

DEMETRIUS KANTEMIR AND RUSSIA*

Demetrius Kantemir (Cantemir 1673-1723), hospodar (voevod, domn, Duke, Bey, Prince) of Moldavia in 1693 and 1710-1711, was a dominant figure in Russian-Rumanian cultural and political relations between 1711-1723.¹ During his stay in Russia he wrote abundantly, devoting his literary activities to the cause of the liberation of the Christian nationalities from Turkish domination. Recognized and appreciated by European scholars, Kantemir was able to integrate into the political, social, and cultural life of his adoptive homeland, Russia. He supported the policies of Peter the Great and his scholarship helped the Russians to understand the history and the religion of the Turks. His ultimate aim was to encourage Russia to continue its struggle against the Ottoman Empire for the liberation of the Christians of Southeastern Europe.²

Russian literary historians do not appreciate the literary efforts of Demetrius Kantemir, but consider his son Prince Antiokh Kantemir (1708-1744) as the founder and originator of the satire in Russian literature.³ Born in the reign of Czar Peter I in Constantinople on September 21, 1709, Antiokh Kantemir attempted to transpose the outward forms of the French classical standards into Russian and to produce original work. He is regarded also as the first artistically conscious realist in Russian literature. Like his father he was an enthusiastic supporter of the reforms of Peter the Great and championed them in his satires written between 1729 and 1739. The satires circulated first in handwritten copies and were published only in 1762, after his death, too late to

* I am greatly indebted to the Professor Emeritus George Vernadsky of Yale University and to Professor Traian Stoianovich of Rutgers - The State University for their suggestions and critical comments.

1. N. Iorga, *Histoire des États Balaniques jusqu'à 1924* (Paris, 1925), pp. 78-81. See also A. Oțetea et al. ed., *Istoria României (History of Rumania)* (Bucharest, 1964), Vol. III, pp. 212-219.

2. P.P. Panaitescu, *Dimitrie Cantemir: Viața și Opera (Demetrius Kantemir: Life and Works)* (Bucharest, 1958), p. 202.

3. A.P. Rybasova ed., *V. Belinsky. Sochinenia V Odnom Tome* (Moscow, 1950), p. 383; See also N.V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia* (New York, 1963), p. 324 and p. 326.

influence the development of Russian literature. Nikolai Karamzin (1766-1826) the famous Russian novelist, journalist, and historian wrote about him: "Our Juvenal. His satires were the first experiment of Russian sharp wit and style. He wrote in a rather pure language and could in all fairness serve as an example to the contemporaries."⁴ However, in political matters as a leader of the anti-oligarchic party, together with the Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich and the historian V.N. Tatishchev, Antiokh Kantemir was able to persuade Empress Anne (1730-1740) in 1730 to cancel the constitution she had sworn to observe. Unable to inherit his father's lands because of the single inheritance law which was passed during the reign of Peter the Great, Antiokh acquired wealth in the service of the Russian Empire first as the Minister-Resident in London (1732-1738) and from 1738 until his death in 1744 as the Russian Minister in Paris.⁵ The great Russian critic V.G. Belinsky assigned him and his father Demetrius Kantemir their rightful position in Russian culture by mentioning both of them in his work entitled *The Portrait Gallery of Russian Writers*:

For Russian literature it is just the same whether the satirist Kantemir hailed from Tamerlane or even more ancient from Adam. It is enough for it to know that he was the son of the Moldavian hospodar Demetrius Kantemir so well known in the history of Peter the Great by the war with Turkey which ended in the Peace Treaty at the Prut. Prince Demetrius was a scholar. With special pleasure he was engaged in the study of history, was well versed in philosophy and mathematics, and had an extensive knowledge of architecture; was a member of the Berlin Academy; spoke Turkish, Persian, Greek, Latin, Italian, Russian, Moldavian, had a considerable knowledge of French and left several writings in Latin, Greek, Moldavian, and Russian... It is natural that such a father had children who were well educated scholars.⁶

The advancement of research and manifold theoretical and practical

4. M.I. Radovskii, *Antiokh Kantemir i Peterburgskaia Akademia Nauk* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), p. 61.

5. F.I. Kaplan, "Tatiščev and Kantemir, two Eighteen Century Exponents of a Russian Bureaucratic Style of Thought" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (Wiesbaden, Germany, Dec. 1965), Band 13, Heft 4, pp. 498-504. See also D.D. Blagoi, *Istoria Russkoi Literatury XVIII Veka* (Moscow, 1945), p. 80.

6. Radovskii, *Op. cit.*, p. 8. See also Al. Piru, *Literatura Romîna Veche* (*The Old Rumanian Literature*) (Bucharest, 1962), p. 348.

studies was encouraged by a plan of Peter the Great to establish a Russian Academy of Science in St. Petersburg. It seems that the high degree of intellectual and artistic refinement of Demetrius Kantemir was appreciated by the Russian Emperor who was seriously considering his candidacy for the post of the first president of the Russian Academy of Science. In fact a German encyclopaedia published in 1750 in Leipzig listed Demetrius Kantemir as the director of the Russian Academy. However, his death just two years before the opening of the Russian Academy of Science prevented the realization of this plan.⁷

In his secret political pamphlet *Istoria Ieroglifika (The Hieroglyphic History)* in 1705, Demetrius Kantemir issued a cry of alarm against the oppression of the Turks and pointed out the decadence of the Ottoman Empire which became quite apparent to him firsthand during his service with the Turks at the battle of Zenta in 1697 when the Austrians under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy annihilated a great Turkish army. To be able to express his ideas and observations freely Kantemir gives a veiled presentation in a figurative story of a meaning metaphorically implied where the facts are not expressly stated but hidden in the form of animal and bird kingdoms. For example the kingdom of the predatory birds is Wallachia, the kingdom of the quadruple wild animals is Moldavia, and the kingdom of the fish species is the Ottoman Empire. In a way this secret pamphlet contains contemporary political and social secrets which cannot be found in other historical sources of that time, but the key provided by the author is not complete in order not to compromise some secret friends. Among others Kantemir fails to tell us who is the Moldavian boyar "the monkey" or the Wallachian boyar "the crow" ...⁸ About his father, hospodar Constantine Kantemir (1685-1693), he wrote that he was of humble origin: "era din părință oae."⁹ Later Demetrius Kantemir contradicts himself on the origin of his family and in his book entitled *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*,¹⁰ he built an impressive genealogy for the family, going back to Tamerlane (Timurlane or Timur-Lenk, which means in translation "iron-lame" i.e. Timur the Lame).¹¹ Kantemir and even some modern historians maintain that Tamerlane was a descendant of Chinghiz

7. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

8. Panaitescu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 75-95. See also Oșetea, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 260. *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire* was translated into English by N. Tindal, London, 1734, 1735, 2 Vols.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 27. See also Radovskii, *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

Khan.¹² This allegation is denied by Professor George Vernadsky:

He was not a Chingizid, however, which means that he did not belong to the Golden Kin and had no right to the throne. Even when he became all-powerful, he had to exercise his rule, like Mamay, through puppet khans of the house of Chingiz.¹³

Toward the end of the fourteenth century Tamerlane (Timur-Lenk of Kesh in Transoxania) attempted to regain the entire inheritance of Chinghiz Khan and spread warfare throughout southern Russia, northern India, Mesopotamia, Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, and China. In July, 1402, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Turkish sultan, Bayezid I (1389-1402), at the battle of Ankara (Angora, Ancyra), Bayezid, known as Yildirim (Thunderbolt), fell prisoner to Tamerlane and died in captivity on March 8, 1403.¹⁴

In general, the Russian sources maintain the boastful origin of Demetrius Kantemir, which was further reinforced by his own son Antiokh and the German Russian scholar T.S. Bayer (1694-1738). The latter asserted that one of the ancestors of the family, Theodore Kantemir, came to Moldavia from the Khanate of Crimea and was converted to Eastern Orthodoxy during the rule of the hospodar Stephen the Great (Ștefan-cel-Mare, 1458-1504), who made Theodor governor of Kilia (Chilia) and Izmail.

According to the Rumanian historian P.P. Panaitescu, however, such a position did not exist in Moldavia during the reign of Stephen the Great.¹⁵ The Moldavian chroniclers all agree that the Kantemir family was of humble origin. A contemporary chronicler, Hetman (Commander-in-chief of the Moldavian army) Ion Neculce (1672-1745), described the father of Demetrius Kantemir as follows: "this Kantemir Voda was from simple people of the region of Falcui."¹⁶

It is quite probable that Kantemir was the first name of Demetrius Kantemir's father given to him in honor of Kantemir Pasha, a famous seventeenth century Tatar warrior who fought also against the Moldavians of the Falcui

12. C. Brockelman, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (New York, 1960), p. 270.

13. G.V. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, 1953), p. 247.

14. Brockelman, *Op. cit.*, p. 272. See also L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (New York, 1958), p. 45 and p. 49. Also A.D. Novichev, *Turtsia Kratkaia Istoria* (Moscow, 1965), p. 17.

15. Panaitescu, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

16. Ion Neculce, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei și o samă de cuvinte (Annals of the Land of Moldavia and an Introduction)* (Bucharest, 1959), p. 93.

region. He was mentioned recently as Khan Kantemir in a very interesting book by Professor William H. McNeill:

A Nogai Tartar chieftain named Kantemir was put in charge of the forts and cities of what was thenceforward called "Budjuk," i.e., the region between the Dniester and the Danube mouths.¹⁷

When the father of Demetrius became hospodar of Moldavia in 1685 he assumed the name of Constantine, which probably sounded better than a Tatar first name. An indication of this fact is provided by Ion Neculce, who states, "and his title he does not write Kantemir Voevoda, but only Constantine Voevoda."¹⁸

Strangely enough, the true origin of the Kantemir family based on Rumanian and contemporary Moldavian source material seems to be unknown to western historiography. One look at the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* will convince anyone that the Rumanian and Moldavian sources cited above have somehow escaped the notice of western scholars. The origin of Kantemir is mistakenly presented as "the name of a celebrated family of Tatar origin which came from Crimea in the 17th century and settled in Moldavia."¹⁹ Demetrius Kantemir is mistaken for a Greek in the following quotation: "one of the Greek hospodars, Demetrius Cantemir, attempted to exchange Turkish for Russian sovereignty, and proving unsuccessful went into exile in St. Petersburg."²⁰ In a recent paper published in the *Slavic Review* the well known source the book by Professor P.P. Panaitescu cited here is listed in the footnotes, but maybe because of a faulty translation Professor Panaitescu is misquoted when the author of the paper maintains that Demetrius Kantemir was "a Moldavian hospodar of Greek origin (Phanariot) and probably spoke Italian fluently."²¹ One reference book presents Demetrius Kantemir as the brother of his father by stating that "Dimitrie (b. Oct. 26, 1673; d. Aug. 23, 1723), prince of Moldavia (1710-1711) and brother of Constantine, was the most celebrated member of the family."²² This confusion was cleared up by Rumanian sources which are all pointing out

17. W.H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500-1800* (Chicago & London, 1964), p. 119.

18. Neculce, *Op. cit.*, p. 93. See also Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

19. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, London, etc., 1949, 1958, & 1960), Vol. IV. p. 765 and in the edition of 1964, Vol. IV, p. 803.

20. *Ibid.*, the 1960 & 1964 edition Vol. XIX, p. 639.

21. V.J. Boss, "Kantemir and Rolli-Milton's Il Paradiso Perduto" *Slavic Review* (September, 1962), Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 448.

22. *The Encyclopaedia Americana* (New York, 1962 & 1964), Vol. V, p. 530.

as the origin of the Kantemir family the Moldavian village of Silișteni on the shore of the Elan in the region of Falcu. This heavily forested area was located on the border of the Tatar country of Bugeac (Budjuk, Budzhak)²³ where Tatar arrows and horsemen lost most of their effectiveness. Demetrius Kantemir and the Moldavian writer Alexander Hașdeu (1811-1874) describe this area as a so-called "Republic of Kegech" forming a natural barrier to Tatar invasions and the exploitation of the native boyars. The spirit of militant independence of these Moldavians of the frontier could be compared with the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks of the Russian frontier. From among these freedom loving Moldavian *răzeși* (free peasants) came the father of Demetrius Kantemir, Constantine who did not know how to read or write except to sign his name. The "republic of Kegech" was able to maintain its privileges of a limited autonomy until the death of one of her well known sons the famous hajduk Bujor (Buzhor) who was executed together with his associates in Jassy on April 14, 1811.²⁴

Demetrius Kantemir received a very good education. His first teacher in Jassy was Ieremias Cacavelas, a Greek priest from Crete who had studied at the University of Leipzig under John Olearius and in Vienna. According to the wishes of his father, Demetrius Kantemir studied Greek, Latin, and Slavonic. At the age of fifteen he replaced his brother Antiokh as a hostage in Constantinople. This was a measure of precaution of the Ottoman Turks who did not quite trust their vassals. During this period, 1688-1691, he continued his studies at the Greek Orthodox Academy of the Patriarchate which had been reorganized by the Patriarch Cyril Loukaris (1621-1638) in 1624. This Academy was under the direction of Theophilos Corydaleus, a man with the point of view of a layman and a courageous philosopher in conflict with the traditional mystics of the Orthodox Church.²⁵

Among his teachers Demetrius mentions Iacomî, a distinguished grammarian, who taught him the elements of philosophy; Alexander Mavrocordato,

23. See my "A Rumanian Priest in Colonial America," *The American Slavic and East European Review* (New York, Oct., 1955), Vol. XIV, p. 385 and my "Transistria: A Rumanian Claim in the Ukraine" *Südost-Forschungen* (Munich, Germany, 1957), Band XVI, 2. Halbband, p. 385.

24. Neculce, *Op. cit.*, p. 93. See also E.M. Dvoicenko-Markova, *Russko-Rumynskie Literaturnye Sviazi v Pervoi Polovine XIX Veka* (Moscow, 1966) p. 110 and S. Zotta, *Despre neamul Cantimereștilor* (About the Cantemir Breed) (Jassy, 1930), p. 3.

25. George G. Arnakis, "The Role of Religion in the Development of Balkan Nationalism," p. 132 and C.A. Trypanis, "Greek literature Since the Fall of Constantinople in 1453," p. 231 and p. 235 both in *The Balkans in Transition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963).

professor of philosophy, theology, and medicine, who had published in Italy a book on the circulation of blood; Antonie and Spandoni, who taught the philosophy of Aristotle; Meletie of Arta, who later became the Metropolitan of Athens; Hrisant Notara, who later became Patriarch of Jerusalem; and Elias Miniatis. It is interesting to note that Meletie of Arta was not only a teacher of the emanative philosophy of J.B. van Helmont (1577-1644), but was also a well known historian and geographer. Hrisant Notara was a notable geographer who had written an introduction to geography in Greek which was published in Paris in 1716.

The influence of these teachers helped Demetrius combat the mystic influence of his first teacher Cacavelas, deepen his understanding of the classics, and direct his attention towards scientific endeavors.²⁶ At the same time his personal contacts with western diplomats, such as the French Ambassador Chateauneuf and the Ambassador of the Netherlands Collier, gave Demetrius an insight into general politics. One of his most unusual achievements in Constantinople was his ability to penetrate into the circle of Muslim scholars. From them Demetrius was able to learn oriental languages such as Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, and the history, theology, folklore, and music of Islam. Thus Demetrius Kantemir became also a famous orientalist. It is interesting to note that he mastered Turkish music so well that he was able to write a book in Turkish on this subject entitled: *Tarifu ilmi musiki ala veghi maksus (A Short Explanation of Theoretical Music)*. This book was dedicated to sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730) and it contained the rules of Turkish music established by Kantemir and an original system of musical notes based upon the letters of the Arab alphabet. Demetrius was very good at interpreting the Turkish music on the tambourine and he claimed in his writings to have invented a new musical instrument which was greatly appreciated by Peter the Great.²⁷

In 1691 Demetrius returned to Moldavia and in 1693 after the death of his father, he was elected hospodar of Moldavia. Because the Sublime Porte did not approve of the election, he governed for three weeks only and then returned to Constantinople, where he continued his studies.²⁸

After the rule of hospodar Constantine Duka (Duca 1693-1695), he gave up a chance to become again hospodar of Moldavia in favor of his brother, Antiokh Kantemir, who ruled Moldavia from 1695 to 1700. Demetrius became

26. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42.

27. Piru, *op. cit.*, p. 356. See also C. Boroianu, *Literatura Romîna (Rumanian Literature)* (Bucharest, 1963), p. 63.

28. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 43. See also Neculce, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

his brother's diplomatic resident (Kapu-Kiaya) in Constantinople and toyed with the idea of becoming hospodar of Wallachia. With this in mind he married Casandra, daughter of the former hospodar of Wallachia Sherban Cantacuzene (Serban Cantacuzino, 1678-1688), in 1699. Neculce, an eyewitness, writes that "they celebrated a wedding befitting a sovereign according to the tradition of hospodars in the city of Jassy."²⁹

On November 14, 1710, with the active support of the Crimean Khan Demetrius Kantemir received his investiture from the Sublime Porte as hospodar of Moldavia replacing the Phanariote hospodar Nicholas Mavrokordatos (Nicolae Mavrocordat) who ruled Moldavia 1709 to 1710 and who also succeeded Demetrius Kantemir for a second rule in Moldavia 1711-1716.³⁰ Since the Phanariot regime in Moldavia is generally reckoned from the second reign of Nicholas Mavrokordatos it is not so unusual that some historians consider Demetrius Kantemir "a Moldavian hospodar of Greek origin (Phanariot)."³¹

Before his departure from Constantinople Kantemir was told by the Vizier:

... capture for me the hospodar of Wallachia Brâncoveanu and send him alive here. And from the Empire you will obtain a great gift and honor, and in his place you will remain there as hospodar unchanged.³²

Constantine Brancovan (Brâncoveanu, 1688-1744) as hospodar of Wallachia, a principality considered wealthier than Moldavia, stood in the way of the great dream of Demetrius Kantemir of becoming one day hospodar of Wallachia himself. Neculce thinks that Kantemir turned to Russia because the Turks failed to keep their promise to remove hospodar Brancovan. In fact, according to Neculce, Demetrius wrote:

... with great skill to the Porte to ask for permission to come to an agreement with the Muscovites, promising to inform the Porte of everything he saw or heard. Thinking that this would be of advantage to the Porte, the Vizier gave him this permission.³³

29. Neculce, *loc. cit.*, p. 144 and p. 150. See also G.G. Florescu, "Some Aspects of the Struggle for the Formation of the Modern South-Eastern European States. Rumanian-Turkish relations," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* (Bucharest, 1964), Tome II, No. 1-2, p. 203.

30. A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria Rominilor Din Dacia Traiana (History of the Rumanians from Trajan's Dacia)* (Jassy, 1896), Vol. VIII, p. 92 & Vol. IX, p. 6. See also Oțetea, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

31. Boss, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

32. Neculce, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 209. See also S.M. Solov'ev, *Istoria Rossii s Drevneishikh Vremion* (Moscow, 1962), Vol. XVI, Book VIII, p. 376.

The Treaty of Constantinople of 1700 granted Russia the right to permanent diplomatic representation at Constantinople. In 1701 Peter A. Tolstoy was accredited as the diplomatic representative of the Czar in Constantinople. However, when on November 20, 1710, the Sublime Porte declared that a state of war existed between Turkey and Russia, the Russian resident Peter A. Tolstoy was locked up by the Turks in the Castle of the Seven Towers (Edikul), where he remained for seventeen months.³⁴ While imprisoned and under strict guard, however, Tolstoy maintained contact with his Czar thanks to the daring assistance of a certain Iano, the diplomatic resident (Kapu-Kiaya, Kapouké-haia) of Demetrius Kantemir in Constantinople. Iano

... took messages from the Muscovite envoy, who was locked up in Edikul and conveyed them to Demetrius Voda and Demetrius Voda transmitted them to the Emperor of Muscovy.³⁵

When Demetrius Kantemir joined Russia openly Iano was beheaded by the Turks.³⁶

Negotiations with Czar Peter I were initiated in February and March, 1711, by the personal and trusted envoys of Demetrius Kantemir, Captain Procopius and Visternik (Treasurer) Stephen Luka (Ștefan Luca), brother-in-law of the chronicler hetman Ion Neculce.³⁷ On April 13, 1711, the Russian Czar issued a so-called Diploma to Demetrius Kantemir by the authority of which a hereditary absolute monarchy, under the suzerainty of Russia was established in Moldavia. This Diploma, known also as the Treaty of Lutsk, carries the signatures of the Czar and of Count Golovkin.³⁸ From a letter of Peter I to Prince V.V. Dolgoruki and Field Marshal B.P. Sheremetev dated

34. M.T. Florinsky, *Russia a History and an Interpretation* (New York, 1959), p. 343. See also Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 103. A Soviet source however, places Tolstoy in Constantinople in 1702 instead of 1701 see B.B. Kafenhau ed., *Ocherki Istorii SSSR. Rossiia v Pervoi Chetverti XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1954), p. 478 and p. 523.

35. Neculce, *op. cit.*, p. 209. Also Solov'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 220. According to a Tatar scholar in Turkey, Tolstoy was not abused and was given the opportunity to correspond with his Czar. See Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Der Pfeldzug und der Prutfrieden von 1711," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Östeuropas* (April, 1962), Heft 1, Band 10, p. 21 n.

37. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 209. Also N.P. Kirichenko, "Tekst Russko-Moldavskogo Dogovora 1711 g. i Sootvestvie Ego Letopisi Nekulche" *Vekovaia Druzhba* (Kishinev, 1961), pp. 198-199.

38. A.N. SSSR, Institut Istorii, *Pis'ma i Bumagi Petra Velikogo* (Moscow, 1962), Vol. XI, pp. 173-177. See also Oțetea, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

May 7, 1711, at Vavorov, we find out that before issuing his Diploma the Czar had consulted Demetrius Kantemir:

And this Moldavian hospodar made a proposition to us of some points, under which he wants to be under our suzerainty upon which we have agreed and dispatched to him in confirmation of it our charter with our signature, which he received with great joy and in the presence of our envoy, he kissed the holy cross and is sending to us soon the same points and the oath with his own signature and seal by which he wants to be under our suzerainty and join our armies as soon as they step inside his territories.³⁹

After a written request from Demetrius Kantemir, Field Marshal Sheremetev dispatched Brigadier Kropotov and Major Kighece (Colonel Chigheciu according to Neculce), a Moldavian in the service of Russia, with 3000 Dragoons and 200 (500 according to Neculce) Moldavian soldiers to Jassy. Kropotov reached Jassy on June 13, 1711, and delivered 10,000 rubles to the Moldavian hospodar. Subsequently the Czar himself visited Demetrius Kantemir in Jassy for three days after a great and elaborate reception by the Moldavian nobility and the Metropolitan Gedeon, who welcomed the Czar as a deliverer on July 4, 1711.⁴⁰ A Moldavian eye witness of this visit, hetman Ion Neculce, provides us with an interesting description of the Russian Czar, which to my knowledge has not been translated into English yet:

The Emperor was a great man, taller than all the rest, not corpulent, with a round face and a dark complexion, swarthy, and at times he shook his head with a quick and irregular motion. And he moved not with grandeur and arrogance like other monarchs, but like any one else, in simple dress and only with two or three servants to take care of his needs. He walked without an escort like a simple human being.⁴¹

Throughout the short war the Moldavians and their hospodar lived up to their obligations until the Pruth Treaty concluded at Falticiu on July 12, 1711.⁴² The rest of his life Demetrius Kantemir spent in Russia, where he and his men

39. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

40. Neculce, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-220 and pp. 224-228. See also Kurat, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

42. Florinsky, *Op. cit.*, p. 344. See also Kurat, *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-66 and V. Mihoarea, "Carol al XII-lea la Tighina" ("Karl XIIth at Tighina"), *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* (Bucharest, 1943), Vol. XXV, Seria III, Mem. 9, pp. 452-455.

received large estates near Kharkov in the Ukraine. In addition, Demetrius was granted extraterritorial jurisdiction over all the Moldavians and their regiments in Russia or a kind state-in-emigration that allowed him to keep his title of hospodar of Moldavia in exile.⁴³ Demetrius Kantemir also received a splendid house in Moscow and a yearly pension of six thousand rubles.

After the death of his wife Casandra in 1713 he became actively interested in Russian culture. He started a collection of old Russian chronicles, in which was included a manuscript later published as the chronicle of Rostov.

Several Greek scholars followed Kantemir to Russia, helped him in his research, and tutored his children.⁴⁴ His personal secretary, however, was a Russian from Yaroslav, Ivan Ilinski, who had studied Latin and Greek at the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow. Ilinski also learned Moldavian (Rumanian) and, in 1716, became the teacher of Russian for Demetrius Kantemir and his children, staying on with the family until the death of Demetrius Kantemir.

The beginning of a war between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire raised the hope of Kantemir for an eventual participation of Russia, particularly since a Tatar raid had occurred in the Ukraine in the fall of 1716. In fact, after the return of Peter I from his second journey, Kantemir mailed him a letter in January, 1718, stating that the Moldavians would like to consider their oath of allegiance to Russia in 1711 still valid. An Archimandrite representing the Metropolitan of Moldavia, the Bishop of Roman, and the two sons of the Moldavian boyar Sturdza arrived in Kiev to ask Demetrius Kantemir to intercede for Moldavia with the Russian Czar. The Czar promised to dispatch the Russian army to Moldavia in 1719. Demetrius himself prepared to go to Transylvania and to resume his rule of Moldavia with the assistance of Russia. Austria, however, broke the strength of the Ottoman Empire and concluded the Peace of Passarowitz (Požarevac) on July 21, 1718.⁴⁵ The last hope of Demetrius Kantemir to return to Moldavia was thus gone, and he turned his attention to Russian internal affairs. Moving to St. Petersburg, Demetrius became a member of the Russian Senate. His integration into Russian social and political life was completed when at the age of 47 he married the eighteen

43. G. Nandriș, "Rumanian Exiles in 18th Century Russia," *Revue des Études Roumaines* (Paris, 1953), Vol. I, p. 45.

44. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 129. See also P. Constantinescu-Iași, *Relațiile Culturale Româno-Ruse Din Trecut (Rumanian-Russian Cultural Relations from the Past)* (Bucharest, 1954), p. 182.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 132. See also R.W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians* (Cambridge, England, 1934), p. 136.

year old Princess Anastasia Trubetskoi on January 20, 1720. Princess Anastasia had received her education in Sweden, where her father, General Prince Ivan I Trubetskoi, had been a prisoner of war for eighteen years. Partly through this marriage Demetrius joined the progressive party of the Russian nobility that actively supported the new reforms of Peter I.⁴⁶

The Russian Senate was in charge of administration, and there is evidence that Demetrius Kantemir participated in some of its important decisions, including the placing of the Don Cossacks under the College (Department) of the Army on March 8, 1721; the organization of a new College of Commerce on April 12, 1722; and the bestowal on Czar Peter I of the titles of father of his country, Emperor, and Great (*pater patriae, imperator, maximus*) in 1721. In the promotion of these Roman titles granted by the Senate one might detect the thought of the historian Demetrius Kantemir, who signed this document as the fourth of the Russian Senators.⁴⁷ Since Peter the Great frequently was away from the capital the Senate was authorized to draft and enforce laws, subject to the will of the Emperor. In February, 1722, the Senate changed the old law of succession to the throne by authorizing Peter the Great to name his own successor. Demetrius Kantemir, who signed this law as the sixth of the Senators had a vital interest in it because the Russian Emperor was deeply in love with his daughter Maria.

Maria Kantemir was not beautiful but a well bred intellectual, presenting quite a contrast to the second wife of Peter the Great, Catherine (Skavronski), an uneducated and sensual peasant from Livonia (Latvia). Peter's son Alexis had perished in November, 1718, after having been sentenced to death by a special investigation commission receiving the approval of the Czar. Peter's second wife gave him only daughters that survived, and so Peter hoped Maria Kantemir might give him a male heir to the throne.

There was hope among the friends and supporters of Demetrius Kantemir that the Russian Emperor would divorce his wife and marry Maria Kantemir. With the help of Prince Menshikov, her former lover, Catherine bribed the Greek doctor of the Kantemir family, Policala, to make this unlikely. In the fall of 1722, Maria followed Peter the Great to Astrakhan on his Persian expedition and, with the assistance of the Greek physician Policala, gave birth to a stillborn baby. The Kantemir family retired in disgrace to their estates near Kharkov, but after the death of Demetrius Kantemir Maria was recalled to

46. *Loc. cit.*, See also Constantinescu-Iași, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and N. Mokhov, *Ocherki Istorii Moldavsko-Russko-Ukrainskikh Sviazei* (Kishinev, 1961), p. 130.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 136. See also G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven, 1959), p. 156.

the court in St. Petersburg and the Greek physician was punished. Peter the Great returned to his former love, but his early death in 1725 ended this affair and Maria completed her days in 1757 without ever getting married.⁴⁸

The literary activity of Demetrius Kantemir in Russia bestows upon him the fame of a scholar. The Russian Empire opened wide horizons and new possibilities for his activity, which would not have been possible in the small principality of Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire. A great part of his materials he had collected in Constantinople, but it was in Russia that he published his most important works.⁴⁹ Between the years 1714 and 1716 he published his most important book, *Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae othomanicae*, a history of the Ottoman Empire printed first in its English translation between the years 1734 and 1735 in London (*The history of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire* translated by N. Tindal). The French translation, *Histoire de l'empire Othoman, où se voyent les causes de son agrandissement et de sa décadence*, was published in Paris in 1743 and two years afterwards in 1745 appeared in Hamburg a German version of the English translation *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches nach seinem Anwachsen und Abnehmen*. An Italian translation prepared by Abbot Guasco and Antiokh Kantemir and a Russian translation by Demetrius Grozin remained unpublished. The Rumanian translation by Joseph Hodoș was published only in 1876. Recent research has discredited some of the objections raised against this book by J. Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), the author of a ten volume *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* published between 1827 and 1835 and covering the history of the Ottoman Empire from its inception up to 1774. A valid criticism of Kantemir's book is the fact that about half of it is a compilation and even a direct translation of a Turkish historical synopsis *Idjmal et-tevarioh* (*Iamal et-tevarih*) written by Saadi Effendi in 1696.⁵⁰ The accompanying notes and the second half of the book represents an original and interesting contribution particularly the vivid description of the battle at Stănilești on the Pruth, based on personal observations of Demetrius Kantemir as an eye witness. Kantemir manages to maintain the interest of the reader by describing the Turkish court life and popular customs thus making an important contribution to the development of world culture.⁵¹ The western humanists

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-142. See also Nandriș, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

49. P.P. Panaitescu, "Kul'turnye Sviazi Rumynskikh Gosudarstv s Rossiei v Epokhu Reform Petra I-go. Novye Dannye," *Romanoslavica* (Bucharest, 1958), Vol. II, pp. 236-238.

50. Piru, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370.

recognized his scholarship by electing Kantemir to the Academy of Berlin on July 11, 1714, thereby making him the first Moldavian (Rumanian) to receive such a high honor.

He also published a scientific work *Descriptio antiqui et hodierni status Moldaviae*, which was requested by the Berlin Academy and was completed in 1716. A Russian translation appeared in Moscow in 1789 after a German translation published in Hamburg, 1769-1770. The Rumanian translation under the title *Scrisoarea Moldovei (The Writing of Moldavia)* was published in the monastery of Neamț in 1825. It is interesting to note that Kantemir makes a comparison in this study between the Moldavian and the Russian nobility. Attached to this study is the first map of Moldavia by Demetrius Kantemir.⁵² In order to further the prestige of his family he wrote *Vita Constantini Cantemirii cognomento senis, Moldaviae principis* in 1716, which later inspired the Russian scholar T. Bayer to publish in Russian, in 1783, a book with the same title. At Czar's Peter I request Kantemir wrote a short memoir entitled *Divnyia revolutsii prevednago Bozhiiia otmishchenie na familiyou Kantakuzinykh v valakhii slavnykh i Brankovanova (The Miraculous Revolution of God's Justice over the Famous Cantacuzino Family from Wallachia and of the Brancovanus)*, which was published in St. Petersburg after his death in 1772. In this his first publication in Russian Kantemir attempted to demonstrate to the Emperor that according to their family's past history, Toma Cantacuzino and the widow of Stephen (Ștefan) Cantacuzino, who found asylum in Russia, were not to be trusted. This was an attempt to undermine any possible rival claim on their part to rule Wallachia and to advance his claim again.⁵³

New ideas in the field of education were also a preoccupation of Demetrius Kantemir. The educational plans of Peter the Great were taken up by the Archbishop Feofan (Theophanes) Prokopovich (1681-1736) in his primer *Pervoe Uchenie Otrokom* published in 1720 and *Dukhovnyi Reglament* published in 1721.⁵⁴ Kantemir criticized Feofan Prokopovich on the basis of his own convictions, without any connection with the anti-reformist movement in the Russian Empire. In his work entitled *Loca obscura in Cathechisi, quae ab anonymo autore slaveno idiomate edita et Pervoe ucenia otrokom intititata est, dilucidata autore Demetrio Cantemirio* Kantemir urged the study of Latin and

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 365-368. See also E.D. Tappe, "Another specimen of Dimitrie Cantemir's map of Moldavia" *Revue des Études Roumaines* (Paris, 1957), Vol. III-IV, p. 220.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 370-371.

54. I.A. Kairov ed., *Pedagogicheskii Slovar* (Moscow, 1960), Vol. II, p. 191. See also L.R. Lewitter, "Peter the Great, Poland and the Westernization of Russia" *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Oct. 1958), Vol. XIX, p. 500 and p. 503.

Greek and opposed the Protestant ideas of Prokopovich by emphasizing the position of the Eastern Orthodox Church and particularly its connection with the Greek Church, which was promoting the idea of the liberation of the Christians by Russia.⁵⁵

Another book by Demetrius Kantemir, *Kniga sistema ili sostoyanie muhammedankoi religii*, was published in Russian in Moscow in 1722 at the moment when Peter the Great was starting his expedition to the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea. It was conceived to help the Russians in their dealings with the Muslim nations of that area. Of special interest in this book is an analysis of an Arabian prophesy about a "blond" people that were destined to destroy the Muslim power. According to Kantemir the "blond" people were beyond any doubt the Russians.⁵⁶ He accompanied the Russian Emperor as his close advisor and was placed in charge of the editing and printing of Imperial proclamations in oriental languages. A special printing press with oriental characters was put at his disposal. Kantemir also found time to do some historical and geographic research. Accompanied by his personal guard, he took notes on the altitude of the perpetual snowline, the mountain peaks, old graves, defense walls, and Arabian, Persian, and hieroglyphic inscriptions found in old ruins. His historical and scientific observations of the Caucasus and the Caspian region have a special value even in their fragmentary form since he was the first modern scholar to visit and study these regions. Some of the material thus collected was published in 1726 by T.S. Bayer of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in his work entitled *De muro Caucaseo*. Even today scholars do not know who built this strange wall that crosses the Caucasus from east to west along the northern mountain chain. Other collected material included in a manuscript entitled *Collectanea Orientalia. Principis Demetrii Cantemiri variae schedae et experta e autographo descripta* became known from a copy of the French geographer J.N. Delisle, also a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in 1726.⁵⁷

By virtue of his writings and his role as Peter the Great's counselor Demetrius Kantemir was the first orientalist in Russia. He was very active in his role as a defender and leader of the Eastern Orthodox Christian cause and an inspirer of Russian imperialism.⁵⁸ It is a pity that his untimely death at the age of fifty prevented the completion of his latest research. His death occurred at

55. Constantinescu-Iași, *op. cit.*, p. 187. See also Nandriș, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

56. Piru, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

57. *Ibid.* See also Constantinescu-Iași, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-192.

58. Nandriș, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

his estate Dimitrievka near Moscow on August 21, 1723, and not at Kharkov as it is maintained in some western sources.⁵⁹ He was buried in the small church of St. Constantine and St. Helen, which he had previously built in Moscow. The yearning of Kantemir to return to the land of his ancestors was satisfied in 1935 when Soviet Russia agreed to return his remains to the Kingdom of Rumania to be buried in the old capital of Moldavia Jassy.⁶⁰ In fact the Rumanian newspaper "Dimineața" mentioned this event on June 15, 1935, by reporting that the earthy remains of Demetrius Kantemir were put to rest in the famous old church of "Trei Ierarhi" in Jassy and that "this historic act is an additional guarantee of good relations between our country and Soviet Russia."⁶¹

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59. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 765 and in the 1964 edition Vol. 4, p. 804.

60. Piru, *op. cit.*, p. 347. See also Boroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

61. I.M. Oprea, *Din Istoria Relațiilor Diplomatice Româno-Sovietice 1928-1936* (From the History of Rumanian-Soviet Diplomatic Relations 1928-1936) (Bucharest, 1967), p. 85.