

THE REAL ESTATE OF THE MOLDAVIAN BOYAR DUMITRU BUHUȘ

Abstract: This study presents the role played by the boyar Dumitru Buhuș in the political life of Moldavia during the first half of the 17th century, as a result of the important positions he held within the princely council (*cubicularius*, *logothete*, treasurer, great treasurer, *pârcălab/castellanus* of Hotin and Neamț, great *spatharios*) and his nobiliary estates gathered throughout his life, representing his wealth and power. The study underlines, on the basis of chancery documents, his lands, the way they were acquired, the counties where his domains were scattered. It also identifies the boyar's real estates, as well as the courts he built.

Keywords: Moldavia, Dumitru Buhuș, Real Estate, Romanian Nobility, 17th century.

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This paper aims to succinctly analyse the role that the boyar Dumitru Buhuș played in the political life of Moldavia during the first half of the 17th century, when he held major public dignities – *cubicularius*, *logothete*, treasurer, great treasurer, *castellanus* of Hotin and Neamț, great *spatharios*¹ –, and was, thus, member in the princely council. In the same time, the presentation follows the implications that these high political-administrative offices had at a material, patrimonial level, regarding the fortune he gathered, which served as the foundation of his high social status. The paper reconstructs, on the basis of chancery documents, the configuration and consolidation of Dumitru Buhuș' real estate, with emphasis on main acquisition methods, the localisation of his estates, data on other real estates and the courts he possessed.

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¹ These specific dignities are given in the Romanian form, when they do not correspond to Western titles: *clucer* corresponding to the Western Europe master of the royal court, and was the dignitary in charge of the court household and servants; *comis* – master of the prince and army horses; *logofăt=logothete* (chancellor); *paharnic*=cupbearer; *pârcălab=castellanus* – head of a county; *postelnic=cubicularius* – the dignitary in charge of the princely chambers; *sluger* – the dignitary in charge of supplying the princely court with meat; *spătar=spatharios* – holder of the princely sword and commander-en-chief of the Principality's army; *stolnic*=seneschal – the dignitary in charge of the princely table; *vistiernic*=treasurer.

References to the activity of boyar Dumitru Buhuș, as dignitary and member in Moldavia's princely court, and to the fortune he gathered during the first half of the 17th century can be found in several general works. Nicolae Stoicescu, in his *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV–XVII)* [*Dictionary of the Great Dignitaries from Wallachia and Moldavia (14th–17th centuries)*], Bucharest, 1971, briefly presents the public offices that the boyar held. The scholar who devoted several studies to this important dignitary was Ștefan Meteș; the Transylvanian historian, in his *Contribuții nouă privitoare la familia boierească Buhuș din Moldova* [*New Contributions concerning the Buhuș Boyar Family from Moldavia*], published in 1927, gathered and analysed historical sources available at that time on boyar Buhuș' family, beginning with the first known documents, dated in the 15th century, and up to mid-19th century, when his family disappeared, but survived in the name of Buhuș, a town in Neamț county, placed on one of the family's estates. This monographic study can be confronted with data from subsequent papers, which brought to light new documentary sources: Radu Rosetti, in "Cronica Bohotinului" ["Chronicle of Bohotin"] and "Note genealogice și biografice despre familiile Buhuș și Rosetti, foști proprietari ai moșiei Bohotinului" ["Genealogical and Biographical Notes on Buhuș and Rosetti Families, Former Owners of Bohotin Estate"], published in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, in 1906; in his turn, Octav George Lecca, *Genealogia a 100 de case din Țara Românească și Moldova* [*The Genealogy of 100 Houses from Wallachia and Moldavia*], sketched the genealogical tree of the family. In a recent work coordinated by Mihai Dimitrie Sturdza, *Familiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică și biografică* [*The Boyar Families from Moldavia and Wallachia. Historical, Genealogical and Biographical Encyclopaedia*], vol. II, Bucharest, 2011, this genealogical tree was revised. The volume also contains fragments of significant documents regarding the Buhuș family.

Dumitru Buhuș or Dumitrașco, as he is named in domestic documentary sources, son of *castellanus* Cârstea Buhuș and of Nastasia (Anastasia)², daughter of Ioan Prăjescu and sister of Savin, Nicoară and Voruntar, all related to the Movilă princely family, was undoubtedly one of the richest landowners in early 17th century Moldavia. He held, for about 20 years, the most important public dignities, at a central and local level, where he had administrative, fiscal, judicial and military responsibilities and earned a considerable fortune. Dumitru Buhuș was related, through his many children, with several Moldavian princes and great landowners,

² Octav George Lecca, *Genealogia a 100 de case în Țara Românească și Moldova* (Bucharest, 1911), p. 8; *Documente privind istoria României, A, Moldova, veacul XVII*, vol. 2, (1606–1610) (Bucharest, 1953), p. 229-231, doc. 306 (henceforth *DIR, A*); Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV–XVII)* (Bucharest, 1971), p. 355-356 (henceforth N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar*); *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A. Moldova*, vol. XVIII, (1623–1625), edited by Ioan Caproșu, Valentin Constantinov (Bucharest, 2006), p. 4-5, doc. 3 (henceforth *DRH, A*); *Familiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească. Enciclopedie istorică, genealogică și biografică*, vol. II; coordinated and edited by Mihai Dimitrie Sturdza (Bucharest, 2011), p. 572-573 (also see the genealogical tree of Buhuș family).

connections that granted his family an important place in the political events of 17th century Moldavia. By Dumitru, the Buhuș family became famous and was recognised as one of the country's leading families, both due to the dignities held in the princely council, and to the its members' wealth³.

Dumitru Buhuș was married twice: his first wife was Ileana, daughter of cupbearer Ilie Bucioc and of Lupa Veveriță, mentioned in the diptych of Bisericiani monastery, where he built, together with boyar Șoldan, the bell tower with a stone cellar under it⁴. His second wife was Dafina, a descendent of prince Peter the Lame, daughter of Ionașco Jora and sister of Gavril Jora⁵.

Initially, between the years 1615–1624, Dumitru Buhuș was a scribe at the princely court, as it results from the documents he signed during this time; thus, on February 11, 1615, Dumitru Buhuș was in Poland, at Uście, where he wrote a confirmation act issued by princess Elisabeta, Ieremia Movilă's wife, which he signed: "I Dumitru Buhuș wrote"⁶. He was also mentioned as a witness in several documents, which did not reveal any dignity by an autograph signature⁷.

During Miron Barnovschi's reign, Buhuș signed as *cubicularius*, on June 10, 1626⁸, and a year later he was given the important office of *logothete* (1627–1629)⁹. At the princely court, he was initiated into the financial affairs of the country, acting successively as second or third treasurer, between March 14 and April 15, 1629¹⁰, and then, towards the end of Moses Movilă's reign, on October 9, 1630, he was promoted to the rank of great treasurer, dignity held until April 8, 1631.

³ Ștefan Meteș, "Contribuții nouă privitoare la familia boierească Buhuș din Moldova", *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, IIIrd Series, VII (1927), p. 17-18.

⁴ Theodor Codrescu, *Uricariul. Colecțiune de diferite acte care pot servi la istoria românilor*, vol. XXIII (Iași, 1895), p. 364 ("memorial on Shrove Sunday, Dumitru Buhuș, Ileana and their children, Ioan, Crîstea, Nastasia, Ilea, Maria and their children, made a barn and a cellar and a bell tower"); see also Șt. Meteș, "Contribuții nouă", p. 18-19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19-20; N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar*, p. 355-356.

⁶ *DIR, A, veacul XVII*, vol. 3, (1611–1615) (Bucharest, 1954), p. 193, doc. 291; *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului*, vol. I, (1387–1620), edited by Ileana Leonte, Mihai Fănescu, Mihai Regleanu, Veronica Cute, Lucia Papadopol (Bucharest, 1957), p. 373, doc. 1646, (henceforth *CDM*); *Ibid.*, vol. II, (1621–1652), edited by M. Regleanu, Iulia Gheorghian, Veronica Vasilescu, Doina Duca (Bucharest, 1959), p. 45, doc. 144 (April 9, 1623) and p. 55, doc. 194 (January 25, 1624 "Was written by Dumitru Buhuș").

⁷ *DIR, A, veacul XVII*, vol. 4, (1616–1620) (Bucharest, 1956), p. 304, doc. 373 (January 8, 1619); *Ibid.*, vol. 5, (1621–1625) (Bucharest, 1957), p. 127-128, doc. 174 (April 20, 1622), p. 193-194, doc. 262 (March, 1623, written testimony), p. 328, doc. 435 (March 15, 1625), p. 373, doc. 498 (December 13, 1625); see also *DRH, A*, vol. XVIII, p. 53-54, doc. 39 (March 25, 1623), p. 361-362, doc. 291 (March 15, 1625 without any office).

⁸ *CDM*, vol. II, p. 77, doc. 303.

⁹ Th. Codrescu, *Uricariul*, vol. XX (Iași, 1892), p. 184 (January 13, 1628); N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. VII, *Cărți domnești, zapise și răvașe* (Bucharest, 1904), p. 90, doc. 5 (December 18, 1627); Gheorghe Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade (Documente slavo-române)*, vol. V (Iași, 1908), p. 272-273, doc. 184 (March 18, 1627); *CDM*, vol. II, p. 77, doc. 303, p. 100, doc. 421 (June 17, 1628).

¹⁰ N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar*, p. 355; see also Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. II, (1433–1633) (Iași, 1907), p. 230-231, doc. 93.

He was responsible with the state treasury also during the second reign of Moses Movilă, this time as great treasurer (December 15, 1633–September 13, 1634¹¹), and also during Vasile Lupu's reign, as treasurer between November 1, 1640 and July 15, 1644, his name being often met in chancery documents. On January 24, 1635, prince Vasile Lupu appointed him *castellanus* of Hotin, an important point for the defence of the country, an office that Buhuș held until March 10, 1637¹². He was then appointed *castellanus* of Neamț (April 13, 1641¹³), great *spatharios*, (March 31, 1645–August 5, 1645)¹⁴, ex great *spatharios* and *spatharios* (August 5, 1645–June 1, 1646). On June 7, 1645¹⁵, when prince Vasile Lupu granted him a part of Brătășeni village, to hold it “undisturbed by anyone”, Dumitru Buhuș was holding the office of *spatharios*.

The anonymous description of the Polish mission led by Jerzy Krasinski, who transited Moldavia in 1636, mentions that Dumitru Buhuș was “a worthy and wise man as few among his own are”¹⁶, who would have offered the envoy and his suite housing, had he been present in Hotin on March 18, 1636, when the envoy arrived there.

The numerous chancery documents issued in the first half of the 17th century outline the Moldavian boyar's ascending career and, equally, the stages in which he accumulated a vast landed property. His estates contained dozens of villages and parts of villages, scattered in 13 counties: Bacău, Chigheci, Cărligătura, Dorohoi, Hârlău, Hotin, Iași, Neamț, Orhei, Roman, Suceava, Trotuș, Vaslui.

The way in which boyar Dumitru Buhuș gathered his fortune proves his entrepreneurial spirit. Even before he held these prestigious dignities, which brought him fortune and influence in his relations with the Moldavian princes and great boyars, Buhuș started to accumulate estates. In a document issued at Iași, on July 15, 1608¹⁷, it is stated that a merchant from Lviv (Polish: Lwów), Stețco Urmean [the Armenian?], complained to prince Constantine Movilă, claiming that a certain

¹¹ DRH, A, vol. XXI, (1632–1633), edited by Constantin Cihodaru, I. Caproșu, Leon Șimanschi (Bucharest, 1971), p. 547, doc. 435 (December 27, 1633), p. 547, doc. 435 (December 27, 1633, “Dumitru Buhuș, great treasurer”); N. Stoicescu, “Lista marilor dregători ai Moldovei (sec. XIV–XVII)”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A. D. Xenopol» din Iași*, VII (1971), p. 420; DRH, A, vol. XXII, (1634), edited by C. Cihodaru, I. Caproșu, L. Șimanschi (Bucharest, 1974), p. 63–64, doc. 59, p. 136–139, doc. 126 (May 13, 1634, great treasurer), p. 205, doc. 184 (July 9, 1634), p. 241–243, doc. 213, p. 241–243, doc. 213 (July 25, 1634, treasurer), p. 257, doc. 228 (August 8, 1634 great treasurer), p. 266–267, doc. 238, p. 119, doc. 107 (April 27, 1634, Buhuș great treasurer, as a guarantor for a debt), p. 266–267, doc. 238 (August 24, 1634, give testimony under oath).

¹² CDM, vol. II, p. 245, doc. 1169 (August 12, 1636), p. 246, doc. 1170 (August 20, 1636); N. Stoicescu, “Lista marilor dregători ai Moldovei”, p. 409; see DRH, A, vol. XXIII, (1635–1636), edited by L. Șimanschi, Nistor Ciocan, Georgeta Ignat, Dumitru Agache (Bucharest, 1996), p. 240–243, doc. 204, p. 340–342, doc. 304 (January 15, 1636).

¹³ N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar*, p. 355–356; Idem, “Lista marilor dregători ai Moldovei”, p. 412.

¹⁴ CDM, vol. II, p. 216, doc. 651 (April 1, 1645, Dumitru Buhuș *spatharios*); N. Stoicescu, “Lista marilor dregători ai Moldovei”, p. 417.

¹⁵ CDM, vol. II, p. 355, doc. 1783.

¹⁶ *Calători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. V, edited by Maria Holban, Maria Matilda Alexandrescu–Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 1973), p. 113.

¹⁷ DIR, A, *veacul XVII*, vol. 2, p. 167–168, doc. 217.

Dumitrașco and his brother Vasilie, Anghelina's sons, stole from him fabric worth of 700 Thalers and fled the country. Based on the principle of collective responsibility, employed by contemporary unwritten law, their brothers Nastasia and Lucaci were held responsible for this action, the latter being imprisoned, as he could not pay the stolen fabric. The two brothers were lent the necessary amount of 670 Thalers by Nastasia and her son, Dumitru Buhuș, the culprits' cousin; for this amount of money, the brothers pledged "some parts of estates¹⁸ [...] all their parts and those of all their brothers" from the village Gănești in Cârligătura county, as well as parts of the villages of Crivești, Găureni, Răvăcani and Hotcești, in Roman county¹⁹, which they lost for good, as they could not return the borrowed money in due time. This document proves one of the ways that boyars used in order to accumulate immovable properties and to increase their fortune. Most times, the freeholders, constrained by various debts or high taxation, pledged their estates, the usual way towards the definitive alienation of their immovable assets, as they could not repay their debts until the imposed deadlines. The estates of the four brothers were confirmed, on July 24, 1609²⁰, by prince Constantine Movilă, as being the full property of Dumitru Buhuș, who, together with his mother Nastasia paid the plaintiff 700 silver Thalers, the full price for the fabric stolen by his cousins²¹. The prince also certified to the same boyar, on the basis of documents issued by prince Peter the Lame, several inheritances: parts of the villages of Găureni, Răvăcani, Hotcești and Crivești in Roman county, and parts of Gănești in Cârligătura county, as well as several gypsy slaves bought by his mother²².

On September 21, 1608²³, Dumitru Buhuș purchased from Ionașco and his sister Magdalena, sons of great seneschal Carachizel, a part of their estate, "the third part of the village, with its entire income, from the fallow, the field and the forest [...]", in the village of Plotunești, in Cârligătura county, for which he paid 450 Thalers, an acquisition confirmed by prince Constantine Movilă on December 17, 1609²⁴.

It should be noticed that, during this period, all these estates were purchased together with his mother Nastasia, "wife of Caraiman, great cupbearer". Having the financial power, she supported her son to accumulate his own landed property, to affirm himself and to get public dignities, as it results from contemporaneous sources, which mention that "Anastasia, the cupbearer, and her son Dumitru" bought estates or lent money to several small landowners, who most times could not return the debts, and thus the two took the land pledged as a guarantee.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169, doc. 218; see Nicolae Corivan, "Mijloacele de cotropire a pământurilor țăranilor liberi din Moldova în secolul al XVII-lea", *Studii și Cercetări Științifice. Iași*, VII/2 (1956), p. 94-95.

¹⁹ *DIR, A, veacul XVII*, vol. 2, p. 167-168, doc. 217, p. 169, doc. 218.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 229-231, doc. 306.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 230, doc. 306.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 229-231, doc. 306; see also *CDM*, vol. I, p. 327-328, doc. 1424.

²³ *DIR, A, veacul XVII*, vol. 2, p. 179-180, doc. 235.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270-271, doc. 354, p. 254-255, doc. 330 (September 28, 1609, a real estate purchased according to the testimonies of Ionașco and his sister Magdalena).

On January 16, 1617²⁵, in Iași, Radu Mihnea confirmed to Dumitru Buhuș and his sister Safta their possession over three villages: Vulpăneștii under Făget, in Roman county, Molovata, on the Dniester, in Orhei county, and a village hearth, Țepenii, in Chigheci area. These villages, which were “justly princely”, had been received by their father, Caraiman, from Ieremia Movilă, “for his faithful service, both to the prince and to the country”, and were later certified, on January 2, 1623, by Stephen Tomșa II²⁶. On January 18, 1617, Radu Mihnea confirmed the two brothers three more villages: Dobriceni sub Cârpeniș, in Dorohoi county, Grădinții on Siret, with a mill ford on Siret river, in Roman county, and Simionești on Moldova, with a mill ford on Moldova river, in Roman county²⁷. These three villages were also inherited from their father, Caraiman, who got them as a princely donation. On July 1, 1619²⁸, in Iași, by prince Gaspar Graziani’s order, Buhuș was confirmed the villages of Spinoasa and Brălilești, previously owned by seneschal Coste Băcioc.

On May 16, 1620, Dumitru Buhuș exchanged several estates with his relatives. Thus, he gave his cousins, Ion Gănescu’s nephews, his parts of Gănești village and 70 Thalers, receiving in return “a better and wider estate in [the villages of] Crivești, Răvăcani and Găureni”²⁹. In September 1621³⁰, several great boyars, members of the princely council, Lupu, great *vornic/palatinus* of the Upper Country, *spatharios* Savin, Toader Beldiman and others, testified that Tanasie and his wife Tatiana, Ion Gănescu’s granddaughter, sold to Dumitru Buhuș their land in Hoicești, for the sum of 40 Thalers. In the same time, according to a document dated February 24, 1621³¹, Dumitru Buhuș was the master of several peasants, who represented the main labour force on boyar estates.

On January 2, 1623³², Stephen Tomșa II confirmed to Dumitru Buhuș and his sister Safta several villages inherited from their parents, such as: Hulpășești, Gădinți, with a mill ford on Siret river, Simionești, on Moldova river – all in Roman county, Dobriceni, in Dorohoi county, and Molovata, on Dniester river, in Orhei county, with all the incomes of these villages.

On April 8, 1631, prince Moses Movilă confirmed to boyar Buhuș several estates bought during the reigns of Miron Barnovschi and Alexander Coconul: a place in Târgu Frumos, near the village of Crivești, given by prince Miron Barnovschi because he “gave four horses for the country”, worth 140 ducats³³, as well as a third of the fourth part of Olașei village on Sacovăț, in Vaslui county, part

²⁵ *Ibid.*, *veacul XVII*, vol. 4, p. 83-84, doc. 119.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *veacul XVII*, vol. 5, p. 178-179, doc. 244.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, *veacul XVII*, vol. 4, pp. 84-85, doc. 121.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 380, doc. 483.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 474-475, doc. 600; *DRH, A*, vol. XVIII, p. 365-366, doc. 295 (March 18, 1625; his relatives gave D. Buhuș “the forth part of a half of the village of Crivești, and from the other half their third part and their part from the village hearth of Răvăcani and Găureni”, for which they received “two and a half parts of the village of Gănești”, to which he added “70 silver Thalers, as their parts were better”).

³⁰ *DIR, A, veacul XVII*, vol. 5, p. 63, doc. 79.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9-10, doc. 13.

³² *DRH, A*, vol. XVIII, p. 4-5, doc. 3.

³³ Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. II, p. 155-162, doc. 60.

of Dumeni on Prut river, which had belonged to his father in law, Ilie Bucioc, part of Văvătăiești (Bârlești) and part of Hotcești sub Strunga.

A document dated May 1, 1631³⁴, proves the appetite of treasurer Dumitru Buhuș to increase his fortune, sometimes appealing to abusive or unscrupulous measures in order to obtain different estates. Thus, he summoned to justice seneschal Grama for the control of Pietriș village, claiming, without any evidence, that the village had belonged to his parents. But the witnesses testified that the village had never belonged to Buhuș family, but was rightfully seneschal Grama's property.

Between April 29, 1632 and March 2, 1633, Dumitru Buhuș held the rank of third *logothete*³⁵, being often mentioned in chancery documents as one of the most active estates buyers. Thus, on November 2, 1632³⁶, the prince certified to "Dumitru Buhuș, the third *logothete*", several dozens of villages and parts of villages with all their income, scattered in several Moldavian counties, which represented the wealth he inherited or accumulated up to that moment. The act issued by the prince states that boyar Dumitru Buhuș owned estates in eight Moldavian counties (Bacău, Cîrligătura, Hârlău, Hotin, Neamț, Roman, Trotuș, Vaslui), amounting to 14 entire villages, 22 parts of villages, three grasslands, three vineyards, 10 ponds, four saw mills, two mill machines, 18 mills, 2 bee gardens, two orchards, a bridge on Siret river and one on Prut river³⁷.

The accumulation of landed properties continued in the following period: thus, on July 9, 1633³⁸, Lupu Cupar and Stratulat Bolea sold "to our brother Dumitru Buhuș", in fact the latter's cousin, half of a village hearth in Răvăcani for 40 *bee families* (beehives).

On July 21, 1632, prince Alexander Iliăș empowered *logothete* Buhuș to take the tithe from one of his estates near the town of Târgu Frumos: "to be strong and

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155-156, doc. 60.

³⁵ Th. Codrescu, *Uricariul*, vol. XVIII, p. 453 (July 21, 1632); N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători*, p. 355-356; *DRH, A*, vol. XXI, p. 45-47, doc. 42, p. 94-97, doc. 87, p. 105-110, doc. 93 (May 28, 1632), p. 184-186, doc. 145 (July 6, 1632), p. 202, doc. 159 (July 20, 1632), p. 294-295, doc. 236 (November 3, 1632), p. 312-313, doc. 250 (December 1, 1632), p. 342-345, doc. 270 (January 15, 1633), p. 368-369, doc. 289 (February 13, 1633 – *logothete* Dumitru Buhuș was in a civil litigation with the former *castellanus* Gheorghe Jora for settling the boundary between two properties), p. 225-227, doc. 198 (July 18, 1634, Dumitru Buhuș former third *logothete*).

³⁶ Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. II, p. 114-119, doc. 47 (November 21, 1632); Șt. Meteș, "Contribuții nouă", p. 22-24; *CDM*, vol. II, p. 178-179, doc. 829 (November 1, 1632), p. 179, doc. 829; *DRH, A*, vol. XXI, p. 289-292, doc. 234 (November 2, 1632).

³⁷ He owned the following villages in Roman county: Gîdintî, Crivești, Răvăcani, Găureni, Hotcești, Dădești and parts of Movileni village; in Cîrligătura county parts of the villages: Plotunești, Căcăcești, Târgu Frumos, Tâlhărești, Chicera; in Hârlău county the villages: Văvătăiești (Bârlești), Spinoasa and parts of the villages: Totoiești, Iurghiceni (today Erbiceni); in Iași county: Puriceni village; in Hotin county the villages: Copăceni, Brătășani, Răsteul and parts of the villages: Pribisăuți, Costești, Dumeni, Bozoviți, Tălmăciu; in Trotuș county: the village Mănești and parts of the villages: Grozești, Muncei; in Bacău county: parts of the village Măstăceni; in Neamț county: Niculești (Trifești), parts of Românești; in Vaslui county: Protopești (Protopopeștii), part of Olășeni (Oleșei), Bombotești (Bumbotești), Mestecani și Lihaci.

³⁸ Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. II, p. 113, doc. 46.

powerful with my act to take the tenth part of the bread and hay, from a piece of land he has in the border of Târgu Frumos, from whomever ploughs and mows down on that place of his”³⁹. Several months later, on November 26, 1632⁴⁰, the same prince, “having seen his devoted and fair service”, gave to boyar Dumitru Buhuș “a bee garden and a grassland and a mill location and a mill machine in Jijia, from the confluence with Bahlui to its inflow into Prut river, in the princely wood, because he gave to the prince four good horses valued at 160 ducats «good money»”⁴¹. On July 8, 1635, the donation of prince Vasile Lupu was added to all this patrimony, as the prince granted him a village hearth in the lower part of Bohotin wood. The colonists he could bring from “another country” or “from his villages” were exempt from all taxes and duties, on condition that they would work at the mills on Jijia and Prut rivers, built on the land received for his “service” to the prince and “the country”⁴². Boyar Buhuș’ ability to manage his estates results from a confirmation act, dated August 20, 1636, referring to the same wood, with all its income, namely “a mill ford on Buzova brook, where to build a mill, a mill machine and a saw mill, as well as fish ponds, a moving bridge on Prut, a bee garden and a grassland, with a forest for the food of the pigs”⁴³.

On February 13, 1633, in Iași, *logothete* Dumitru Buhuș complained to the prince about Ghianghea Jora, “former *castellanus*”, who crossed the boundary of his villages of Cupcici and Costești; consequently, the prince appointed Gavrilaş, former great *palatinus*, to investigate this complaint⁴⁴. On March 17, 1634, prince Moses Movilă returned the great treasurer Dumitru Buhuș a piece of land in Gîdinți village, occupied by the community of the town of Roman⁴⁵.

Lupu Coci, appointed ruler of Moldavia, preserved at the princely court his closest supporters, and Dumitru Buhuș was among the counsellors who had served him unconditionally. Along with other adepts of Lupu Coci, Buhuș went to the Porte in 1631, to advocate against the possible nomination of Alexander Iliăș as prince of Moldavia. Being trusted by prince Vasile Lupu, Buhuș was sent on June 4, 1639, in a mission to the prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczy II; thus, on June 11, treasurer Buhuș and other 46 people were in Brașov⁴⁶.

Having the necessary skills previously proven by the dignities held and being one of Vasile Lupu’s loyal boyars, the prince entrusted him the country’s finances during the period November 1, 1640–July 15, 1644. In a document dated March 20,

³⁹ DRH, A, vol. XXI, p. 203, doc. 160.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 308-309, doc. 247.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 308-309, doc. 247; see also Radu Rosetti, “Cronica Bohotinului”, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, IInd Series, XXVIII (1906), p. 165.

⁴² DRH, A, vol. XXIII, p. 198-199, doc. 162.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 542-544, doc. 482; see also CDM, vol. II, p. 246, doc. 1170 (the abstract of the same document); R. Rosetti, “Cronica Bohotinului”, p. 162-163 (the author proves that Dumitru Buhuș got significant incomes from the tithe on numerous bee gardens placed in the wood by private persons, an extremely profitable method to increase his incomes).

⁴⁴ DRH, A, vol. XXI, p. 368-369, doc. 289.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, p. 98-99, doc. 84 (March 17, 1634).

⁴⁶ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. IV, *Legăturile Principatelor Române cu Ardealul de la 1601-1699* (Bucharest, 1902), p. CXCVI.

1636, Vasile Lupu did justice to Dumitru Buhuș in a dispute with Lupu Prăjescu⁴⁷. On December 10, 1640⁴⁸, the prince also defended the treasurer in a dispute against Varvara, Gheorghe Calapod's wife, for two parts of Boldești and Sârbi in Suceava county, a fact that proves the boyar's successful attempts to expand his control over these villages.

During the spring of 1637, Dumitru Buhuș purchased the village of Dădești, an acquisition completed in several stages. Thus, on March 30, 1637⁴⁹, in Iași, Vasile Lupu authorised Dumitru Buhuș to take the part of Voruntar, former *comis*, from the village of Dădești, because the former official owed him, for a long time, some money; following this acquisition, several relatives of the debtor (Dumitrașcu Șoldan and Safta Savin Prăjescu⁵⁰, Sofronia and her son Ciogolea⁵¹) offered Buhuș their parts of the estate, probably for an amount of money. On November 4, 1637⁵², in Iași, princess Teodosia, Vasile Lupu's wife, gave Dumitru Buhuș her part of the village hearth of Dădești, beyond Târgu Frumos: "our estate from the hearth of Dădești, the eighth part, the one on Sirca, upper from Târgul Frumos, [...], for his fair service".

On April 4, 1637⁵³, the ruler confirmed to treasurer Buhuș all purchases and inheritances he had done by that time. In addition to the above mentioned possessions, we should add Bujucești, with a pond and a mill place (bought in two different occasions, half each time), in Neamț county, and Boldești, in Suceava county. In the latter county, there were also confirmed pieces from the village of Sârbi, placed on Toderești river, and "a village called Braniște, on Bohotin, with the mill ford on Buzova brook, to bring the water of Jijie into the brook which is at Covasna inlet, and to build there a mill, mill machines [...], with all the income".

A construction in the capital has to be added to the consistent fortune he had accumulated in different ways (inheritances, princely donations and mostly purchases). An act issued in Iași, on December 2, 1638⁵⁴, stated: "I, Stephen Boul former *clucer*, write and confess in this act how I sold to treasurer Dumitrașcu Buhuș our house from Iași, near the White Church, that were given by our father in law Stephen voivoda to Solca Monastery, and the monastery gave it back to me when I got married". This document proves that Dumitru Buhuș had purchased some houses in Iași for 40 ducats, from Stephen Boul, husband of Ruxandra, the daughter of prince Stephen Tomșa II. Ruxandra received these houses as a dowry from her father, donated to Solca Monastery and then restored to the family at the grooms' wedding. During the first half of the 17th century, it was natural for the Moldavian

⁴⁷ Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. III (Iași, 1907), p. 107-108, doc. 68.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167, doc. 99.

⁴⁹ *DRH, A*, vol. XXIV, (1637-1638), edited by C. Cihodaru, I. Caproșu (Bucharest, 1998), p. 45, doc. 48.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60, doc. 60, p. 61-62, doc. 61.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62, doc. 62, p. 87-88, doc. 87.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 195-196, doc. 213, p. 304, doc. 305 (April 2, 1638).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 48-50, doc. 52.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 479, doc. 516; see also Aurel Iacob, *Țara Moldovei în vremea lui Ștefan Tomșa al II-lea* (Brăila, 2010), p. 89-90.

boyars to build or buy houses and courts in the country capital, Iași, the political, economic and cultural centre of Moldavia, due to the need to be present at the princely court and fulfil their political, military and administrative tasks. Dumitru Buhuș also built some houses and a church in Crivești, in Neamț county⁵⁵.

In a document dated later than September 12, 1637⁵⁶, it is stated that several boyars testified about the exchange of villages between treasurer Dumitru Buhuș and Drăguna Gherghiloaia and her sister, the latter receiving half of Dimitrești, in Neamț county, and 600 Thalers, giving the boyar half of Movileni, in Roman county, and a third of the village hearth of Căcăeni, Cârlișura county.

Analysing the process of how boyar Dumitru Buhuș enlarged and consolidated his estate, it can be noticed, from an act issued in Iași on April 26, 1638⁵⁷, that Vasile Lupu confirmed his property on a piece of Iurghiceni village, purchased from *palatinus* Bandur for 60 Thalers. Similarly, on February 27, 1639, Buhuș purchased from Toader, deacon of Bârlești, and from his relatives, several parts of Bârlești, paying 200 zloty and a part of the hearth of Căcărazeni⁵⁸. Thereafter, he completed his possession of Boldești village, in Suceava, by making an exchange with Iacob Moțoc⁵⁹.

Dumitru Buhuș died during Vasile Lupu's reign, on March 15, 1647, and was buried in the village of Crivești, Neamț county, as shown on the tombstone of the village church, built by Buhuș himself: "This tombstone was made and decorated by Dumitrașco Buhuș former great treasurer. He died in the days of Vasile voivode, in the year and month 7155 [1647], March 15"⁶⁰. The last member of Buhuș family was *palatinus* Dimitrie Buhuș, buried there on November 16, 1846, to whom Costache Negruzzi devoted a poem that emphasizes, among other things, the noble origin of this family: "From a noble stem, glorious family, true Romanian [...]"⁶¹.

Dumitru Buhuș gave his children a consistent fortune⁶². His landed property was made up of dozens of villages and parts of villages, placed on rivers throughout Moldavia, in 13 counties: Bacău, Cârlișura, Dorohoi, Hârlău, Hotin, Iași, Neamț,

⁵⁵ N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova* (Bucharest, 1974), p. 227.

⁵⁶ *DRH, A*, vol. XXIV, p. 172-173, doc. 188.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 329, doc. 335, p. 393-384, doc. 410, p. 450-451, doc. 482. p. 390, doc. 405, p. 106, doc. 110 (document issued at Iași, on May 26, 1637; several freeholders from the village of Iurghiceni, wanted for murder by Dumitrașco Șoldan, great *palatinus* of the Upper Country, borrowed 50 ducats from Dumitru Buhuș, to whom they pledged their estates from this village), p. 303, doc. 304 (April 2, 1638), p. 322, doc. 328; see also *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, (1639-1640), edited by N. Ciocan, D. Agache, G. Ignat, Marius Chelcu (Bucharest, 2003), p. 411-412, doc. 404.

⁵⁸ *DRH*, vol. XXV, p. 48, doc. 40; p. 48, doc. 40.

⁵⁹ Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. III, p. 296-297, doc. 167 (document dated September 13, without mentioning the year, most probably before 1642).

⁶⁰ Melchisedec [Ștefănescu], *Notițe istorice și arheologice adunate de pe la 48 monastiri și biserici antice din Moldova* (Bucharest, 1885), p. 129, doc. XVIII; see also R. Rosetti, "Note genealogice și biografice despre familiile Buhuș și Rosetti, foști proprietari ai moșiei Bohotinul", *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, IInd Series, XXVIII (1906), p. 469-471.

⁶¹ Melchisedec, *Notițe istorice și arheologice*, p. 129-130, doc. XVIII; Șt. Meteș, "Contribuții nouă", p. 26.

⁶² N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar*, p. 355-356.

Orhei, Roman, Suceava, Tigheci and Vaslui. Most of his villages were placed close to the capital, in the counties of Cârlișău, Hârlău, Roman, Neamț. As it was presented in this article, this fortune was accumulated by the common means of that age: inheritance, dowry, princely donations, but mostly by purchases. The boyar spent for them approximately 2,000 silver Thalers, 200 zloty, 110 Leeuwendaalders, 15 ducats, 300 Hungarian golden coins, amounts that represented only a part of his cash, since not all documents reveal the price he paid for every estate acquired. The boyar and dignitary Dumitru Buhuș proved himself an able entrepreneur, who had consistent incomes not only from the offices he held, but also from the exploitation of his estates, which brought him large benefits following the trading of agro-alimentary products and cattle, allowing him to have the needed cash for extending his landed properties.

Purchased properties⁶³

Data	Villages/ parts of villages	County	Method of acquisition
July 15, 1608	Part of Gănești	Cârlișău	He lent money with a guarantee (700 silver Thalers) to his cousins Lucoci and Nastasia
	Part of Crivești	Roman	
	Part of Găureni	Roman	
	Part of Răvăceni	Roman	
July 24, 1609	Part of Hotcești (Honcești)	Roman	Parental inheritance
	Part of Răvăceni	Roman	
	Part of Crivești	Roman	
September 21, 1608	Part of Plotunești	Cârlișău	Purchase from Ionașco and his sister Magdalena, sons of the great seneschal Carachizel, for 450 Thalers
January 16, 1617	Part of Vulpănești	Roman	Parental inheritance (a confirmation made for Dumitru and his sister Safta)
	Village of Molovata	Orhei	
	Village hearth of Țepeni	Chigheci	
January 18, 1617	Village of Dobriceni	Dorohoi	Parental inheritance
	Village of	Roman	

⁶³ These references only refer to purchases, without mentioning the successive reconfirmations of his properties.

	Grădinți (Gădinți)		
	Village of Simionești	Roman	
July 1, 1619	Villages of Spinoasa and Brălilești	Hârlău	Villages which “were held” by <i>palatinus</i> Băcioc
May 16, 1620	Part of Răvăcani Part of Găureni and Part of Crivești	Roman	An exchange of a part of the village and the payment of 70 Thalers
September 1621	part of Hoicești (Hotcești)	Roman	The purchase for 40 Thalers
April 8, 1631	Part of Târgu Frumos	Cârligătura	Received as a princely donation because he offered prince Miron Barnovschi four good horses for public affairs, worth 140 golden coins
	Part of Olășei	Vaslui	Purchased for 50 silver Thalers from V. Dășovanul
	Parts of Dumeni on the Prut	Hotin	Inherited from his father-in-law, Ilea Bucioc (dowry)
	The third part of Vavătiești (Bârlești)	Hârlău	Purchased for 40 silver Thalers from Ionașco Moga, the nephew of <i>sluger</i> Moga
	Part of Hotcești	Roman	Purchased for 40 silver Thalers
November 2, 1632	Parts of Iurghiceni (Erbiceni)	Hârlău	A part purchased from Iachim Bandur for 60 Leeuwendaalders, and another part for 50 Leeuwendaalders from some freeholders, whom he lent money
	part of Tâlhărești	Cârligătura	Unspecified
	part of Chicera	Cârligătura	
	Parts of Totoești	Hârlău	
	Village of Spinoasa	Hârlău	
	Village of Puriceni	Iași	
	Part of Movileni	Roman	
November 26, 1632	Village place in the princely wood	On Bohotin (near Iași)	Princely donation from prince Alexander Iliăș, because he offered four good horses for public affairs, worth 160 golden coins; a village hearth was added

			on July 8, 1635, south of Bohotin estate
November 2, 1632 March 30, 1637	Village hearth of Dădești	Roman	He borrowed money from several relatives
	Village of Cupcici, on Ciuhur	Hotin	Unspecified
	Village of Brătășani	Hotin	
	Part of Tribișeuți	Hotin	
	Part of Costești	Hotin	
	Part of Bozovița	Hotin	
	Part of Răsteu	Hotin	
	Part of Tălmăciu	Hotin	
	Village of Măneștii	Trotuș	
	Part of Grozești	Trotuș	
	Part of Muncei	Trotuș	
	Part of Măstăcani	Bacău	
	Village of Niculești (Trifești)	Neamț	
	Parts of Românești	Neamț	
	Village of Protopești	Vaslui	
	Part of Olășei	Vaslui	
	Part of Bombătești	Vaslui	
Part of Măstăcani	Vaslui		
Part of Lehaci	Vaslui		
April 4, 1637	Village of Bujucești	Neamț	Purchased in two different occasions, half each time
	Village of Boldești	Suceava	Purchase and land exchange
	Village of Sârbi	Suceava	Purchase and land exchange
July 14, 1637	Village of Brătășeni	Hotin	Purchased for 15 ducats
September 12, 1637	Part of Căcăceni (Căcăcești)	Cârligătura	Purchase (for 600 Thalers) and land exchange
	Part of	Neamț	

	Dimitrești		
September 1, 1638–August 31, 1639	Part of Cucuteni	Cârligătura	Purchase (no specified price)
February 27, 1639	Parts of Bârlești	Hârlău	Purchased for 200 zloty
April 25, 1645	part of Movileni	Roman	Purchased for 60 Leeuwendaalders and land exchange