Eighteenth Century Aromanian Writers: the Enlightenment and the Awakening of National and Balkan Consciousness

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1. At the end of the Middle Ages, the tribes of Aromanian shepherds from Epirus and southern Albania were enjoying local autonomy, privileges and considerable freedom of movement they had inherited from Byzantine emperors, which the newly-appointed Turkish authorities had conceded to grant them too. As a result, by the beginning of the modern epoch, many Aromanians had elevated their original status and had become wealthy merchants, caravan guides and important landowners in the region. At crossroads and other favorable locations, they founded such 'burgs' as Călăritzi, Siracu, Gramostea, Metzova, Clisura, and Moscopolis.[1] Until 1700, these benefited the status of clients to the commercial system of Venice and France. After 1700, some towns, such as Metzova and Moscopolis, developed their own economy, and came to possess large hinterlands. Of them, Moscopolis, inhabited by Aromanians only,[2] became a metropolis for the Aromanians from southern Albania and the entire Epirus.

Between 1720 and 1770, Moscopolis was an important commercial and industrial center, whose guilds controlled the manufacturing of weapons and silverware, the weaving of cloth and carpets, etc. Through a network of well-maintained roads, guarded by the caravans' gendarmerie, the Moscopolian merchants carried their cargo to the great centers of Macedonia, Greece, and even further away to Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Leipzig, Timişoara and Braşov, to Egypt and the Middle East.[3]

The Moscopolian traders journeyed far and wide and, from Western Europe, where some of them had opened chambers of commerce[4], they brought to Moscopolis not only diverse merchandise, but also the ideas of the Enlightenment. Reaching the eighteenth century Transylvania, they "lived the lofty experience of national consciousness awakening", contributed money to the printing of books written by Romanian clerics, teachers and students from Transylvania and Banat, and prided themselves on being descendants of Romans."[5] During their peregrinations, they must have brought such books to Moscopolis and to other places from the Balkan Peninsula.

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[1] Pouqueville, F. Ch. L., *Voyage de la Grece*, 1st ed. I, t. II, 1826, p.172-176, *apud* Brezeanu and Zbuchea, 1997, p. 146-147. Cf. Papacostea, 1983, p. 365-366.

[2] Papacostea, op. cit., p. 366-367. A document preserved at the State Archives in Budapest, reproduced by Papahagi, Per, 1909, p. 20-21 reads: "Moscopolis sita est in Macedonia, confines Alabaniae, urbs amplissima, non modo in tota Grecia, sed etiam fere per totum Turcarum imperium." About its inhabitants, it says: "cives eius omnes unius nationis ete religionis christianae graeci ritus eiusdem linguae que ab ipsis appellatur Romana ... ipsis que inter se Romani dicuntur et nomonatur" (loc cit.).

[3] Popovici, 1934, p. 62-63; Iorga, 1969, p. 254; Papacostea, *loc. cit*.

[4] See Papahagi, V., 1935, *passim*, Djuvara, 1996, p. 100. Among the great Western cities mentioned were Venice, Ancona, Vienna, Leipzig, Novi Sad, Bratislava, Belgrade, etc.

[5] Iorga, *op. cit*., p. 254; Peyfuss, 1996, p. 134.

„Philologica Jassyensia", An III, Nr. 1, 2007, p. 93-102

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These may have fallen into the hands of Aromanian scholars, who, in the age of the Enlightenment, were fully committed to, as we shall see, the spiritual advance of their own people.

2. The economic growth of Moscopolis fostered remarkable cultural development, similar to that of the great Western European centers. Moscopolians could pride themselves on monumental buildings, numerous churches whose paintings can be admired even today (24 churches for a population of 24,000 inhabitants, as Falo, 2003, p.70, 140[6] says), on several schools, on their New Academy (Νεα Άκαδεμία), "the worthiest jewel of the town"[7] and on their print workshop, which, except for those existing in the Romanian Principalities,[8] was the only one in the Ottoman Empire at that time.

The Moscopolian Academy was a real center of Greek culture, although the town was purely Aromanian. Since they had always depended on the Greek Church and school, when they rose above their condition of shepherds or illiterate peasants, Aromanians became bilingual: Aromanian-Greek. The Aromanian dialect remained their mother tongue, but Greek became their language of education, the language of communication beyond the boundaries of their communities.[9] Preserving an exceptional cultural treasure, and capable of expressing the most exquisite ideas, Greek met the Aromanians' thirst of culture more than their own tongue could do. On the other hand, Greek ecclesiastic authorities would not even imagine speakers replacing the 'sacred' written language of Greece for such 'barbarian' languages as Aromanian, Albanian or Bulgarian (Macedonian Slavic).[10] Aromanian merchants, who had settled in Venice, were often taken for Greeks in the documents of the times. They were Orthodox, and for Westerners, Orthodoxy was assimilated to the religion of the Greeks. Moreover, Greek was the language that Aromanians currently used in their oral and written communication.[11]

Bearing the light of Hellenic culture, Greek was the language of education in the Moscopolian schools and in the Academy, as well as the language of the books that were published by the town print workshop. It was the language of spiritual awakening, which the Aromanians experienced during the age of great flourishing of their metropolis.

It was in such a cultural atmosphere that the earliest authors who wrote and had their works published in Aromanian appeared in Moscopolis. They were Teodor Anastas Cavalioti (1728?-1786), Daniil Moscopoleanul (the Moscopolian), his much younger contemporary, and Constantin Ucuta. To these, one can add the anonymous authors of the well-known manuscripts *Codex Dimonie* and of *Liturghier aromânesc* / *The Aromanian Missal*, most likely dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century, yet published much later by Gustav Weigand and Matilda Caragiu-Marioţeanu.[12] At the

[6] Dhori Fallo, *Tragjiedia e Voskpojës (Tragjedia e një qyteti)*, Tirana, 2003. The author, a teacher in Moscopolis for 25 years, made systematic research on the town and its history.

[7] Const. Skenderis, Ιστορία της άγαίας και Βυγκρόνου μοσχοπολεως, 2nd ed., Athens, 1906, p. 15, quoted by Papacostea, 1983, p. 367.

[8] Papacostea, *loc. cit*.

[9] Djuvara, 1996, p. 110.

[10] See Papacostea, 1983, p. 388-389.

[11] Papahagi, V., 1936, p. 24.

[12] *Der Codex Dimonie*, von Gustav Weigand in *Jahresbericht des Institut für rumänische Sprache*, I, IV-VI, Leipzig, 1894, 1897-1890; Matilda Caragiu-Marioţeanu, *Liturghier Aromânesc*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1962.

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beginning of the nineteenth century, in Buda and Vienna respectively, under the influence of the Transylvanian School, but obviously inspired by the ambiance of their native Moscopolis, Gheorghe Constantin Roja wrote *Măiestria ghivărsirii româneşti cu litere latineşti, care sunt literele Românilor ceale vechi /The Craft of Reading Romanian with Latin Letters, Which Are the Romanians' Ancient Letters* (1809)[13] in which he attempts, for the first time, to unify the spelling of Aromanian and Daco-Romanian, while Mihail Boiagi, compiled his *Gramatica română sau mecedo-vlahă / Romanian or Macedo-Vlach Grammar* (the book had also a German title, *Romanische oder Macedonowlachische Sprachlehre*, 1813)[14], the first grammar of Aromanian.

Educated in Greek schools, in the superb cultural climate of Moscopolis, these authors bear witness, indirectly but also explicitly, through their works, to the awakening of the Aromanian national consciousness.[15] In the age of the Enlightenment, Aromanian scholars became aware of the fact that the Aromanians were a distinct people in the Balkans, and that they had their own rights to culture in their own language, like the Albanians and the Bulgarians (Macedonian Slavs), with whom they were in permanent contact, and whose cultural interests they defended in their works.

How did the Aromanian authors from Moscopolis manage to break the domination of Greek and write in Aromanian, though using Greek letters? The way in which the personalities of Teodor Cavalioti, of Daniil Moscopoleanul or Constantin Ucuta developed may provide an answer. The studies of the illustrious balkanologist Victor Papacostea, namely, *Teodor Anastasie Cavalioti. Trei manuscrise inedite / Teodor Anastasie Cavalioti.Three Unknown Manuscripts* (1931-19320) and *Povestea unei cărţi: Protopiria lui Cavalioti. 'Ein Unicum'/The Story of a Book: Cavaliotti's Protopiria. 'Ein Unicum* (1937) could help us.[16]

Cavalioti made a strong impression on his contemporaries. Johann Thunmann, the German historian, praised his culture, his philological abilities, and his religious eloquence: "a learned man, the most learned of his people, who profitably studied languages, philosophy and mathematics", "a bishop and an excellent preacher in Moscopolis Macedonia."[17] Of the Greek historians, Zaviras called him "a man of genius", Sathas considered him "an excellent grammarian", while Vretos, "a learned teacher of Greek".[18]

Born at Moscopolis, most likely in 1728, speaking Aromanian, Albanian and Greek "like maternal languages"[19], as Thunmann put it, from early childhood, Teodor Cavalioti began his education at the Greek College from his native town. His teachers were, among others, Joan Chalkeus (himself a former pupil of the Moscopolis school, later a teacher in Venice), and Sevastos Leontiades who was familiar with the philosophy of Descartes and other European representatives of the Enlightenment. After

[13] The work was published in Buda in 1809.

[14] The work was re-printed by Papahagi, Per, under the title *Gramatica româna sau macedo-română,* Bucureşti, 1915.

[15] See Peyfuss, *Aromânii în era naţionalismelor balcanice* in Djuvara, 1996, p. 134. cf. Puşcariu, 1987, p. 102.

[16] The studies were re-published in the vol. Papacostea, 1983, p. 365-396 and p. 397-405 respectively.

[17] Johann Thumann, *Unterschungen über die Geshichte der Östlichen europaischen Vőlker*, 1, Leipzig, 1774, quoted by Papahagi Per, 1907, p. 32.

[18] Papahagi Per, *op. cit*. pp. 34-35. Cf. Papacostea, 1983, p. 374.

[19] *Apud* Papahagi Per, *op. cit*., p. 32.

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completing with excellent results his humanistic studies in the native town, Cavalioti was sent by its inhabitants, who raised money for him through public subscription, to the Marutzian College of Ianina, which was dominated by the daring ideas and brilliant eloquence of a Greek scholar called Evghenie Vulgaris. Translator of Voltaire, and acquainted with the philosophy of Leibniz, Wolf and Locke, Evghenie Vulgaris had a tremendous influence on those around him. His books were circulated in manuscript through the region; his fame reached as far as the Romanian Principalities.[20]

Under the guidance of Evghenie Vulgaris, Cavalioti studied mathematics and philosophy. Listening to his teacher's commentaries on modern philosophers, he could learn, among other things, about the principles of natural law and equality of all people, about the necessity of the emancipation of people through culture, and about freedom.

Cavalioti was especially attracted to and influenced by Leibniz's ideas, the father of scientific philosophy and precursor of comparative linguistics. Desirous to study the common origin of languages which "replace books and are the oldest monuments of mankind", Leibniz said: "All languages of the earth must be gathered in dictionaries and compared ... By means of etymologies and through comparison of languages, we shall know the origins of the peoples."[21] With such a vision, the philosopher addressed ambassadors, travelers, etc., asking them to compile dictionaries; he himself started collecting glossaries of various languages. Leibniz asked the Tsar Peter the Great to "compile a dictionary of all the languages that were spoken in his empire." This idea was implemented during the rule of Ekaterina II, who favored the appearance of a comparative glossary which included about three hundred idioms.[22]

Separated from his master, Evghenie Vulgaris who was driven away from Ianina and later from Cojani, by his rivals from the Ianina College, for whom, any other philosophy, except for Aristotelian philosophy, was against the Church",[23] Teodor Cavalioti returned to Moscopolis in 1750, where he was appointed headmaster of the Academy. He married and took the orders. Soon, he became a great archpriest and preacher, receiving missions from the Constantinople Patriarchy, and from the local authorities and the great Moscopolian traders, to pacify and tame the tribes largely converted to Islamism in the hinterland of Moscopolis, which lay in the larger region of the Ohrida patriarchy. Among the Mohammedan Albanians from southern Albania, Cavalioti carried Christianizing and civilizing work: he preached, translated into literary Albanian the New Testament, accessible to all the speakers of that language[24] and let it be circulated.

Teodor Cavalioti was the soul of the Moscopolis Academy: there, he taught grammar, poetics, philosophical disciplines, and theology. To meet didactic requirements, he wrote manuals in Greek, treatises and other materials, necessary for

[20] Papacostea, 1983, p. 378.

[21] Ibidem, p. 387. This information was taken from Paul Janet et Gabriel Seailles, *Histoire de la Philosophie*, Paris, 1920.

[22] *Apud* Papcostea, 1983, pp. 380-381.

[23] Cf. Koumas, „Ιστορίαι των άνορωπίνον πράξεων", Venice, 1831, tom XII, 560, apud Papacostea, op. cit., p. 378.

[24] Georg von Hahn, *Albanische Studien*, Jena, 1854, I, p. 296, quoted by Papacostea, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381.

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education, many of them still in manuscript. Some are still worth mentioning: *The Treatise on Logic*, *The Treatise on Physics*, and *The Metaphysics*.[25]

3. The most important work of Cavalioti is the Πρατοπειρία, the "Primer", published in Venice in 1770, and not at Moscopolis, as expected.

The full title, translated from Greek would be "The Primer Written by the Eminent Scholar and Holy Teacher, Preacher and Archpriest, Khir Teodor Anastas Cavalioti of Moscopolis, Now for the First Time Printed at the Expense of Most Honorable Khir Gheorghe Tricupa, Known as Cosmischi from Moscopolis, in Venice 1770. Antonio Bartoli Publishers".[26]

The book was conceived as a sort of manual for primary school children and includes the fundamentals of reading and arithmetic, prayers, proverbs, fragments from the Bible, and a 1,170-word Greek-Aromanian-Albanian vocabulary, one of the earliest of this kind, which is very unusual for those times.

By compiling and publishing the vocabulary, Cavalioti implemented Leibniz's ideas, which had come down to him through his teacher of Ianina and Cojani, Evghenie Vulgaris. The author, an adept and promoter of Greek culture and language, shows, if only by indirection, that he was conscious of his belonging to the Aromanian people, who were living together with Albanians in the region of Moscopolis. Even if it was written to promote Greek among Aromanians and Albanians (as Teodor Capidan and Max Demeter Peyfuss admitted)[27], the hidden idea was to place on the same level the 'sacred language' of Greece and the 'barbarian languages of Aromanians and Albanians. On the other hand, the three columns of words –Greek-Aromanian-Albanian – allowed the comparative study of the lexical elements of the three languages in the spirit of Leibniz, which gives Cavallioti's works more than simple didactic interest. It was the expression of a collective need, which might explain why it ran so quickly out of print. It is equally true that the Greek clerical authorities did not approve of such cultural gestures, too daring in an area where they were fighting for reviving the old Greek Imperial idea. Cavallioti's work may have been for this reason destroyed.[28] Luckily, copies of it came into the hands of such scholars as Johann Thumann.

4. Cavalioti's example was followed later on, at a superior level, by Daniil the Moscopolian in his Εἰσαγαγική διδασκαλία (Introductory Knowledge), printed in Venice, in 1794[2929], several years after Moscopolis was devastated (1788).

Little is known of the author. From the dedication to Archbishop Nectarie of Pelagonia which prefaces the work, we learn that Daniil Mihali Adami Hagi the Moscopolian was a treasurer and a preacher.

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[25] These works are introduced by Papacostea, op. cit., p. 368-374. Armin Hetzer, a German editor of Cavalioti's *Protopiria* (see infra, note 31) informs us that the manuscripts of the *Logic* (218 pages), *Physics* (116 pages) and *Metaphysics* also reached the Greek School from Iaşi, where they were used as a teaching material, cf. Hetzer, 1981, p. 20.

[26] Papahagi, Per., 1909, p. 38.

[27] Peyfuss, 1994, p. 24, Capidan, 1932, p. 48 ff.

[28] Papacostea, 1983, p. 401. Benefiting from other data, the author lets us know that the Constantinople Patriarchy launched an anathema against Boiagi's *Grammar* of 1815; as soon as it was published, its author was excommunicated.

[29] Papahagi, Per, 1909, p. 107, gives 1802 as the year of publication, yet, Capidan, *Aromanii*, p. 55 established that it was published in 1794 in Venice. 1802 is the year the second edition was printed.

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His book includes information concerning religion, mathematics and other sciences, elements of epistolary style, all these in Greek and, most importantly, a λεξικν τετραγλασσον, that is, a lexicon in four languages: Greek, Aromanian, Bulgarian (Macedonian Slavic) and Albanian.

The avowed aim, as he states in the verse appeal, which precedes the book proper, was to make the Albanians, the Aromanians (Vlachs) and the Bulgarians give up their own languages and become Ρομαιοι, that is Greeks, or at least adepts of Hellenism: "Albanians Vlachs and Bulgarian be glad and prepare yourselves to become *Romei*. Get rid of your barbarian tongues, voice, and customs so that your descendents may look upon them as fables. You will honor the people and your countries turning to Greek from Albanian-Bulgarian". He continues by blending Enlightenment ideas and Romantic pathos: "Be glad, youth of Bulgarians, Albanians and Romanians. Deacons, presbyters and priests, wake up from the deep slumber of illiteracy; learn the *Romaic* language, the mother of wisdom. Daniil the Aromanian, honorable treasurer, a priest by law, wrote this book. The good shepherd and divine bishop of Pelagonia had it published, desirous of teaching everyone the *Romaic* language and change the Bulgarian-Albanian customs, of adorning your types, and of teaching your children *Romaic*".[30]

Throughout this pro-Greek period, the idea of the author's Romanity had to be kept hidden, so as not to provoke the reaction of Church authorities. The author calls himself "mesiodicul Daniil"; by 'mesiodaci' the writer understood the Aromanians, since this was the appellative Greek historians had given to those Aromanians who had settled in small colonies beyond the borders of Greece, south of the Danube, while the Aromanians in Greece were called Cutzovlachs.[31]

Daniil does not only assert his Aromanianism, but, in the dedication to the archbishop of Pelagonia, he also talks on behalf of Bulgarians (Macedonian-Slavs) and Albanians, by emphasizing that his work included all "the four common dialects of *Romei*, namely, of Walachia and Moesia, of Bulgaria and Albania". Daniil thus shows that he was well aware of the multi-ethnic reality, and consequently, complex linguistic reality of the region surrounding Moscopolis,[32] as well as of the pressing need of the speakers of the languages and dialects to mutually understand one another, that each nation should know the language of the others.

The lexicon, which the *Introductory Teaching* included, is not a dictionary proper, but a textbook in four languages, for young students and adults, where the phrases speak, in a free order, about the fundamental elements of the surrounding world, about domesticated and wild animals, cultivated plants, trees, insects, time, practices and customs, parts of the human body, occupations, remedies, religious teachings, moral advice, etc., which fully demonstrate the didactic purpose of its author. On the other hand, by using the technique of a dictionary, Daniil arranged the words and the groups of words in columns so that the lexical-grammatical units in the Greek column should correspond to their Aromanian, Bulgarian, or Albanian equivalents in the other columns. Daniil's lexicon became "not only a record of fundamental words in the four Balkan idioms (generally in their rustic aspect) but also a sort of comparative grammar of these

[30] The lines are reproduced from Papahagi's translation, Papahagi, Per, 1909, p. 112-113.

[31] William Martin Leake, *Researches in Greece*, p. 89, apud Papahagi, Per, op. cit., p. 113.

[32] See also the observation made by Kristophson, 1974, p. 7-8, with reference to the fact that Moscopolis lay at the Albanian-Bulgarian-Greek linguistic border.

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idioms."[33] Like his predecessor Cavalioti, Daniil thus implemented, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, the ideas of Leibniz about comparative linguistics. Taking into account the place and the time, Daniil's *Lexicon* gives surprisingly equal treatment to the "barbarian' languages[34] of the Aromanians, Bulgarians and Albanians, and the sacred language of the Greeks".[35] Here is a short fragment in the four languages[36]:

Ο'θεος	Dumidzău	Gospot	Perɛendia
ἔχαμε	feţe	stori	Bɛri
τόν ουραάνόν	ţerru	néboto	k'ielt
την γήν	loclu	zémeate	δdenɛ
τόν γλιον	soarle	sănţeata	díełłnɛ
τό φεγγάρι	luna	meseţínata	hɛnzea
τά άστρα	stealle	zvésdite	ujetɛ

Early monuments of the Balkan languages,[37] the prints of Cavalioti and Daniil "may be considered [. . .] the most beautiful gifts for the culture of the world and the peoples of the Balkans, following the intellectual movement from Moscopolis.[38] For the study of Aromanian, Bulgarian and Albanian, these works have been essential, which has determined their re-printing, both by Romanian, Bulgarian and Albanian philologists and Balkanologists[39], who were interested in the evolutions of their respective languages.[38]

5. Unlike philo-Greeks like Teodor Cavalioti and Daniil the Moscopolian, who show in their works the Enlightenment, Balkan and implicitly Aromanian consciousness, another Moscopolian, Constantin Ucuta uses the Enlightenment ideas to strongly assert Aromanian roots.

Ucuta left Moscopolis and became an archpriest and hartifilax in Posen, southern Prussia (today Poznan, Poland), where there was a strong Aromanian community, formed mostly of merchants[39] that appreciated him for his culture.

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[33] Brancuş, 1992, p. 39.

[34] To Neofit Doukas (1760-1845), a filologist of Aromanian origin, but with Greek sympathy, Aromanian was a dirty and stinking language, cf. Peyfuss, 1994, p. 24.

[35] Papacostea, 1983, p. 388, 400.

[36] According to Papahagi Per, 1909, p. 116. We have reproduced here the Aromanian-Bulgarian-Albanian text in its version with Latin letters from that edition, while mentioning that in the original the texts are written with Greek letters.

[37] Kristophson, 1974, p. 7, gives this appreciation of Daniil's *Lexicon*, but his judgment could be extrapolated to Cavalioti's *Vocabulary* as well.

[38] Daniil's *Lexicon* was also re-printed in Bulgaria in 1841, and later in a scientifc edition, cf. Capidan, 1932, p. 53-57. In Albania, Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezi re-edited Cavalioti's *Vocabulary* under the title *Fjalori Protopapë Kavalljoti >>me sistemën fonetike shqipe,* in *Leka,* VI, nr. VII, Korrik, Shkoder, 1934, pp. 260-274, then in a separate volume, same place, in 1936. In Romania, a scientific edition of the works of Cavalioti, Daniil and Ucuta was published by Papahagi, under the title *Scriitori aromâni în secolul al XVIII,* Bucureşti, 1909.

[39] The community was thought to be Greek, cf. Peyfuss, *Aromânii în era naţionalismelor balcanice,* in Djuvara, 1996, p. 133, most likely because of the Orthodox obervance to which all the Aromanian merchants living there belonged to; the same held true for Leipzig, Vienna, Budapest, Trieste, Venice, Livorno, Amsterdam, etc., cf. Papahagi, Per, 1909, p. 45, Popovici, 1934, p. 62-63. See also *supra*, note 3.

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The full title of his work, currently known as Νεα Παιδαγωγία, reads: *The New Pedagogy, or the Easy Primer to Teach the Aromanian Youth How to Use Aromanian in Particular, compiled and edited, for the first time, by the holy Constantin Uncuta the Moscopolian, hartifilax and archpriest in Posen, southern Prussia, and printed for the glory of the [Aromanian] people in Vienna, 1797, by Puïllu Marquises Printer's.*[40]

The preface, entitled *A g'uvasitorrui,* "To Readers", like the whole work, is written in Aromanian with Greek letters. The author thus remains faithful to the Moscopolian tradition of writing in the native language. From the opening lines, Ucuta shows how necessary an Aromanian Primer was for his people: *„Aşteptă-o luńina aista puţăna, tră filisirea a fumeľloru anostrorŭ că pistipsescu de multu ţî era dorŭ se o vedzî aistă árhizmă tru fara anoastră; ţi cu efcoliľe se ќicăsească fumeľle anostre, aţeá ţi cu multă zămane, ş-cu multă zahmete o ќicăsescu pre altă limbă. Că nănte nănte se agărşî' limba anoastră, ş-nu ma limba, ma şi δoγmatele a pístil'i."*

In English: „Accept this little light for the use of our children, because I believe that you have been longing for such a beginning for a long time, so that our children will easily understand what only with time-consuming effort, and with great difficulty they understand in another language. Our language has been forgotten for too long, and not only the language, but also the dogmas of faith . . ."

The ideas of bringing the light of education in the mother tongue to their children is supported with arguments from the Fates Apostles: „*Că scrie apostollu Pavlu la Corinθiani [. . .]: Se fure că me ncl'inu cu limbă căseană, sufltu-ńĭ se ncľină, ma mintea-ńi este fără carpó; tru ιστ: dîţe, că tră ţi? Voi se me ncl'inu, ş-cu sufletlu, ş-cu mintea. Voi se psulisescu ş-cu sufletu ş-cu mintea . . .*"

In English translation: "In Epistle I, to the Corinthians, XIV, V. XVI, Apostle Paul writes: "For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays, but my mind is unfruitful"; at XVI, he asks "So what shall I do? I will pray with my spirit, but I will also sing with my mind."[41]

To compose his Primer, Ucuta had to write a guide of spelling and phonetics first, in which he established the graphemes for each phoneme-sound of Aromanian. When he finds in the Greek alphabet no corresponding grapheme, the author combines two or three Greek letters to render the Aromanian sound, giving explanations for the correct reading. This is the first phonetic and orthographic dictionary of Aromanian; Ucuta is thus a pioneer in this field.

Although its contents is religious, Ucuta's *Primer* remains primarily a textbook for the study of the Aromanian dialect. It may have been used by children and adults alike from the Aromanian community in Posen, who thus could see for the first time their mother tongue expressed in graphic signs. Moreover, by compiling it, Ucuta gave the real measure of his patriotism.

6. In the same light, one should consider the work of the anonymous authors who translated from Greek and adapted to Aromanian, also with Greek letters, the religious texts which make up the manuscripts known as *Codex Dimonie* and *Liturghier arômânesc / Aromanian Missal*[42]*,* dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[40] The title was reproduced from the edition of Papahagi Per, 1909, p. 59.
[41] The texts are reproduced from the edition of Papahagi Per, op. cit., p.65. For transposition, cf. *ibidem*, p. 61.
[42] See *supra*, note 12.

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The texts making up the Codex are more heterogeneous, they may have been written by different authors, but the language of the Missal is "relatively unitary, systematic, and consistent, and closer to the language used by the writers from the end of the nineteenth century."[43] It is the only book for the divine service in Aromanian, written in a non-Latinized and non-Daco-Romanized Aromanian.[44]

Gheorghe Constantin Roja and Mihail Boiagi illustrate another direction, closely related to the early nineteenth century Romanian Transylvanian Enlightenment.[45]

All these Aromanian writings testify, both directly and indirectly, to the awakening of national consciousness, a process encouraged by the ideas of the Enlightenment, which spread throughout the Balkans due to the Aromanian scholars from Moscopolis and Ianina. Their works are also early monuments to the Balkan languages[46].

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[43] Caragiu-Marioţeanu, 1962, p. 119.

[44] *Ibidem*, p. 118.

[45] See *supra*.

[46] Literary Bulgarian emerged half a century after 1794; another half century was necessary literary Albanian to appear, cf. Kristophson, 1974, p. 7.

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Le siècle des Lumières et la conscience nationale et balkanique des écrivains aroumains du XVIII-ème siècle

Les écrivains aroumains du XVIII-ème siècle Teodor Anastas Cavalioti, Daniil Moscopolenul et Constantin Ucuta ont écrit des oeuvres dans leur propre langue et dans les langues des albanais, bulgares et grecs, parmi lesquels ils vivaient dans les Balkans dominés alors par l'Empire Ottoman. Leurs textes étaient destinés a élever le niveau culturel de leurs compatriotes et de leurs voisins et de réveiller leur conscience nationale. Dans leurs demarches plus que remarquables pour ces temps-là, ils ont été influencés par les idées des philosophes illuministes Voltaire, Descartes, Lock et surtout de Leibniz, enseignées par les professeurs Ioan Sevastos Leontiades et Evghenie Vulgaris dans les ècoles superieures des villes de Moscopole (entièrement aroumain) et Ianina, de Macédoine.

Notre article met en page quelques aspects et significations de leur enterprises et demarches littéraires et culturelles.

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