STANISŁAW SARNICKI, *ANNALES* – A CANTEMIRIAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE

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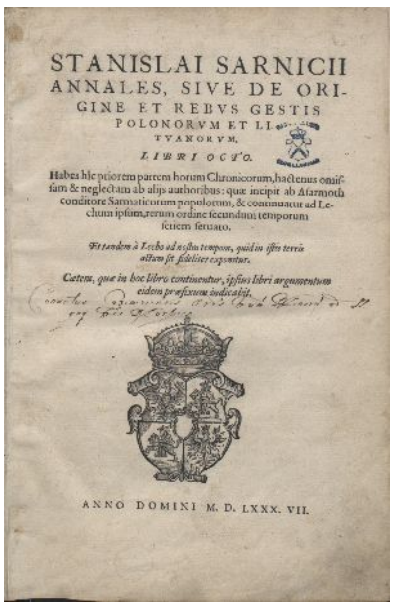
Abstract:
In writing his historical works, Dimitrie Cantemir used an impressive number of bibliographical sources, most of them written in Latin and Greek. One of the most important sources used in *Historia Moldo-Vlachica* and its Romanian version *Hronicul vechimei a Romano-Moldo-Vlahilor* is represented by *Annales sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lithuanorum libri octo* by the Polish historian Stanisław Sarnicki. Cantemir critically takes over the information, which he disputes most often using bibliography-based reasons. The quotation or the paraphrase is interrupted by Cantemir's personal observations, which have more passion and, at times, subjectivism in the Romanian work.

Key-words:
Translation, quotation, paraphrase, Romans, Wallachians.


STANISLAI SARNICII
ANNALES, SIVE DE ORI-
GINE ET REBVS GESTIS
POLONORVM ET LI
TVANORVM,
LIBRI OCTO.
Habes hic priorem partem horum Chronicorum, hactenus omiſ-
ſam & neglectam ab alijs authoribus: quæ incipit ab Afarmoth
conditore Sarmaticorum populorum, & continuatur ad Le-
chum ipſum, rerum ordine ſecundum temporum
ſeriem ſeruato.
Et tandem à Lecho ad noſtra tempora, quid in iſtis terris
actum ſit fideliter exponitur.
Cæterum, quæ in hoc libro continentur, ipſius libri argumentum
eidem præfixum indicabit.
ANNO DOMINI M. D. LXXX. VII.

This study aims to discuss the relationships between Dimitrie Cantemir's works *Historia Moldo-Vlachica* and *Hronicul a vechimei a Romano-Moldo-Vlahilor*[1] and one of its major bibliographical sources, the work of the Polish historian Stanisław Sarnicki, *Annales sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lithuanorum libri octo,* published at Cracovia, in 1587. Taking into account the Cantemir's worksheets in both his writings, the style of quotation and paraphrase, we notice the insertion of the personal note of the Romanian translator/ commentator. *Historia Moldo-Vlachica* is, as a matter of fact, "the core"

[1] For these two works, we will use the abbreviations HMV, respectively HVR.

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of the *Hronic,* representing "between 3/5 and 2/3 of the final length"[2] of the Romanian version. As bibliographical source, Sarnicki's source appears in *Descriptio antiqui et hodierni status Moldaviae* (*A Description of Moldavia),* too, but to a lesser extent.

Stanisław Sarnicki's work represents a source frequently used by Cantemir, even if he does not agree with the statements of the Polish historian; he notes and criticizes them with the skill of a modern researcher. The majority of the elements taken over from Sarnicki's *Annals* are accompanied by Cantemir's comments, softened in HMV: *utrum invidia, an ignorantia duce* – "împins fie de pizmă, fie de neştiinţă" (I, 8, 25); *aliam videtur induere opinionis larvam* – "el pare să-şi pună masca altei păreri" (I, 9, 26); *silet tamen quae et qualia sint alia documenta* – "dar trece sub tăcere care şi de ce fel ar fi acele documente"[3] (I, 9, 28) etc. In HVR, the author uses a much tougher tone, frequently doubled by irony. Here are some examples regarding the verbs that he uses to characterize the Polish author: *îngaimă* (III Proleg., XI, 93), *uitând* (III Proleg., XI, 94 şi 101), *nădeşte* (III Proleg., XI, 100), *scorneşte* (III Proleg., XV, 127), *greşeşte* (III Proleg., XVI, 135) etc.

To Cantemir's indignation, Sarnicki is of the opinion that Romanians (called by him *Valachi*) speak a language of Italian origin, taken over from the Genoese who had settled at Chilia. He makes a truthful note of the respective quotation in HMV I, 9, 31 and in HVR III, Proleg., 102. The Romanian translation is not made using the original material of the Polish writer, but from HMV, the proof being the mentioning of the parenthetical observations of the Latin version. However, the place name Vicinia *(sic)* was not taken over: *a Genuensibus Italis, qui ad ostia Danubii consederant in Vicinia* (HMV) – *de la italiianii ghenovezi carii la gurile Dunării (…) să fie şedzut* (HVR).

Not knowing how to find the exact location of this place name – a problem which has not been solved up to today -, Cantemir gives it up, but keeps the statement, which is considered accurate enough, *la gurile Dunării.*

In comparison with Sarnicki's original, the noun *poveste* is introduced in the Romanian version:

> *… cuius rei tres rationes non contemnendas habent -*
> *La această poveste, dzice, trii socoteale aduc, nu de lepădat.*

[2] Dan Sluşanschi, *Introduction* to Dimitrie Cantemir, *Opere complete,* IX, Tom I, 1983, p. 14.
[3] The translation of the Latin examples belongs to Professor Dan Sluşanschi. Vide *ed. cit.,* pp. 177, 181, 183.

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This has as a counterpart the collocation *poveştile lui Sarniţie*[4], in Cantemir's comment for the respective quotation, with the purpose of defending the hesitations often expressed towards Sarnicki's statements and observations, Cantemir seeing the Polish writer as a logician not a historian.

The Romanian author takes over from Sarnicki the false information, according to which Trajan chased the native Dacians and repopulated the new province with veteran colonists in the Roman army:

> *„Bellum, inquit Lib(ro) 3, C(apite) 6, Diurpanicum (h(oc) e(st) Decebalicum, sive Dacicum) cum sedecim annis durasset, ad extremum tandem debilitari incepit et sub Traiano finitum est." Et ibidem inferius: „Potitus victoria Traianus, ob perennem memoriam rei bene gestae triginta columnas, ut essent veluti termini et gades imperii, in Istrum iniecit, expulit magna ex parte veteres colonos ex Dacia, illectusque soli fertilitate, veteranis suis eam attribuit, hoc nimirum consilio, ut essent velut antemurale et propugnaculum contra ulteriores Sarmatas utque celerius et magis expedite <a> legionibus, quae ad tutandos fines Mysiae erant, iuvarentur, et ipsi vicissim, re ita exigente, regiones illas iu<v>are possint. Pontem admirando opere et impensis magnis per Istri vastam amplitudinem excitat non procul a Nicopoli; per eam occasionem proditum est memoriae ab historicis, quod Valachi initium sui dominatus in illis oris eiecerint."*
>
> (HMV, I, 7, 23-24)[5]
>
> *„Războiul, dzice, Deurpanic (adică a lui Decheval cu romanii), după ce stătusă 16 ani, pre urmă şi sfârşit au luat"; apoi puţin mai gios: „Dobândind, dzice, Traian biruinţa, pentru vecinica pomenirea lucrului bine purtat, 30 de stâlpi, carii să fie semnele şi hotarăle împărăţiii, supt Traian începându-să a să slăbi, până mai în Dunăre au aruncat; după aceia mai multă parte de lăcuitorii cei vechi din Dachia izgonind, şi plăcându-i bişugul locului, slujitorilor celor bătrâni o au împărţit, cu acesta sfat: adică să fie ca un zid pus înainte pentru apărarea împotriva celor mai dinlotru*

[4] The Latin version of the Polish name, Sarnicius, becomes, in the Romanian version, *Sarniţie.* In medieval Latin, the groups *ci* and *ti* were pronounced the same, *tsi*: cf. Ana – Cristina Halichias, 1996, p. 57.

[5] The quote is resumed, almost identically and with the same errors, at II, 2, 55.

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> *sarmati şi pentru ca mai în grabă şi mai pre lesne, când s-ar tâmpla vreo nevoie, ceşti din Dachiia slujitori, celor ce păziia Misia, aşijderea cestor din Dachia, cei din Misia, la vreme să poată da agiutoriu. Pod lucru de minune şi cu mari cheltuiale peste lată lăţimea Dunării au rădicat, nu departe de la Nicopolis, unde sfântul Pavel au propoveduit; şi cu acească pricină au rămas de să pomeneşte pe la istorici, precum românii temeliia stăpânirii lor pe acele locuri să fie aruncat".* (HVR, III. Proleg., XVI, 138).

In comparison with Sarnicki's original text, Cantemir's writing features a few morphological errors[6]: *legionibus, qui* (Sarnickii) vs *a legionibus, quae* (Cantemir), *possent* (Sarnicki) vs *possint* (Cantemir). Besides these, we have also registered a lexical error: *legiones illas* (Sarnicki) vs *regiones illas* (Cantemir). This mistake does not appear in the corresponding text in HVR. Even if only a paraphrase, the translation expresses precisely the meaning in the bibliographical source.

Commenting on the bridge built by Trajan across the Danube, Sarnicki localizes it near Nicopole: *non procul a Nicopoli, ubi quondam Paulus Apostolatu fungebatur* (ed. 1587, p. 88). In HMV I, 7, 24, the quotation is fragmentary, with no reference to Saint Paul, resumed however in HMV, II, 2, 55, where the complement in the Ablative case *Apostolatu* is transformed into the apposition in the Nominativ *Apostolus: non procul a Nicopoli, ubi quondam Paulus Apostolus fungebatur.* The translation of this version is used in HVR, III Proleg., XVI, 138: *nu departe de Nicopolis, unde Sfântul Pavel au propoveduit.*

The information is debated on both in HMV, as well as in HVR, in a more subjective manner in the Romanian version:

> *Fallitur Sarni<c>ius Polonus, qui putat esse eam, divi Pauli praedicatione in Sacris claram, cum ea sit in Graecia, … longe antiquior ista.* (HMV, II, 2, 54).
>
> *Aceştiia îi dzic proştii Nicopoe, iar Sarniţie, cu mare necunoştinţa gheografilor, gândeşte să fie Nicopolis, la carea Sfântul Pavel, precum cu propovedanie „Evangheliii" să fie mărs, „Faptele Apostolilor" mărturisesc; ce greşeşte, că Nicopolis la carea au mers Sfântul Pavel iaste altă cetate cu acestaşi nume în Greţia, aproape de hotarăle Machedoniii.* (HVR, III Proleg., XVI, 135).

[6] Vide edition 1973, notes 72, 73, p.174.

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Convinced that Aurelian withdrew from Dacia, not only the army, but also the entire colonizing population, Cantemir does not agree with Sarnicki, for whom the withdrawal involved only the Roman legions:

> *Et quamquam illas legiones Italicas, quas Traianus in Daciam olim introduxerat, Aurelianus postea reduxit, tamen coloni et alii qui oeconomiam iam auspicati erant istic remanserunt, qui linguam Slavonicam corruperunt usu linguae latinae introducto qua Valachi corrupte hactenus utuntur.*
>
> (Sarnicki, ed. 1587, book 4, p. 132).

Cantemir takes over this quotation in HMV[7], I, 14, 47, respectively II, 6, 70. In HVR, the information is used in paraphrases in which the author inserts personal observations, with epexegetic roles:

> *Sarniţie, Cartea 4, Cap.5*
>
> *Ce să vinim la cuvintele lui: „Avrelian, dzice, macar că acele leghioane italieneşti pre carile Traian odânăoară în Dachia le băgase înapoi li-au scos, însă colonii (ca cum am dzice tăranii cei mai proşti) şi carii grijea casii purta, acoloşi au rămas, carii cu deprinderea graiului lătinesc au stricat limba cea slovenească cu carea şi acmu valahii să slujesc.* (HVR, III. Proleg., XV, 127).
>
> *Sarniţie, Cartea 4, Cap.5*
>
> *… iară alaltă prostime (pre carii Sarniţie îi numeşte purtători de grijea caselor) toată sau mai la munţi, sau la locuri în dos să să fie tras, şi tot în Dachia să fie rămas.* (HVR, Prevorovire, 212).
>
> *Sarniţie, Cartea 4, capul de pre urmă*
>
> *… şi macar că acele legheoane de la Italia pre carile Traian odânăoară în Dachia le adusese, iar Avrelian mai pre urmă târdziu iarăşi le întorsese: însă carii grijea casii purta, şi slobodzenii carii de pământ să apucasă, acoloşi (în Dachia) au rămas, carii cu limba cea lătinească au stricat cea slovenească, cu carea românii şi până astădzi să slujesc.* (HVR, III, II, 24).

In Book 3, chapter 15, of Sarnicki' *Annals*, Cantemir uses an information regarding the crushing victory of Emperor Claudius Gothicus against the Scythes.

[7] Including a few accidental slips, mentioned by the editor: *ed. cit.,* notes 20, 22, p. 210; notes 41, 43, 44, p. 258.

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> *At Deus qui sacrilegis est fuitque semper infensus, amplius illam eorum insolentiam coniunctam cum avaritia non tulit Claudium namque ut cum copiis eis obviam iret concitavit, qui cum numerosiorem exercitum haberet (trecentis enim fere millibus constabat) eos consequutus partim caedit, partim capit, classesque eorum dissipat, et navium at duo millia alias mergit, alias ad deditionem cogit. Fuit hoc proelium ad flumen Tyram, quem Nistrum vocamus, fere in conspectul Dianae ipsorum et templi Taurici, quod forsan spoliis ditare cogitarant. Quanto in metu et trepidatione tum fuerint Romani, detexit eorum gaudium incredibile in quod eruperunt, cum de Claudii successu et vitoria reportata audissent. Viventem enim adhuc praeconio admodum favorabili ad eum modum ornarunt:* Claudi Auguste, tu frater, tu pater, tu amicus, tu bonus senator, tu princeps.
>
> (Sarnicki, ed. 1587*,* book 3, p. 113)

In HMV, the text of the Polish author is mentioned as a paraphrase, and in HVR, as a quote. Actually, in both works there is a shortened paraphrase of the original Latin:

> *Claudius ad flum(en) Tyram in conspectu Dianae ipsorum et Templi Taurici Scythas profligavit et duo millia navium cepit et submergit, cui Senatus scripsit: „Claudi Auguste, tu frater, tu pater, tu amicus, tu bonus senator, tu princeps" etc., ex Sarnicio, Lib(ro) 3, C(apite) 15.* (HMV, II, 3, 61)
>
> *Din carea, poate fi, luând Sarniţie, într-acesta chip dzice: „Clavdie la apa Nistrului împotriva capiştii Dianii, care iaste împotriva Crâmului, pe schithi au bătut şi 2000 de corăbii li-au luat şi li-au înecat; pentru care vitejie şi izbândă i-au scris senatul: Clavdie Auguste, tu ne eşti frate, tu părinte, tu priiatin, tu bun senator, tu stăpân."* (HVR, I, XIV, 208).

Sarnicki localizes the fight on the bank of the Nistru: *Fuit hoc proelium ad flumen Tyram, quem Nistrum vocamus.* In HMV, Cantemir notes down only the Latin place name, in HVR, the Romanian one: *ad flumen Tyram*, respectively *la apa Nistrului*. He works in the same manner for the next geographical references. Sarnicki states the

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following: *fere in conspectu Dianae ipsorum et templi Taurici*. The information is taken over as such in HMV, but in HVR there appears the updated name of a peninsula, Taurica, accessible to Romanian readers: *împotriva capiştii Dianii, carea iaste împotriva Crâmului.* The collocation *Scythas profligavit,* in HMV, is absent in the text of the Polish author, but it appears translated in the Romanian version: *pe sciţi au bătut.* In the description of the homage to the Emperor by the Roman Senate, Cantemir blends quotes with paraphrases. If in HMV he makes a dry remark *cui Senatus scripsit,* the version in HVR is closer to the bibliographical source: *pentru care vitejie şi izbândă i-au scris senatul.* Thus, the Romanian text combines Sarnicki's original, with the version in HMV, taking into account the fact that the Polish author did not use the verb *scripsit,* but *ornarunt.* Therefore, in the writing of this fragment in HVR, Cantemir had access to Sarnicki's text, and he also used his own work in Latin, HMV.

Conclusions

The work *Annales* of the Polish author *Stanisław Sarnicki* is a historical source frequently used by Cantemir in *Historia Moldo-Vlachica* and *Hronicul vechimei a Romano-Moldo-Vlahilor.* Even if considered a controversial source, because of the arguments based on reasoning, instead of historical sources, Sarnicki's work is quoted and paraphrased out of an acute feeling of scientific objectivism, assumed by Cantemir in all his historical writings. Unfortunately, the author makes references to the book and the chapter, ignoring the mentioning of the page, which makes more difficult the process of identification of the edition used. Taking into account the references to the chapter, we could state that the *princeps* edition of Sarnicki's, published in 1587, is *not* the one consulted by Cantemir.

On the other hand, analyzing the processing of the information in the Romanian version, HVR, we noticed that the Romanian author is, sometimes tempted by subjectivism, commenting ironically on Sarnicki's reasoning. Also, the Romanian text is much richer in personal observation, the translation cannot be made automatically in HMV or in Sarnicki's work. In writing HVR, Cantemir uses the Latin version, as well as his bibliographical notes, in a permanent process of improving the quality of the historical commentary.

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