



# On the separation of the Moldavian estates after the Bucharest Peace (1812). Several additions<sup>†</sup>

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Article info	Abstract
History:	After the occupation of Moldavia between the Pruth and the Dniester, the
Received September 8, 2018	Russian Empire imposed, through the Bucharest peace, to the estate owners to
Accepted September 13, 2018	choose within 18 months the country side where they would live. For a while,
Published May 7, 2019	the Romanians believed that the Russian army would retreat, like it happened
	beforehand, so they postponed making a decision until the fall of 1813, when
Key words:	they had to "separate" themselves from the estates to the left or to the right of the
Moldova	Pruth. Most of the great landowners chose to stay in Moldavia under Ottoman
Bessarabia	domination. Hence, proportionally, most of the estates sold were on the side
Bucharest Peace	of the country occupied by the Russian Empire. The way this process unfolded
1812	was reconstructed by Alexandru Lapedatu (1916), and the current paper brings
villages	a series of additions and clarifications, as well as a list, unpublished and unused
small towns	in the Romanian historiography, with 387 villages and parts of villages, from
	Moldavia left from the Pruth, sold or changed in the last two months of the
	year 1813 and in the first days of the year 1814. At the same time, this paper
	suggests, at a general level, the way the separation of estates and families led to
	the separation of Moldavia, but, at the same time, secondarily, this multitude of names of settlements and masters may be used, sometime in the future, to
	the elaboration of a historical and toponymic study of the localities from the
	left of the Pruth, following the model of the one elaborated for the localities on
	the right bank of the Pruth by the toponymy collective with the "A. Philippide"
	Romanian Philology Institute, coordinated by Prof. Dragoş Moldovanu.

# 1. Introduction

Upon analyzing the historical bibliography of Bessarabia, I noticed that in the last few years, there have been many discussions on the aspects before, during and after the year 1812, concerning Bessarabia, the entire Moldavia and the entire Eastern Europe. This small contribution does not claim such comprehensiveness, but it only wishes to be an attempt for analyzing why the free villagers and the monks separated from or held on to their estates, to their land, when the country's land was divided. Their land, the limits of their villages were their only reality, while the great border of the country was a rare sight, partly due to incompetent rulers, recruited among them or among foreigners, partly because the mindset of the time did not allow them to see it – only their children and grandchildren would get to see it better, and when they see it and understand it, they will weep. Is it still the case today?

Quite a while ago, not now, when two centuries had passed from the determination of the first border along the Pruth, thus separating the estates and what had been left from the country's land in two, long ago, several years after I understood that the Pruth could lose its bad reputation, of border between Romanians, I started collecting from various archives on the right side of the river documents and other brief accounts, in order to understand how the Romanians understood what had happened to them and to their country in 1812. Of course, small things are not enough to get a picture, because most of the times historical

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life is elsewhere, to paraphrase the title of a famous novel by Milan Kundera, namely in deeds and great historical places: wars and capitals, heroes and peace treaties, acts of bravery and villainous treasons. All of the above were merged in 1812 and much has been written about them and will be written for a long time, both good and bad. Fewer, but quality things have been written by the boyars and their estates, mostly on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the loss of Bessarabia (Iorga, 1912a; Lapedatu, 1916), while little has been written about monasteries and their estates. The scarcity of these studies is due both to the relatively small importance of the topic, and to the lack of systematic archive research, which led to the absence of themed collections of internal documents, to comprise the year 1812 and the subsequent years<sup>1</sup>. To them, it is worth adding the brutal injunction of politics in historical research, occurred in Kishinev, Iaşi and Bucharest after the Second World War. Besides some documents published by interwar historians (Aurel Sava, Constantin Tomescu, Leon Boga, Ştefan Berechet, Gheorghe Ghibănescu and others), here and there, and the histories of certain cities and villages and the histories of certain families, several documents "sieved", accounting for the way owners separated themselves from their possessions, both in the period 1812–1814, and in the subsequent years.

After the radical changes in Eastern Europe occurred in the late 1980s, the research on the 1812 moment also emerged and multiplied significantly, and the daily life of people could not escape the historian's insightful eyes. This historian, this time in this field, too, circumscribed to the tiresome archive research, belongs to the academia and higher education environment in the Republic of Moldova and to a lower extent (or at all) to the scientific environment in Romania, interested mainly in highlighting the great directions of the Romanian historical life, one of them being the general history of the Romanian space between the Pruth and the Dniester and even a little beyond. Among the historians in Bessarabia attached to the research of the historical beginnings of this side of Romanian country, become a Russian province—I remind Dinu Poştarencu (2006) and mostly Valentin Tomuleţ (2007; with the bibliography of the author's works), a thorough and valuable account of the Bessarabian social life in the first decades after the annexation, from an old lineage of Moldavian boyars, which he does not hesitate—reaching the peak of historical impartiality—to scold for the attitude, not always friendly, towards the working villagers on their side of the estates (Tomuleţ, 2007, p. 159–178)<sup>2</sup>.

#### 2. The separation of Moldavian estates from the left and right banks of the Pruth

Concerning the years 1812–1814, the relation between boyars and their estates was governed by Article VII of the Bucharest Peace, which stated that the Ottoman (Moldavian) subjects found when war was declared in Bessarabia or settled there during the hostilities to be able to retreat and to settle, if they wish, on the other side of the Pruth, being free to separate their assets and to emigrate with whatever they want to take within 18 months from the ratification of the treaty. Likewise, the boyars born on the left bank of the Pruth, but residing in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, could stay where they were, thus separating themselves from their Bessarabian estates, or they could return home, after selling their assets on the right bank of the Pruth and returning with usually small amount of money, seldom greater amounts (Manucbey may be such an example), in Kishinev or in other places to start a new life under the new ruler, this time around Orthodox (ADIRR, p. 299). This provision was meant to break the political and economic relations between the two parts of Moldavia situated on the middle and lower stream of the Pruth and it seems inspired—if we did not know that all empires adopt this measure when they dismount on the bank of a new river—from the measures adopted in the third part of the country, on the upper stream of the Pruth, torn apart one generation before from the country's body, after similar circumstances, where all the ingredients of diplomacy—ugly for the defeated and blessed for the winners—were fully experienced.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Recently, many documents from the period of the Russian occupation (1806–1812) were published and even republished: *Doc. Mold.* (2012); *Doc. Ţ. Mold.* (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>For the conflict between the inhabitants of the Lăpușna small town and the boyar Iordache Tomuleț, see also Sava (1935a, 1935b).

The very short term ("interval") for option, one year and a half (until January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1814), "looked like an expropriation" (Iorga, 1938, p. 204), given that numerous people and estates had to define their status.

In order to prevent some—few, actually—from making a connection between the limit of their estate and the border of the country, between selling their family home and losing their country, the Russians, through general Harting, hid the provision of point *VII. A son-in-law of a Moldavian boyar* (Bezviconi, 1936, p. 16–109); the Russian general or someone else in his suite failed to keep this important point a secret for long. This point touched one of the important milestones of the road—still foggy—leading to the conscience of distinct ethnic and religious group and to patriotism. Hence, almost immediately, a great delegation of deputies—led by two of the greatest boyars of a country wish small political men, the great chancellor Constantin Balş and Costache Ghica—left for Bucharest to have the war tasks mitigated and to discuss the issue of the estates on the other bank of the Pruth, seeking to obtain for the owners at least the rights they had benefited from after losing Bukovina (Rosetti, 1909, p. 37–38). I believe that for many of the great boyars, the incommensurable wealth gathered by one of them—Iordache Rosetti Roznovanu, precisely due to such a deal with exchanges of "Austrian and Turkish" estates, as they were called—was a reference point, and the context in which he obtained it could be repeated. The Moldavian delegation solved nothing from this perspective, while concerning the first, the Russians had mercy and they reduced some of the burdens for Moldavia, in both cash and kind.

Seeing that the new master is deaf, though the same songs were chanted in churches, sometimes singing the same words, the boyars resigned themselves and they only made attempts to remind the former master - the Ottoman Empire, which became ruthless and indifferent—through the loyal and feeble servant sent as "bey" but claiming to be prince, namely Scarlat Calimachi, that their food and the food for the capital of the rest of Moldavia, Iași, no longer come from the other side of the Pruth, and famine was just around the corner (Iorga, 1912b, p. 157–158). The tough economic measures adopted by the Russian administration on the left bank of the Pruth had a mainly political purpose, namely to divert the attention of the Moldavian boyars from the serious long-term issues of the country towards small problems concerning daily survival. In this context, the application of the 7<sup>th</sup> point of the peace treaty became pressing, because the situation of the estates on the other side of the Pruth got worse and worse. The great landowners who resided in Iași had to solve the great dilemma and, first of all, to choose on which side of the river they want to live and thus, to which mansions they have to give up. Nonetheless, though the provisions of the treaty proved to be implacable, they were not as such for the contemporaries, who still hoped things would turn for the better; that something good would happen to make the country whole again and to preserve the family heritage intact. Such hope was to no avail, even for the contemporaries, who had the example of Bukovina close by; they even began learning to pronounce its name.

The hope and rumours from Napoleon's campaign in Russia prolonged the moment set to make a choice (Casso, 1940; Goşu, 2008), thus, for a few months, until late 1812, only a few estates had been sold or exchanged. Furthermore, some of them were apparently estranged, according to Catinca Ghica, after the exchange made with her father-in-law, the treasurer Iordache Rosetti, to whom she gave her dowry estates on the other side of the Pruth and he received several of his estates "on this side of the Pruth, from the regions of Neamţ, Bacău, Putna, Botoşani, Hîrlău, Vaslui and the houses in Iaşi and vineyards". Here is what the owner's wife had to say: "I have hereby confirmed that this exchange has been made only with 'economy', thus it has no legal grounds, no power, because no legal documents were signed; there were only letters from my father-in-law, the treasurer; thus, such exchange is not valid; it is just a blank paper" (ANI, *Doc.*, 143/70; November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1812)<sup>3</sup>. At the same time, the elite kept on writing reports, meant to extend the term for deciding where to live in the future, where they complained that it was hard to find profitable solutions for selling the estates, and that it was sad to separate families into two branches, on the right and on the left of the Pruth. "We think of the fact that we will leave our ancestors' land, that we will divide

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Another sales contract, made with "economy", is the one through which the *căminar* Anastase Scorțăscu would have sold to the *căminar* several meters of the Măgureli estate, in the region of Iași, for which on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1813, the buyer admits that he "did not buy them or pay nothing for them" (BAR, *Doc. ist.*, CXXI/199).

our wealth and separate sons from parents, siblings and other relatives; some of us choose to leave on the other side of the Pruth, while others to remain on the estates here" (Lapedatu, 1916, p. 8). Besides reports, also benefiting from the experience of the Committee instituted by the Russians, in 1808<sup>4</sup>, to research the claims for the Moldavian estates taken by the Turks when they formed the *raya* of Hotin (1715), the great boyars founded a "Committee on the separation of the estates on the other side of the Pruth" (Iorga, 1995, p. 289). Their duty was to study and approve the sales and exchange contracts to be concluded and to judge the litigations to emerge after certain businesses. From this Committee, the documents arrived to the country's Divan. Then, for authentication, they were sent to the Russian Consulate in Iaşi, and finally to Department I of Bessarabia, from where owners obtained documents of continual property of the assets bought or exchanged.

With all this apparent lack of organization, chaos was the word that characterized the best the situation of Moldavia, and this state of spirit was the most accurately depicted by Manolachi Drăghici, in words often quoted from the moment they were written to this day, reason for which I will outline them again. "The Moldavian inhabitants believed for a long time that the Bucharest Peace was temporary and they waited every day to get back the land taken by the Russians and to restore the borders of their country, as they used to be, but they deluded themselves because they thought such status would help their particular interests, because they did not hurry to take energetic measures for the separation of the immovable wealth on the left bank of the Pruth, until the term arrived. At that point, they walked around full of confusion, not knowing what to do: some of those under Russian protection let go of it; some of those decided to remain in Moldavia said nothing and they concealed their actions to prevent from saying anything until the hour of the Pruth closure, in order to decide at the last moment what to do. But when the fatal day of Convention expiry came, after the treaty, when everyone had to decide where to live definitively, complaints poured, because people came in flocks on the bank of the Pruth, from one end to another, coming and going from villages and from small towns for weeks, saying goodbye from their parents, from their siblings and their relatives, with whom they had grown up and lived until time came to part ways forever" (Drăghici, 2017, p. 202–203).

People were indeed disoriented; many of them choosing the right bank of the Pruth, but their leaders did not leave the resolution of their heritage status for the last minute. Thus, after they failed in early November 1813 to obtain a postponement of the term stipulated by "the decision of the holy treaties concluded in Bucharest, in the year 1812, between the powerful kingdoms of Russia and the Ottoman Porte"<sup>5</sup>, the Metropolis of Moldavia and Suceava, the monasteries and the boyars increased the rhythm of the sales and exchanges of estates situated on one side and the other of the Pruth. Because few of the great landowners chose to live on the left bank of the Pruth and the Russian authorities founded a new ecclesiastical structure in the occupied territory, most real estate transactions concerned small towns, villages and parts of villages within the regions taken. Of course, there are also reverse transactions, but far more modest, where the selling or exchanging party—mostly among the "low boyars" (lorga, 1938, p. 205)—had to choose to live as subjects of the Russian tsar. Very few of the low boyars, whose estates were on the left of the Pruth, had other estate parts on the right bank<sup>6</sup>. A more common case is the one of a boyar's daughter married to some officer within the Russian army, who settled on the other side of the Pruth, in Kishinev or even farther, in Russia, and who sold the dowry from the parents<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Some of the documents resulted from the activity of this committee are stored in the archives of Iaşi, and some of those were used by my colleague Gumenâi (2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>A formula within the sales and purchase document, dated December 30<sup>th</sup>, 1813 (ANI, *Doc.*, 215/8). In other documents, the phrase "holy treaties" is replaced by "high treaties" (see for instance the document of December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1813; Lapedatu, 1916, p. 32, no. 12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Among them, Andrei Milu, who chose to settle on the right bank of the Pruth and sold to Constantin Catargi spatharus, on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1813, the Muncel estate, in the region of Roman (ANI, 0, 407/74).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>On June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1812, Caterina, the daughter of the deceased boyar Grigoraș Bașotă former high spatharus, the wife of Alexei Bolgovscoi the *polcovnic*, "upon deciding to relocate to Russia alongside my husband", she sold 20 houses of Gypsies (70 people in total), to an association comprising the spatharus Alecu Greceanul, the cupbearer Tudurachi Ciure and the *sulger* 

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On the contrary, sales and purchase documents and exchange documents of the particulars and institutions that preserved their residences where they were are much more numerous and some of them were even published<sup>8</sup>, some others not, some discovered, some others not, all pertaining to the last two months at the end of the year 1813. One of the first major exchange and sales documents was drafted up by metropolitan Veniamin Costachi, on November 18th, 1813, and by Alexandru Anastase former great serdar, through which the first gave some estates of the Metropolis and an estate of the monastery of Pîngărați on the other side of the Pruth and he received the estates on this side of the Pruth of the serdar, along with the amount of Lei 62,000 (Lapedatu, 1916, p. 26–27, no. 7)<sup>9</sup>. From the estates on the other side of the Pruth, a part of the domestic monasteries were also separated, while all the monasteries dedicated to the Holy Land, after a moment of confusion, when they hasted and started to sell their possessions (Lapedatu, 1916, p. 26-27, issue 8; the report of general Harting to the tsar, of December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1813), were advised to return, being allowed to keep managing them (Cazacu, 1992, p. 129). The differential treatment granted to the monasteries of Moldavia remained under Ottoman domination, mostly of those dedicated to establishments in the south of the Danube, constituted a bait thrown by the Orthodox power in the North for the clergy and the Orthodox believers in Moldavia and in the Balkans, which provided results only for the latter (Niță-Danielescu, 2017, p. 393).

However, the particulars who were clearly defined under Article VII of the Bucharest treaty were forced to obey; hence, they had to find in a terribly short time—the threat of the plague did not help<sup>10</sup>— ways to save through sales or exchange documents (true or false) something of the correct price of real estate wealth within the regions on the other side of the Pruth. Thus, from November 1813 to early January 1814, to the right and to the left of the Pruth there was a generalized "real estate fair", all inclusive: winners and losers, good prices and mostly bargains, newly enriched and newly pauperized, tears and shouts of joy, briefly and coldly collected in the list of "the document of the estates bought in the region of Bessarabia, comprising the names of villages and the region they pertain to, and the name of sellers and buyers", of February 1814, which I publish here (see the *Annex*).

The list as it was preserved comprises 387 villages and parts of villages, disseminated in all the regions of Moldavia from the left of the Pruth. The abrupt end of the six-page "notebook" preserved seems to show that the list had one or maybe two more pages, lost since, which would mean there are still a couple dozen settlements. The fact that the list may have had a couple extra pages is also proven by a series of published documents, comprising villages that are not included in the *document* preserved. Anyway, the list preserved comprises half of the villages within the region of Bessarabia, if we consider the number of 685 villages and 17 small towns, provided by Ion Nistor (1991, p. 179)<sup>11</sup>. Besides the list, should their

<sup>8</sup>The largest group of documents was published by Lapedatu (28 documents, dated from September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1812 to May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1814; 1916, p. 15–48). In addition, an interesting document, through which Ioniță Bașotă, settled in Bessarabia, gathers estates by purchase and exchange from Grigoraș Sturza treasurer, from the ban Ioan Vîrnav and from Dimitrie Bogdan (with the last one he made the deal for Lei 292,000), was published by Georgescu-Vrancea (1934, p. 175–180).

<sup>9</sup>For the original document, see ANI, 320/79; see also the two documents of December 1813, which clarify certain details of the transaction (Lapedatu, 1916, p. 27–29, issues 9–10).

<sup>10</sup>BAR, *Doc. ist.*, CXIV/151 (of February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1814, prince Scarlat Calimachi ordered a "line of guards, from Siret to the mountain, up to Vrancea, to protect against the plague").

<sup>11</sup>A generation before, without the villages of the Hotin *raya*, Moldova, the regions on the left bank of the Pruth counted around 500 villages, according to the Russian censuses of 1772–1773 and 1774 and to the "register of taxpayers" of 1803 (Dmitriev, 1973, p. 46–47, 64).

Ianachi Adam, for Lei 15,459. It is interesting that the occupations of the Gypsies show who had to do the jobs on a noble estate, because they included: a tailor, a belt-maker, two shoemakers, two coachmen, a blacksmith, a furrier, a baker, three violinists and a cook (ANI, *Doc.*, 344/73). On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1812, Caterina sold the estate of Vlådeni, in the region of Hîrlău, for the same reason, with 30 villagers, a church, a bar and an eating place to Iordache Catargiu former high spatharus, for Lei 60,050 (Lapedatu, 1916, p. 18–20, no. 1, 2). For the scandalous life of Ecaterina, who was, among others, the lover of the poet Pushkin, see the note of Mihai Dim. Sturdza (2004, p. 378). Then, on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1814, mayor Costandin Şainovici and his wife, Despina, the daughter of Tănase the infantry captain, sell to Mihalache Mavrogheni chamberlain a part of the dowry estate of Despina, Oroftiana, in the region of Herța, for Lei 6,000 (ANI, *Doc.*, 462/51). Mayor Şainovici built a house in Kishinev (Sava, 1933, p. 678–679).

possessions not be separated, the villages owned by the boyars who settled in Bessarabia, the villages of free villagers and the villages of monasteries. The information—comprised in this synthetic document—also mentions the owners of the villages and parts of villages in 1812, even though in some cases the owner may have changed between the moment of the occupation and the moment of sale or exchange, mostly due to the shift of ownership rights between the branches of the same family. And, at the same time, the document fails to mention the prices paid for these villages, on one hand because the parties did not quite wish to reveal them, on the other because many of the reported amounts had hidden stories behind them.

Without any other story than the tragic death of the Moruzi brothers (Iorga, 1910; Goşu, 1998), I mention the exchange of November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1813, through which the *comis* Ioan Balş took from Constantin Alexandru Moruzi and from the heirs "of princes Dimitrie and Panaitache", represented by the following vestrymen: Costache Ghica chancellor, Sandul Sturza hetman and Răducanu Roset hetman, the entire estate, Hotărniceni<sup>12</sup>, and the nearby estate, Molești (see also the *registry* below), giving them in exchange the following estates: Paşcani, in the region of Suceava, Ezăreni and Giulești, called Hodora, in the region of Hîrlău, and Conțești, bordered by the estate of Paşcani (this estate was "purchased definitively", for Lei 250 annually, from the monastery of Probota), along with the amount of Lei 40,000. The exchange was done, *comis* Balş states, with the consent of the ecumenical patriarch and pursuant to the "high command of separating, for the satisfaction of the creditors who will take from the house of the late princes Dimitrie and Panaitache, precisely pursuant to the holy treaties and to the confirmation of the higher orders, wishing to separate one side and the other from the estates of foreign domination" (ANI, *Doc.*, 340/48)<sup>13</sup>. The exchange really occurred, because on July 22<sup>th</sup>, 1814, the vestrymen auctioned, with the prince's consent, the estates on the right bank of the Pruth (ANI, *Doc.*, 143/75).

A true story is represented by the extraordinary—literally and figuratively—sales of estates, which occurred in a single day, on December 21<sup>th</sup>, 1813, the protagonist being the *comis* Alexandru Panaite. Among the documents drafted up at that point, following a similar form of chancellery, I discovered five, but there may be more, of course. The higher motivation of the sales and purchase action is expressed clearly: "pursuant to the orders issued by the administration, empowered by the power of the treaties for all those with estates and annexes, namely to the left bank of the Pruth, those residing on the right of the Pruth, those residing on the left bank of the Pruth, to be able to separate the assets until deadline, January 2<sup>th</sup>, 1814, using whatever means necessary to obey this order". And the immediate and main reason for which sellers had serious trouble finding buyers is similarly formulated: "they could by no means find good exchange deals, either to give or to receive, on the right of the Pruth".

Hence, knowing the buyer, I present the sellers, the villages and the amounts: Iordache Roset forner great treasurer, sells the small town of Briceni and the estates of Hrubna and Hrimancăuți, with common border, with the region of Hotin, as well as the small town of Soroca and the estate of Rublenița, with common border, with the region of Soroca, for Lei 550,000 (ANI, *Doc.*, 341/11 and 341/5)<sup>14</sup>; Neculai Roset former great spatharus sells the estates: Rădești, Șcheia, half of Mălești, half of Tăisăni, three parts of Trielești, "with common border, known as Sculeni", with the region of Iași, alongside "the quarantine from the left of the Pruth", for Lei 400,000 (ANI, *Doc.*, 341/10 and 341/4); the female spatharus Catinca Ghica sells the estates: Medvica or the small town of Lipcani, Crușăuți, Cîșla Zamgiului, Răsteul, Hlinaia and Coșuleni, with common border, with the region of Iași, Zăhăicani, Stolniceni, Stîngăceni and half of Hiliuți, with common border, with the region of Iași, the small town of Rezina and the estate of Tohnoaia, with common border, with the region of Iași, the small town of Rezina and the estate of Pașuțeni, with common border, with the region of Iași, Rănăicani, Stolniceni, Stîngăceni and half of Hiliuți, with common border, with the region of Iași, Tohnoaia, with common border, with the region of Iași, Rănăicani, Stolniceni, Stîngăceni and half of Hiliuți, stolniceni, border, with the region border, with the region of Rezina and the estate of Tohnoaia, with common border, with the region border, with the region border, with the region border, with the region and the estate of Tohnoaia, with common border, with the region of Iași, Zăhăicani, Stolniceni, Stîngăceni and half of Hiliuți, stolniceni, border, with the region border.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The estate of Hotărniceni was embedded in Moldavia in 1775 by Grigore Alexandru Ghica, who gifted it to his sons Dimitrie and Alexandru (Năstase, 1933, p. 318–322).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>The *comis* Ioan Balş also sold his estate on the right bank of the Pruth, which also comprised 74 Gypsy settlements (371 people). They were sold on December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1813, to magistrate Dimitrie Bogdan, for Lei 42,665 (ANI, *Doc.*, 606/34).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Originals, one featuring the buyer's signature and the other, the seller's signature; the three subsequent sales and purchase agreements are also doubles.

with the region of Orhei, Sărăteni, Avrămeni, Coromîslești, parts of Coropceni, parts of Hîjdăeni, parts of Ciocîlteni, with common border, the region of Orhei, Perieni, Măzărești, half of Roșcani, with common border, with the region of Orhei, for Lei 909,000 (ANI, Doc., 341/9 and 341/7); the female treasurer Anica Bogdan, wife of treasurer Iordache Roset, sells the estate of Sărata, in the region of Iași, for Lei 80,000 (ANI, Doc., 341/8 and 341/6). The total price, Lei 1,939,000! The hidden parts of these contracts come to light partially upon reading the clause featured in all of them, briefly or more elaborately. There it is, as shown in the sales agreement of the female spatharus Catinca Ghica<sup>15</sup>: "they will pay me in instalments, for twelve years, without any interest, and all the income from the estates will be given to me as interest for the money, minus the annual maintenance expenses for the estates". Because the aforementioned sellers were blood relatives, comis Alexandru Panaite issued in the same day a document where he acknowledges that he is only "the administrator and caretaker" of these estates, without showing that he would want to buy them someday (ANI, Doc., 143/74). This stands to show that the 12 years mentioned in the contracts proved to be only a cover-up and an "economy-based change", until "the country will be under an occupation or will change the occupation" (Lapedatu, 1916, p. 12, 23-24, issue 6)<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, it appears that these documents were not long standing<sup>17</sup>, partly because they are not mentioned in the list below and partly because, as early as the spring of 1814, some of the estates were claimed by the sellers again.

Another lucky buyer was the bread supplier Teodosie, who only a few days before the "18-month deadline", bought on December 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>, 1813 from Nastasia Roset—daughter of the late Neculai Roset chancellor and wife of the *ban* Costachi Razu, her dowry estates: Pripiceni, with the village of Dubna, half of Părcanile, half of Ciripcău, in the region of Soroca, for which the seller got the approval of her brother, Iordache Roset treasurer, for Lei 60,000 (ANI, *Doc.*, 215/8), and from Safta Costachi, daughter of magistrate Costandin Costachi and wife of the *comis* Teodor Sturza, the estates: Cunice, with annexes and with village, and a part of Hăsnășăni, with a pond and stone mill on Cobolta, also in the region of Soroca, for Lei 80,000 (ANI, *Doc.*, 462/50; Ghibănescu, 1914, p. 353–356). Previously, on December 1<sup>st</sup>, he bought from the vestrymen of the sultan prince Costachi Moruzi and from princess Ralu, the daughter of Alexandru Costandin Mavrocordat, the small town of Telinești, in the region of Orhei, for Lei 90,000 (ANI, *Doc.*, 191/61<sup>18</sup>; Costăchescu, 1930, p. 35). These sales really occurred and they are enumerated in the list below, and Teodosie the *pitar* took these estates into possession and through the will made on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1817, he left them to his children (Costăchescu, 1930, p. 145–147)<sup>19</sup>.

During the same days, the owners of estates from the left of the Pruth, who chose to live on the right side of the river, looked for ad-hoc solutions to solve the situation. One of these solutions, used on a large scale, is revealed by a document dated February 15, 1816, through which Teodor Balş former great magistrate, changes estates with Ioan Străzescu and his wife, Maria; the magistrate gives three parts of the estate of Trebujăni, on Ciuhur, in the regions of Hotin and Iaşi, "where the village of Horodiște is located", and he takes the fourth part of the estate of Ciurești and parts of the estates of Chilieni and Păcurărești, in the region of Tutova, which were the dowry of Maria, as well as Lei 12,000. But until that moment, Teodor Balş shows the following: "As a subject of the Ottoman Porte, pursuant to the holy treaties, I started separating estates and parts of estates, which I had received from my parents and from other relatives and which were located in the region of Hotin, shown in the auction documents, and I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Catinca Ghica was the wife of Nicolae Roseti-Roznovanu (ANI, *Doc.*, 341/13), from whom she divorced following an infamous suit; see also Rosetti, 1938, p. 121–122).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>On December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1813, Manolache Radu former great *serdar* gave to Enăcachi the treasury employee the estate of Lucăceni on the left of the Pruth, in exchange for the estate of Lucești, in the region of Tutova, parts of Buhăești and Comănești, in the region of Vaslui, and 5 acres of vineyard in Odobești, hoping that the treasury employee, being a merchant, will find a way to make profit from the estate in Bessarabia (ANI, *Doc.*, 413/54), but on January 1<sup>st</sup>, the parties made a new document, through which they show that they keep the documents of the estates, in order to annul the exchange, upon request (ANI, *Doc.*, 413/62).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>These estates are not listed among the possessions of the *comis* Alexandru Panaite (Bezviconi, 1943, p. 57).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>The document pertains to the archive of the Bessarabian historian Paul Gore, given to the National Archives in Iaşi.
<sup>19</sup>For the pitar Teodosie (Teodosiu), see also Bezviconi (1940, p. 145–147).

auctioned them; because the auction was published and nobody rose any claims, I managed to sell them to the subject of the Russian Empire, namely the *comis* Iancu Balş, as shown in the auction documents drafted up on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1813. The *comis* did not have money to pay upfront, we have agreed upon instalment-based payments, with interest, on a four-year basis". However, because for two years the *comis* made no payment, "I was forced to come in person here, in Kishinev, where in order to avoid any legal action I bought the estates and parts of estates and I became the owner" (ANI, *Doc.*, 210/1).

### 3. Conclusions

Besides the apparent or "shady" sales, mentioned above, several others are featured in the document I publish as follows, because some of the "sold" estates are featured in the 1817 land catagraphy of the localities in Bessarabia, owned by the residents of Moldavia on the right bank of the Pruth (Halippa, 1907)<sup>20</sup>. Nonetheless, taking into account that in this catagraphy the number of owners residing in Moldavia is very large, while the number of sales and purchase agreements and estate exchange in Bessarabia, starting with January 1814, is very small, this census may have recorded the owners before the sales and exchange wave in November–December 1813. After the beginning of the year 1814, the trepidation of "real estate fair" calmed down, and the process of noble estate "separation" for the estates situated on one side and the other of the Pruth only produces, over several years, only a few property seeking documents<sup>21</sup>, sales rearrangement documents<sup>22</sup>, compensation for the princely boyars in Moldavia for the lost estates in Bessarabia<sup>23</sup> or for apparent leasing of estates<sup>24</sup>.

All things considered, it may be concluded at a general level from the documents featured above and from the list below, that the separation of estates and families led to a breaking of the country but at the same time, secondarily, this multitude of names of settlements and masters may be used, sometimes in the future, to the elaboration of a historical and toponymic study of the localities from the left of the Pruth<sup>25</sup>, following the model of the one elaborated for the localities on the right bank of the Pruth by the toponymy collective with the "A. Philippide" Romanian Philology Institute, coordinated by Professor Dragoş Moldovanu.

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<sup>25</sup>As far as I now, the dictionary drafted up by Vladimir Nicu remained the only attempt of such type after the fall of communism Nicu (1991).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>This census was published fragmentarily and published by: Tomescu (1927), Porucic (1933), Teodorescu (1935, 1936, 1937, 1938), Mutruc (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>The same owner Catinca Ghica, after divorcing Neculai Roset, sought on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1817, to take possession of her dowry estates, on the left and the right side of the Pruth, from the vestrymen Dimitrie Sturza chancellor and Răducanu Roset hetman (ANI, *Doc.*, 479/25 and 143/83).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>On May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1817, Costandin Sturza former great aga sells to Gheorghe Potirachi major the estates of Vlădești and Brițcani, in the region of Greceni, "inheritance from his parents", left after dividing them with his brother, Ștefan Sturza spatharus, for Lei 110,000, through the administrator "Ioan Sturza former high spatharus, a subject of the Russian empire" (ANI, *Doc.*, 611/5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>On September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1814, the treasurer wife Zmaragada Balş, who receives from Scarlat vodă Calimachi 50 tax-exempted employees, because due to "the new border of Pruth, most of her estate, Zberoaia, in the region of Iaşi, which was her dowry, remained on the left side of the Pruth, while the people working for her, the village, the house and others remained on that side altogether" (ANI, *Doc.*, 462/59).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>In June 1826, hetman Iordachi Balş and his wife Anica Balş leased to the cupbearer Mihalache Chinezu, the income of their estates in the region of Iaşi, "in the region of Bessarabia": Dănuțăni, with the villages of Oişeni, Băileşti, Țuțora Nouă and Țuțora Veche, Vladnicul, with its villages, and Pîrliții, for four years, for Lei 3,000 per year; but who can tell how the lessee honoured his contract obligations given that he lived in Iași! (ANI, *Doc.*, 229/2).

ANB, *Doc. mold.* = Arhivele Naționale București, Documente moldovenești.

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# Appendix A. ANB, Doc. mold., XIII/12. Original, paper, 6 pages.

Document of the estates bought in the region of Bessarabia, comprising the names of villages and of their regions, and the names of buyers and sellers. February 1814

No.	Name of estate		Who sold	Who bought
1	Tudorenii			
2	Petreceuca		spatharus Iordachi Roset	· I 1D 1
3	Besăreca	in the region of Greceni		<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
4	Corcanii	-		
5	Cimișăni		1	
6	Roșcanii		administrator	1.0
7	parts of Cobusca de Sus	in the region of Orhei	chamberlain Costachi	<i>comis</i> Costachi Sturza
	and de Gios in Orhei		Haret	
8	Petricanii in Orheiu	-		
9	Vornicenii in the region			
	of Hotin			
10	Ghizdita	in the region of Soroca		
11	Vale Țarigradului	-		
12	Pustiul	_	magistrate Dimitrachi	
13	Micoreni with the		Bogdan	spatharus Ioniță Bașotă
	villages	in the region of Orhei		
14	Ţahnăuții with the			
	villages			
15	Holboca	-		
16	Şoltoae with the villages,		-	
	in the region of Iași			
17	Tîrteștii		-	
18	, Coplenii	in the region of Greceni		
19	from the estate of		ban Ion Vârnav	spatharus Ioniță Bașotă
	Ialovăț, 2 parts, in the			1 , ,
	region of Orhei			
20	Popornița			
21	Nicorenii, also called	-		
	Ochi Albu			
22	Corcotenii with the	in the region of Iași	treasurer Grigoraș Sturza	spatharus Ioniță Bașotă
	villages			
23	Răciula, with the villages	-		
$\frac{-25}{24}$	Aluniş, without village	+		
25	Dondășănii, with village	4		
26	Mărceștii in the region		the Metropolis of Iași	spatharus Ioniță Bașotă
	of Orhei			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

27	Corneștii, also called Cotelna, with the parts,		magistrate Dimitrii Ralet	collector of duties on spirits Zamfirachi Rale
	in the region of Lăpușna			
28	Căpreștii		spatharus Alexandru	Costandin Iofce great
29	Porcarii	in the region of Soroca	Mavrocordat	captain
30	Dărcăuții	· 1 · C		
31	Heleceu	same, in the region of	the Metropolis of Iași	<i>sardar</i> Alexandru
32	Braicăul	- Soroca	1 7	Anastasiu
33	Costuleni			-11 7 41 1
34	Prisăcani	in the region of Iași	same, of the Metropolis	still <i>sardar</i> Alexandru
35	Hăuleștii	, ,	din Iași	Anastasiu
36	, Morțăștii with the		spatharus's wife Safta	chamberlain's wife
	villages, in the region of		Bogda	Ghedeonovei
	Lăpușnii		8	
37	Văsienii			
38	Manoileștii			
39	Policenii	_		
40	Comăneștii	in the region of Orhei	spatharus Iancul Milcescu	spatharus Ioniță Bașotă
41	Vișnăei <sup>26</sup>		spanna as innear minesea	opullar ao rolliga Daço ta
42	Bețănii			
43	Mînzatu			
44	Volniceni, also called		<i>satrar</i> 's wife Ralița	school registrar Ianov
11	Potani, in the region of		Bosiiasa	sentoor registrar ranov
	Hotin		Dosnasa	
45	the fourth part of the			
4)	estate of Iurcenii, in the			
	region of Orhei			
46	Hulpeștii, in the region		cupbearer's wife	her son Costandin
40	of Iași		Paraschiva Iurașcova <sup>27</sup>	nei son Costanum
47	Hotărniceni, with all the		Taraseniva turașeova	
-1/	villages		the vestrymen D. Moruz	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
48	Moleștii			
49	Drojdieștii, in the region		aga Alecu Cantacuzino	Luca Estratiul
47	of Soroca <sup>28</sup>		aga Alecu Calitacuzillo	Luca Estratiui
50	Ochinceștii, in the		Rocsanda Roset	Chamberlain Iordachi
50	region of Soroca		spatharus's wife	Frunzăti
51				the inhabitants of
51	Şărbăneștu <sup>29</sup> , the 16 <sup>th</sup> part of the 4 <sup>th</sup> part		priest Pantelimon Petrachi	Bukovina; Iordachi Tăut
52	Fădcăuții with a 3 <sup>rd</sup> of		retiacili	
32	three original estates			and Gheorghii Savinschi
	( <i>bătrîni</i> ). These parts are			
	both in the region of			
	Hotin			
52	from Forosca the 32 <sup>nd</sup>			
53		in the next on -file:	Gheorghii Alexandri and	all mentioned above
5%	part Sănhăn anul	in the region of Hotin	Dumitru Luțchii	an mentioned above
54	Şărbănețul	H		
55	from Fătcăuți the 18 <sup>th</sup>			
5(	part $1 + 1 + 30 + 1$		.1. 1 2	· 7 ( 1 p 1
56	Modvaliche <sup>30</sup> , in the		the treasury employee's	caminar Zamfirache Rale
	region of Orhei		wife Catrina Cozmuliasa	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Probably: "Văsieni".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Uncertain reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> First the author wrote: "Orheiului", then he corrected it.
<sup>29</sup> Original version; probably: "Şerbinţi".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Original version; I did not find the names of villages in the village lists of the Orhei region.

57	the fourth part of Hrușevăț, in the region of Hotin		the colonel's wife Soltana Tălpoai	Dumitru Sălcian
58	Brătulenii			
59	Morăștii	-		
60	Negreștii	-	<i>pitar</i> Vasili Coroiu, with	the sons of Vasili:
61		in the region of loci		
	Horăștii	in the region of Iași	his sister, Iliana, given	Gheorghii and the girls,
62	Marcăru <sup>31</sup>	4	pursuant to the will	Zmăranda and Profira
63	Corneștii			
64	Hotineștii			
65	the 6 <sup>th</sup> part of Hădărăuți	in the region of Hotin	high steward Grigori To-	<i>sardar</i> Manolachi Radul
66	half of Măndăcăuți	In the region of riothi	mița and Costache Manole	saraar ivianoiacini Kadui
67	Miclăușăni			1
68	half of Trilești	in the region of Iași	Ion Scorțăscu	command captain Stroic
69	the fourth part of		Vasili Lână	lui Iordachi Morțun
0)	Ţinești, the region of		Vasiii Laila	iui ioiuaciii ivioițuii
	Hotin			1
70	the third of Dumeni, the		cupbearer's wife Nastasie	cupbearer Toma Stamate
	region of Hotin		Stamate	
71	Meșănii, in the region of		major Dănca	still Stamate
	Orhei			
72	Stăuceni, the region of		ban Ioniță Prăjăscu	still Stamate
	Hotin		, ,	
73	Criveștii			
74	Horghineștii	-		
		-		
75	Cărăpușăni	-		
76	Pepelenii	_		
77	Visternicenii			
78	Cotuleștii			
79	Pogribeni			
80	Băgrăneștii		11 . 1	1 1 1 1 1
81	Mărculeștii	in the region of Soroca	spatharus Alexandru	chamberlain Alexandru
82	Trepeteni		Ghica	Ghica
83	Floreștii	-		
84	Buneștii	-		
85	Săvirova	-		
86	Albeștii	-		
	Albestii			
		-		
87	Coșărnița	-		
88	Coșărnița Ciornița			
	Coșărnița Ciornița Solonețul			
88	Coșărnița Ciornița	-	<i>sardar</i> Isac Fedor	high steward Matei
88 89	Coșărnița Ciornița Solonețul		<i>sardar</i> Isac Fedor	high steward Matei Râșcanu
88 89	Coșărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca			Râșcanu
88 89 90	Coșărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the		cupbearer Costandin	e
88 89 90 91	Coșărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași		cupbearer Costandin Miclescu	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate
88 89 90	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of		cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi	Râșcanu
88           89           90           91           92	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei		cupbearer Costandin Miclescu	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii		cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93           94	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii	in the region of Grecenii	cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora spatharus Costandin	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii half of Rujăneț, called	in the region of Grecenii	cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93           94	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii	in the region of Grecenii	cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora spatharus Costandin	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93           94	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii half of Rujăneț, called	in the region of Grecenii	cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora spatharus Costandin	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93           94           95	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii half of Rujăneț, called Bîrlădeni Budeștii	in the region of Grecenii	cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora spatharus Costandin	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate
88           89           90           91           92           93           94           95           96           97	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii half of Rujăneț, called Bîrlădeni Budeștii Dumăneștii		cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora spatharus Costandin	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate spatharus Ioan Sturza
88           89           90           91           92           93           94           95           96	Coşărnița Ciornița Solonețul Ghinceștii, in the region of Soroca Fundurelile, in the region of Iași Țipirica, in the region of Orhei Vlădeștii Brețcanii half of Rujăneț, called Bîrlădeni Budeștii	in the region of Grecenii in the region of Orhei	cupbearer Costandin Miclescu spatharus Dumitrachi Jora spatharus Costandin	Râșcanu cupbearer Toma Stamate same, to Stamate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Original version; maybe a wrong spelling for: "Măcărești" (?).

101	Tîrșițăni, in the region			
	of Soroca		_	
102	Borzăștii, with other			
	parts, in the region of			
	Iași			
103	244 meters in Moruzăni	the region of Orhei	the vestrymen Catrini	same, to Cazimir
104	half of Crucești		Stăvilă	
105	Costurenii <sup>32</sup>		the vestrymen of Toader	
106	of Bălășăști, parts		Carp: collector of duties	cupbearer Toma Stamate
107	of Bîncicani, parts	within the region of Iași	on spirits Ioan Carp and	and <i>medelnicer</i> Andrieş
108	of Milești		captain Dumitru Carp	and meaniner maney
109	of Cobăești			
110	half of the estate of		collector of duties on	<i>medelnicer</i> Mandachi
	Cărpîța, in the region of		spirits Ioan Carp	Andrieș
	Iași			
111	Fedeștii	the region of Iași	magistrate Dimitrii Ralet	<i>sardar</i> Gheorghii
112	a part of Giulești	the region of fași	magistrate Dimitrii Raiet	Leondari
113	Telineștii	the marian of Ortheim	nun Zamfina Saantaaaa	collector of duties on
114	Dumeștii, also called	the region of Orheiu	nun Zamfira Scorțasca	spirits Panaite Cazimir
	Ghermanca			
115	Vărticăuții			11
116	Dresîții <sup>33</sup>	1 • Стт •	<i>sardar</i> Alexandru	same, collector of duties
117	Solonețul	the region of Hotin	Anastasiu	on spirits Panaite
118	Mihălășăni	-		Cazimir
119	Vădenii	the region of Orhei or	1	
120	Hudicenii	Lăpușna	same <i>sardar</i> Anastasiu	
121	Mărteștii, parts	1,		
122	Grebleștii, parts	in the region of Orhei		collector of duties on
123	Ghireștii, parts	and Iași	ban Toader Carp	spirits Panaite Cazimir
124	, Mirceștii, parts	,		
125	Vrăneștii		<i>caminar</i> 's wife Zoița	1 0
126	a part of Onteni	in the region of Orhei	Carp	also to Cazimir
127	a part of Galbăna		same	
128	Vătejăni		collector of duties on	
129	Năpadova	in the region of Soroca	spirits Costandin Carp	same, to Cazimir
130	a part of the estate of		same	same
150	Chetroasa, the region of		Sume	same
	Orhei			
131	Levinții			
131	half of the estate of	the region of Hotin	chancellor Iordachi	chamberlain Alecu Ghica
194	Balamutca		Canta	chamberiani miccu Onilea
133	the 4 <sup>th</sup> part of Tribisăuți	-		
$\frac{133}{134}$	Cărlăcău		spatharus Alexandru	
134	Romancăuți	the region of Hotin	Ghica	Vasili Roset
135	Salişca <sup>34</sup> , in the region of		Ginca	
1.30	Hotin			
137	the 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of Dănceni			
137	the 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of <b>Dulițeni</b>	in the region of Orba:	colonel Panaite Docan	Vasili Roset
138	the 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of Ulmeni	in the region of Orhei	coloner Fanalle Docan	v domi nuosel
139	1			
	Vărnăuții Vărnauții	the maxim of I I atim		
141	Vășcouții balf of Bîrlăn asti	the region of Hotin	magistrate's wife Zoița	high steward Matei
142	half of Bîrlănești		– Bălșoai	Râșcanu
143	Izvoarăle and Lozăni,			
	the region of Soroca			

<sup>32</sup>Or "Costuleni".
<sup>33</sup>Maybe: "Drevcăuți".
<sup>34</sup>Probably: "Seliște".

144	Perisăcina, the region of Orhei			
145	Tătărășăni	the region of Codru	sardar's wife Ilinca	
146	Bosîncenii	ule region of Court	Cantioai	
147	Şărpenii	the region of Orhei	spatharus Iordachi Ghica	Rucsanda Sturzoai
148	Pugăcenii	the region of Orner	spatnarus Iordachi Gnica	Rucsanda Sturzoai
149	Bîrnova and Cot(ul)		aga Alecu Ghica	the merchant from
	Soroca, the region of			Odesa, second rank,
	Hotin			Coțovschii
150	Măndăcăuții	al a maria a di Lasia	<i>sardar</i> Manolachi Radu	ann ta in Ian anl Dadal
151	a 6 <sup>th</sup> part of Hădărăuți	the region of Hotin	saraar Manolachi Kadu	captain Iancul Radul
152	Vărtăporul <sup>35</sup> , in the		collector of duties on	collector of duties on
	region of Hotin		spirits Costandin Negre	spirits Panaite Cazimir
153	a part of Cornești		Marie, wife of Toader	Tanda da: Danaya
154	a part of Coștoroh <sup>36</sup>	the region of Iași	Mărgărint	Iordachi Bantăș
155	Tîrnova	the region of Correspondence	Grigori Cugureni <sup>37</sup>	Ion Crâste
156	half of Briceva	the region of Soroca	0 0	1011 Craste
157	473 meters of Siliști, in		collector of duties on	collector of duties on
	the region of Iași		spirits Anastasii	spirits Zamfirache Rale
			Scorțăscu	
158	a part of Vărzărești	the market of Oak at	the vestrymen of boyar	same, Zamfirachi
159	half of Hoginești	the region of Orhei	Conachi	same, Zamfirachi
160	Sirota, the region of		ban Iordachi Drăghici	Zoe Dimitriu
	Orhei			
161	Bodeștii			
162	the 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of Zhorna,		same, Drăghici	lord steward Costachi
	the region of Soroca		_	Bucșănescu
163	Gîndeștii			
164	Buciumeni	the region of Codry	magistrate's wife Zoița	Vasili Crâste
165	Cordeșîia	the region of Codru	Balş	Vasin Craste
166	the 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of Toceni	-		
167	Cosăuții, in the region of		spatharus's wife	<i>comis</i> Alexandru Panaite
	Soroca		Prihirița <sup>38</sup> Cantacozino	tomis Alexandru Panalte
168	Teșcureni, in the region			
	of Iași			
169	Tîrgu Leova			
170	Măldărenii	-		
171	Bebenii	in the region of Codru		
172	Bujorul	and <sup>39</sup> Greceni. Apart	chancellor Costachi	
173	Băzhanii <sup>40</sup>	from these villages and	Ghica	spatharus Ioan Sturza
174	Meșănii	village places in the area	Since	
175	Surducul	called Doî Ceasuri		
176	Horanevul	-		
177	Mirceștii			
178	Cepălăuții			
179	Hancăuții			
180	Anadolul	in the region of Hotin	still Ghica	still Sturzii
181	Vorhotinul <sup>41</sup>			
182	Mihalcăuții			

- <sup>35</sup>Probably: "Vertep".
  <sup>36</sup>Original version.
  <sup>37</sup>Probably: "Ciuhureanu".
  <sup>38</sup>Original version, for: "Prohirița".
  <sup>39</sup>Slavicism: "and".
  <sup>40</sup>Original version.

- <sup>40</sup>Original version. <sup>41</sup>Original version.

183	Bușăvca <sup>42</sup>	1	chancellor Costachi	1 1 0
184	Ghidulenii	the region of Orhei	Ghica	spatharus Ioan Sturza
185	Tășcureni, in the region of Iași		<i>comis</i> Alexandru Panaite	Gheorghii Storianu
186	a part of Tocsobeni, the		Cerchez clerk	Gheorghii Sorocianu
	region of Iași		administrator	
187	a part of Trifești	_		
188	a part of Mirceni	_		
189	a part of Cozmeni			Grigori and Costandin,
190	a part of Zăloboteni <sup>43</sup>	in the region of Soroca	pitar Gheorghii Sorocian	Soroceni
191	a part of Fore	-		
192	a part of Bocșilă	_		
193	a part of Marcăuți			
194	473 meters of Pojorăni,		chancellor's wife Ilinca	Ioniță and Toader,
	the region of Orhei		Păladi and <i>comis</i> Costandin Bogdan	Surucenii
195	the 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of Pășcăuți,		<i>şătrar</i> Ștefan Stârce	captain Irimie Ciuhurean
	in the region of Iași		-	
196	Ezărenii			
197	Berheciul		ban Alexandru Beldiman	Manal Danala
198	Coretaneștii	in the region of Iași	ban Alexandru Beldiman	Matei Panaite
199	several parts of Roșcani			
200	Sanja	1		
201	Cucueții	the region of Soroca	Grigorii Bașotă	high steward Ion Bantăș
202	Căzăneștii		the vestrymen of the year	
203	a part of Cetilova	the region of Orhei	Costachi Sturza	major Șăinovici <sup>44</sup>
204	Vărdeșăni, in the region of Codru <sup>45</sup>		Petre Rosăt	Vasile Rosăt
205	Ţiganca		high steward Ion	collector of duties on
206	Negreleștii	in the region of Orhei	Costachi	spirits Panaite Cazimir
207	Ocnița, in the region of Hotin			-
208	half of Bălți in the region		<i>comis</i> Costachi Sturza	collector of duties on
	of Soroca			spirits Pruncu
209	Chelmeștii			
210	Mușinețul	1		collector of duties on
211	a 10 <sup>th</sup> part of the 24 <sup>th</sup>	the region of Hotin	treasurer Iordache Roset	spirits Panaite Cazimir
	part of Cruhlic			
212	the 4 <sup>th</sup> part of Sîngereni	-		
213	Vădenii	. 1		
214	Tăbărceni	in the region of Soroca		
215	Costănelu	.1	-	
216	Zabulenii	the region of Iași	hetman Sandul Sturza	Panaite Cazimir
217	Zăhăicani		1	
218	Tîrzieni	the region of Orhei		
219	Braviceni, more than a half			
220	Nilipăuții, in the region of Hotin		ban Dumitru Beldiman	spatharus Ioan Sturza
221	Cotujăni	the region of Soroca	spatharus's wife Rucsanda	Gheorghii Dimitriu
			1 .	L boorghu Dimitriu

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>"Bușăuca". <sup>43</sup>"Zăboloteni".

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Uncertain reading.
 <sup>45</sup>The words "to Răut" are next, but they have been hatched.
 <sup>46</sup>Uncertain reading.

223	Verjîca <sup>47</sup>			
223	Bobena	in the region of Hotin	collector of duties on spirits Mihalachi	collector of duties on spirits Zamfirachi Rale
225	Vălcinețu	In the region of Floth		
225	150 meters of Trășteni <sup>48</sup> ,			spirits Zammacin Raic
220	in the region of Iași			
227			Nastasie Ciorniiasa	ahamharlain Vasila Cuibă
227	62 meters of Iazoviți and	the region of Iași		chamberlain Vasile Cujbă
220	2 meters of Tocsobeni	-	Gheorghii Heciulă <sup>49</sup>	same, Cujbă
228	o parte din Onteni <sup>50</sup>			
229	Bărbănăuții			
230	Medveja	a part of those in Hotin	Ion Ghițăscu	Ioniță the treasury
231	Cotăjini <sup>51</sup>		,,	employee
232	Hădărăuții			
233	the fourth part of the 4 <sup>th</sup>	the region of Hotin	lord steward Ștefan and	the Austrian subject
	part of the estate of		Ilii, Holbănești	Costandin Morțun
	Stroeștii			
234	a fourth part of			
	Costuleni			
235	Putineștii, in the region		spatharus Neculai	Iordachi Donici
	of Soroca		Dimachi	
236	Voloșnicău, in the region		Zoița Cuzoai	the merchant from
	of Soroca			Odesa, 2 <sup>nd</sup> rank,
				Cuțovschii
237	Negrinții			Cușo (otalin
238	Horelcăuți			
239	Criva	-		
240	Nisfoaia		collector of duties on	
240	Şărcanii	the region of Hotin	spirits Ciure	his son
241	half of Zălina	-	spirits Clure	
242	half of the 16 <sup>th</sup> part of	-		
243	Zaluceni			
244		-		
244	3 parts of the 4 <sup>th</sup> part of			
0/5	Pecicul			
245	half of the 12 <sup>th</sup> part of			
	Costiceni			
246	half of Dumeni			
247	half of Şăndreni			
248	half of Muşineț		Tudurachi Ciure,	
249	the third of a 4 <sup>th</sup> part of	the region of Hotin	pursuant to the will	Costandin
	Cotela		pursuant to the win	
250	half and a 6 <sup>th</sup> part of			
	Solonețcu			
251	the fourth part of the 8 <sup>th</sup>			
	part of Meleteuți			
252	a third of Colincăuți	Ħ		
253	a third of Şişcăuți	H		
254	a third of Boșcani			
255	a fourth part of Medveja	-		
	Bogdăneștii			
256	Doguanesm			
256 257	Huhurez	in the region of Iași	magistrate Grigori Ghica	chamberlain Alexandru Ghica

- <sup>47</sup>Uncertain reading.
  <sup>48</sup>"Trăisteni".
  <sup>49</sup>Uncertain reading.
  <sup>50</sup>Followed by "the region of Iași", then hatched.
  <sup>51</sup>"Cotiujăni".
  <sup>52</sup>"Malinți".

259	Zarujăni, the region of Hotin		the magistrate Neculai Strătulat	Dumitru Iani
260	Cozăicu <sup>53</sup> , the region of Orhei			
261	Duneștii	in the region of Iași	collector of duties on	cupbearer Toma Stamate
262	a part of Teșăni	in the region of fast	spirits Andrei Bașotă	and <i>medelnicer</i> Andrieş
263	Ohrince	the region of Orhei		collector of duties on
264	Drăicenii	the region of Office	<i>sărdar</i> Grigori Codreanu	spirits Panaite Cazimir
265	Iucanii <sup>54</sup> , the region of			spines runare Guzinin
	Codru			
266	the fourth part of		lord steward Vasili Docan	Iordachi Bantăș
	Paustova, the region of			
2/7	Hotin			
267	a part of Albeștiot		Iliana Bățoae	Stamati Bățu
2(0	Orheiu			
268 269	Bîrnova Dami žatij	-		collector of duties on
269	Pernăuții Bosonăurii	the region of Hotin	spatharus Grigori Balş	
270	Beșenăuții half of Lopatinți	-	_	spirits Panaite Cazimir
271	Trăistei, also called Plop,		spatharus Petrachi Sturza	Spiridon Dimitriu
2/2	the region of Soroca		spatiarus i cuacin Sturza	Spindon Dilintin
273	Mălăeștii			
274	Tudurcenii	the region of Orhei	Iordachi Foti	<i>medelnicer</i> Ioniță
275	Neceștui	the region of Office	loreactin roti	Nemișăscu
276	a part of Cuizăuca, the		<i>comis</i> Alexandru	same, Nemișăscu
-, 0	region of Orhei		Hrisoverghi	ourre, r terriçuseu
277	Socii		-	
278	a sixth of Bozieni	the region of Iași	<i>sărdar</i> Costandin	<i>medelnicer</i> Gheorghii
279	a sixth of Răd(iu) Mari	σ,	Burghele	Dimitriu
280	Aluru, the region of		spatharus Grigorii Cuza	Neculai Milu
	Codru			
281	Taracauții	the region of Jaci	spatharus Costandin	spatharus Ioan Sturza
282	Măgura	the region of Iași	Roset	spatnarus Ioan Sturza
283	Tilișăuca	the region of Soroca	<i>căminar</i> Vasili Balş	cupbearer Stamati and
284	Veșca	the region of Soroca		medelnicer Andrieş
285	Borosănii, the region of		ban Ștefan Bașotă	same, the aforementione
	Soroca			
286	Corneștii	the region of Iași	high steward's wife Marie	merchant Capşa
287	a part of Cozmeni	the region of maj	Holbăniasa	1,
288	Vascăuții, the region of		Toader Silion	cupbearer Stamate and
	Orhei			Andrieș
289	Cogîlniceni, the region		the vestrymen of the	merchant Ion Hărțăscu
	of Orhei		daughter of Manolachi	
200	the fourth mart - f		Balş bizh stoward Costandin	<i>medelnicer</i> Manolachi
290	the fourth part of Alcidar	the region of Soroca	high steward Costandin Manoli	Andrieș
291	the fourth part of	+		
271	Leșciasa			
292	Cocliia			
293	Half of Răulele	the region of Codru	cupbearer Alecu Afenduli	<i>sardar</i> Vartolomei
294	half of Ruptura Mare			
295	Blîndenii	1		
		the region of Orhei		
	half of Scurtesti			
296 297	half of Scurtești a part of Lămășăni			

<sup>53</sup>"Cuizăuca". <sup>54</sup>Original version.

299	a part of Pătrăuți	Π		
300	a part of Căfieni			
301	Brînzănii		<ul> <li>Costandin Bantăş and</li> </ul>	Iordachi Bantăș and
302	Perienii	+	spatharus's wife Marie	spatharus Ioan Sturza
303	Climăuții	the region of Soroca	Costache	spatilarus Ioan Sturza
304	Horodiște	+		
305	Sinesul <sup>55</sup> , the region of		treasurer Sandul Sturza	collector of duties on
505	Hotin		treasurer Sandur Sturza	spirits Panaite Cazimir
20(	the fourth part of		lord steward Tudurachi	his sister, Casandrii
306	-			nis sister, Casandrii
	Mașcăuți, the region of		Ciure	
207	Soroca			Ilii Buzne
307	Cioropcani, half, the		the vestrymen D. Muruz	Illi Buzne
200	region of Iași			
308	half of Cosăești	the region of Hotin	ban Arghirii Cuza	Iancu Dimitriu
309	Ghermăzănii	0	-	
310	Cupcinu, the region of		ban Gheorghii and	Costachi Popov
	Hotin		Toader Buhuş	
311	Sărata, the region of		the vestrymen D. Muruz	Vasili Iamandi
	Orheiului			
312	Pravila	the region of Soroca	same, the vestrymen D.	Gheorghii Meleli <sup>56</sup>
313	Vădurelile	the region of soloca	Muruz	C
314	Lăncăuții, the region of		same, the vestrymen D.	Vasili Pușcă
	Soroca		Muruz	
315	small town of Telineștii,		same, the vestrymen	<i>pitar</i> Teodosii
	the region of Orhei			
316	Bogdăneștii, the region		sulger's wife Marie	Panaite Cazimir
	of Iașului		Năstasi	
317	Crimenciuc, the region		high steward Iordachi	his son, Vasili
	of Soroca		Murguleț	1115 SOII, VaSIII
318	the third of half of			
	Stroești, the region of			
	Hotin			
319	Unienii <sup>57</sup> , the region of		Iliana Carage	comis Alexandru Negre
	Iași Iașului			
320	Tintenii, the region of		<i>sărdar</i> 's wife Iliana	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balș <sup>58</sup>
	Greceni		Cantacuzino	
321	the third of 5 original		Zamfira Cujboai	chamberlain Vasili Cujbă
	estates ( <i>bătrîni</i> ) of			
	Onteni, the region of Iași			
322	Izbește, the region of		magistrate Costandin	magistrate Costandin
	Orhei		Balț	Păladi
323	half of Paustova, the		lord steward Vasili Docan	same Păladi
	region of Hotin			
324	Boșcana, half			
325	Vertepul, half	.1 • Стт. • 1 •	sulger's wife Marie	
326	Ringaciul, half	the region of Hotinului	Brănoai	cupbearer Toma Stamate
327	Şălăuții, without a 4 <sup>th</sup>	F		
	part			
328	Cunice	1		
329	a part of Hăsnășăni	the region of Soroca	Safta Costinoai	<i>pitar</i> Teodosii
330	Corneștii, the region of			
~~~		11	hetman Răducanu Roset	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş

<sup>55</sup>Original version. <sup>56</sup>Probably: "Meleghi". <sup>57</sup>Probably: "Unghenii". <sup>58</sup>Name written and then hatched.

331	half of Frăsinești, the	li		1
331	region of Iași			
332	Drăgușăștii			-
333	Zberoai			
334	Piceștii			
335	small town of Pînzăreni			
336	Pînzărenii Vechi			
337	Sfrejănii	the region of Iași	magistrate Alecu Balș	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
338	Ifrimeștiii			
339	a part of Bîlcurești			
340	Vale Ranhului			
341	Bălăniali <sup>59</sup>			
342	Pogoneștii, the region of			
542	Hotin			
343	Corbul		— treasurer Alecu Balş	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
344	Ciornoleuca	the region of Soroca		
345	Andrieșăni	the region of soloca		
346	Vovătenii, with other		<i>medelnicer</i> Tănase Feștilă	Vasile Crâste
540	parts, the region of		medernicer Tallase reștilă	vasile Claste
	Hotin			
2/7	a part of Florenți, the		Ion Bosii	<i>sulger</i> Pascal Tudori
347			Ion Bosh	sulger Pascal Tudori
348	region of Iași of Trifești and Frumoasa,		NN	
348		the region of Greceni	spatharus Neculai	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
2/0	a part of each	-	Hrisoverghi	
349	a sixth of Găunițăni <sup>60</sup>			
350	half of Hîrjăuți, the		<i>medelnicer</i> 's wife Marie	collector of duties on
- 251	region of Hotin		Feștiloai	spirits Zamfirache Rale
351	half of Cotiujăni	the region of Hotin	Darii administrator	<i>sovednic</i> Teodosiu
352	half of Bosieni	0		
353	Verejăni			
354	Vărzăreștii	the region of Orhei	Marie Irimieva	same Teodosiu
355	Bodurcenii			
356	Cerbiceni, half, the		cupbearer's wife Marie	same Teodosiu
	region of Hotin		Micliasca	
357	Şărăuții, the region of		lord steward Dinu,	Manolachi Negruți
	Hotin		Gheorghii and Enachi,	8,
358	Goteștii, the region of		Negruțăști	
	Grecenii			
359	Tohatinu			
360	Mihuțăni	the region of Orhei		
361	Vadul lui Vodă			
362	Boșcana			
363	Stoicani, the region of			
	Soroca		_	
364	Novosălița			
365	Hropevna	1	ban Petrachi Cazimir	caminar Panaite Cazimir
366	a part Deinăuți	the region of Hotin		
367	half of Rusăști	-		
368	a fourth part of			
	Nelipăuți		_	
369	Săncăuții		_	
370	the third of Cotiujăni		_	
371	Berlinții		_	
372	half of Gurmuzăni			

<sup>59</sup>"Bălănești". <sup>60</sup>Original version.

373	2 parts of a 5 <sup>th</sup> of Nisloveni and of Copelova and of Cotela			
374	Dolinenii			
375	Doljocu			
376	a part of Trebujăni			
377	10 parts of Cruhlic	the region of Hotin	magistrate Toader Balş	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
378	a fourth part of			
	Sîngereni			
379	12 parts of Bălcăuți			
380	the fourth part of			
	Forosna			
381	Silișăni			
382	Roșcanii			
383	a part of Cobusca de	the region of Hotin	treasurer Sandul Sturza	<i>comis</i> Iancul Balş
	Gios			
384	a part of Luica de Sus			
385	a part of Petreni			
386	a 4 <sup>th</sup> part of Drulești,		collector of duties on	Casandra Ciudinoai
	also called Săncăuți		spirits Tudurachi Ciure	
387	Negreștii, the region of		magistrate Şărban Negel	Mihai Hermeziu
	Orhei			