From the Grand Tour to the European Voyages of Ion Codru Drăgușanu

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Abstract: From the Grand Tour to the European Voyages of Ion Codru Drăgușanu realities. The study analyzes the five European journeys made by Ion Codru Drăgusanu in the first half of the 19th century. The travel routes are analyzed from the perspective of the information provided by the author, but also from other relevant sources which help to identify the participants of the journeys, the names of whom are not rendered by the author, and who until now had been mistakenly identified. We note the trend of coordinating the timeframe of the trip with the event calendar of a certain place, events that become prime attractions for our traveler. The imagology analysis identifies the scenes rendered by the author, presented from a comparative standpoint, aiming at showing similar images depicted by other travelers, European and Romanian, which in itself become the evidence of their transmission. We note the evolving nature of these images, from the volume that had been published in 1865, to the letters published subsequently, in 1869 and 1879 - dates which represent the time the letters were in fact published, and not the timeframe of the travels themselves. The study demonstrates that, in formal terms, certain journeys may be assigned to "Grand Tour" type travels, but most of the images portrayed during the trips fall under the umbrella of the Romantic journey, laced with accents borrowed from the realist movement.

Keywords: Ion Codru Drăguşanu, journey, Grand Tour, tourism, imagology, romanticism

Rezumat: De la "Grand Tour" la călătoriile europene ale lui Ion Codru Drăgușanu. Studiul analizează cele cinci călătorii europene realizate de Ion Codru Drăgușanu, în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Itinerariile călătoriilor sunt urmărite din perspectiva informațiilor oferite de autor, dar și din cea a altor surse, care ajută la identificarea participanților la călătorie, al căror nume autorul nu îl redă, dar pe care am reușit să îi identificăm pentru prima oară. Este surprinsă practica de coordonare temporală a călătoriilor cu participarea la anumite evenimente, care devin atracții de prim rang pentru călătorul nostru. Analiza imagologică identifică imaginile transmise de autor, urmărite într-o manieră comparativă, urmărindu-se existența unor imagini similare la alți călători, europeni sau români, ceea ce devine o dovadă de transmitere a acestora. Se remarcă caracterul evolutiv al acestor imagini, de la volumul apărut în 1865, până la scrisorile publicate ulterior, în 1869 și 1879, astfel că acestea aparțin perioadei publicării, nu realizării călătoriilor. Studiul demonstrează faptul că, din punct de vedere formal, unele călătorii pot fi atribuite celei de tip "Grand Tour", dar cele mai multe imagini ale călătoriei se raportează călătoriei romantice, în care găsim accente ale curentului realist.

Cuvinte-cheie: Ion Codru Drăguşanu, călătorii, Grand Tour, imagologie, turism, romantism

The aim of the present study is to highlight the elements of the "Grand Tour" and the Romantic type trips that are present in the travels of Ion Codru Drăguşanu in the first half of the 19th century. After revealing the specific motivations of such trips, we will identify the travel routes taken and the participants, analyze the images of the voyage, from the way certain states, institutions, cities were portrayed, the economic aspects, but also the depiction of nature and that of people, focusing on their comparative and evolutionary aspects.

The Motives behind the Travels

The primary motivations behind the travels lie in the need to acquire new experiences. On his way to start his first European trip, Codru Drăguşanu stated: "I believe I will satisfy my longing for experiences." The subsequent trips are similarly motivated: "I could not resist the thirst for new experiences," or "my wish is to wander the world and gather experience." In 1835, Mihail Kogălniceanu expresses himself in a nearly identical manner: "a year spent abroad gave me more experience than seventeen spent in Moldova".3

Travelling in order to acquire knowledge, an important motivation behind Grand Tours, is highlighted by Codru Drăguşanu, who travels "for widening [his] knowledge".4

Along with the aforementioned motivation, a Romantic motivation is also present.⁵ After concluding his first European voyage, Drăguşanu confesses that "I suffer from Wanderlust" and following the Parisian experience, "my Wanderlust became increasingly stronger" and is amplified by his readings: "I came upon travel descriptions, which I turned into my reading predilection".⁶

When referring to our traveler, Mircea Zaciu states that he brings forth the "taste of adventure, the breathtaking restlessness, fickleness

³ M. Kogălniceanu, *Scrisori*, 1834-1849, Minerva, Bucharest, 1913, p. 147.

¹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, *Peregrinul transilvan (1835-1848)*, Sport-Turism, Bucharest, 1980, p. 60.

² *Ibidem*, pp. 101, 148.

⁴ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 215.

⁵ The term "Romantic" was used by Golescu in 1826, for whom a nocturnal walk is "very beautiful and romantic" in *Însemnare a călătoriii* mele, in *Scrieri*, Minerva, Bucharest, 1990, p. 104.

⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 83, 156.

and mobility of the Romantic traveler",⁷ while Sorin Mitu concludes that this modern "tourist" spirit that is born at the same time as the romantic travels first occurred at Ion Codru Drăguşanu.⁸

Travels and Routes. The Journey from Bucharest to Rome

In October 1838, Drăgușanu travels in the suite of Wallachia's ruler, Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica⁹, who "travels incognito under the name of Colonel Sanders", passes New Orșova (Ada-Kaleh), where he is greeted by the pasha,¹⁰ entering the Austrian Empire by way of the quarantine set up at Şupanec, were he stayes for ten days.¹¹

On November 1, 1838, the French Consul in Bucharest, Chateaugiron, noted that the Prince went on a journey, travelling under the name of Alexander Sanders. Another source informs us that Alexander Ghica left on November 2, 1838 on a trip to Orşova - Vienna - Trieste, under the pretext of going to the baths, while in reality he went to meet his lover, the Countess Elisabeth von Suchtelen. The opposition spoke of the fleeing prince and the danger of a Russian occupation, as stated Stanislas Bellanger. Alexandrina Ghica recounts that the prince fell in love at the beginning of his reign with this married Russian countess, and while her divorce was approved by Tsar Nicholas, her mother the urged the tsar to change his decision. The Countess settled in Naples and continued her romantic love story with the Romanian Prince.

8 S. Mitu, Imagini europene și mentalități românești din Transilvania la începutul epocii moderne, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj, 2000, p. 61; idem, Transilvania mea. Istorii, mentalități, identități, Polirom, Iași, p. 515.

⁷ M. Zaciu, Ordinea și Aventura, Dacia, Cluj, p. 145.

⁹ We are not referring to Prince Grigore Alexandru Ghica, as Mircea Anghelescu stated in *Lâna de aur. Călătorii și călătoriile în literatura română*, Cartea Românească, Bucharest, 2015, p. 149.

¹⁰ The know the name of the Pasha, Mahmud Bessin, from the recounting of Baron Monson, who visited him on October 2, 1839, see C. Ardeleanu, *Călătoria în Banat a baronului Frederick John Monson (1839)*, in I. Gavrilă (ed.) "*Celălalt autentic"*. *Lumea românească în literatura de călătorie (1800-1850)*, Oscar Print, Bucharest, 2010, p. 196-197.

¹¹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 60-62.

¹² Hurmuzaki, Documente (Documents), XVII, p. 716, cited A. Iordache, Principii Ghica - o familie domnitoare din istoria României (The Ghica Princes – A Family of Rulers within Romania's History), Albatros, Bucharest, 1991, p. 162.

¹³ Stanislas Bellanger, *Le Kéroutza*, Paris, 1846, I, p. 99, cited I. C. Filitti, *Domniile române sub Regulamentul organic*, Socec și Sfetea, Bucharest, 1915, p. 104.

¹⁴ A. Ghica, *Din istoria Palatului regal*, in *Convorbiri literare*, Year XLVII, No. 4, April 1913, p. 351, note 1.

The travelers arrive to Vienna on the Danube, using a steamboat, which had initially been organized in 1829, when the first navigation company was formed in Vienna, on the Danube, the "Erste Donau Privilegierte Oesterreichische Dampfschiffahrts Gesellschaft". They spend the winter in Carinthia; hence arrive in 1839 to Milan and Rome for the duration of the carnival, for the events had their own importance in scheduling the trip. 17

After the carnival ends, they return on the same road "in six days and as many nights from Rome to Vienna", where they take the stagecoach to Gönyö, a steamboat to Pesta, and then to Giurgiu.¹⁸

The habit according to which travelers commissioned portraits of themselves became widespread in the 18th century, the most celebrated portrait artist of the era being Pompeo Battoni, whose workshop was in Rome. This trend continues also in the 19th century. The Albertina Museum in Vienna houses a lithograph of Prince Dimitrie Alexandru Ghica, made on the first day of 1839 by the famous Austrian portrait artist Josef Kriehuber. It has been reported that a portrait of Ion Codru Drăguşanu also exists, a painting that had been made in Rome during the same year. On the same year.

Also taking part in the voyage is Drăguşanu's employer, referred to with the initials "C.C.", who, in Rome, uses a patronizing tone to offer a comparison between the Seven Hills of Rome and the seven provinces of Dacia. Corneliu Albu identifies him with Constantin Câmpineanu,²¹ however, according to Ion Ghica, Constantin Câmpineanu - who was the older brother of Ion Câmpineanu - had already been dead in 1833.²² We believe that this character can only be Costache Cornescu, the cousin of the Prince. Having the high function of Great Logothete, he has been involved in organizing the ball of October 14, 1839, which celebrated the

¹⁵ Gh. Bărbănțan, Aspecte privind dezvoltarea navigației dunărene în spațiul românesc (1829-1878), in Banatica, 19, 2009, p. 197.

¹⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁷ R. Mazzei, Per Terra e per aqua. Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna, Carocci editore Roma, 2013, p. 251.

¹⁸ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 84-87.

¹⁹ R. Mazzei, op. cit., p. 249.

²⁰ Transilvania, Vol. 73, 1942 no. 4, p. 333.

²¹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 12 and p. 60, note 2.

²² Ion Ghica *Scrisori către V. Alecsandri (Letters to V. Alecsandri)*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2004, p. 374.

enthronement of the Prince.²³ When the Prince was removed from his throne, on October 14, 1842, Cornescu had accompanied him to Brasov.²⁴

In his *Venice and the Grand Tour*, Bruce Redford established that a "Grand Tour" type journey includes the following characteristics: a young British aristocrat, a guardian to accompany him on the journey, a fixed itinerary that had Rome as its main destination, a long period of absence of around two or three years.²⁵ Formal elements, such as the presence of political figures, the route itself, the final destination, the timeframe, and the existence those who coordinated the trip, such as Codru Drăguşanu, make this journey out to be a "Grand Tour" type one.

The Journey from Bucharest to Paris and London

In 1840, Drăguşanu leaves Bucharest with "young Prince G. G.". The author describes the route in detail: after the stay in the Şupanec quarantine, "we went on the new road, built under the auspices of Count Széchenyi along the Danube" to Drencova, where "we boarded the boat as to go up to Vienna on the Danube", went ashore in Pressburg, "in order to come to Vienna on land". The start of this road's construction went slowly, as reported by M. Saint-Marc Girardin, who traveled on the Danube in 1836. In 1840, A. Slade noted in his diary that ships travelling on the Danube could not descend below Drencova.

From Vienna, Codru Drăguşanu travels to Linz, Regensburg, Ingolstadt, Ulm, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Baden-Baden. He crosses the Rhine over a pontoon bridge at Kehl and enters France "without much chicanery on the part of the French customs, who are otherwise ill-famed abroad".²⁹ This statement echoes a recurring theme in the travel literature that was born after the age of restoration in France, namely the confrontations that occurred with suspicious customs officers who verified people's identity and nervously inspected their luggage.³⁰ He

²³ I. C. Filitti, op. cit., p. 252, note 3.

²⁴ Gr. Lăcusteanu, *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, Polirom, Iași, 2015, p. 134.

²⁵ C. Chard, *Pleasure and guilt on the Grand Tour. Travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1999, pp. 11-12.*

²⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 103.

²⁷ M. Saint-Marc Girardin, Souvenirs of voyages et d'études, Amyot, Paris, 1852, pp. 206-207.

²⁸ A. Slade, *Travels in Germany and Russia, Including a steam voyage by the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople, in 1838-1839, London, 1840, pp. 159-160.*

²⁹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 107-114.

³⁰ R. Mazzei, op. cit., p. 98.

reaches Strasbourg, Nancy, Epernay, Paris, before July 27, in order to participate in the "national celebrations to commemorate the Revolution of 1830".

From Paris he goes on "a trip to London"; uses the royal stagecoach to the Port of Le Havre, crosses the English Channel on the pyroscaphe and reaches London.³² From there, he returns to Dover on the mail coach in order to see "the Anglican Country", crosses the English Channel to Boulogne-sur-Mer on the pyroscaphe, from where he reaches Paris with the "Lafitte Diligence".³³ This means of transportation was introduced by the Parisian Jacques Lafitte, in 1819, the omnibus was upgraded by Englishman George Shillibeer, who introduced it in London in 1829.³⁴

The year before, Ion Câmpineanu and Felix Colson had arrived in Paris, and have gotten in touch with the Romanian students here. Colson wrote *De l'état présent et de l'avenir des Principautés*, in which he expressed his support for Câmpineanu's reformative ideas. From Paris, Câmpineanu reaches London, but the Ottoman Porte authorizes the Prince to send him into exile.³⁵ Not incidentally, the French consul Adolphe Billecocq noted in his book, *De la situation de la Valachie sous l'administration d'Alexandre Ghica*, that the Prince "no longer cared for the young men who were studying in the West."³⁶ In 1840, another brochure against the Prince was printed in Paris. It was written by George Bibescu and entitled *Le général Kissilef et son administration*; and it was the reason why the author "has become favored by the Russian consulate to replace Alexandru Ghica", recorded Ion Ghica.³⁷ We note the context in which the journey takes place, as it was marked by the actions of the political groups opposing the Prince.

We believe that "Prince G.G.", who hires Codru Drăguşanu, is in fact Grigore Ghica, the son of the former Prince of Vallachia, Grigore Dimitrie Ghica, and the nephew of Prince Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica. George Filitti depicted in his letter from August 10, 1840, the Parisian presence of princes Grigore and Dimitrie, the sons of former earthly ruler, Grigore Dimitrie Ghica. Filitti writes that they "have had already

³¹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 118-120.

³³ Ibidem, pp. 128-130.

³⁴ J. Speake, op.cit., I, p. 152.

³⁵ I. C. Filitti op. cit., p. 108-111.

³⁶ N. Iorga, *Histoire des Relations entre la France et les Roumains*, Imprimeria Progresul, Iași, 1917, pp. 119-120.

³⁷ I. Ghica, Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2004, p. 409.

been in Paris for few days" where they pay 500 francs per month for their apartments and spend 100 francs a day, but no one had noticed them.³⁸ In 1841, in Paris, Grigore Ghica had paid his mother's - Maria Ghica's - debts, who lived in this city for many years.³⁹

After returning to Paris, Drăguşanu parts ways with "Prince G." and remains in Paris, where he works as a librarian until 1842.⁴⁰ Before leaving France, he takes a trip by train to Versailles on May 8, from where he returns using the train lines that were on the right bank of the Seine, while at the same time, on the left bank, the first railway disaster in France was taking place.⁴¹

The Journey from Paris to Naples

Codru Drăguşanu leaves Paris in June 1842, travels with the Lafitte Diligence to Chalon-sur-Saône, by boat on the River Saône to Lyon, then on the Rhône to Avignon and then by the diligence to Marseille and Nice. Stendhal traveled on the same navigable route in 1837.⁴²

From Nice, he travels by sea on a sailing boat to the Island of Elba and to Salerno. He witnesses the "total solar eclipse" that occurs on July 8, 1842, while they were at sea. He then travels by land on an "omnibus" to Naples. From Naples, he uses a "corricolo" to Torre Annunziata, from where he walks to Pompeii and then climbs Mount Vesuvius.⁴³ This is the only European journey conducted by our traveler on his own.

The Journey from Naples to St. Petersburg

In Naples, in 1842, Drăguşanu is hired as a messenger by a Russian noble family, which was returning home while crossing several European countries, thus Drăguşanu was engaging in a new "Grand Tour" type journey. He travels by sea on a pyroscaphe from Naples to Civitavecchia, Livorno, Genoa, and Marseille and by land to Grenoble, Chambéry, Geneva, Zürich, Schaffhausen, Baden-Baden, and Stuttgart. In 1843 he arrives to Frankfurt, then to Dresden, Berlin, from where departs by

³⁸ G.D. Florescu *Un român necunoscut la Paris acum un veac și reflecțiile sale asupra compatrioților săi. Patru scrisori ale lui Georges Philitès către Ludovic Steege (1840-1841),* Ed. Fundației Culturale Mihail Kogălniceanu, Bucharest, 1941, p. 48.

³⁹ C. Gane, Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2014, p. 436-437.

⁴⁰ I. Codru Drăguşanu, *op. cit.*, p. 139-148.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

⁴² Stendhal, Mémoires d'un touriste, Ambroise Dupont, Paris, 1838, I, p. 129-288.

⁴³ I. Codru Drăguşanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-171.

royal mail coach to Königsberg, and from here, with the Russian mail coach to Petersburg. $^{\rm 44}$

The Journey from St. Petersburg to Paris and London

In Russia, Codru Drăguşanu is again hired, as a secretary this time, who was to accompany a Russian Prince ("Prince B... y") on his three year journey throughout Europe, thus getting involved again in a "Grand Tour" type journey. From the passport issued by the Turkish Embassy in Livorno on October 19, 1843, the name of the character for whom Drăguşanu worked at that time is also revealed, namely Prince Bariatinsky.⁴⁵

In 1843, Codru Drăgușanu leaves Petersburg to go to Berlin, from where he travels by rail to Halle, and then takes the mail coach to Frankfurt, a train to Mainz, from where he arrives to Paris.46 From here, he visits Switzerland and "remaining faithful to his role as a mentor", establishes "an outline of journeys through the countries and places known to me" for the young prince, all made in the spirit of "Grand Tour" practices.⁴⁷ He travels by diligence to Strasbourg, from there he arrives to Basel on the longest French railway of that time, which was inaugurated in 1841,48 he then travels to Bern by mail coach, from where he takes a trip to Brienz. He returns to Paris from Bern, where he then goes to London drawn there by an event, "to see the Lord Mayor of London take office" via Le Havre, crossing the English Channel with a pyroscaphe to Southampton, from where he then travels by rail to London.⁴⁹ He preferred this route, due to the opening of the railway from Southampton to London, in 1840.50 From here, he accompanies Prince Bariatinsky to Abbey, for a six-month long visit to the castle of the Count of Sherburn County, whose relative he was, and upon his return to London he visits Windsor Castle. He returns to Paris in 1844, to later travel to Switzerland and Italy again, however, his account of his travels end here.51

⁴⁵ I. Breazu, Contribuții la biografia lui Ion Codru-Drăguşanu, in Studii literare, II, 1943, Sibiu, p. 218.

⁴⁸ M. P.-D. Bazaine, Chemin de fer de Strasbourg a Bâle, p. 114.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 178-189.

⁴⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 206.

⁴⁹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 213-217.

⁵⁰ John Francis, *A History of the English Railway; its social relations and revelations,* I, London, 1851, p. 232.

⁵¹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 219-223.

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The visas in Codru Drăguşanu's passport, issued by the Turkish Embassy in London on October 19, 1843, allow for us to infer the itinerary of the trip. His last Parisian visa was issued in June 1844, while in October he received visas for Karlsruhe, Naples, Milan, in November he was issued a visa for Genoa, while in December he received ones for Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Livorno, Pisa, Rome, from where he departs in March 1845 to Naples, and in April to Livorno, Genoa, Turin, Geneva, Berlin, where he receives a visa from the Ottoman Legation to return to Turkey via Russia. He reaches Petersburg, from where he departs in July to Transylvania, by way of Chernivtsi and Dorna.⁵²

The Portrayal of Habsburg Empire, the Austrians and the Hungarians

The tradition of the comparative approach between realities visited abroad and those at home was initiated in our culture by Dinicu Golescu, in a tone pertaining to the Enlightenment, while in Drăguşanu's writing the Romantic approach to comparisons prevail, an a approach found also in Nicolae Filimon's writings, who published, in 1860, Excursiuni în Germania meridională. Memorii artistice, istorice şi critice [Travels to Southern Germany. Artistic, historical and critical memoirs].⁵³

Codru Drăguşanu observes many similarities between Hungary and Vallachia: the same bad roads, the same plain lowlands, the same small huts, the same habits of the elite ("the Hungarian magnates, similarly to the Romanian boyars, go and squander their wealth in foreign countries"). In Buda, which is situated on a hill, the traveler is impressed by "the view of the Palatine Palace, overlooking Pest". He mentions the establishment of "a Hungarian national scientific academy", initiated by "Count István Széchenyi, a magnate who made trips in the most educated countries". The traveler records "the overflow of the Danube river... a great calamity", which demolished several houses in Buda and Pest. Nicolae Filimon, arriving to Pesta 20 years after the event, mentions the flood of March 14, 1838, which "made 2500 houses crumble to the ground". 55

Hungarian hospitality is attributed to their Asian origin: "Hungarians, being an Asian people, possess the virtue of hospitality in large measure", but the most powerful image is that of their aristocratic

⁵² I. Breazu, op. cit., p. 219.

⁵³ Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900, Editura Academiei, Bucharest, 1979, p. 352.

⁵⁴ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 68.

⁵⁵ N. Filimon, op. cit., p. 37.

spirit: "the Hungarian highly proud, haughty on his nobility".56 In turn, Mihail Kogălniceanu observed in Vienna "the most terrific [aristocracy] in Europe, caused mainly by the Hungarians from Hungary".57

In his guide, M. Reichard said that Hungarians love their country greatly, as evidenced by the following quote: "Extra Hungaria non est vita. Si est vita, non est ita". ⁵⁸ This motto is noted at the beginning of Codru Drăguşanu's Letter VII from his memoirs, and was reproduced by a Hungarian from Pest, a person he meets in Avignon. ⁵⁹ Hence, this bookish image is reinforced by personal experience.

In a letter written in 1879, Codru Drăguşanu calls the Hungarians "previous Turks... who take pride also today in the one thousand years that have passed since the foundation of their state, even though they were trampled on for a thousand years and they have enjoyed the rule of a pashalic for a century, - still, they consider to have enjoyed the continuity of law",60 is an ethnic image captured in the domestic cultural context of the time.

In Vienna, the traveler is interested in the characteristics of the place and that of the people: "the characteristic venue in Vienna is the tower of Saint Stephen's basilica"; "what is characteristic for the Viennese is silence." People are described by their physical features, but also their spiritual ones; they are "as thin as a rake... and as agile as mosquitoes ... helpful and kind."61

On returning to Vienna in 1840, he attends the Corpus Domini celebration (on Thursday, June 18), "the grandest procession of the Roman Catholic rite... that we improperly called Green Thursday". He describes the procession which starts from St. Stephen's Cathedral, he dislikes the pump of the Catholic rite, but evokes, in a comparative manner, "the extreme misery of our churches, of the icons of the saints with crooked mouths... the pettiness with which the pious ceremonies of our rite are carried out", and praises the Orthodox religion, which "holds the median way between the extremes and sins not by affectation". ⁶² We observe in this instance as well a manner of analyzing the differences

⁵⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 68, 86.

⁵⁷ N. Iorga, *Scrisori vechi de studenți (1822-1889)*, Datina Românească, Vălenii de Munte, 1934, pp. 27-30.

⁵⁸ M. Reichard, Guide des voyageurs en Europe, I, Langlois, Paris, 1817, p. LXXIV.

⁵⁹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 64, 153.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 230-232.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 66-67.

⁶² Ibidem, pp. 104-105.

between the two elements and of emphasizing the qualities of his own civilization.

The traveler is interested in technical progress encountered starting with his journey on the Danube, occasion with which he describes the boat in a very detailed manner, in fact, this description is his most detailed one of all.⁶³

The Portrayal of Italy and the Italians

The motto from the beginning of Letter VIII assigned by Codru Drăguşanu to Dante, conveys almost identically Petrarch's motto from the cover of the book written by Madame de Staël, *Corinne ou l'Italie*, published in Paris in 1807,⁶⁴ which reveals him reading this famous travel book which was translated into Romanian in 1846.

In northern Italy, Codru Drăguşanu emphasizes the state of material progress encountered, "the road is not only good to the superlative degree, but is also aesthetic and luxurious", "water runs in the canals" next to the plots, vineyards, rice, corn are planted, silkworms are raised, there are "villages are like fortresses... well-built and solid." Arriving in Milan, he visits the church dedicated to St. Ambrose and the Dome, which "has no parallel in the world".65 Stendhal, an admirer of Gothic art, expressed similarly about the Dome: "nothing in the world is more beautiful".66

Codru Drăguşanu highlights Italy's image as a country of art: after visiting a number of churches, he concludes that they are true art museums, and after visiting the Brera Museum, he notes that "unwise peoples esteem only gold, while illuminated ones art. Italy, from this standpoint, is the first country in the world".

Arriving in the "eternal city", he is attracted by "ancient Rome, above all" and wants to write "about Rome, our mother, and about Trajan, our father",⁶⁷ thus emphasizing Italy's image as the original homeland. In turn, Gheorghe Asachi has a burning desire to see first, in Rome, Trajan's Column, the birth certificate of the Romanian nation.⁶⁸ The desire to visit

67 I. Codru Drăgușanu, op. cit., p. 74.

⁶³ O. Boitoş, *Éloge de l'Occident fait, il y a cent ans, par un roumain de Transylvanie,* in *Revue de Transylvanie,* X, 3-4, juillet-décembre 1944, Sibiu, pp. 125-139, p. 13.

⁶⁴ "...Udrallo il bel paese, Ch'Apennin parte, e'l mar circonda et l'Alpe." The quote is from *Sonnet CXLV* of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, Einaudi, Torino, 1992.

⁶⁵ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁶⁶ Stendhal, op. cit., p. 326.

⁶⁸ C. Isopescu, *Il viaggiatore transilvano Ion Codru Dragusanu e l'Italia*, Anonima Romana Editoriale, Rome, 1930, pp. 11, 13.

Trajan's Column is emphasized in the 19th century, with the Romantic spirit, by was which traveling "a strategy of revealing national being".69

Barbara Milizia characterizes the travelers of the Romantic period as having an intense Romantic imaginative capacity and manifesting a particular propensity for recording individual emotions, which were fueled by the fascination exerted by a city such as Rome. Arriving at Trajan's Forum, Codru Drăguşanu climbed the 185 interior steps of the Column to the top, and the ascent becomes an excuse for a Romantic standpoint: We are transported, in our mind, on top on Mount Buceci, from where the provinces of our Dacia appeared, as visions. The seven hills of Rome are seen as "the icon of our Dacia, with the seven provinces: Transylvania, Marmatia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Istriana, Temişana and Crişana".

Codru Drăguşanu puts forth a comparison between the Romanians and the Dacians represented on the Column, "whose faces and clothing seem to belong to the Transylvanian shepherds of today".⁷² This image is also present in the writings of certain foreign travelers, such as Saint-Marc Girardin, who stated that during his journey to Wallachia and Moldova he saw the same faces and vestments like the ones he had seen carved on Trajan's Column.⁷³

Codru Drăguşanu recommends a route for visiting the city, starting from Piazza del Popolo, continuing on the "Via del Corso" called "the most beautiful street of the new Rome", arriving to the Capitol, the Roman Forum, the Arch of Titus, Via Sacra, "the Flavian Amphitheater, the grandest ruin worldwide", ending with Trajan's Forum. For twenty days, "from morning to night, we were visiting the monuments - both in ruins and standing, ancient and modern, amphitheatres, circuses, galleries, museums, temples and churches".74

⁶⁹ F. Faifer, Semnele lui Hermes: memorialistica de călătorie (până la 1900) între real și imaginar, Timpul, Iași, 2006, pp. 25, 87.

⁷⁰ B. Milizia, Le guide dei viaggiatori romantici, Instituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, Rome, 2001, p. 34

⁷¹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, *Peregrinul transilvan* (1835-1844), Ed. Cugetarea - Georgescu Delafras, Bucharest, 1942, pp. 44-45. The quote is missing in the 1956 edition, p. 79, and is incomplete in the 1980 edition, p. 76, since they were avoiding mentioning Bessarabia.

⁷² I. Codru Drăguşanu, *Peregrinul transilvan (1835-1848)*, Sport-Turism, Bucharest, 1980, pp. 75-78.

⁷³ M. Saint-Marc Girardin, op. cit., p. 224.

⁷⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

For Stendhal also, the Colosseum is the most beautiful building that had fallen into ruins.⁷⁵

The image of Italy as a country of art is emphasized after his arrival in Rome, which is characterized as "the richest city in point of plastic arts", which houses masterpieces of ancient Greek sculptors, masterpieces by Raphael and Michelangelo, as well as the "famous church of Saint Peter in the Vatican, which undoubtedly has no parallel in the world... a more wonderful monument had never been erected by human hands on earth". 76 Stendhal had the same appreciation for the cathedral, "the most beautiful monument there ever was". 77 This image can be explained by the fact that the Romantics return to the Renaissance in order to resume what the Renaissance has created from an artistic standpoint, for they emphasize the individual's ability to be creative and let their imagination soar. 78

Even if Rome enjoyed few social events, offering instead several entertaining events, such as the Carnival, which lasted for 12 days. Paguşanu describes the four important moments of the carnival: "I confetti, La Mossa de Barberi, I Mocoletti, La girandola", their manifestations on Via del Corso, the fireworks from Sant'Angelo Castle and the ball held on the last day, called the "Fat Tuesday". 80

Drăguşanu perceives Italy as an "earthly paradise", writing about Naples that it "deserves to be called the garden of Italy, and I would have been sorry not to come to see this earthly heaven", 81 an image also found in Dinicu Golescu's writing, in which he calls Italy "the earthly heaven". 82

The traveler likes to observe the people "wherever they are in a group, so as to find out their mores".83 He describes sympathetically the "lazaroni", the city poor, who "nourish themselves from carrying goods" and live in the public square. He notes the similarity between the

⁷⁵ Stendhal, Promenades dans Rome, I, Libraire Delaunay, Paris, 1829, p. 23.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 71-80.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 162-163.

⁷⁸ Al. Duțu, Eseu în istoria modelelor umane, Editura Științifică, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 253-254.

⁷⁹ J. Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003, p. 50.

⁸⁰ I. Codru Drăgușanu, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 68, 162.

⁸² D. Golescu, op. cit., p. 64.

⁸³ M. Anghelescu, op. cit., p. 153.

clothing worn by Neapolitan women and Transylvanian women, as well as the similarity of language. 84

In Pompeii, he visits "mortuary monuments with inscriptions, houses, palaces, forums, the theater and temples, almost all undamaged", and traces of the priapic cult seem to justify the catastrophe that hit the city. He climbs Mount Vesuvius, accompanied by a guide, from where he admires the scenery: "I could not get enough of the brilliant nature's beauty." 85

The Enlightenment presents an image of Italian decadence, as does Montesquieu in Lettres persanes or in his article Italia from Éncyclopedie 86, and this image is elaborated in a Romantic context. In Stendhal's writing, the image of decadence is powerful: "Everything here is decadence, everything is memory, everything is dead. Active life resides in London and Paris".87 In Théobald Walsh's travel journal, published in Paris in 1823, we encounter the image of Italy as a country of art, which, however, was dishonored by the race that lives in it, because Italians do not appreciate the beauty of the nature in which they live, their appearance is shabby, ferocity, out of which it's easy to form a brigand. 88 The image of decay appears also in Codru Drăguşanu's writing, showing that the "famous Roman Forum, once the soul of Rome, is called today the Field of Cows", and "this desert is the tomb of Rome, it is her decaying body, and the today's inhabitants are the worms that gnaw at it", they discover the ancient relics "out of vile interest", because these attract "many foreigners", and the Romagnoli "are the fiercest thieves and brigands in the world".89 Stendhal noted that the Forum came to bear the name of Campo Vacino. 90

Visiting the Roman monuments in Nîmes, Vasile Alecsandri argues in favor of the decadent imagine of Roman descendents: "How strong were the parents! How fallen are their descendants!" 91

The portrayal of Northern Italians, who were under Habsburg dominion, is different: "From their nature or political circumstances, I do

⁸⁶ J. Speake, *Literature of Travel and Exploration*, Fitzroy Dearborn, New York, London, 2003, II, p. 628.

⁸⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 172-173.

⁸⁷ Stendhal, Rome, Naples et Florence, en 1817, Paris, 1817, p. 42.

⁸⁸ G. Scaramellini, La Geografia dei viaggiatori. Raffigurazioni individuali e immagini collettive nei resoconti di viaggio, Edizione Unicopli, Milano, 1993, p. 35.

⁸⁹ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 75.

⁹⁰ Stendhal, Promenades dans Rome, I, Libraire Delaunay, Paris, 1829, p. 255.

⁹¹ V. Alecsandri, Călătorie în Africa, în Opere, IV, Minerva, București, 1974, p. 207.

not know, those who are under Austrian rule are more serious compared with other Italians, they seem to me to be manlier and wealthier". 92 Drăguşanu observs the Italian revolutionary spirit, noticing the tensions between Italians and Austrians in Lombardy. From here, he outlines similarity of fate between Italians and Romanians, subjected to the same rule, exclaiming: "Lord, for how long will You leave the Roman vine to suffer in the West and the East?" 93

Alecsandri links the divine punishment's image of the Romans and their successors ("very wrong were the Romans in the eyes of divinity if, after so many centuries, their great grandsons are still punished in this manner") with that of a great future for Romanians ("divinity prepares a great future for this people"). 94

The Portrayal of German States and the Germans

He observes the material progress, as he did in Northern Italy: "the roads in Germany are wonderfully good and neat, agriculture developed to the highest degree". In Regensburg, Codru Drăguşanu visits "the art gallery of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis... the antique dome or cathedral ogival style, the most beautiful bridge on the Danube... then Walhalla". In Stuttgart he visits the palace of the King of Württemberg, and while in Karlsruhe, he visits the palace of the Duke of Baden.⁹⁵

In Frankfurt he observes the German diet, in 1843, which is "the first curiosity of this free city". The city makes a special impression on him: "Nowhere in the world can one live better than in this part of Germany, rich in select wines, game of all kinds, berries and products, and a city society without a Court and aristocracy and indeed tolerant in terms of religion." He criticizes the Germans, who are not hospitable, are disunited, "they support forty kings and forty courts... and are looking for their new homeland in the world", he praises them because "they are frightfully educated", but he disagrees with a German scholar who wrote that Romanians are not originally Indo-European, calling into question the image of conflict between the Latin and German races. 96

The Portrayal of France and the French

In 1840, while on the road to Paris, Codru Drăguşanu stops in Strasbourg, where he visits "the local cannon foundry, the magnificent

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 83.

⁹³ S. Mitu, Transilvania mea..., p. 515 și Imagini europene..., pp. 85-86.

⁹⁴ V. Alecsandri, *Prietenii românilor*, în *Opere*, IV, Minerva, Bucureşti, 1974, p. 396.

⁹⁵ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 184-185.

gothic cathedral with the tallest tower in the world and an astronomical clock." Here, he eats "the renowned foie gras with truffles", one of the city's attractions, while at Epernay he drinks "Champagne wine, famous worldwide." His arrival to Paris makes way for a characterization rendered in a Romantic tone: "the city of cities, of which I fantasized not Paris, but Paradise". This image is loved by another Transylvanian traveler, John A. Lepădatu, who studied in Paris between 1868 and 1870, who characterizes Paris as a "worldly paradise", and paradise as a "heavenly Paris". 98

Here also, Drăguşanu recommends visiting the city using a certain route, which reveals that he was influenced by the travel guides he consulted. The route begins at Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe, continues "along the Champs Elysee" to the Place Concorde, "one of the most chic [places] in the world, however, it is also the most impressive [venue]", then to "Tuileries Palace, the most beautiful royal residence in Europe", "the *Louvre* Palace-Museum" and "the Saint-Germain Gothic church in Auxerre".99

The traveler is disappointed by the city at first, but he gradually discovers its beauty: "Only after spending a while in the new Babylon, when you start to judge and appreciate what's really great... then the Parisian grandeur suddenly reveals itself." The same greatness is admired by fellow Romanian travelers in the 1860s, who were impressed by the monumental Paris. Iosif Vulcan, who arrived in Paris in 1867, is fascinated by the sight of palaces, domes, boulevards, which exert a "divine pleasure". 100

Codru Drăgușanu participates in commemorating the revolution of 1830, attending "popular productions of Moor wars and regattas on the Champs Elysee, or nautical games on the Seine... the general parade of troops, of the National Guard and the authorities" and "fireworks on the shores of the Seine". 101

The second event our traveler attends in Paris is the transferring of Napoleon's remains from the island of Saint Helena to the Dôme des Invalides in Paris, on December 15, 1840; what impresses him is the enthusiasm of the people who follow the funeral chariot to the Dôme des

⁹⁸ I. A. Lapedatu, Scrisori de la Paris, in Familia, VI, 1870, no. 35, p. 416, cf. Gh. Lascu, Imaginea Franței la românii din Transilvania până în anul 1918 (Ph.D. thesis), 1999, p. 92.
⁹⁹ I. Codru Drăgusanu, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

⁹⁷ I. Codru Drăgușanu, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁰⁰ A. Radu, Cultura franceză la românii din Transilvania pînă la unire, Dacia, Cluj, 1982, pp. 89-93.

¹⁰¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, op. cit., p. 117.

Invalides, where the body "embalmed and having a completely preserved face under the glass crystal" is exposed in the Dôme for eight days. The third event he attends is the carnival in Paris, and his presence at the Opera Ball earns his disapproval of the cancan dancers. 102

At Versailles he visits "that grandiose palace that is the most brilliant in Europe, perhaps worldwide, and the water fountains." In Nice he describes the position of the city, surrounded by mountains, covered by "vineyards, fig trees, olive trees, then lemon trees, orange trees and pomegranate trees", he is impressed by the Mediterranean climate, showing that it is an attraction for tourists in wintertime: "There are no guests now in Nice, for they only come in the winter, because there isn't a more pleasant a place in all of Europe, that is more protected from the cold than this city". 103

One can observe his admiration for Gothic monuments, explained by the fact that the Gothic grandeur resonates with the Romantic sensibilities of the traveler. Arriving back to to Paris in 1843, Codru Drăguşanu states the following about the Notre Dame Cathedral: "the French proud themselves with their cathedral, saying that is the most beautiful one in the entire world". 105

Codru Drăguşanu, like other Romanian travelers, recollects the negative influences received by young people studying in Paris: "now the wealthy boyars have gotten accustomed to send their sons to the Academy in France, from where most are returning after two, three years, dressed in the latest fashion, with distorted habits and lewd morals, from the lewdest Parisian society". ¹⁰⁶

The traveler portrays the country as "beautiful, fertile and most highly cultured" and the French as "short, stout people, with dark faces, having expressive physiognomies, cheerful in demeanor, swift in mobility and speech, then no wonder they are engorged in their national pride." "The French are wonderful, especially the proletarians of the city", and the women working in shops and restaurants are "beautiful, graceful and talkative... they charm you with their urban courtesy" and thus their businesses prosper.¹⁰⁷

After returning from England, he describes what he sees, from a comparative standpoint; "the uncleanness of the streets, courtyards and

103 Ibidem, pp. 148, 154.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, pp. 131, 137.

¹⁰⁴ S. Mitu, *Transilvania mea...*, p. 520.

¹⁰⁵ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 202.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, pp. 117-118.

houses" jump out and "the Frenchman as compared to the Englishman has a lighter character" and, as in Germany, "nobody keeps his word." He concludes that "the Frenchman is aware that he is of the same blood as us: he is kind and cheerful... much like us, or rather we like them, both strengths and weaknesses, ones as the others, endeared the French to me". 108 This image is recurring in fellow Romanian travelers from Transylvania. Iosif Vulcan's heart pounded when he sees the first the land of "our brothers of the same blood". 109 Ioan A. Lapedatu, who was studying in Paris between 1868 and 1870, sees the French "as brothers from the same vine and language as us". 110

In 1869, Codru Drăguşanu depicts the image of the theatrical art that reached "the highest peak" in France, and could be found in the discourses of preachers, teachers, politicians, in the 38 theater halls of Paris. This image was the contemporary of the letter's publishing. Iosif Vulcan, arriving in Paris in 1867, wrote that after the adoption of the decree concerning theatrical liberty of 1864, the number of theaters had increased, reaching more than 30 theaters, five of which were most important.¹¹¹

Gheorghe Lascu believes Drăguşanu's enthusiasm for France was catalyzed by Iosif Vulcan's *Suvenirele de călătorie* (*Travel souvenirs*). If in the first letters his tone is more restrained, approaching the ideas of Barițiu, in his letters published in 1869 and the one in 1879 he excels through unreserved admiration: "France and Paris remain the core of the world and the bloom of humanity". ¹¹² If in the letters published in the volume "there is a unity of attitude and style that does not allow the revealing of an evolutionary trend", ¹¹³ this trend, however, can be easily observed in the letters published later on.

We observe that the letter XXXIV, published in 1869, provides an opportunity for reflection on democracy, with ideas inspired by the reality in which the author lived at the time of the letter's creation, and not that of the journey: "One can speak of a true nation only where the people are well represented by their government... Democracy is a

109 I. Vulcan, Însemnări de călătorie (I), Minerva, Bucharest, 1994, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 130, 151.

¹¹⁰ I. A. Lapedatu, *Conversare cu cetitoarele*, in *Familia*, V, 1869, no. 33, p. 392; A. Radu, op. cit., p. 95.

¹¹¹ I. Vulcan, op. cit., p. 53-54.

¹¹² Gh. Lascu, *Imaginea Franței la românii din Transilvania până la 1918,* Casa Cărții de Ştiință, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, pp. 75-76.

¹¹³ D. Popovici, Ion Codru Drăguşanu, in Limbă şi literatură, XXIV, Bucharest, 1970, p. 107.

dreadful thought for those who are currently content, for it implies, even requires, pure morals, civil, political and social equality for all." He talks about the role of the French nation defending democracy, a nation that can be a model for other nations: "the French nation is the one that is most able to preserve and develop the treasure of freedom, is the most generous nation that could communicate it to other peoples, as well as being the bravest one in order to be their strongest support". The author argues convincingly for the option of a democratic system, different from the state reality in which he lived, as a member of a nation devoid of political representation. The French Revolution of 1789 is seen as "the second salvation of the world", 114 an image used by Edgar Quinet in a lecture at the College de France, a lecture attended also by Romanian students, where he speaks about the birth of a new religion, "that of Freedom and Fraternity... which will bring about the world's second salvation". 115

In Letter XXXV, published in 1879, Paris is seen as a "focal point of the globe, or, rather, of the civilized world". We encounter in his writing an image of France which we relate to the political context of the period after 1871: "There is only one gens in the world that demands and deserves our gratitude. This is the French nation, which has shed its blood for a half a century and emptied their purse solely for humanity, and which, if there comes a time, will not spare either for us and our own salvation". 116

The Portrayal of England and the Englishmen

London is seen as being the largest city of Europe, and "a metropolis of universal commerce". Here he is surprised again "by the large number of people and the great silence... the exemplary cleanliness of the streets, the simplicity of buildings" which he attributes as hallmarks of civilization, he observes the markets and gardens "where there is only green meadow, tall, bushy trees and streams or crystal clear lakes". He praises the fact that during divine services all the houses and shops are closed, no one can exit the church until the end of the service, unlike "our traditions and especially those of Catholics". He visits the "British Museum", "Saint Paul's Cathedral church", the "Zoological-Garden", the "Royal-Polytechnic-Institution", the "Box hall", the "Centrifugal-

¹¹⁴ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 225-229.

¹¹⁵ Mihai Dim. Sturdza, Anii de ucenicie ai fraților Brătieni, in Familiile boierești din Moldova și Tara Românească, II, p. 392.

¹¹⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 233.

railway", the "tunnel under the Thames, one of the wonders of the world", the "Covent-Garden Theater". After these experiences, he concludes that "Great Britain is most civilized state in the world". 117

In 1843, he attends the solemn ceremony of the Lord Mayor of London's taking of office, on November 9, St. Michael's day, which makes a great impression on him ("to describe all this pump is simply impossible"). He visits Windsor Castle, the residence of the kings of England, where he sees the Queen and is quite impressed by the park: "nothing surpasses the great park that is next to this castle, which is the largest in the world". He is impressed by the technical progress of the country, claiming that "the electric telegraph, just as the steam locomotion, are the marvels of our age", 118 expressing himself similarly to Petrache Poenaru, who traveled from Manchester to Liverpool, in order to admire "a new means of transportation, which is one of the wonders of the century". 119

His portrayal of the English captures their physical traits ("the English are tall and beautiful people") and their character ("they are serious and taciturn", the Englishman is "a man of his word and solid as metal; they kill you with their accuracy"). The English cuisine is seen as a simple and hearty, and the British as "the most gluttonous nation on the face of the earth".¹²⁰

In almost all of the traveler's journeys we encounter the portrayal of the English as tourists, of whom he states: "the English provide the largest contingent of travelers in Europe". 121

The Portrayal of Switzerland and the Swiss

In the latter part of the 18th century, the discovery of Magna Graecia and the promotion of the mountain caused major changes in expectations, which will transform the Grand Tour into a Romantic voyage. The Alps, as well as other mysterious places, met the new Romantic

¹¹⁹ N. Iorga, Contribuții la istoria literaturii române în veacul al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea, in Analele Academiei Române, Seria II, Tom XXVIII-XXIX, Memoriile Secțiunii literare, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 119-126.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 219-222.

¹²⁰ I. Codru Drăgușanu, op. cit., pp. 120-127.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹²² G. Bertrand, *Le grand Tour revisité*. *Pour une archéologie du tourisme*: *le voyage des français en Italie (milieu XVIII^e siècle – début XIX^e siècle)*, École Française de Rome, Rome, 2008, p. 26.

requirements. The variability in its morphology, climate, and landscape produces strong emotions in the travelers. 123

Switzerland is characterized by our traveler from the perspective of its natural beauties. In this context, he speaks of "Mont Blanc, the giant of Europe, four times taller as Mount Vesuvius, crowned by the eternal ice of crystal." In Schaffhausen, 124 he admires "the famous cataract of the Rhine" and concludes: "the highest, and therefore the most beautiful country in Europe in its own way, is Switzerland". 125

In Brienz he admires "the picturesque waterfall from Giessbach and the Romantic positions in Interlaken and Unterseen", while on the shore of Lake Thun, from where he admires the peaks of the Alps, he has a new Romantic vision: "Suddenly the ice giants began to light up by the flame of the setting sun, burning with purple flares and flames, to rapture you in an extraordinary awe", a show that "made us ecstatic". 126

In Geneva, he recalls the presence of Calvin, Rousseau, Voltaire, Gibbon, Byron. He leaves the city along Lake Leman "through a romantic forest" to Fribourg, where "we visited the great cathedral and enjoyed the musical production of the most famous organ in all of Europe", he then reaches Bern, "the residence of the supreme council of the republic", in Lucerne he visits the "monument erected in the honor of those Swiss who have fallen while defending the Tuileries Palace in Paris". Upon his return to Bern in 1843, he recalls the existence of bears "in one of the castle's fortifications" and the tower that had two clocks. 127

Codru Drăgușanu draws a parallel between Switzerland and Transylvania regarding ethnic and geographical aspects, but in terms of the political regime, the difference between the two countries is colossal.¹²⁸ The similarity is that in Switzerland there are three nations and "the small population of Rhaeto-Romans" and the difference that "here all nations are free to enjoy political rights equal and no one is a pariah, like us, Romanians, in our homeland". Speaking about the Swiss

¹²⁴ This is where Dinicu Golescu arrived, *op. cit.*, p. 112, as well as Nicolae Şuţu in *Memoriile principelui Nicolae Şuţu, mare logofăt al Moldovei (1798-1871)*, translated by G. Filitti, Humanitas, Bucharest, p. 161.

¹²³ G. Scaramellini, op. cit., p. 54.

¹²⁵ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 182-187.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem,* pp. 212-213. The quote contradicts Romul Munteanu's assertion, according to which at Drăguşanu "the lyrical thrill of admiring nature ... is absent", in I. Codru Drăguşanu, *Peregrinul transilvan,* Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, Bucharest, 1956, *Preface* by Romul Munteanu, p. 27.

¹²⁷ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 183, 207.

¹²⁸ O. Boitos, op. cit., p. 138.

Christian denominations, he states that "the state does not help one more, another less and others not at all, like back home, in Transylvania".¹²⁹

Codru Drăguşanu criticizes the Swiss, who, while Republicans, they defend despotism in other countries: "the republicans are not ashamed to sell blood to serve as a tool to retain other peoples in slavery". He claims that are great differences between the Swiss and the Italians, but they are similar in that "both live off quackery"; the Italians "traffic archeology, while the Swiss use the natural beauties of their country", which they hyperbolize in itineraries, newspapers, textbooks. This touristic promotion makes him wonder if "can we not compete with any country in the world? Californian gold mines, precious mineral waters, products, archeology, diversity of peoples, mountains and hills, rivers and ponds, woods and bushes, just as those you admired in Switzerland - for large sums of money!" 131 Petru Bănățianu had the same conviction writing on the beauty of Haţeg County one year after Drăguşanu's book was published: "we look over a delightful panorama that could emulate any part of Switzerland".132

Switzerland's superiority is related to the idea of freedom: "it has the merit of placing the throne of freedom on its mountains in a time when no one dared to even pronounce its name". 133 This image is also present in the writings of other Romanian travelers, like Dinicu Golescu, who noted that "throughout all of Switzerland, not a noble or fool exists, for all are compatriot brothers", 134 Al. C. Golescu-Albul wrote that Switzerland is the country where "man is respected, people are equal", while Radu C. Golescu evokes the beauty of Switzerland, whose mountains are "giant protectors of Helvetic independence". 135

The Portrayal of Russia and the Russians

Russia is characterized as a "country of uniformity and straight lines", and the capital, St. Petersburg, as "one of the newer but the brightest one in all of Europe, for the excellent European taste is accompanied by the

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 211.

¹²⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, op. cit., pp. 208-209.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, p. 183.

¹³² P. Bănățianu, Notițe de călătorie, in Familia, II, 1866, no. 25, p. 296.

¹³³ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 211.

¹³⁴ D. Golescu, op. cit., p. 99.

¹³⁵ G. Fotino, *Din vremea renașterii naționale a Țării Românești. Boierii Golești*, II, Imprimeria natională, Bucharest, 1939, pp. 31, 103.

luxuriant Asian one". We encounter the European image of Russia form after the Napoleonic wars, according to which Russia was no longer considered just a part of Europe, but was linked to the Orient as well. Astolphe of Custine's book of 1839, *La Russie*, presents the image of Russia, placed on two continents, receiving influences from both sides. 137

The city "had an extraordinary effect through its fine architecture, by the regularity of buildings and the grandiosity of monuments, then, it appears stronger due to its canals";¹³⁸ he was impressed by "Saint Isaac Square... one of the most wonderful in all of Europe... the superb church of Saint Isaac... the imposing Winter Palace of the Tsars, then the Admiralty... the Senate Palace and that of the ruling Saint Synod... the modern temple of Mercury, namely the Stock Exchange... Peter the Great's monument..." The church descriptions are accompanied by the flattering image of the Orthodox faith, compared to the Catholic one: "at least, in Russia, it is not only more pompous than in Rome, but even more enjoyable through the superbly cultivated vocal music and the rare dignity with which the sacred ceremonies are carried out."

He arrives here as well during the period of the carnival, occasion by which he observes "all the petropoletan people" and describes the white week's events, the "so called Russian mountains". He admires the country's religious tolerance, but criticizes the fact that Russia "has adopted the strongest absolutism and aristocratism from Germany, under which a nation gentle and kind natured people are groaning, and which is kept closed, away from all the paths that would lead them to culture". Russians are "a good hearted people, greatly hospitable toward foreigners", both the elite and the people, "love the exterior luster exceedingly". Russians venerate the Tsar "because this poor people are under pressure from thousands of tyrants, who only tremble because of this potentate".¹³⁹

Conclusions

The journeys are made by combining traditional means of transportation (diligence, sailing boats) with the newly emerging ones (trains and steamboats), which influence the routes and facilitate travel.

¹³⁶ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

¹³⁷ J. Speake, op. cit., p. 1037.

¹³⁸ I. Codru Drăguşanu, op. cit., p. 152.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 178-198.

We note the trend of coordinating the timeframe of the trip with the event calendar of a certain place, which represent a main objective for the "Grand Tour" traveler, as well as the Romantic one. The descriptions combine images characteristic to the Enlightenment with those characteristic to Romanticism, in the realm of economic and cultural progress, forms of political organization, and the descriptions of nature and of various peoples.

The admiration expressed for the Swiss democratic system is intertwined with the admiration conveyed for France and the French people. The political realities are analyzed in a comparative manner, opposing the Swiss democracy to the Transylvanian political system. The comparison between past and present is favorable to France and England, as generators of progress and democracy, while in the case of Italy, the decadent image of the present is magnified, to which even elements of Classical Antiquity are also associated.

We note the concern for the novel aspects, for economic, cultural and especially political progress, represented by the ideas of freedom and democracy, which reveals the influence of the Romantic and revolutionary ideas of which our traveler becomes an exponent. We can capture the evolution of these ideas in the mind of the author, who wrote his travel memoirs at several different periods of his life.

The carrying out the ethnic portraits, the author combines the physical and the spiritual traits of those analyzed, seeking to capture the dominant features: "the Muscovite has strong faith in his all-powerful autocrat, as does the Frenchman in his great and glorious nation; the Englishman believes in money and is superb with the supreme dexterity of his diplomats". These traits are correlated with Romanian realities: "the Englishman loves us merely in order to buy his products, the Russian [loves us] in order to make way for him to Tsarigrad, the German [loves us] so as to be given land for new colonies". 140

We observe the author's passion for emphasizing contrasts. In Paris, "the social classes represent the misery and degradation of our species, as do refined luxury and superb pump to the highest degree"; from the Neapolitan summer, "where's the hottest climate in Europe", he travels in the winter to Petersburg, "to perhaps freeze in the glacial region".¹⁴¹

The sympathetic images of the poor in Naples, of the proletarians in Paris, of the oppressed Russian people, reveals the influence of the

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 115, 170.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 111, 225.

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realist movement upon the work of Codru Drăguşanu, explained by the period his writings had been published, which bring forth a special touch to the Romantic tone of these travel memoirs.