GENEALOGIC AND HERALDIC NOTES ON THE MOLDAVIAN FAMILIES SETTLED IN THE EAST (15th – 18th CENTURIES)*

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Cuvinte cheie: Dimitrie Cantemir, genealogie Moldova, heraldică Moldova, cap de bour

Occurred in the summer of 1711, the battle of Stănileşti upon the Prut River was the first in the series of the 18th century's Russian-Ottoman wars. In Moldavia's history, amongst other political consequences, this major event lead to the exile of a number of local boyar families to the East. Settled together with Demetrius Cantemir (Fig. 1), prince of Moldavia between 1710-1711, in today's Ukraine, at Kharkiv, there were 105 Moldavian lineages, including 40 boyar families, migrated between 1711-1720, that formed a population of about 4000 persons (according to the list published by Grigore Nandriş in 1953)³. It is true that, after a while,

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³ G. Nandriş, *Rumanian exiles in 18th Century Russia*, in *RER*, I, 1953, p. 65-67.

when the diplomatic relations between the Empires were re-established, several of these families returned to Moldavia. The remaining ones were sufficiently numerous to constitute, in 1736, under the command of prince Constantin Antiohovich Cantemir (1700-1776), a regiment of Moldavian hussars, such was this located in Izyum. The descendants of these emigrants could be still traced by the Revolution of 1917⁴.

The beginnings of the Romanian migrations to the East are shrouded in legend, dating back to the period of the Moldavian voivode Stephen the Great (1457-1504) (Fig. 2). A certain Ivan Sused ('Neighbor'), descendant of this prince, was considered to be an ancestor of the nobles Rachmaninoff (the composer's family). Amongst the famous names of Moldavians settled in the East during the 17th century, one should mention - together with Demetrius Cantemir - the metropolitan Petru Movilă (1596-1647), founder of the Academy of Kyiv, as well as the scholar Nicolae Spătarul, known under the name of 'Nicolai Gavrilovich Spafarii' to the Russian literature and 'Milescu' to the Romanian one (1625-1708), geographer, translator and tireless traveler, settled in Russia at 1671 and a special envoy of tsar Alexei Mikhailovich (1629-1676) to China⁵. Other Moldavian families could be equally identified between those ennobled by the Russian emperors. They never denied their ancestry, and so the head of the Moldavian aurochs, or the Wallachian eagle, could be found in the hereditary arms of the Bantăş-Kamenskis, Vremes (Vremev), Caraimans (Kulikovski), Herescus (Herascov) families etc.

The first overview on the boyars of 'Wallachian' origins of Russia was due to the Bessarabian genealogist Gheorghe Bezviconi (1910-1966)⁶, who noticed that the first historic sources on the noble Russian families which "came from Moldo-Wallachia" could be found in the *Velvet Book* (*Бархатная Книга*), initiated during the reign of Feodor Alexeyevich

⁴ M. Cazacu, Familles de la noblesse roumaine au service de la Russie XV^e-XIX^e siècles, in CMRS, XXXIV, 1993, 1-2, Janvier-Juin, p. 217-218.

⁵ P. P. Panaitescu, *Nicolae Milescu Spătarul (1636-1708)*, Iași, 1987; also R. Şt. Vergatti, *Nicolae Spătarul Milescu (viața, călătoriile, opera)*, București, 1998.

⁶ Gh. Bezviconi, *Românii în Rusia*, in *DTN*, IV, 1936, 31-34, p. 149-167; Idem, *Roirea familiilor românești peste Nistru*, in *CM*, II, 1941, vol. II, 14, p. 120-145.

(1676-1682). Among these noble lineages they mention the Ofrosimovs⁷ and the Rahmaninovs⁸, to whom one could add several others, as their names clearly indicates, such as the Volokishins⁹, Volohovs¹⁰ etc. The same ethnic origins are also indicated in the name of Luca Voloshaninov, the 1497 envoy of the tsar Ivan the Great to Moldavia, whose descendants were living in the 17th century¹¹. It must be remembered in the context that a marriage was concluded between Elena (1465-1505), daughter of Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia, and the great prince Ivan the Young, eldest son and heir to Ivan III (from his first marriage to Maria of Tver). This 'Moldavian' page of the history of the Ruriks ended unexpected and tragically: Ivan the Young died prematurely in 1490, Elena and their son Dmitry (proclaimed heir to the throne), both died in prison, in 1505, respectively 1509, as victims of a Court conspiracy.

Belonging to the 'first wave' of migrations, the Ofrosimovs and the Rahmaninovs need a particular attention. According to the family tradition, a certain Andrei, son of Ofrosimov, came from the 'grand Volochs country' (probably Wallachia) to the court of Basil II, great prince of Moscow and Vladimir (1425-1462). His descendants held important positions during the 17th-18th centuries: Yuri Afanasiev was *voivode* at Kroma (1641), Mikhail Mikhailovich was *voivode* at Yepifan (1651 and 1659), Timofei Ilyich was *voivode* at Shatsk (1688), Afanasii Leontev was supreme judge in the time of Catherine II and the general Mikhail Alexandrovich was governor of Moscow (1797-1868)¹².

The family coat of arms appears in the *Armorial of the Noble Families* of the Empire, (Fig. 3)¹³: the shield depicts, above a castle with three towers, an eagle in profile with the wings displayed and inverted, standing above a

 $^{^{7}}$ *** Родословная книга Князей и Дворян российских и выезжих, Москва, 1787, р. 358, 420.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 369, 420.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 298, 381, 420.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 298, 424; also, К. П. Долгоруков, *Российская родословная книга*, t. IV, Санктпетербург, 1857, p. 351.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 351-352.

¹² РБС, t. 12, p. 473-474.

¹³ *OΓ*, t. 5, nr. 39.

dragon. Most likely completed in the 18th century, this achievement might have been inspired by the Wallachian eagle, deprived by its cross in the beak and represented above a dragon, the entire scene having, probably, an anti-Ottoman message.

The ancestors of the composer Sergei Vasilievich Rachmaninov (1873-1943) were traditionally considered to be 'Volochs', having as ascendants the 'lineage of the Moldavian princes from the House of Dragoş'¹⁴. One of the children of the above-mentioned Ivan Sused (that the family legend considered to be a son to prince Stephen the Great) was Vasile, nicknamed *Rachmaninov*, who would have founded this family (name also written *Rochmanivov*). In 1551, three members of the Rachmaninov family were inscribed in the book of 1000 first Russian nobles¹⁵. The brothers Gerasim and Fedor Yevlevich Rachmanivov took part at the *coup d'État* of 1741, supporting the empress Elizaveta Petrovna¹⁶.

The family coat of arms appears in the Armorial of the Noble Families of the Empire (Fig. 4)¹⁷. The composition, conferred upon Gerasim and Fedor Yevlevich, featured the typical pattern for the members of the Life Guard Grenadiers, having in the second half of the shield the arms that interest us: two spears reversed and tied in saltire, between a six-pointed star in chief and a crescent in base. Displaying two spears (probably as a hint for the two brothers that received the achievement) this must be a variant of the Polish herb Drag-Sas, the coat of arms remembering the memory of Sas, prince of Moldavia, son of Dragoş, the founder of the Principality (Ştefan, fourth son of Sas, settled in Halicz and became the founder of this herb, featuring as main version an arrow between two stars and a crescent – Fig. 5/a-c). Rachmaninov's family tradition assumed Dragoş as an ancestor, through Stephen the Great – so a confusion between prince Dragoş's grandson Ştefan, living in the late 14th century (House of Dragoş), and prince Stephen the Great, living one century later

 $^{^{14}}$ Н. П. Василенко, *Исторические сведения о роде дворян Рахманиновых*, Кіевъ, 1895, р. 1-11.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 40, 46-47.

¹⁷ OΓ, t. 4, nr. 134.

(House of Bogdan). In our opinion, the Rachmaninovs were not (and could not be) descendants of Stephen the Great (whose family is well-known by the historic literature) – but could instead be descendants of Dragoş, founder of Moldavia, or, properly said, "descendants from the group of families linked with the blood of Dragoş". It is interesting to notice that the genealogy of the family, published more than one century ago, depicts a portrait of the presumed ancestor of the lineage, the 'prince Bogdan of Moldavia', a naïve drawn personage (Fig. 6), however very similar with the real portrait of prince Stephen the Great¹⁸.

From the 16th century, they should mention Ivan Potcoavă ('Pidkova'), pretender to the Moldavian throne in 1577¹⁹ and posthumously a hero in the Ukrainian and Romanian litteratures²⁰, who wandered to the Ukraine together with several boyars, amongst them the Cossacks Ceapă (Țopa), Cârstea Voloshin and the chancellor Gavril, the ancestor of the Moldavian historic lineage Hasdeu. Then in the 17th century, one meets several families migrated to Ukraine. One of these are the Armashevskis, descendants of the Moldavian *armaş* Vasile, come from Moldavia. His offspring, Ivan Vasilievich Armashenko, was in 1680 a copyist at Lavra Pecherska in Kyiv. A famous marriage of that timelines occurred between Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son, Timofii (Timuş), and Ruxandra (†1686), daughter to Vasile Lupu, prince of Moldavia (1634-1653, 1653). This alliance was also unfortunate, since Timuş lost his life, one year after the marriage, at the battle of Suceava, while defending his father-in-law with his Cossacks (1653).

The geographic vicinity of Moldavia with the Cossack Hetmanate inevitably led to some military interference. Thus, four of the 15 regiments of Khmelnytsky's army were commanded by Moldavians: Toader Lobodă at Pereyaslav, Martin Puşcariu at Poltava and Pavel Apostol, the latter coming from "the most illustrious family of Moldavians in the Ukraine", whose ancestor was a certain Apostol, a Cossack in the regiment of

¹⁹ C. Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova – a. 1324-1881, I, secolele XIV-XVI*, București, 2001, p. 713-720.

¹⁸ Н. П. Василенко, *ор. cit.*, plate 4.

²⁰ He is the hero of Taras Shevchenko's poem *Ivan Pidkova* (1839), as well as the Romanian writer Mihail Sadoveanu's novel *Nicoară Potcoavă* (1952).

Myrhorod, in 1649. His son, Ephrem, was on his turn the father of the *polkovnyk* Pavel Apostol, and subsequently grandfather of the renewed hetman Danylo Apostol (1659-1734), himself initially a *polkovnyk* in Myrhorod. Even a prince of Moldavia, Gheorghe Duca (1665-1666; 1668-1672; 1678-1683), was appointed by the Ottoman sultan as 'hetman of the Ukraine', initiating in 1680 a systematic colonization of Transnistria with Moldavians.

The most important migrations of the Moldavians in the Russian territories occured in the time of Peter the Great. Even since 1707, a certain Apostol Kigech enrolled the tsar's army, being proposed to command the 'flag' of the 'volochs'. Because of their insufficient number the initiative was abandoned, however eventually reconsidered in 1736, when the prince Constantin Cantemir was appointed as head of this type of regiment. The 1711 defeat of the allied Russian-Moldavian forces on the Prut River determined a massive migration to the East. On August 5th of the same year, in his letter to the governor of Kyiv, the count Gavrila Ivanovich Golovkin (1660-1734) mentioned 4000 people escaped with prince Demetrius Cantemir, including about 40 names of boyars. In the same time, during the inspection of the irregular forces enrolled in the Russian army, the field marshal count Boris Petrovich Sheremetev (1652-1719) found four 'volosh' regiments, each with a number of 700 men. These were ordered to return in Moldavia, exception being made for two regiments, each having 274 men, commanded by Filip Petrovich Apostol-Kigech and Vasile Tanski, which were annexed in Kyiv to Sheremetev's army corps²¹. By order of the tsar, on the same 1711 August 5th, accompanied by 200 dragoons, Demetrius Cantemir left Mohyliv upon Dniester to reach Kyiv, where he arrived at August 20th. After two weeks of restfulness, the convoy - including dozens of Moldavian families - went to Kharkiv, arriving there in the last days of October.

Besides another great scholar of the 17th century, Nicolae Spătarul, known as Milescu, forefather of the Spafarevichs, the erudite prince Demetrius Cantemir was maybe the most notorious Moldavian emigrant in the Russian Empire. Tsar Peter appointed him a 'serenissime' prince, and

²¹ V. Țvircun, *Dimitrie Cantemir în Rusia*, in A. Eșanu (coord.), *Dinastia Cantemireștilor. Secolele XVII-XVIII*, Chișinău, 2008, p. 229.

entrusted him with the state affairs. The Cantemirs got a privileged position, concluded matrimonial alliances with prominent families of the Russian aristocracy, such as the Trubetskoys, the Golovines, the Lobanov-Rostovskys and the Golitsyns²². Finally, their influence upon the growth of the Russian culture was considerable, prince's Dimitrie son, Antioh, being considered as one of the founders of the modern Russian literature. Although integrated in the life of the Empire, the Cantemirs still conserved their links to Moldavia. The above mentioned prince Constantin Cantemir, commander of the 'Volochs' regiment of 1736 and first cousin to prince Antioh, was a pretender to the Moldavian throne. But, as a consequence of "running from this land" (as mentioned into a legal document of the time), his estates were confiscated, and even in 1775, his son-in-law, the Wallachian great vornic Pantazi Câmpineanul, didn't succeed to be reinstated as successor in his rights (Grigore Alexandru Ghica, then prince of Moldavia, concluded that "the fortunes of the rebels, are by law a princely property")²³. The last male descendant of the family in Russia, the colonel prince Demetrius Cantemir, wrote in 1772 to the field marshall count Petr Aleksandrovich Rumiantsev-Zadunaiskii (1725-1796) mentioning that his father, prince Constantin, had left Moldavia in 1736 to settle in Russia²⁴. Then, in 1809, during the Russian military occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, the same Demetrius addressed a letter to Sergey Kushnikov, president of the Divan of the Principalities, claiming to be reinstalled in the property of his ancestral Moldavian estates, "these domains and villages that used to belong from ancient time to my

²² Regarding these alliances, reference in: A. Eşanu, V. Eşanu, *Doamnele şi descendenţii lui Dimitrie Cantemir*, in A. Eşanu (coord.), *Dinastia Cantemireştilor. Secolele XVII-XVIII*, Chişinău, 2008, p. 453-462, 478-485, 490-492. So, Anastasia Ivanovna Trubetskaya (1700/1705-1755), was the second wife of Demetries Cantemir, the marriage occurring in 1720. Two of the sons of the latter, Matei (1703-1771) and Constantin (1705-1747), married the princess Agrafena Yakovlevna Lobanova-Rostovskaya, respectively the princess Anastasia Dmitrievna Golitsyna. Finally, the only daughter issued from Demetrius Cantemir's second marriage, Smaragda-Ecaterina (1720-1761), took as husband the prince Dmitri Mikhailovich Golitsyn.

²³ SJIAN, Colecția Documente, CDXII/189.

²⁴ S. Zotta, Despre neamul Cantemirestilor, in IN, 9, 1931, p. 25.

ancestors, and that were left in 1736 <in Moldavia> by my father". This second Demetrius Cantemir died in Kyiv, in 1820.

The coat of arms of the Cantemirs has two versions. The version actually used by Demetrius Cantemir (Fig. 7) and the posthumous one, based upon the first and popularized through the 18th - 19th century English and German prints of his works (Fig. 8). This second version was used by his Russian-settled descendants, as it appears - for instance - upon the engraved portrait of the princess Smaragda (Ecaterina) Galitzine, born Cantemir (1720-1793), work of the French artist Robert Gaillard (Fig. 9). Almost all the elements are to be found on the first version of the arms -'Moldavian' - which was conceived according to the local taste and understanding of the heraldic phenomenon: in the center is the Moldavian aurochs head, accompanied by the scepter and the sword (as symbols of the princely power), encircled by two amphipteres (figures that can be considered as a hint to the very probable Tartarian ancestry of the prince)25, and finally two shaking hands (that were interpreted as a Masonic symbol). The two lions are the traditional supporters of the Moldavian princely coat of arms. The second version - 'Russian' conceived according to the European rules of heraldry, however never registered in the Armorial of the Noble Families of the Empire, contained in addition the Russian imperial eagle, as well as the Wallachian eagle (Demetrius Cantemir's first wife, Casandra, was the daughter of Şerban Cantacuzino, prince of Wallachia between 1679-1688).

Other mentions about the Moldavian families migrated to the East are to be found in the Alexander Polovtsov's Russian Biographical Dictionary (Русский биографический словарь), a monumental work published between 1896-1918, as well as in other genealogical works.

Thus, the Bantăş-Kamenskys²⁶ were relatives to the princes Cantemir, through the third marriage of Constantin Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (1685-1693), to Anița Bantăş, from a family that is recorded starting with

²⁵ T.-R. Tiron, Au carrefour des traditions héraldiques. Les armoiries des Cantemir, in RRH, LIII, 2014,1-4, p. 161-162.

²⁶ РБС, t. 2, p. 468<u>.</u>

the vornic Nicoară Bantăş, in 1580, then great spătar in 159727; they were the parents of prince Demetrius Cantemir. The genealogy of both lineages was approached by prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824-1896), himself a descendant of the Cantemirs' blood, because of the marriage between prince Demetrius's son, Matei (1703-1771), to the princess Agrafena Iakovlevna Lobanova-Rostovskaya (1708-1772). From his genealogy of the Bantas, as well as from the pedigree compiled by Nicolae Bantăş-Kamensky in 1783, it appears that the children of Anița's sister, Anisia, migrated to Russia in 1717. One of them, Sofia, had two sons: Nicolae, who went in 1711 in exile with his mother, and respectively Ion; the latter returned to Moldavia and eventually became a monk under the name Evloghie. Remained in the Russian Empire, Nicolae Bantăș (1709-1739) married to Anna, daughter of Stepan Zertis-Kamensky (1660-1722), a Moldavian-born Greek, translator to hetman Mazepa. Nicolae Bantăș obtained from Peter the Great a charter for land in Iziumsk district, and the son of this, also called Nicolae, carried on the names of his ancestors, in the formula 'Bantăş-Kamensky'. His family was inscribed in the noble book of the Moscow government, with mention that its members also possessed land in other governments (Kharkiv, Kherson, Bessarabia and Voronezh).

Nicolae Bantăş-Kamensky²⁸ was born in Nizhyn, on 1737, December 16th. He studied at the Academies of Kyiv and Moscow, then at the University of Moscow, having as colleague the future prince Grigory Aleksandrovich Potemkin-Tavrichesky (1739-1791). During his years as a student, Nicolae translated Voltaire's *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand* (1761), the first part. In 1765, he was appointed as deputy director of the Archives of the Council of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. Under the coordination of the historiographer Gerard Friedrich (Fedor Ivanovich) Miller (1705-1783), he catalogued and transcribed the old documents which were improperly preserved. He signed several works: in

²⁷ Şt. S. Gorovei, *Cantemireștii. Eseu genealogic*, in *RA*, L, 1973, XXXV, 3, p. 481-510. Anița Cantemir was daughter to Dumitrașco Bantăș of Costeni (Neamț district), and nephew to Constantin Bantăș, commander of Neamț fortress between 1656-1665. About the latter, reference in: N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova. Sec. XIV-XVII*, București, 1971, p. 342-343.

²⁸ *РБС*, t. 2, p. 468-471.

1766, six treaties on historical-diplomatic issues for the empress Catherine the Great, in 1780-1784, an approach of the collection of diplomatic documents, then a history of the foreign relations between 1727-1738, the evolution of the relations between Russia and China between 1619-1792 etc. In 1800, Nicolae Bantăş-Kamensky was appointed director of the Archives. Facing the 1812 French occupation of Moscow, he collected all the archives material in 105 cases, that he rescued to Vladimir and then to Nizhny-Novgorod (the collection were returning to Moscow in 1813, taking place in the untouched building of the Archives). Nicolae Bantăș-Kamensky died on 1814, January 20th. The documents systematized by him were partially edited between 1841-1860, and then published as a definitive edition, between 1894-1902. It is interesting to notice that he received the Order of Malta (as testimonied by his portrait), probably after the protection of this was assumed, in 1798, by tsar Paul I. Thus, Nicolae Bantăș-Kamensky appears to be the first member, of Moldavian blood, to this ancient chivalric organization.

Known as 'historian of the Little Russia', the son of Nicolae, Dimitrie²⁹, was born on 1788, November 5th. Brought up under the surveillance of his father, he collaborated with him, for a while, at the Archives of the Council of Foreign Affairs. Delegated in 1808 to Serbia, he related his voyage to the South in his 1810' *Travel through Moldavia*, *Wallachia and Serbia*. In 1816 he is appointed military governor of the Little Russia, to which he dedicated, six years later, a four-volume history. Between 1825-1828, respectively 1836-1838, he was appointed governor of Tobolsk and of Vilnius, affirming himself of a promoter of modernization. Distinguished man of culture, researcher and translator, Dimitrie Bantăş-Kamensky died at 1850, January 25th.

It is important to notice that besides the Russian branch of the family, the intellectual qualities of the family were equally shared by the descendants returned to Moldavia³⁰. The above-mentioned Ion Bantăş (about 1705-1773), later known as monk Evloghie, was a teacher at the Princely Academy of Iaşi. Ion Bantăş must have also been to Russia in 1717,

²⁹ *РБС*, t. 2, p. 460-468.

³⁰ L.-V. Lefter, Evloghie dascălul și fiul său, Gheorghe, traducători și copiști pentru mănăstirea Putna, in AP, III, 2007, 1, p. 87-108.

together with his mother and brother, and he studied the Slavic, before returning to Moldavia. One of the sons of Evloghie, named Gheorghe Evloghie, was also a teacher at the Princely Academy in Iaşi, being known by his Russian relatives as 'Gheorghe Bantăş'. He died about 1790. The two teachers, father and son, were famous translators from Slavic to Romanian, certifying lots of old Mediaeval papers, number of them coming to today's researchers only through their translations.

Following the request of Iacov Putneanul, metropolitan of Moldavia, they translated the *Lives of the Saints*, resulting five volumes still conserved at Putna Monastery, in the North of Moldavia. This was the first translation of this work into Romanian, including, also for the first time, a synthesized version of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph³¹. During the 18th century, knowledge of the Slavic in Moldavia had become the attribute of scholars. Instead, understanding the Greek got more important, and the translations to Romanian notably increased. In this respect, the translation made by Evloghie and his son Gheorghe had a certain contribution to the development of the Romanian language.

The family coat of arms appears in the *Armorial of the Noble Families* of the Empire (Fig. 10)³². The shield combines an equestrian figure (1st quarter), the Moldavian aurochs (2nd quarter), and the charges of the Polish herb Sulima, born by the Kemenskys (3rd quarter) – mentioned in the list of herb's families, under the variant 'Kamiński'³³. If the lower half of the shield depicted the arms Sulima, probably that the upper half depicted the heraldic 'patrimony' connected to the Bantăş family: the aurochs, because of their kinship with princes Cantemir, and this curious rider of the 1st quarter, maybe depicting an ancestor of the family.

Coming also from Moldavia, a family named Caraiman (Kulikovsky) belonged to the group of the boyars that joined Demetrius Cantemir in his exile. Procopie Caraiman-Kulikovsky was a *polkovnik* of the regiment of Kharkiv, receiving from Peter I several villages for his services. One of his

³¹ N. A. Ursu, *Prima traducere românească a versiunii comprimate a romanului* Varlaam și Ioasaf din Viețile Sfinților, in Cronica, Iași, XXX, 1995, 24 (1428), p. 7.

³² *OΓ*, t. 4, nr. 138.

³³ K. Niesiecki, J. N. Bobrowicz, *Herbarz polski*, t. VIII, Lipsk, 1841, p. 564-565.

sons, Constantin, was killed by the Zaporozhian cossacks in 1719, and the other, Iurie, was confirmed as owner of his paternal estates.

The family coat of arms appears in the *Armorial of the Noble Families of the Empire* (Fig. 11). The shield displays a complex composition, having in the center three armoured legs (that may have been inspired by the Polish herb Drogomir), at the lateral parts a *cornucopia* and a garb of wheat (probably alluding to some agricultural occupation of the descendants), and in the upper part the Moldavian aurochs head, between two groups of celestial symbols. Should it be a hint to the migration of the family from Moldavia, as a territory under Ottoman rule? It is certain that the presence of the Moldavian aurochs is explainable only as a geographic and ethnic symbol, and not as a genealogical one. Last but not least, the presence of the three legs is explainable, because a family Kulikowsky is listed in the herb Dragomir³⁴. However, because of the much differenced appearance of the arms, this must have not been the same, but a homonymous lineage to the one migrated to Russia³⁵.

To the same ethnic group belonged the captain Toader (Feodor) Vreme (Russified as *Vremev*), equally come from Moldavia. In 1711, he had sworn his oath of allegiance to the tsar, receiving thus the right to the Russian perpetual citizenship. Some members of the family considered themselves to be descendants of both Toader and Mihail Vremev, the latter come from Moldavia in 1715.

The family coat of arms appears in the *Armorial of the Noble Families of the Empire* (Fig. 12). The shield displayes, in its upper half, the Moldavian aurochs head, a symbol reflecting the geographical and ethnic background of the family. The crescent and the sword from the quarters of the lower half of the shield are maybe an illustration of the anti-Ottoman conflict that caused the Vremevs' migration to the Empire. Although quite common for the Russian noble arms with supporters, the two lions may have connection with the heraldic lions of Cantemirs³⁶.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, t. III, Lipsk, 1839, p. 400-401.

³⁵ *OΓ*, t. 10, nr. 112.

³⁶ *OΓ*, t. 9, nr. 128.

The lineage Herescu (Russified as *Heraskov*), was also coming from the 'principality of the Volochs'. A captain Udrea or Andrei Herescu, nephew of the *postelnic* Constantin Herescu from Wallachia, belonged to the group that accompanied Toma Cantacuzino, great *spătar* of Constantin Brâncoveanu, prince of Wallachia (1688-1714). Commander of the Wallachian cavalery in 1711, Cantacuzino disobeyed his orders and moved with his men in the Russian-Moldavian camp, settling afterwards in the Empire and becoming a major-general at the command of a Cossack army. Andrei Herescu's grandson, the writer Mihail Matveevici Herascov, called 'the Russian Homer', was born at Pereyaslav on 1733, October 25th and died at Moscow, on 1807 September 27th. Student of the University of Moscow since 1755, he became its rector in 1763. He is known for his 1757 poem *Fruits of science*, as well as for his 1758 tragedy *The Nun of Venice*.

The family coat of arms appears in the *Armorial of the Noble Families* of the Empire (Fig. 13). The composition must have been made in the same time with the achievement of the Ofrosimovs, the eagle and dragon fighting scene being similar. This time, the eagle keeps a cross in its beak, and has the true appearance of the 'Aquila Wallachica' (in profile, wings displayed and reversed, head turned), sun and crescent included. As a whole, the arms are the same with those of Wallachia, exception from the colors of the shield³⁷.

A typical illustration of the Moldavian 1711 migration is the Abaza family³⁸. *Vornic* of Botoşani in 1676, Ilie Andrei Abaza swore allegiance to the tsar in 1711, May 25th. He went to Kiev, together with Ilie Merescu, then with the tsar to Moscow. Although he had already been settled in the Russian Empire, his sons, who served as *rotmistrz* in the 'landmilitia' of Kharkiv, were married to Moldavian boyar daughters. Luchian married Elena, daughter of Chiriac Sturdza, Ivan married Alexandra, daughter of Gheorghe Moţoc, Eustafie married Xenia, daughter of Ştefan Cazimir. Also, his two daughters were equally married to Moldavians, both *rotmistrz*: Maria to Feodor Ilyich Merescu, and Ana to Feodor Apostol Kigheci. The

³⁷ *OΓ*, t. 2, nr. 134.

³⁸ S. Bacalov, *Activitatea militară a unor moldoveni în Rusia. Cazul neamului Abaza*, in *Cohorta. Revista de Istorie Militară*, 2, 2013, p. 28-52 (with a bibliography on the family at note 3).

next generation also concluded similar marriages, with members of other Moldavian families.

Apparently, the Moldavian heraldic symbol is to also be found in the coat of arms of the Abazas. In fact, this is a variant of the Polish herb Pomian, displaying a buffalo head and not an aurochs one. The family does not appear in the list of the herb's bearers, and maybe this was already used by the family because of the similarity with the Moldavian coat of arms 39 . The coat of arms of Aleksey Abaza, captain of 2^{nd} rank, was inscribed in the *Armorial of the Noble Families of the Empire* (Fig. 14) 40 .

In 1711, a certain Dicescul⁴¹ went from Moldavia to Kharkiv, but returned then to Moldova. However his son, the *comis* Iancu Dicescu, returned to Russia in 1739 and settled in the Kherson region. Iancu's grandson, Arsenie, got the rank of second major (1777) and married the daughter of the lieutenant-general Ioan Nicoriță, descendant of the Moldavian *hatman* Nicoriță (another refugée from the group of Demetrius Cantemir) who was killed by the Turks. The son of Arsenie Dicescul, Ioan, captain in the navy during the Russian-Turkish War of 1806-1812, was the grandfather of Pavel Viktorovich Dicescul (1837-1909), a known politician from Bessarabia.

The latter petitioned for a grant of arms. Listed in the *Armorial of the Noble Families of the Empire*⁴², the coat of arms Dicescul displays, into a shield per fess, the heraldic horse-shoe of the family, completed in the upper half by a version of the historical arms of Moldavia, differenced through the colors and the absence of the star between the horns of the aurochs head (Fig. 15)⁴³.

³⁹ K. Niesiecki, J. N. Bobrowicz, *Herbarz polski*, t. VII, Lipsk, 1841, p. 373-374.

 $^{^{40}}$ $O\Gamma$, t. 15, nr. 109. The coat of arms received the high imperial confirmation on 1892, October 28th (kind notice of Dr. Silviu Andrieş-Tabac, after the original preserved in Российский Государственный Исторический Архив, Ф. 1343, Оп. 49, Д. 1).

⁴¹ D. Poştarencu, *Nobilii basarabeni Dicescu*, in *Tyragetia*, IV (XIX), 2010, 2, p. 25-35; S. Andrieş-Таbас, *Герб рода Дическул*, in *Гербоведение*, II, 2012, p. 81-91.

⁴² *OΓ*, t. 19, nr. 91.

 $^{^{43}}$ С. Андриеш-Табак, *Герб рода Дическул*, in *Гербоведение*, t. II, 2012, p. 81-91. The coat of arms received the high imperial confirmation on 1910, February 22^{nd} (the

In the Kharkiv region also settled the families Buzescu, Gredescu, Herescu and Merescu, obtaining estates in Kupiansk district. The descendants of the boyars migrated in 1711 may be found here until the 20th century. At the Svecenaia estate was born Nikolay Andreyevich Gredescul (1864-1941), who graduated the Faculty of Law of Kharkiv, obtained his doctorate at Kazan, and became a member of the first Duma. Bearing the name of a historic Wallachian family, the scientist Vladislav Petrovich Buzescul (1858-1931), was born at Popovca. He was a dean of the Faculty of History and Philology of Kharkiv, where he had completed his studies. Being a famous Hellenist, he became in 1922 a member of the Academy. Among his works one must note: Pericles (1889), The Athenian Politics of Aristotle (1895), The History of Athenian Democracy (1909), The World History and its representatives in Russia in the 19th and the early 20th century (two volumes, 1929-1931). The equally famous professor Ilia Ilici Mecinicov (1845-1916), known as vicepresident of Pasteur Institute of Paris, creator of the comparative embryology of the invertebrates, of the imunity theory etc., was also coming from the area of Kharkiv, being a descendant of the family of Nicolae Milescu-Spătarul (Mecinic)⁴⁴.

Finally, at the end of the 19th century, several families bearing Romanian-sounding names, were still listed in the 1897 calendar of the nobility in Kharkiv: Ionin, Afrosimov, Kossovich, Abaza, Bantăş, Vremev, Gredescul, Mecinicov, Apostol-Kigech, Hâjdeu, Moghilă, Proteanu etc. Most of these names may be found in the list of 105 families, drawn from the text of Ioan Neculce, Moldavian chronicler and dignitary to prince Demetrius Cantemir, himself went into exile. Many families returned to Moldova, while others, on the contrary, remained in the Ukraine, in the Kharkiv region, where they settled in 1711 and the subsequent years. The next major migration took place towards the end of the 18th century, namely at 1792, in the context of another Russian-Turkish War. Many prominent Moldavian great boyars went then to the East, some of them receiving estates in Transnistria: Ioan and Nicolae Cantacuzino, Emanuel Giani

original is preserved in Российский Государственный Исторический Архив, Ф. 1343, Оп. 49, Д. 528).

⁴⁴ S. Riga, D. Riga, Ascendența românească a unui laureat Nobel: Ilia Ilici Mecinikov, in Revista Română de Sănătate Mintală, 16, 2007, 3, p. 55-58.

Ruset, former prince of Wallachia (1770-1771), then of Moldavia (1788-1789) (who was burried in the St. Catherine cathedrale of Kherson, where he had died in 1794), Ilie Catargi, Scarlat Sturdza (the first governor of Bessarabia, 1812-1813), Ruxandra Mavrocordat, Anton Pascal, Ieremia Golescu, Ioan Nicoriță and many others.

*

"The Romanians gave Russia the main animators of the higher education" 45 wrote Gheorghe Bezviconi, referring to the accomplishments of Petru Movilă in Kyiv, of the Cantemirs at St. Petersburg, of Mihail Heraskov at Moscow. However, the connections are dating as far as the 15th century, as attested by the family roots of the Russian composer Sergei Rachmaninov, linked with the Moldavian oldest dynasty.

We must not forget the close connection of the largest Romanian emigration eastward with the region of Kharkiv. Here were settled, in the first stage, most of the families that came together with Demetrius Cantemir from Moldavia, from 1711 onwards. After the end of the Russian-Turkish hostilities, many families returned to Moldova in the years that followed, while others, on the contrary, were still coming from Moldova to the East, following the idea of the Russian and Orthodox release from the Ottoman rule. While serving the tsars, a large number of men were called in for the creation of Moldavian military units. Besides this, Moldavian settlers integrated themselves, through marriages, to nobility of the Empire. After two generations, they were almost completely assimilated into the local society. On the other hand, the Moldavian traditions could not be easily forgotten. Moldavians served their new country through sword and through pen, as militaries and men of culture, and when applying for coats of arms, they certainly mentioned their roots and officially obtained the authorization to bear the aurochs head, as a souvenir of their origin country.

⁴⁵ Gh. Bezviconi, *op. cit.*, 1941, p. 134.

ÎNSEMNĂRI GENEALOGICE ȘI HERALDICE PRIVIND FAMILIILE DIN MOLDOVA CARE S-AU STABILIT ÎN EST (SECOLELE XV-XVIII) (Rezumat)

Desfășurată în vara anului 1711, lupta de pe râul Prut, de la Stănilești, a reprezentat doar începutul șirului de războaie ruso-turce din secolul al XVIII-lea. Pentru istoria Moldovei, acest eveniment major a determinat exilul unor numeroase familii de boieri români pe teritoriul Imperiului Rus. Stabilite alături de principele Dimitrie Cantemir în Ucraina, la Harkov, pot fi numărate 105 familii românești, emigrate în intervalul 1711-1720 (40 de nume boierești), care formau o populație de vreo 4000 de persoane, conform unei liste publicate de Grigore Nandriș în 1953. Desigur, după o vreme, când s-au restabilit relațiile diplomatice, multe dintre familii s-au reîntors în Moldova. Cele rămase, în număr destul de mare, au format un regiment de husari moldoveni, precum la Izjum, ai căror urmași mai puteau fi regăsiți până la revoluția din 1917.

Începuturile peregrinării românești spre est sunt învăluite în legendă, începând cu Ștefan cel Mare, în secolul al XV-lea. Un urmaș al voievodului moldovean, Ivan Sused (Vecin) era considerat strămoș al nobililor Rahmaninov. Dintre numele celebre, alături de Dimitrie Cantemir, amintim mitropolitul Petru Movilă, apoi pe cărturarul Nicolae Spătarul (Spafarevici), numit și Milescu, stabilit în Rusia și neobosit călător până în China, în secolul al XVII-lea. În aceeași ordine de idei, amintim pe rudele principelui Cantemir. Nicolae Bantâș-Kamenski, a studiat la Kiev și Moscova, a fost director al Arhivelor Ministerului de Externe din Moscova începând cu 1800; poate fi considerat și primul membru de origine românească al ordinului de Malta, instituit de țarul Petru I la 1798. De asemenea, fiul acestuia, Dimitrie, guvernator la Tobolsk și Vilnius, este considerat "istoricul Malorusiei". Acești cărturari știau că au rude în Moldova, pe Ion Bantâș, călugărit Evloghie, și fiul acestuia, Gheorghe Evloghie, renumiți profesori la Academia domnească din Iași și traducători din slavonă în română.

Și alte familii moldovenești pot fi identificate între cele înnobilate de țarii ruși. Nu și-au renegat originea, iar capul de bour (stema Moldovei) sau acvila (stema Valahiei), se regăsesc în blazonul familiei lor. Alături de Bantâș-Kamenski, aflăm familiile Vreme (Vremev), Caraiman (Kulikovski), Herescu (Herascov) etc.

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Fig. 1. Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (1710-1711)

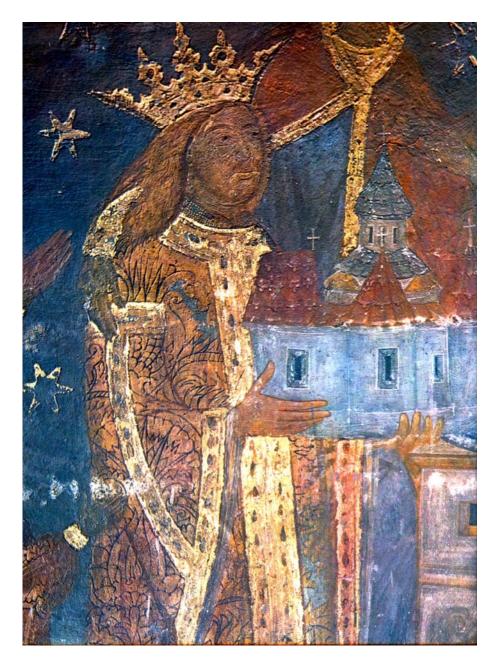


Fig. 2. Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia (1457-1504)

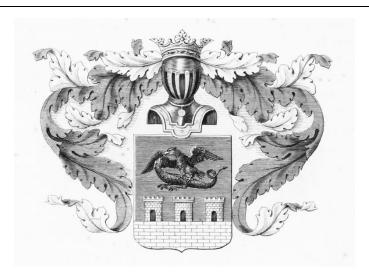


Fig. 3. The coat of arms of Ofrosimov family



Fig. 4. The coat of arms of Rachmaninov family

S A S



DELINEATIO.

EST Luna alba cornibus sursum obuería, aurei coloris stellas ad cornua tenens, medium Lunz, quatit sagitta cuspidine prægrandi, ad sydera directa, campus est sanguineus. Ex corona, pauonis cauda onerata per medium sagitta apparet.

ORIGO.

N Saxonia originem habuit ob excelfa merita & victorias triuniphales, quod lumina nocte lucenta, ipfa quoque fagitta exprimit. Inde in Vngaria post militaris tripudij pal-

Fig. 5a. The Polish herb Drag-Sas



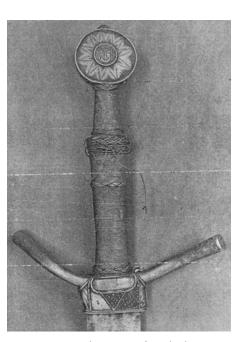


Fig. 5/b-c. Sword with the coat of arms of a member of the family of prince Dragoş



Fig. 6. Decoration of the Rahmaninovs' pedigree, with the fantasy portrait of a Moldavian prince (as ancestor of the family), as well the coat of arms of the Principality



Fig. 7. 'Moldavian' version of the coat of arms of Demetrius Cantemir



Fig. 8. 'Russian' version of the arms of Demetrius Cantemir (posthumously attributed)

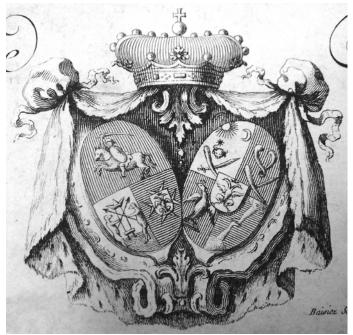


Fig. 9. Alliance coat of arms upon the portrait of princess Smaragda (Ecaterina) Golitsyn, née Cantemir (1720-1793)



Fig. 10. The coat of arms of Bantăş-Kamenski family



Fig. 11. The coat of arms of Kulikovski family



Fig. 12. The coat of arms of Vreme family



Fig. 13. The coat of arms of Heraskov family

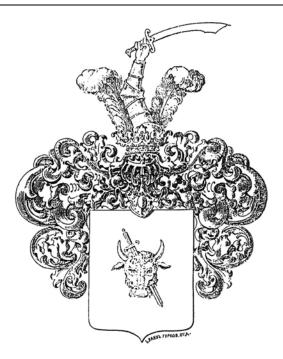


Fig. 14. The coat of arms of Abaza family

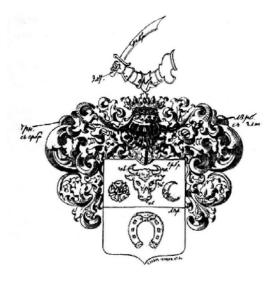


Fig. 15. The coat of arms of Dicescul family