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ANNABLUME

VRBES AND OPPIDA IN DIMITRIE CANTEMIR'S *DESCRIPTIO MOLDAVIAE*

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ABSTRACT – Dimitrie Cantemir, who reigned for less than one year, as a member of the Moldavian dynasty founded by his father, Constantin Cantemir, was far more important as a scholar and savant. Indeed, he influenced the culture of his time (but only slightly its history). He became, in 1714, a member of the institution that would later be known as the Academy of Berlin. In this specific intellectual context he wrote *Descriptio Moldaviae*, a geographical, political, and historical presentation of the Moldavian state, and *Historia moldo-vlahica*, a learned work on the origins of the Romanians from Moldavia, Muntenia (*i.e.*, Wallachia) and Transylvania. Interpreting this project as single endeavour with two inseparable facets, these writings put forward a horizontal, synchronic description of Moldavia as well as a vertical, diachronic one. The first of them, with an adventurous narrative, includes an extensive chapter devoted to the geography of the three regions of Moldavia (*Inferior Moldavia*, *Superior Moldavia*, and *Bassarabia*). That description includes 45 distinctive settlements, most of them towns and villages (*urbes* and *oppida*); these reports are both written to scientific standards and literarily appealing.

KEYWORDS: Cantemir, Moldavian history, Latin literature, geography, cartography.

The Cantemir dynasty is both slight and significant, in two different dimensions, of political and literary coordinates. The destiny of the Cantemir family was impressed with the seal of volatility, which seemed to be the only constancy throughout the life of its members. Different countries, different political scenes, different cultural environments favoured a never-ceasing change of fate on a span of three generations, that equalled the founding and perish of this political and literary dynasty. Dimitrie Cantemir is the nodal point of this rare human configuration.

His father, Constantin Cantemir, was preceded by generations that meant nothing in the history and are therefore absent in the documents that survived and, most probably, in the documents ever written. He presumably was a peasant, in the prestigious alternative of *razes*; the *razesi* of Moldavia were those who participated in the war without being supported or trained on public charge, nor were they paid by the ruling prince. They were driven by faith, and their loyalty was based on the certainty that, fighting against the pagans (Turks, actually), would preserve their immortal souls. As a reward for trustworthiness, the prince used to give them rights of land property or some public tasks. Subsequently, the *razesi* families had the benefit of social prestige and relative prosperity. Bearing on his face and body the scars of many battles, Constantin Cantemir grew to be *boyar* and entered the

highest families of the country; in 1685, at the age of 73, after participating in many campaigns of the Great Turkish War, assisting the Ottomans in their campaigns against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburg Monarchy, he was invested *voivode* (*id est*, Prince) by the *Aula Ottomanica*. The step was immense and changed for ever (that means the succeeding two generations) the fate of his family. The fact that Constantin himself was illiterate and could only write his own signature (though remarkably competent in speaking foreign languages), as a trustful chronicler of his time acknowledged, is most likely to be the *punctum mouens* of the brilliant education he offered his two sons. He never thought of himself as the supreme accomplishment of the Cantemir family, but much more, as the foundation of a dynasty. The political treatises he secretly signed included this stipulation. The dynastic dream was the forceful legacy he left to his descendants. Dimitrie, his younger son, reigned twice, for less than one year (in 1693, for five weeks, and in 1710-1711, being succeeded/preceded by his elder brother, in 1695-1700 and 1705-1707). Nevertheless, he got far more recognition than his father, who reigned about ten times longer. While still a teen (15 or, maybe, 12 years old), in 1688, he was sent to Istanbul, as a guaranty of his father's loyalty toward *Aula*: this was the convention and the long established practice. He had already benefited from the lessons of an outstanding Greek teacher, Ieremia Cacavela, both cautiously and astutely chosen by Constantin Cantemir. In Istanbul, the fruits of these first lessons are enormously multiplied by his thirst for knowledge and the motivating cultural challenge. The ample and intricate netting of his personality is set out here: modern sources now briefly describe him as a philosopher, historian, composer, musicologist, linguist, ethnographer and geographer. He became in 1714 member of the *Societas Scientiarum Branderburgica*, afterwards known as Academy of Berlin. This institution played a decisive role in the genesis of two major works Cantemir wrote in his mature age (that was surprisingly fertile, given the length of his life: only five decades): *Descriptio Moldaviae*, a geographical, political and historical presentation of the Moldavian state, and *Historia moldo-vlahica*, an erudite work on the origins of the Romanians from Moldavia, Muntenia (*id est* Wallachia) and Transylvania. Considered as a unit with two inseparable facets, these writings put forward a horizontal, synchronic description of Moldavia and a vertical, diachronic one. After the death of Prince Cantemir, in Russia, the Academy of Berlin vainly tried to regain possession of the works written on its own request. A manuscript of *Descriptio* was taken by his son Antioch Cantemir (better known as Antiokh Dmitrievich Kantemir, Russian Enlightenment man of letters and diplomat) in his European voyages, as envoy of Russia in London and minister plenipotentiary in Paris. In 1737, Antioch succeeded in publishing the map of Moldavia, in Amsterdam. The text of *Descriptio* finally appeared in German

translation (*Beschreibung der Moldau*), in 1769-1770, as recognition of the role Academy of Berlin played in its genesis.

The oldest manuscripts (copies) of this work (A and B) are to be found in the Russian archives that inherited the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Science in Sankt Petersburg; at present, they are included among the documents of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Science in Petersburg (Fond 25, D. 7 and D. 8). These manuscripts got to be known to Romanian scholars by the end of the XIXth century, throughout a copy made *manu propria* by I. C. Masim and, later, by Al. Papiu-Ilarian, that produced the first Romanian edition, bearing the marks of its epoch and particular circumstances. Another Latin manuscript is a copy dated around 1760 and, being the probable source of the German translation of Joh. Ludwig Redslob, 1769, corrected by D. Büsching, is to be considered a valuable witness-codex. By the XVIIIth century dates a different copy (C, known under the name *Sturzanus*), work of a scholar, who intimately knew Latin language, that emended A and B. It has recently been published the first critical edition of *Descriptio Moldaviae*, accomplished by late professor Dan Slusanschi.

One extensive chapter (IV) of the first part, on Geography of Moldavia, is devoted to the three regions: *Inferior Moldavia (incolis Czara de dzios dicta)*, *Superior Moldavia (incolis Czara de sus dicta)* and *Bassarabia*. Each of them is described according to an administrative division in *agri* and, for each *ager*, are mentioned the settlements – *urbes, oppida, munimental fortalia*.

This chapter (I.IV) includes 45 distinctive settlements, most of them towns and villages. The description format is surprisingly constant, so that these pages of *Descriptio* might be transformed into a collection of modern cards (the *fiche* type), with twelve segments:

- 1-2. geographical information, either placing the settlement inside the *ager*, or related to another settlement, frequently using precise data (distance units, compass reading); proximity to water;
3. etymology, whenever something interesting and/or plausible is to be said;
4. the protection facilities and/or, rarely, naturally protected settlements;
- 5-7. the status of the settlement: generic (including the commercial potential), political and religious;
8. historical events related to the settlement;
- 9-10. buildings and inhabitants;
11. decay from an illustrious status;
12. Cantemir's personal inquiries on the specific settlement.

Not all the data are to be found in every of the 45 descriptions, which, therefore, might seem irregularly accomplished. What is a loss in rigid information becomes a quality of a literary text that, covering the needs of a precise description, is to be read with constant interest and delight.

The driest and, not surprisingly, most recurrent information regards the proximity to water of each and every settlement. Though some of the “cards” lack the general geographical coordinates (considered somehow obvious), none of them lacks the aquatic element, except for those few that do not have a certain water source, with a known name, defined as variety (*flumen, rivus, rivulus* etc.). So: *Iassi* is *ad fluvium Bahluy*, *Tyrgul Frumos* is *ad eundem Bahluy fluvium*, *Roman* is *in confluenta Moldaviae et Sireti fluminum*, *Wasluy* is *ad hostium rivuli Wasluy, ubi se in Barlad conicit*, *Tecuczio* is *ad fluvium Barlad*, *Czetate de Pamint* is *ad eandem ripam (id est, Barlad)* *Foczanii* is *ad amnem Milcow*, *Adziud* is *ad fluvium Sireth*, *Giergina* is *in orientali Sireti ostio*, *Falczii* is *ad Hierasum*, *Tigine* is *ad Tyratem*, *Kissnou* is *ad flumen Bicul*, *Orhei* is *ad fluvium Reut*, *Soroca* is *ad Tyratem*, *Hotin* is equally *ad Tyratem*, *Dorohoi* is *haud procul a Ziziae fluminis fontibus*, *Stephanestii* is *ad Hierasum* (with the historically relevant detail that the Turks, *expurgato amne*, established a *navale*, “dock”, and a *promptuarium*, “storehouse”), *Czernaucii* is *in boreali Hierasi ripa situm*, *Cozmin* is *ad amnem Cuczur*, *Radauz* is *ad eundem (id est, Suczava) amnem*, *Piatra* is *ad flumen Bistriciam*, *Bacovium* is *in insula Bistriziae fluvii*, *Causzenii* is *ad fluvium Botna* (with the supplementary remark that [*Botna*] *exiguum spatio eam regionem tangit*), *Tartarpunar* is *ad ripam Tyratis* (with another aquatic detail: [*rupi*] *e cuius radicibus fons limpidissimus emanat*), *Tint* is *ad flumen Ialpub*, *Tobak - Pontum* *tangit*, *Akkierman* is *in ipso Ponti Euxini littore sita*, *Kilia* is *ad septentrionale Danubii ostium*, *Ismail* (the region, *ager*, and its fortress, identically named) – *interiores Danubii ripas legit*, *Cartal* (and *Isakcze*, jointly presented) is *ad Danubium, ubi Ialpub flumen recipit*, *Renii* is *ad Danubium situm*.

Some of the settlements are named in direct connection to the water in the vicinity: *Barlad* is defined as *urbs ad fluvium cognominem*, *Niamcz* is *ad amnem cognominem*, *Lapussna* is *ad rivum sunovnumon situm*; in few cases, there is no special remark, except for the obvious name overlapping: *Siret* is *ad [...] angulum Sireti fluminis sita*, *Trotusz* is *ad amnem Trotusz*.

Only five descriptions lack any information regarding water: *Kracuna*, *Husz*, *Harlev*, *Cotnar*, *Pharaoni*.

By contrary, some towns are flourishing as a direct result of a water presence: *Galacz* is *emporium totius Danubii celeberrimum*, nevertheless *Stephanestii*, *vide supra*, with *navale* and *promptuarium*.

Explicitly or implicitly, the homonymy settlement/water works as an etymological explanation; *Suczava* is *ad amnem Suczava, qui ipsi et nomen dedisse videtur*.

Regarding etymologies themselves, there is a constant care toward a scientific approach and a neat marking of popular beliefs. Relevant or not, the second section, devoted to *Superior Moldavia*, except for the obvious one just mentioned, on *Suczava*, includes no etymological explanation. *Cantemir* briefly – and rather confidently – tells the legend of *Iassi*, as place originally inhabited

by some old mill man (*seniculus quidam molitor*), named *Ioannes* and hypocoristically addressed as *Iassi*. Some etymologies are simple translations from or into Latin: *Tyrgul Frumos* is explained: *secundum etymon forum pulchrum*; *Czestate de Pamint*, i.e. *civitas terrea appellata*; reversely, *Roman* is *Forum Romanum*, *Tartarpunar* – *id est puteus Tartarorum*. *Kilia* is etymologically interesting only in a previous stage: *olim Lycostomon, eodem nomine a Graecis nautis appellare solitum, quod lupinarum faucium instar undas eructare videretur*.

Some of the place names (mostly the perceptible ones, meaningful) are explained in several languages: *Akkierman* – *incolis Cetatea alba, Romanis olim Alba Iulia, Graecis Monkastron, Polonis Bielograd*;

For some of the settlements there are only registered the linguistic variants, such as: *Tigine* – *Turcis Bender*; *Soroca* – *olim Albhonia*; *Ismail, Moldavis olim Smil dictus*; *Renii olim Moldavis dictum, nunc Turcis Tîmarova*; *Kissnou* (on the Bicul river) – *vernacula lingua kieile Bykului vocant, id est* the “Canyon of Bykul”. Surprisingly, a place name like *Piatra* (*id est*, “Rock”), does not interest Cantemir etymologically, probably due to its obvious meaning (or, on the same basis, an unintentional error, a *lapsus*).

Falczii is of special interest to Cantemir, as he (*vide infra*) personally tried to establish the history of the place; the name is seen as a confirmation of his own opinion: *Falczii a Taiphalia corruptum esse*. His inquiry (*nostris curis*) implied an expedition: intrigued by a passage in Herodotus that somewhere in this region (*ad Hierasum tribus diebus ab Istro*) lived the Taiphali warriors and built a massive town, he sent (*misi exploraturos*) some individuals to search for ruins or any other sign of historical testimonies; they found there deserted walls, ruined towers, fundaments of fired bricks, arranged in an elliptical shape.

A similar field investigation is suggested by the end of *Cozmin* description: looking for some ruins eloquent about the founders, although he thoroughly researched, could not find any (*nulla ullibi potuimus reperire indicia*).

Kissnou is another place that interested Cantemir, mostly to contradict the common belief: in the vicinity there are some rocks thought to be human work (*humana industria*); his judgement could not accept that, given the dimensions of the rocks and the distance they cover. He prefers to mention a local legend, claiming that it was the work of Devil, meant to stop the flow of river *Bykul* (just as many voivodes tried to do, for a long time).

A different approach in Cantemir's explicit inquiry is a reference to a chronicler's work, maintained at a *livresque* level (unlike the Herodotus passage mentioned above): Nicolaus Costin, *scriptor Moldavus*, mentioned the old name *Olchionia* for *Soroca*, but Cantemir only found *Albhonia* and had no hint about Costin's source (*unde acceperit indagare non potui*).

The status of the described settlements is regularly (though not always) mentioned, in various degrees. *Iassi* is *totius metropolis Moldaviae*, is *sedes principatus* and there is *archiepiscopus Moldaviae*, though he is officially called *non Iassiensis*,

sed Suczaviensis. Suczava itself is described as *olim metropolis, olim principis sedes, olim archiepiscopi sedes*, now ruled by *Hatmanus, sive supremus exercitus dux*.

Hotin is one of the greatest cities, *inter amplissimas Moldaviae civitates, non inmerito elegantissima munitissimaque Moldaviae civitatum appellari posit*; it used to be ruled by a prefect and, when Turks conquered it, by *pasza turcico*.

Barlad is *sedes Vornicii de Czara de dzios (procuratoris inferioris Moldaviae)*. In *Ager Czernauciorum*, the most important *oppidum (praecipuum)* is *Czernaucii*, ruled by *magnus Spatharus*.

Wasluy is *urbs, aliquando principum sedes*; is ruled by a *parcalabius*. *Tigine* is also *urbs*, and so is *Niamcz*; *Akkierman* is *urbs satis ampla*, ruled in Cantemir's time by a *Ianiczar Aga*. *Vrbs praecipua* is *Kilia*, not large, but famous for its commercial qualities (*emporium celeberrimum*, visited not only by neighbours, but also by traders from Egypt, Venice and Ragusa, *inde ceram et cruda boum coria solent abducere*), ruled by a *Nasir (quem inspectorem vulgari nomine dices)*

Orhei is an *urbs non adeo magna, sed elegans*. *Soroca* is *urbs praecipua* in its region (*Ager Soroccensis*), *parva quidem*.

Kissnou is *non magni momenti urbecula*.

Roman is *oppidum, sedes episcopalis*; is ruled by two *parcalabii*, named by the Prince. *Husz* is *oppidum exiguum, episcopi sedes*. *Tyrgul Frumos* is *oppidum haud contemnendum*, ruled by a *parcalabium, h.e. commendans*. *Lapusna* is *praecipuum oppidum*, ruled by two *parcalabii*. Are also *oppida*: *Galacz, Falczii, Stephanestii, Botoszany* (that pays tribute to the wife of the Prince and is ruled by *camerarius dominae principis*), *Radauz* (also *sedes episcopalis*), *Piatra, Bacovium (sedes agri Bacoviensis*, praised for its fruits: *pomorum fructuumque ubertate celebratum*), *Ocna* and *Trotusz* (of no significance except the salt mines in the vicinity: *nulla re magis memoranda oppida quam egregiis salis meatibus, quae ibi in viciniis reperiuntur*), *Tobak*,

Tecuczio is *oppidum parvum*, ruled by two *parcalabii*. *Dorohoi* is *oppidum non adeo nobile*, being *sedes* for the *vornicus de czara de sus, id est procurator Superioris Moldaviae*.

Foczanii is *oppidulum*, ruled by *starosta* (explained in a note *eiusdem cum commendante ex lingua Polona significationis*).

Adziud is *non magni momenti oppidum*; *Harlev* is *non magni nominis oppidum*, ruled by a *parcalabius*; *Cotnar* is *oppidum* of no significance but its vineyards: consequently, it is ruled by *magnus Paharnicus, id est Pincernar*.

Ismail is a *munimentum*, ruled by a *Muteveweli*; *Cartal* is a *fortalitium*, ruled by a *Dizar, h.e. commendans*; *Isakcze* is a *fortalitium non magni nominis*; a similar status has *Renii*, ruled by a *praefectus* whose title is register in various languages: *vulgo Beszliagasi vocatus, silistrensi Bassae, qui semper Seraskier esse solet*.

Only one *pagus* is mentioned, for a good reason, being a family property: *Pharaoni* is *praecipuus Cantemiriorum pagus*.

Czetatea de Pamint is defined by its own name: *civitas (terrea)*.

Nothing about: *Kracuna, Giergina, Kozmin, Siret, Causzenii, Tartarpunar* (except for some ancient ruins: *rudera antiquissimae civitatis*), *Tint*,

Special mentions regarding the inhabitants are mostly on massive displacements and/or ethnic or religious minorities. In *Roman* were located inhabitants coming from *Smedorova*; in *Cotnar* are people *catholicae religionis*. In *Bacovium* is a catholic bishop, *Bacoviensis nominator*, given the numerous catholic people brought here by Stephan the Great, after defeating Mathia, king of Hungary; similarly, in the vicinity, *Pharaoni*, are more than 200 catholic families. *Kilia*, famous trade centre, is home for Turks, Jews, Christians, Armenians and other populations.

The 45 description cards we can extract from Cantemir's chapter on towns and villages of Moldova are both scientifically uniform and literarily appealing. They gain their full meaning when strictly related to the map designed by Cantemir: this map accompanied the text of *Descriptio Moldaviae* – as much as the copying and printing means were available – and, nevertheless, circulated independently, as the first real map of the country, contributing to the fame of its author as praised cartographer. Chapter IV (pars I) is to be seen basically as a corpus of information for labelling the map.

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