entirely appropriated into the Romanian language.

Much more interesting appears to be the Transylvanian translation of “Bertoldo”. This edition came on Romanian soil on very different ways than the Moldavian one. It was published (so we have a printed edition) in Hermannstadt (Sibiu, Transylvania) as a Romanian translation of a German intermediate. This German intermediate was a translation of a French adaptation of the book, that was not a translation of Giulio Cesare Croce’s work, but rather a compilation of the original “Bertoldo” and the heroic poem of the della Fratta’s editors mixed together and adapted for the “refined French public” (Rouch: 1984). In this French edition, “Histoire de Bertholde, contenant ses aventures, sentences, bonsmots, reparties ingenieuses, ses tours d’esprit, l’histoire de sa fortune et son testament”. La Haye 1750, the translator stresses right from the beginning of the book that he intentionally has omitted the vulgar and gross elements as well as the grotesque episodes that couldn’t correspond to the educated taste of his readers. This is the reason why we find here that the question-answer game is dramatically reduced and transformed, that the proverb gives way to a more refined way of expression. Some of Bertoldo’s more difficult quests were completely eliminated and replaced with large descriptions of the country life and of the court routine. The translator adds detailed portraits of the courtiers, of the court ladies and of the king’s jesters and doesn’t fail, even if it is in a discrete and adverted manner, to preach morals and ethics. The didactic and pedagogical element becomes predominant, even if it is intertwined with the entertaining one. The translator, or better said adaptor, seems to want to pay through this work his tribute to the ethical and moral component of the Enlightenment’s ideology (Lackner: 1979, 194-195).

One year later appears the German translation of this French adaptation, under the title: “Der italienische Aesopus oder Bertholds satyrische Geschichte, darinnen seine sonderbaren Begebenheiten, sinnreiche Einfälle und kluge Aufführungen bei Hofe usw. nebst seinem Testament enthalten. Aus dem Französischen ins Deutsche übersetzt”⁶ (Frankfurt und Leipzig 1751). Translating the French prologue, the German translator states, right from the beginning, that it was his right, in fact his duty, to omit the vulgar expressions and entire grotesque scenes in order to comply to the higher and cultivated expectations of the French / German middle and upper class that was a well-educated public, with specific national taste and preferences. Also in the German version the accent falls on the didactic and educational character of the story, and on the primary role of rationality and logical thinking that can bring even the ugliest and despicable beings to the high position of royal counsellor and furthermore who, after reaching this highest peak, remains true to his original humility and decency (Lackner: 1979, 208-212).

From this German translation and most probably with Croce’s work and della’ Fratta’s epos before his eyes, the editor in chief of the series “Bibliothek der Romane” (Berlin 1772-1778), Max Reichard wrote a small adaptation of the material and published it in the 7th volume of his series in the chapter “Romane der Ausländer” in 1778. The short story with the title: “Leben Bertoldo’s, seines Sohnes Bertoldino, und seines Enkels Kakasenno” tells the adventures of the clever and impertinent peasant Bertoldo and at the end, very briefly, retells some episodes from the story of the two dumb descendants of this peasant, the son Bertoldino and the nephew Cacasenno.

The translation into Romanian was made without any doubt after this German version. The title and subtitles correspond perfectly, the preface as well, so as we can conclude that a copy of the “Bibliothek

manuscripts seem to have had at least two different Greek intermediates. See in this matter: Chivu. In: Verebceanu: 2002 and Georgescu: 1999.

⁶ The Italian Aesop or Bertold’s Satirical Story. Within his curious adventures, meaningful ideas and clever acts at the court, kept along with his testament. Translated from French into German.

der Romane" must have travelled to Transylvania where it was translated under the title: "Viața lui Bertoldo și a lui Bertoldino feciorului lui, dimpreună și a lui Cacasio nepotului lui. Acum întâiu culeasă din cărți istoricești desfătătoare. Sibiu, în tipografia lui Petru Bart 1799"⁷.

In the German and Transylvanian adaptations, the original characteristics of the Croce's story are completely lost. The dialogue-type composition, the numerous chapters with their colourful titles, many of the thematic elements were replaced or adapted so as to correspond to new meanings constituents of the narrative. The plot is now linear and with little contradictions, the protagonist is stylized as to be a partly comical partly serious representative of an enlightened rationality and the scenes that depict the relationship between the king and his subjects bring to light many of Voltaire's principles of government that should be followed by every "enlightened monarch of Europe" (Lackner: 1979, 231).

It is of little importance that Reichard and thus the Romanian translator did not translate the preface of the French adaptor, where he asserts himself as an intermediate between cultures, according to the fashionable principle of *les belle infidèle*, and where he states that his "translated work" is in fact a new work. But Reichard and the Romanian translator follow closely the French predicaments and act accordingly in their practice⁸. Reichard explains in his epilogue his adaptation strategy of this story:

"Wer dieses Gedicht und den Roman kennt, wird vielleicht eine Menge witziger Einfälle ungern in dem Auszug vermissen. Viele davon sind sehr gut, besonders in den Unterredungen zwischen der Königin und Marcolfa; aber übersetzt würden sie viel von ihrem Werth verlieren. Ein Theil desselben besteht in Wortspielen, für die sich in andern Sprachen nicht leicht gleichgeltende Worte finden lassen"⁹.

Even if the Transylvanian translator fails to take this passage into his Romanian text, he remarks at the beginning of his story

"*Viața lui Bertoldo* s-au ivit cătră sfrșitul al șaisprăzecelea sută de an într-o cărticică foarte rău tipărită, în care să află multe lucruri care lui Bertoldo nice aminte nu i-au venit să le grăiască. Însă originalul, din care s-au cules aceste foi, pînă astăzi are trecere^{II//III} în cetăți, în orașe, și prin țară să vinde"¹⁰.

⁷ The Life of Bertoldo, of his son Bertoldino and of his nephew Cacasenno. Now for the first time written after very entertaining historical works. Sibiu. In the printing house of Petru Bart.

⁸ "I say that my translation is paraphrased, because I didn't remain bound either by Giulio Cesare Croci's original or by the work of della Crusca Academy poets. The latter have left out in their work everything that they considered bad or not interesting enough for their readers and put instead what they thought would be delightful; I serve myself exactly from this kind of freedom: I took the best from both and everything else is my own creation. This freedom will not seem strange to anyone that knows that there are beauties that are enjoyed by some nations and by other not; that things may sound in some languages very pleasant and in others common and abject. All my readers that know both languages and will make the effort to compare this translation with the original, after which it was made, will immediately see that I speak the truth and that I had no other choice, especially in a time and in a land, where the most beautiful works appear, that make the readers sick. If I have the luck to have satisfied your taste, I am ready to serve you also a second or a third time, in the hope that you will not be less gratified". In: "Der Italienische Aesopus oder Bertholds satirische Geschichte". Frankfurt 1751.

⁹ "The ones who know the poem or the novel will be displeased to have missed a number of comical episodes. Many of those are very good, especially in the dialogues between the queen and Marcolfa; but in a translation they would have lost much of their virtues. A part of them consists of word games, for which one cannot find equally suitable words in another language". In: Reichard's "Das Leben Bertoldo's, seines Sohnes Bertoldino, und seines Enkels Kakasenno. Berlin 1778.

¹⁰ "*Viața lui Bertoldo* appeared towards the end of the 16th century in a very bad printed booklet, in which there are many things that Bertoldo have never thought of doing and of saying. But the original from which these pages have been written, is well respected in the cities, citadels and throughout the country is well sold". In: *Viața lui Bertoldo și a lui Bertoldino feciorului lui, dimpreună și a lui Cacasio nepotului lui*. 1799, p. II-III.

The Romanian translator invokes here a rather old fashion argument to the historical truthfulness that was characteristic to the medieval works. The fact that the original contained “things that Bertoldo have never thought of doing or of saying” is the perfect justification for the textual deviations as forms of correcting the story and making it “historical” true.

Although the Transylvanian translator doesn't reproduce Reichard's justification but rather adapts it to his target public, he makes perfect use of the same translation technique in his work. According to the conception of *belle infidèle* the translations in the 18th century were never exact. In most cases we see a fragmentary reproduction with different accents and nuances and a free adaptation of subject matter. These “beautiful infidels” aimed towards adapting the original material to the new norm of literary theory, in other words to adapt it to the taste of its target public. The concept of *belle infidèle* was in this respect strongly reception oriented and had at the same time a naturalizing tendency. The goal was to create from an original a completely new and independent work. The particular interest of the translators resided in the criticism that they brought to the original work but analysing and discussing their translation decisions. “The interest of the work of those who produced *les belle infidèle* lies primarily not in whom, or how accurately, they translated, but in why they made the adaptations they did [...] The creators of *les belle infidèle* were responding to the imaginative constraints of their own culture, re-creating the texts they translated, as their original authors had projected their own vision to re-create nature in literature. Like the originals, the translations were to be creative works. The authors of *les belle infidèle* continued to use such traditional terms as ‘reason’, ‘reasonable’, ‘natural’ and ‘good sense’ to describe their norms; the real aim of their undertakings and the relationship of what they achieved to what was originally written became the normative” (Levi: 2000, 126-127). The most interesting feature of the criticism made of *les belle infidèle* concerns their creators' consciousness that translations had to cross not only linguistic but also cultural chasms that were virtually impossible to bridge. Along with this principle of *belle infidèle* the translators oriented their practice also according to another principle, namely that of *clarte* (Lüsebrinke . In: Berger, Sick (ed.): 2002, 83). The translator had the task to explain the obscure passages of the original, to make them accessible to the expectations, knowledge and experience of the readership. We see in the translation practice of the 18th century a naturalizing but also an explicative function of the translations (Willenberg: 2008, 10-16).

According to these requirements also the Transylvanian translator deviates from the German text and shifts accents towards an independent work. Some passages that describe the question-answer game between Bertoldo and his sovereign Albioni or between Bertoldo and the jester Fagotti were left out by the Romanian translator because they were too frivolous or maybe because they depicted a reality that didn't correspond to the Romanian one¹¹.

The Monarch's Mirror and the Transylvanian Translation

We will not discuss here all the aspects that would highlight a comparison between the German text and its Romanian translation, but we will concentrate on an aspect that, in our opinion, illustrates plainly the transfer of the Western ideas on Romanian soil and the adaptation strategies, namely the image of the “Enlightened Monarch”. The chapbook as literary genre brings a typical ideal image of the ruler, whose actions and measures are dictated by rationality, reason, justice and tolerance. The image of the ruler is here linked with the image of the simple peasant, that isn't built as an antipode, but as a complementary

¹¹ There is an episode in which the protagonist is compared to a weather vane. This comparison was not reproduced in the Romanian text, because this architectural element is not really popular in the Romanian culture and the comparison wouldn't have been recognisable. In the dispute between Bertoldo and the court jester Fagotti, the Romanian translator decides to eliminate the actual physical fight and transposes only the verbal attacks between the two. Another example is given by the episodes in which the ladies of the court are presented. The German text depicts a clear misogynistic image of the women, ridiculing their curiosity, their arrogance and their big mouths. The Romanian text uses milder words and pays little interest in this aspect, concentrating rather on the comical situation in which the protagonists finds himself. See here: Chiriac. In Sass (ed.): 2015, 124-148.

(contra-) figure of the monarch. The two characters may be regarded at a first glance, due to their different status, as opposing and excluding counterparts, but looking closely one must see that the two build a single prototype that assumes different aspects: the peasant Bertoldo is a smart man of the folk that is lead not by his education but by his trust in intellect, common sense and rationality. The king, as ruler and monarch of the folk, acts also rationally and justly, but basing his decisions not on intuition but on education and exactly this appeal to rationality, in both its forms, links the two characters and all the dialogues between them. The question-answer game illustrates at a textual level the role game played by the two in interchanging roles. This juxtaposition was not surprising for the 18th century readership that was used to this kind of metaphoric depiction of reason and rationality that promoted equality between men. But neither Germany nor Transylvania knew the extreme variants of the Enlightenment like France did. We see here that the translators and adaptors are advertising in the two characters the idea of an enlightened monarch, a concept that did not question the legality of the ruler, but his duties towards the people. In the centre of the cultural debates it is the popular spirit that places the problem complex at the level of the people and that reflects at the social mutations in the cultural action and creation.

The German and Transylvanian "Bertoldo" bring to light a time specific "Fürstenspiegel" (ruler's mirror)¹² that was well known both in the German and in the Romanian speaking territory. This mirror of the ruler opposed the absolutistic mentality and fulfilled an anti-despotic function and the literary works that discuss this, highlight the duties of the monarch by appealing to rationality and justice in leading the people. Through both texts we find numerous allusions to the predicaments of the enlightened monarchy: the references to the king Solomon, the tests given to the court ladies and so on. Here and there we still find some interesting remarks that the Transylvanian translator adds in order to highlight even more the justice and moral equity¹³. This appeal becomes even more evident in the testament that Bertoldo leaves to Albioni. This testament was not included by Reichard in his version, although it appear in the German translation of the French adaptation, so we must assume that the Transylvanian translator took this testament from one of the Moldavian versions of the story that most probably served as a secondary source for the Hermanstadt's "Bertoldo". If we take the social-cultural context of Transylvania into consideration¹⁴, the re-inclusion of this testament in the story line is not surprising at all: Bertoldo leaves the king a series of advices for a better ruling of the country, advices that concentrate on moral-didactic and ethical aspects of leadership:

"Și aflăm că mai înainte de ce ș-au dat suflitul, să fie făcut aceste învățături către craiul:

- Să cumpănească toate în cumpăna dreptății, cum pentru bogat, așa și pentru să^{37//38}rac.
- Să nu pedepsască pre nimenea pînă nu-l va judeca.
- Să nu scurte viața nimăruî, fiind mînios.
- Să iubească pre toți cu față direaptă.
- Să cinstească pre buni și pre înțelepți.
- Să lipsască pre cei neînvățați și pre pîrîși.
- Să caute dreptatea văduvelor și a săracilor"¹⁵.

¹² The concept is used in the sense given by Alexandru Duțu's considerations in: *Cărțile de înțelepciune în cultura română*. București 1972, S. 87-93.

¹³ "Însă, aducîndu-și aminte de blîndețele și iubirea de oameni a craiului, au făgăduit că va merge supt aceste tocmele" / But remembering the gentleness and love of the king, he promised to come under the following conditions. In: *Viața lui Bertoldo și a lui Bertoldino feciorului lui, dimpreună și a lui Cacasio nepotului lui*. 1799, p. XXXX.

¹⁴ Transylvania was at that time part of the Habsburg Monarchy, a province that was fully affected by the "Enlightened" Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph the IInd. It is a multicultural province (Germans, Romanian, and Hungarians) with different religious backgrounds (Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic) and with different social status. Thus the idea of social justice and equity of chances played an essential role in this area.

¹⁵ "And we find out that before he drew his last breath, he wrote the following teachings for the king: To judge everything with the scale of justice both for the rich as well as for the poor; Not to punish anyone until he receives a trial; Not to kill anybody being angry; To love everybody with a just face; To honour the good and the wise; To

But the testament doesn't end here; it has a second part that incorporates Bertoldo's advices to his son, Bertoldino. The son is the representative of the simple, uneducated folk that, as its ruler, must follow on rationality and good sense:

“Lui Bertoldino încă i-au trimis învățăturile acestea:

- Să nu glumească cu cei mai mari.
- Să nu facă pagubă vecinilor, nici nimurui cu voia lui.
- Să nu să sfătuiască cu oameni blestămați.
- Să plătească datoria celor ce este^{38//39} datori.
- Să fie deșteptat totdeauna spre lucruri bune și să fie nepregetători.
- Să fie milostiv spre săraci și să-i primească cu față blîndă.
- Să mulțamească celui ce i-au făcut bine și să nu-l uite.
- Să nu să amestece în lucruri care nu le pricepe, că să va păgubi.
- Mai pre urmă, să-și aducă aminte că de multe ori merge mielul înaintea oii, adecă moartea de multe ori săgeată pre cei mai tineri înainte de cei bătrîni.

Acestea păzindu-le nu va păgubi”¹⁶.

In this passage we see that the principle of rationality and justice doesn't apply only to the upper class, but at all society's levels, even for the simple folk. Furthermore the testament plays another important role, because it shows again (we see in the entire text allusions to this intention) that the intention of this story does not reside in the carnivalesque and burlesque depiction of a twisted and reversed society, as it was the case in the Italian original story, but in a rather enlightened message of equality between men and at the same time of the fact that each individual has to know his status and to act accordingly in society. It is not an encouragement to revolution but a plea for living in a framework that is ruled by reason and “common sense”. These nuances and accents cannot be found either in the Italian or in the German texts.

The Transylvanian “Bertoldo” highlights this aspect even more by accentuating the discrepancy between an ideal country life and the decadent court, by repeating over and over the fact that Bertoldo tries desperately to preserve at court his rural life style, never trying to differentiate himself from the peasant status that he was born with.

“Dară Bertoldo lîngă toate bunătățile care ș-au agonisit de la craiul n-au avut noroc să le petreacă îndelung, că-l rînduia să împace fețele, carii sta în judecată și să le facă îndestulare direaptă. Și iară în loc să mai guste și el, ca toți ceialalți sfetnici aura cea desfătătoare a cîmpului, maica cea dulce a sănătății, el să îndeletnicea cu lucruri trebnice ale curții”¹⁷.

punish the uneducated and gossip; To seek justice for the widows and the poor”. In: *Viața lui Bertoldo și a lui Bertoldino feciorului lui, dimpreună și a lui Cacasino nepotului lui*. 1799, p. 37-38.

¹⁶ “And to Bertoldino he left the following teachings: Not to joke with important men; Not to produce willingly damage to his neighbours or anybody else; Not to seek the council of cursed men; To pay his debts to those he is indebted; To be always clever for the good things and not to ponder; To have mercy for the poor and receive them gently; To thank the person that did him good and not to forget him; Not to mingle in problems that he doesn't understand, because he will lose. And then, to remember that most of the time the lamb goes before the sheep, that is the death shots its arrows sometimes towards the young rather than the old. And taking this into consideration, he will suffer from nothing”. In: *Viața lui Bertoldo și a lui Bertoldino feciorului lui, dimpreună și a lui Cacasino nepotului lui*. 1799, p. 38-39.

¹⁷ But Bertoldo didn't have the luck to enjoy for long the goods that he received from the king because he was busy with the reconciliation of people that stood before him and awaited his justice. And instead of tasting, as the other counsellors did, the entrancing aura of the field, the sweet mother of health, he was always carrying out the court's business. In: *Viața lui Bertoldo și a lui Bertoldino feciorului lui, dimpreună și a lui Cacasino nepotului lui*. 1799, p. 37.

The German text says:

“Zum Glück genoß Bertoldo seines Glücks nicht lange, obgleich seine Lebensart ebendieselbe zu Verona wie auf seinem Dorf war. Er mußte zuweilen kleine Ausschweifungen machen; zum Beyspiel, mit den Partheyen, die er zum Vergleich bereden wollte, einen Schluck trinken; später, als er gewohnt war, zu Bette gehen, weil ihn der König manchmal bis nach der Sonnen Untergang aufhielt; anstatt zu ackern, mit Staatsachen umgehen, und sich heiser darüber schwatzen, denn lesen und schreiben könn’t er nicht.”¹⁸

The Romanian text fails to depict the ironic statements of the German version, instead it opts for a more direct and plain depiction of the pains and difficulties that Bertoldo suffered in the “civilized” world of the city. In both texts the protagonist dies because he is not able to adapt himself to this life style, a seemingly ironic ending, but in fact a concluding statement on the clear division of society.

Even if we find in the two texts a lot of passages that preserve the metaphoric and ambiguous game of language with double meanings and contradictions, the moral teaching of the story is ever present. The Transylvanian Bertoldo takes from the German one not only the didactic application of the protagonist’s adventures at the court of Albioni, but goes further by including Bertoldo’s teachings to the king and to his son, transforming the allusions into a direct preaching of morals and ethics for both the ruling and the ruled class. Even if some of the researchers attribute these deviation to the lack of understanding or the lack of translation capabilities (semantics, lexical difficulties and so on) (Lackner: 1979, 260-288), we find that the solutions chosen by the Transylvanian translator serve the goal of this text eloquently and underline the specificity of the target readership.

The textual mutations and the accent deviations that we highlighted here, play an important role in the economy of the Romanian text, because the Romanian culture finds itself in this time in a period of transition, in which the Western ideas of the Enlightenment (of French and German nature) penetrate step by step the Romanian society. Bertoldo’s adventures at the court of king Albioni combine the entertaining function with the moralizing and educational one and bring to the reading public a vivid depiction of the social and moral questions in the Romanian society of the late 18th century. Not only in this respect is this text important, but also in its contribution to the standardization of the Romanian language that was also facing a period of transition. The translation of Croce’s Bertoldo from German into Romanian illustrates the way in which the Romanian language was still finding itself pending between archaic, old forms and new variations (imported, adapted or barbarized). This is a time in which we see dramatic innovations at all levels of the language: phonetically, morphological, lexical and syntactical¹⁹ and the alternating forms indicate that the Romanian and its Transylvanian variations were on the way towards modernization and standardization.

Conclusions

The process of cultural transfer in the Romanian principalities developed not only through a liberalized commerce with cultural goods (conceptions, ideas, paradigms and so on), but also through linguistic

¹⁸ Luckily Bertoldo didn’t enjoy for long his luck, even though his life style in Verona remained the same as it was in his village. He had to make small excesses; for example, with the parties that he had to counsel, he had to drink a sip; later when he was used to go to a bed, because the king sometimes delayed him until sunset; instead of ploughing, he was busy with the state business and chatted all day long, because he didn’t know how to read and write.

¹⁹ At a phonetical level we have alternating forms, for example: the maintenance of “e”, or “o”, or “ă”, the itacism and rhotacism with new forms, for example “e” becomes “i”, “o” becomes “u” and so on. In the lexical field we find old-fashioned words, that belong to the popular language (au lăcuit, vălitură, ort, muiere usw.), but also with neologisms (istoria, tipărit, rezidență, damă, epigramă etc.) and with specific forms that characterize the literary texts of that time (prunc, curiozitate, grumaz usw.). In the field of morphology we have innovations by the reflexive pronouns, genitive, relative pronouns, but also archaic forms that we see especially in prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and past tense.

elements that needed at that time a dramatic reform through loans. In this respect German played an essential role, acting as an intermediate language and culture (Duțu: 1968, 242). We may thus conclude that through this type of “cultural translation” one may explain much of this transfer, starting with the simplest questions: What was translated? From which language? For whom? By whom? and moving towards more complex questions: How was it translated? Why it is translated? With which intentionality? In which degree it regards the national cultural specificity? and even to linguistically relevant questions: How was this term translated? How was a structure transposed in order not to be old-fashioned but also not strange? What is the importance of the source language and of the intermediate language? By answering these questions, we can conclude that the process of transfer did not unfold itself by mere appropriation of a strange and foreign cultural good, but by adapting it, adding and eliminating such elements as to correspond to the targeted readership’s views and to pay respect to the specificity of the target culture.

The *Bertoldo*-chapbook illustrates how the interdependency of poetical, ideological and linguistic functions of the translation from German produces a new kind of aesthetic sensibility that makes way to the development of a new kind of European identity through linguistic amalgamations, through deviations and melting and an active linguistic consciousness. Croce’s *Bertoldo* acts in this respect as a perfect example of the cultural transfer from West to East at the end of the 18th century, that, despite the general belief, didn’t happen by means of a mere imitation of a dominant culture (here the German), but by revising and adapting strategies that aimed to bring the foreign text closer to the regional specificity of the target culture.

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