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THE GENTRY OF THE POLISH-OTTOMAN
BORDERLANDS: THE CASE OF THE MOLDAVIAN-POLISH
FAMILY OF TURKUŁ/TURCULEŃ

Polish-Ottoman relations have enjoyed the interest of researchers for some time now. That said it is enough to briefly look at the subject literature to reach the conclusion that this research focuses on the period of the great wars of the seventeenth century, with less attention directed towards matters of the eighteenth.¹ Researchers chiefly

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¹ I cite the most important works: Marek Wagner, 'Pogranicze polsko-moldawskie w końcu XVII wieku', in Krzysztof Mikulski and Agnieszka Zielińska-Nowicka (eds.), *Etniczne, kulturowe i religijne pogranicza Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Między Zachodem a Wschodem, 3, Toruń, 2006), 38–46; Ilona Czamańska has researched Romanian emigrants in the Commonwealth in the 17th century, 'Rumuńska emigracja polityczna w Polsce w XVII wieku', *Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia*, vi (1993), 5–21; on Polish-Ottoman and Polish-Moldavian political and military relations in the 18th century see the works of Andrzej K. Link-Lenczowski: 'Dyplomacja hetmana wielkiego koronnego Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego w latach 1706–1725', unpublished PhD thesis, Cracow, Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Dokt. 77/80; 'Hetman Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski a niektóre aspekty finansowe polityki polskiej wobec Porty i Krymu w początkach XVIII w.', *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, xxxvii, 3–4 (1982), 457–65; 'W kręgu ograniczonych możliwości. Wywiad hetmana wielkiego koronnego Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego po restauracji Augusta', *ibidem*, xlvii, 1–2 (1992), 145–54; 'Wokół kryzysu wschodniego z lat 1711–1713. Turecy i tatarscy dyplomaci w Rzeczypospolitej', in Jarosław Dumanowski *et al.* (eds.), *Między Zachodem a Wschodem. Studia ku czci profesora Jacka Staszewskiego*, ii (Toruń, 2003), 355–69; 'Na pograniczu świata islamu', in Adam Kaźmierczyk *et al.* (eds.), *Rzeczypospolita wielu wyznań. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji, Kraków, 18–20 listopada 2002* (Cracow, 2004), 437–40; 'Południowo-wschodnie pogranicze Rzeczypospolitej u schyłku

involve themselves in the political and diplomatic aspects, not dealing with that popular problem area for Western European research which is the question of frontier. In this article I will draw attention to borderland society, including the context of the changes which occurred in Polish-Ottoman relations during the eighteenth century.

In 1893 Frederick Jackson Turner gave a paper (published a year later) advancing the question of frontier in American history.² From that moment onwards one starts to date the interest amongst American and European researchers in the question of the sociology of frontier. In Europe a wider discussion on the subject of applying the methods of *frontier thesis* developed in 1955 at the 10th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome. Of the contributions made one was by the eminent researcher into Far Eastern frontiers Owen Lattimore.³ Today the research method endorsed by Turner is widely applied, while the number of publications on frontier matters is simply amazing. This area of research also began to draw interest from European and American Ottomanists, who attempted to apply this school's methodology to the question of Ottoman frontiers in Europe.⁴ In Poland this matter which has been examined in the works

wojny północnej. W kręgu aktywności hetmana wielkiego koronnego Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego po Poławie', in Bogdan Rok and Jerzy Maroń (eds.), *Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa profesora Krystyna Matwijowskiego* (Toruń, 2006), 1149–63. See also Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet kamieniecki 1672–1699* (Warsaw, 1994); Jan Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule w XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1959); Lidiya V. Vlasova, *Moldawsko-pol'skie politicheskie svyazi v posledney chetverti XVII–nachale XVIII v.* (Kishinev, 1980).

² Frederick J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Madison, 1894).

³ Owen Lattimore, 'The Frontier in History', in *idem, Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers 1928–1958* (London, 1962), 469–92.

⁴ Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London, 2007). Cf. Gábor Ágoston's review in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, lii, 1 (2009), 159–63. From among similar works see Michael R. Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-Century Bosnia* (Leiden, 1997); Colin Heywood, 'The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths', in Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (eds.), *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700* (Themes in Focus, Houndmills, etc., 1999), 228–51; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 20, Leiden, etc., 2001), particularly part two of the volume, 'The Ottoman Frontier'; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the*

of Dariusz Kołodziejczyk and Andrzej K. Link-Lenczowski,⁵ has yet to find its appropriate development.

In the seventeenth century it would be possible to refer to the Polish-Ottoman border – applying the terms developed by German geographers – as *Trennungsgrenze* (divergent border).⁶ This concept refers to a border which fulfils a dividing function between two states and societies, often culturally different, as was the case with the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The wars of the seventeenth century, although they did not permanently affect the economic structure of the Polish-Ottoman borderland, decisively resulted in a distancing from each other of the societies living on both sides of the border. One may already notice, however, certain processes of change during the last campaigns of the seventeenth century, with a rapprochement between the Polish military elite and the Moldavian boyars. A stabilisation and normalisation of social processes on the Polish-Ottoman borderland can be observed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Frontier life most noticeably changed after the reconfirmation of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1714. The role of the frontier in the life of this society underwent a durable change and the post-1714 border may be referred to as *Zusammenwachsgrenze* (convergent border),⁷ i.e., a border having a convergent function for the Polish and Ottoman-Moldavian societies.

One may speak of a ‘Polish borderland society’ and an ‘Ottoman-Moldavian borderland society’. Yet these are terms too narrow for the social realities of the beginning of the eighteenth century to fit within. The most appropriate term in researching these realities is ‘Polish-Ottoman society’, for the Polish-Ottoman and Polish-Moldavian interaction within the borderland region intensified during this period to such a degree that, to some extent, one may speak of a single society.

Ottoman State (Berkeley, etc., 1995). Cf. also older works: Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1935); Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938). For a confrontation of the views of Köprülü and Wittek, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 35–44.

⁵ See fn. 1.

⁶ Daniel Power, ‘Frontiers: Terms, Concepts, and the Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe’, in *idem* and Standen (eds.), *Frontiers in Question*, 2. Cf. Martin Schwind, *Allgemeine Staatengeographie* (Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Geographie, 8, Berlin and New York, 1972), 115 ff.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

The possibility of researching two different societies of a single frontierland as an individual entirety in the sociological meaning has been raised by Owen Lattimore.⁸ As he claims, the functionality of a border may intensify the cooperation of the societies living on both its sides, exemplified by such activities as smuggling, theft or providing shelter for befriended families living in the neighbouring country. As a result borderlanders may be characterised by an ambivalent sense of loyalty. Similar phenomena may be noted on the Polish-Ottoman border.

A change in the character of this border is connected with a qualitative change in the diplomatic relations of the Commonwealth with the Ottoman Porte. It seems that their character underwent an improvement already after the conclusion of the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and the legation of Rafał Leszczyński in 1700, but in particular following the mission of the palatine of Masovia Stanisław Chomentowski in 1712–14.⁹ The latter, preceded by the mission of Mikołaj Milkiewicz, the legate of the Sandomierz Confederation in 1707, and the fairly unfortunate expedition of Felicjan Bąkowski¹⁰ and Józef Wilkowski in 1710–11,¹¹ had an already prepared ground for the final confirmation of the Treaty of Karlowitz. This does not mean, however, that it was an easy task. At a certain moment Chomentowski was even arrested during his legation.¹² In turn, in the summer of 1713, there appeared on the borders of the Commonwealth Turkish and Tatar forces under the command of Abdi Pasha. Despite his long and eloquent explanations, everything seemed to indicate that it would result in an invasion and a revision of the resolutions of the Treaty of Karlowitz.¹³ Finally this did not happen and the newly

⁸ Lattimore, 'The Frontier in History', 470. Cf. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier*, 16.

⁹ Rafał Leszczyński's mission is well known in the subject literature, see Ilona Czamańska (ed.), *Poselstwo Rafała Leszczyńskiego do Turcji w 1700 r. Diariusze i inne materiały* (Leszno, 1998).

¹⁰ Felicjan Bąkowski to Jan Jerzy Przebendowski, Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa (hereafter: BN), BOZ, 927, no. 35, Constantinople, 20 Dec. 1710.

¹¹ Captain (*rotmistrz*) Józef Wilkowski confirms the receipt of three thousand tynpfs for the expenses incurred in result of his mission to Istanbul, Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (hereafter: AGAD), Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (hereafter: ASK), Oddział V, Księgi kwitów, 13, p. 69, Warsaw, 19 May 1712.

¹² Władysław Konopczyński, 'Stanisław Chomentowski', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereafter: PSB), iii, 413.

¹³ Abdi Pasha to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Cracow, Archiwum Państwowe (hereafter: APKr.), Oddział I Wawel, Zbiór Dzieduszyckich (hereafter: ADzied),

appointed Ottoman *serasker* (military commander), responsible for the area bordering on Poland, concentrated his efforts on rebuilding the old fortress of Hotin (Polish: Chocim), which became the cause of longterm accusations on the part of the Commonwealth against the Porte.¹⁴ Despite the accusations presented to the legates of Khan Kaplan Giray and Abdi Pasha at the audience in Warsaw in 1713, Chomentowski was eventually able to confirm the Treaty of Karlowitz with only minor alterations on 22 April 1714.¹⁵ Up until the end of the existence of the Commonwealth this treaty was to constitute the basis for diplomatic relations between Poland and the Ottoman Empire.

The stabilisation of the Commonwealth's diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Porte exerted a definite influence on the life on the Polish-Ottoman borderland. From the moment military activities ceased and territorial exchanges as a result of the Treaty of Karlowitz had come about a stabilisation of the frontier occurred. The Commonwealth restored to the Ottomans the territories it had occupied in northern Moldavia, receiving in exchange Podolia. In 1703 three Commonwealth commissioners, Marcin Chomentowski, Jan Koniecpolski and Stefan Humiecki, working in cooperation with the Ottoman envoy Ibrahim, established the final course of the boundary.¹⁶

Following the stabilisation of the political situation there also occurred a noticeable intensification within social life and the creation of 'borderland society'. This was obviously not a one-off

26/32, no. 21, Hotin, 27 Sept. 1713. See Józef A. Gierowski, 'Stolica apostolska wobec groźby tureckiego najazdu na Polskę w 1713 roku', in Marian Surdacki (ed.), *Religie, edukacja, kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi* (Lublin, 2002), 97–108; Link-Lenczowski, 'Wokół kryzysu', 355–69.

¹⁴ Cf. 'Relacja konferencji Ichmościów Panów senatorów ministrów status z panami posłami chana JM Kaplan Gereja i seraskiera Abdy Paszy die 18 Octobris 1713 w Warszawie odprawionej', BN, BOZ, 937, no. 7. The accusations against the Ottomans are colourfully described, see Kórnik, *Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, 401, p. 149 (Jan Szembek's notes). This is not an isolated incident. For a similar, even more forthright note, see Cracow, *Biblioteka Czartoryskich* (hereafter: BC), 493/IV, no. 25, p. 111, ca. 1713 (Jan Szembek's notes). Cf. S. M. Rzewuski to J. Szembek, *ibidem*, no. 29, 4 Oct. 1713 (?). Rzewuski probably influenced the contents of the aforementioned note by Szembek.

¹⁵ Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents* (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 18, Leiden, etc., 2000), 641–3 (doc. 65).

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 157–8.

phenomenon but rather a multistaged process of long duration, whose beginnings may be observed already during the period of John III Sobieski's wars against the Porte. Then there began the process of forging close acquaintances, even cordial ones, particularly between the Polish noble elites and the Moldavian boyars. People on both sides of the border could utilise the political situation for their own ends, sometimes changing sides between the Polish and the Ottoman options during the course of conflict. This partly resulted in the phenomenon of divided families whose members lived on the two sides of the frontier. The Polish-Ottoman frontier society was unusually colourful. It comprised Poles, Turks, Moldavians, Tatars and Jews, as well as Cossacks whose presence in the region was not uncommon. This Polish-Ottoman frontier multiculturalism also implied multilingualism. The question of survival was one often dependent on a knowledge of at least two languages. One may gain the impression that following the concluding of the Treaty of Karlowitz there was an increased intensification in the cultural transfer between all of the above mentioned groupings.

Transborder relations may be successfully studied on the basis of the source materials from the beginnings of the eighteenth century. The preserved documents point, first and foremost, to close administrative-military contacts of an espionage nature. And thus the commander of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski, Krzysztof Wilhelm Rappe, was in cordial contact with the *pârcălab* (castellan) of Hotin, Grand Captain Petrash, who, among other things, informed him in detail of the arrest of Charles XII by the Ottomans (the so-called *kalabalık* at Bender in 1713).¹⁷ Petrash to some extent *ex officio* and to some extent privately forged contacts with the Polish army. In January 1713, on the orders of the Moldavian prince, he appeared at the Polish fortress of Okopy Świętej Trójcy (lit.: The Holy Trinity Trenches), where he gave an account to its commander, Józef Bartsch, of events in the Ottoman state.¹⁸ In March 1713, Petrash informed General

¹⁷ Krzysztof Wilhelm Rappe to Jan Szembek, BC, 465/IV, no. 37, p. 169, 6 March 1713. Petrash to Krzysztof Wilhelm Rappe, BC, 465/IV, no. 41, p. 187, Lienkocze (?), 3 (?) March 1713.

¹⁸ 'Relacja uczyniona ustna za rozkazaniem hospodara JMci wołoskiego przez Pana Petraszka, kapitana wielkiego wołoskiego JM Panu generałowi Barszczowi w Okopach Św. Trójcy', 9 Jan. 1713, BC, 5760, no. 452.

Rappe of the movement north of the Tatar horde.¹⁹ This captain was, therefore, a special contact designated by the prince. It seems that this was brought about by his knowledge of the Commonwealth and of the Polish language. A similar function to Petrash's was fulfilled by the *pârcălab* of Hotin Ivashko Kuzmovitch who provided wide ranging information about the situation in Moldavia, more distant Ottoman provinces, and even amongst Moldavian emigrants residing in Russia following the betrayal of the prince of Moldavia Dimitrie Cantemir.²⁰ The said Ivashko probably fulfilled the role of double informer, for he was in good contacts with the Ottomans, including the *serasker* of Hotin, the prince of Moldavia, and had numerous contacts in Jassy.²¹ The Ottoman *serasker* was even reported to pay him for information on the situation within Christian states.²² All in all he was a fairly interesting figure, 'a Turk with a Turk, a Tatar with a Tatar, and a Pole with a Pole'.²³ As a rule when in the Commonwealth he would personally convey his reports to the hetman. In turn Bartsch recalled 'his man' from Jassy, who would give him detailed information about

¹⁹ Krzysztof Wilhelm Rappe to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 2905, no. 33, p. 223, Kamieniec Podolski, 15 March 1713.

²⁰ Ion Neculce to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, APKr., ADzied, 26/32, no. 6 [n.p., n.d.], where strong accusations are directed toward Pârcălab Ivashko. Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Jan Szembek, BC, 457/IV, no. 45, p. 90, Brzeżany, 16 April 1710. Ivashko was excellently informed about the situation in the Ottoman Empire, see Ivashko Kuzmovitch to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, AGAD, Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie (hereafter: AKW), Dział Turecki (hereafter: Tur.), 953, Międzybóž, 2 June 1713, p. 251–2. Ivashko who during his visits in Poland used to stay at the village of Mazniki, belonging to Sieniawski, outlived his protector and in 1726 informed his political friends from Moldavia of his death, see Ivashko Kuzmovitch to Elżbieta Sieniawska, BC, 5836, no. 15635, Mazniki near Zinków, 15 June 1726.

²¹ Ion Neculce to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, APKr., ADzied, 26/32, no. 6. According to Ion Neculce, Ivashko accused him of being a Muscovite spy at the pasha of Hotin, in Jassy he warned the Turks of his return, and at the palatine of Kiev, Józef Potocki, he accused him of plundering the palatine's property. As a result of these activities the Moldavian prince, Nicolae Mavrocordat, attempted to prevent Neculce's return to Moldavia. Ivashko corresponded in this matter even with Russian commanders [sic!]. The dangerous manoeuvring between various parties on the Polish-Ottoman border did not do Ivashko any harm, for in 1736, while an old man, he still provided information about the situation in the Ottoman Empire to his new patron Augustus A. Czartoryski, see Ivashko Kuzmovitch to Augustus Alexander Czartoryski, BC, 5913, no. 2944, Mazniki, 14 July 1736.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

the situation in the principalities.²⁴ It seems that he was in good contacts with the majority of the boyars inhabiting the area along the Prut River, who informed him about the various incidents and latest regulations of the prince.²⁵ Bartsch also used as his main informants Moldavians with family connections in Bender.²⁶

The examples cited above refer to situations in which military commanders, who *ex officio* conducted espionage activities, attempted to forge closer contacts with the elites of Moldavian-Ottoman society. These were relations principally based on an exchange of information about the situation in the other country.

One may enumerate amongst other contacts, chiefly of a prestigious nature, the acquaintance of Abdi Pasha with one of the Wiśniowiecki princes.²⁷ One may similarly qualify the numerous contacts with the Turks and Tatars of Crown Grand Hetman Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Crown Field Hetman Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski and the most active during this period Stefan Humiecki, the palatine of Podolia, a member of the Commonwealth's commission for the demarcation with Porte of 1703. It is worth noting that also individuals not connected with frontier life through their offices could maintain wide reaching cross-border contacts, an example being Stefan Potocki, who befriended numerous Tatar aghas, which was not a result of his duties but rather family tradition.²⁸

Thanks to the extensive archive legacy on the eighteenth-century Commonwealth one may venture a detailed research into the rich gentry/boyar domain of the Polish-Moldavian borderlands. Probably the best method to illustrate all of the fundamental aspects of this

²⁴ Józef Bartsch to Jan Szembek, BC, 465/IV, no. 33, p. 151, 1 March 1713.

²⁵ Józef Bartsch to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5760, no. 862, Okopy Św. Trójcy, 17 May 1710.

²⁶ Józef Bartsch to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, *ibidem*, no. 860, Okopy Św. Trójcy, 6 May 1711.

²⁷ Abdi Pasha to Wiśniowiecki, BC, 495, no. 70, p. 289 (incorrect numeration on the part of the librarian Łukasz Gołębiowski, the correct number being 73, p. 303), Hotin, 12 July 1720. In the letter words derived from 'friendship' are used as many as nine times, which might point to the intimate relations between the correspondents. In other letters of Abdi Pasha this sort of determiner appears much rarer.

²⁸ Andrzej K. Link-Lenczowski, 'Stefan Potocki', PSB, xxviii, 177–80. Stefan Potocki to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5921, no. 31354, 9 Oct. 1694, where Potocki calls one of the Tatar *mirzas* his kin (Pol.: *pobratymiec*).

region would be focusing on a single representative family, and as such I consider the Moldavian-Polish family of the Turkuł/Turculeț. Practically all the most important elements of frontier life find their reflection in the history of this family.

The Turkułs were descendents of the Moldavian family, the Turcul (Turkuł, Turkuł, Turkulec, Turculeț – from a Romanian nickname denoting ‘little Turk’), which had a long tradition of service at the court of the Moldavian princes. The family’s history took on a certain dynamism with the activities of Basil (Polish: Bazyli) Turkuł (Vasile Turculeț), who supported the pro-Polish prince Ștefan Petriceicu. Together with his patron he was forced to seek refuge in the Commonwealth, where in 1676, along with a larger group of Moldavian boyars, he received the rights of a Polish noble (*indygenat*) and entered the Polish service by becoming a cavalry captain.²⁹

Basil’s most talented son was Constantine (Polish: Konstantyn) Turkuł (Constantin Turculeț), going under the title of pantler of Czernihów (Ukrainian: Chernihiv) and *starost* of Cernăuți (Ukrainian: Chernivtsi), who continued the tradition of service in the Polish army by commanding a Wallachian (in seventeenth-century Polish this term referred to both Wallachia and Moldavia-editorial remark) banner on the borderlands.³⁰

Constantine participated in John III Sobieski’s campaigns and was one of the most talented amongst the king’s commanders commanding the Wallachian banners.³¹ In 1685 Constantine and his brother

²⁹ AGAD, Sigillata, 13, p. 137. *Volumina Legum*, v (St Petersburg, 1860), 201. Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, ix (Leipzig, 1842), 151. Niesiecki quotes a fragment of the argumentation from the bestowal of the Polish noble rights: ‘Vir praeclaris facinoribus, praecipue vero bellica laude insignis; inusitatae virtutis, fidei et constantiae in Nos et Rempub. ductu et exemplo Stephani Patru Palatini Moldaviae, omnium arcanorum et secretorum Rempubl. Nostram concernentium, dexter ac fidelis ad Nos ablegatus, qui relictis omnibus fortunis suis, partes Nostras Regias secutus est’. In the family tradition the year 1676 was commemorated as the date of the family’s arrival in the Commonwealth, although it was believed that the Moldavian prince of the time had been Ștefan Turcul and not Ștefan Petriceicu, see Jan Turkuł, *Gawędy familijne. Pamiętnik z XIX wieku*, ed. Ludwik Żychliński (Cracow, 1897), 9.

³⁰ Mariusz Kaczka, ‘Służba wywiadowcza i dyplomatyczna A. M. Sieniawskiego na początku XVIII wieku. Próba nowego ujęcia’, *Rocznik Przemyski*, xlv, 1: *Historia Wojskowości* (2008), 43–55.

³¹ For numerous references on this subject see Kazimierz Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego. Diariusz i relacje z lat 1691–1696*, ed. Janusz Woliński (Wrocław, 1958), 8–10, 12, 36, 61, 229, 259.

Andrew (Polish: Andrzej) together with other Moldavian units took control of the region of Cernăuți and the route leading from Moldavia to the Podolian fortress of Kamieniec then held by Ottoman troops.³² This resulted in clashes with the Ottomans in the vicinity of Kamieniec.³³ In 1686 Constantine took part in Sobieski's expedition to Moldavia.³⁴ In the course of a meeting with the Moldavian forces a conflict broke out between a unit commanded by Turkuł and the Moldavian hetman Antonie Jora. This resulted in a skirmish that was joined by Turks and Lipka Tatars, who helped the Moldavians in the pursuit of the fleeing unit in Polish service. During the flight Constantine was thrown from his horse at the walls of the Neamț fortress and wounded, after which he was taken captive. The Moldavian prince, Constantine Ducas wanted to hand Turculeț over to the Turks thinking that in this way he would pay off his dues. Ducas was, however, dismissed and Antiochus Cantemir was appointed the new prince. The overthrown prince still wanted to hand Turkuł over to the Turks. The Moldavian logophet Teodosie Dubău and the *starost* of Putna Manolache Ruset on learning of Ducas' intentions sent for Turkuł and placed him at the Galata monastery in Jassy. Thanks to the help of the soldiers of the above mentioned friends, Turkuł escaped.³⁵

On 21 June 1687 Constantine received from John III 'for loyal service' the position of administrator (*starosta*) and at the same time judge of the district of Cernăuți, which had been occupied by the Poles.³⁶

³² Ion Neculce, *Latopiseșul Țării Moldovei și o samă de cuvinte*, ed. Gabriel Ștrempel (Bucharest, 1982), 328. I thank Michał Wasiucionek for his help in the interpretation of fragments of the text of Ion Neculce's chronicle on the activities of Constantine Turkuł.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ Czesław Chowanec, 'Wyprawa Sobieskiego do Mołdawii w 1686 roku', *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, iv (1931), 68, 140.

³⁵ Neculce, *Latopiseșul*, 368–73.

³⁶ 'Uniwersał do ziemi mołdawskiej', Jaworów, 21 June 1687, BC, 422/IV, p. 145 [published in Ioan Bogdan (ed.), *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor urmare la colecțiunea lui Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, suppl. II, vol. III, fas. 1a: 1641–1703 (Bucharest, 1900), 166]. Vlasova, *Moldavsko-pol'skie*, 75. Constantine Turkuł remained in this office probably until 1699, see Moldavian boyars to John III Sobieski (?), AGAD, AKW, Dział Mołdawsko-Wołoski, 43/81, post 1687: 'Uczyniłeś nam WKM starostą czerniowieckim pana Turkuła'. Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45199, Tuczapy, 16 Nov. 1711, where Turkuł calls the then *starost* of Cernăuți 'my brother and kinsman'.

In August 1691 he participated in the subsequent Polish expedition to Moldavia.³⁷ Towards the end of 1692 he brought the king two Tatar captives.³⁸ In the summer of 1693 he was involved in the supply of information from the borderlands, entering into contact with, i.a., the Moldavian hetman.³⁹ He worked also as an intermediary in the exchange of prisoners between the Moldavian prince and the Polish magnates.⁴⁰ In September 1694 Crown Grand Hetman Stanisław J. Jabłonowski summoned Turkuł to himself, commanding him to force his way through by train to the main camp.⁴¹ Towards the end of December 1695, together with a part of his Wallachian banner, he found himself a prisoner.⁴² In January 1696 Hetman Stanisław J. Jabłonowski informed King John III of Constantine's imprisonment by Constantine Ducas in the Galata Monastery in Jassy.⁴³ Lying in wait for his life were now not only the Moldavian prince but also the Turks, who wanted to take him with them to Istanbul.⁴⁴ Thanks to the help of 'his friends', Lupu Bogdan and Iordache Ruset, he escaped on foot to Neamț, where at this time was stationed a Polish unit under the command of Daniel Rupich.⁴⁵ As a consequence Constantine Ducas

³⁷ Ioan Moga, *Rivalitatea polono-austriacă și orientarea politică a Țărilor Române la sfârșitul secolului XVII* (Cluj, 1933), 189–90.

³⁸ Marek Matczyński to Dominik Winkler (?), AGAD, ASK, Oddział VI, Księgi asygnat, 24, p. 145, Magierów, 4 Dec. 1692.

³⁹ Constantine Turkuł to unidentified recipient (Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski?), Wrocław, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (hereafter: BO), 2706/I, p. 19–21, Baniów, 30 Sept. 1693: 'One piece of news reached me from Jassy from the hetman, which I will promptly send on'.

⁴⁰ Stefan Potocki to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5921, no. 31361, Kołaczkowce, 9 March 1695.

⁴¹ 'Ordynans dla Turkuła młodszego', BC, 2699, p. 216, camp at Petlikowice, 11 Sept. 1694.

⁴² Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów*, 389.

⁴³ Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski to John III Sobieski, AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów papierowych (hereafter: ZDP), no. 2605, Lviv, 4 Jan. 1696. Cf. Wagner, 'Pogranicze polsko-mołdawskie', 43.

⁴⁴ Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski to Jan III Sobieski, AGAD, ZDP, no. 2605, Lviv, 4 Jan. 1696.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*. In the course of escaping Constantine was again wounded. Cf. Neculce, *Latopisețul, 372*; cf. also *Latopisețul Țării Moldovei de la Istratie Dabija până la domnia a doua a lui Antioh Cantemir 1661–1705*, ed. Constantin Giurescu (Bucharest, 1913), 89. Otherwise Rupich does not recollect Turkuł in his accounts, only a few of his accounts have been preserved though, see Daniel Rupich to Stanisław Jan

accused the then Moldavian prince, Antiochus Cantemir, to the Porte of being party to the freeing Turkuł. In March 1696 the latter was again fighting on the frontier and brought the king 'pagan' captives.⁴⁶ Still before John III Sobieski's death 'a Wallachian came [to Warsaw] from Turkuł with certain warnings about a pagan enemy, but he could not report the news because of the frailty of the king's health'.⁴⁷ After Sobieski's death (1696) and that of Hetman Stanisław J. Jabłonowski (1702) Constantine entered the service of the new monarch Augustus II (1696–1733). He was closely connected during this period with Crown Field Hetman Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski (from 1702), while information about the Ottoman Empire he also shared with Crown Grand Hetman Hieronim Augustyn Lubomirski (died 1706).⁴⁸ It seems that thanks to his abilities Turkuł was able to easily gain the support of his new protectors. It is possible that here one should search for the cause of his arrogance. Not only did he steal from the borderland boyars of the Cernăuți area but in so doing he claimed to be under royal instruction.⁴⁹ Paradoxically, the Moldavian boyars in finding themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea – on the one side encouraged to return by the requests and threats of the Moldavian prince, on the other pressurised by the Polish gentry – expected protection from Turkuł.⁵⁰

Constantine operated on the frontierlands within the framework of a multilingual and multicultural society. It is enough to recall that he commanded in his banner Tatars (Lipkas, i.e. Lithuanian Tatars),

Jabłonowski, AGAD, ZDP, no. 2637, Neamț, 30 Nov. 1695; Daniel Rupich to Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski, *ibidem*, no. 2638, Neamț, 26 Nov. 1695; Daniel Rupich to Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski, AGAD, AKW, Dział Mołdawsko-Wołoski, 43/68, Neamț, 18 Nov. 1695.

⁴⁶ Marek Matczyński to Dominik (?) Winkler, AGAD, ASK, Oddział VI, Księgi asygnat, 25, pp. 192, 177, Warsaw, 22 March 1696, Warsaw, 28 March 1696.

⁴⁷ Marek Matczyński to Dominik (?) Winkler, *ibidem*, p. 194, Warsaw, 10 May 1696.

⁴⁸ Hieronim Augustyn Lubomirski to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 2518/IV, p. 374, Lewartów, 1 June 1703.

⁴⁹ 'Skarga na JMP Turkuła starostę czerniowskiego i rotmistrza JKM', AGAD, AKW, Dział Mołdawsko-Wołoski, 43/71, post 1687.

⁵⁰ Moldavian boyars to John III Sobieski (?), AGAD, AKW, Dział Mołdawsko-Wołoski, 43/81, post 1687. The accusation concerns pressure from the side of the Polish gentry, to which Turkuł added his share.

Moldavians and Cossacks.⁵¹ Borderland reality required the ability to manoeuvre amongst the various interest groups and one may gain the impression that Turkuł acted extremely skilfully, avoiding all dangers. His situation became complicated after the defeat of the Swedish king, Charles XII, at the Battle of Polava (1709). From 1704 within the Commonwealth there competed two political camps, one grouped around Augustus II, supported by Tsar Peter I, and another around the anti-king Stanisław Leszczyński (1704–9), who owed his election to Charles XII. Following his defeat in battle the Swedish king managed to save himself by finding refuge in the Ottoman territory, at the Bender fortress. While Charles XII, his Polish supporters and the Mazepa Cossacks found themselves in the immediate vicinity of Moldavia, the Muscovite forces in pursuit appeared on the Polish side of the border. In this situation Turkuł, although initially attempting to maintain a neutral position, was forced to decide on one of the sides in the conflict. He finally chose to support the Muscovite unit of Gavril I. Kropotov and on 4 September 1709 while commanding the advance guard he crossed the border together with the Muscovites.⁵² A Cossack-Swedish unit resting near Cernăuți was routed.

Consequently, Charles XII, assisted by Polish emigrants, resolved to eliminate Turkuł from the borderlands. Józef Potocki, the palatine of Kiev, standing at the head of the Polish emigration attempted at first to courteously draw the Moldavian onto the side of the Swedish king.⁵³ When this failed, the Polish military units serving Charles XII commenced regular incursions onto Turkuł's estates. Probably the king himself passed the death sentence on Constantine, offering whoever managed to kill him one thousand florins and 'other rewards'.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹ 'Skarga na JMP Turkuła starostę czeniowskiego i rotmistrza JKM', AGAD, AKW, Dział Mołdawsko-Wołoski, 43/71, post 1687. On the Cossacks in Turkuł's service, see Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów*, 259.

⁵² Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45177, Tuczapy, 12 Sept. 1709. Stefan Humiecki to A. M. Sieniawski, BC, 5834, no. 15046, Koniuchy, 14 Oct. 1709. Cf. Stanisław Poniatowski, 'Le journal d'un frère d'armes de Charles XII', ed. Serge M. Goriaïnov, in *Revue contemporaine* (St Petersburg, 1910), no. 7, pp. 26–7. *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo, Yanvar' – Dekabr' 1709 goda*, ed. Boris B. Kafengauz, ix, 2 (Moscow, 1952), 1189.

⁵³ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45187, Tuczapy, 25 May 1710.

⁵⁴ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45203, Lisznia, 3 March 1712.

last account by Turkuł written for Sieniawski is dated 26 December 1713.⁵⁵ Two weeks later, Crown Grand Hetman Adam M. Sieniawski informed Crown Chancellor Jan Szembek of Constantine's death, 'whom God mourns, for he was of much worth'.⁵⁶ Thus Turkuł died in somewhat obscure circumstances at the end of December 1713 or at the beginning of January 1714.⁵⁷ Probably one of the expeditions of Polish emigrants onto his estates managed to kill Constantine while he was in residence there.⁵⁸

Constantine Turkuł was undoubtedly 'of much worth'. He knew Latin, Polish, Romanian as well as Oriental languages.⁵⁹ Within Moldavian society the good knowledge of Polish and Latin that he presented was rather a rarity.⁶⁰ Despite being naturalised in the Commonwealth, he maintained connections with the Moldavian and Wallachian boyars. He also had contacts in Hungary and possibly in Istanbul amongst Ottoman officials. In 1709 he made contact with the royal envoy Felicjan Bąkowski, who was in residence at the Sublime Porte, someone who did not even correspond with Sieniawski.⁶¹ In

⁵⁵ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, *ibidem*, no. 45217, Lisznia.

⁵⁶ Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Jan Szembek, BC, 467/IV, no. 6, p. 21, Oleszyce, 10 Jan. 1714.

⁵⁷ Cf. Vlasova, *Moldawsko-pol'skie*, 131.

⁵⁸ The problem of dating his death is linked with the assessment of the privilege for the armoured banner, which Constantine Turkuł received on 20 Jan. 1714, see *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: z archiwum tzw. bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* (hereafter: AGZ), x (Lviv, 1884), 397: 'In Dresden on 20 January 1714, Augustus II confers on Colonel Constantine Turkuł an armoured banner'. As Constantine did not have a namesake son, apparently the information of his death had not yet reached the court and the privilege was issued on his name.

⁵⁹ Constantine Turkuł translated certain Ottoman letters coming to Sieniawski, see Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Augustus II, BC, 465/IV, 29, 14 June 1713. Quoted after: Link-Lenczowski, 'Dyplomacja hetmana', 143, fn. 36.

⁶⁰ E.g., Ilie Macog with the boyars to Augustus II, AGAD, AKW, Dział Mołdawsko-Wołoski, 43/82 [n.p., n.d.], where the signature: 'Ilie Macog together with other boyars of the Wallachian land'. For a comparison, Turkuł wrote some of his letters in his own hand, see Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, nos 45162–45217.

⁶¹ Bąkowski maintained permanent correspondence with Crown Field Hetman Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski. Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5871, no. 45184, Tuczapy, 22 May 1710: 'To this very day I wait in vain for any news from Bąkowski, even though my companions are there with him'. Stefan Humiecki to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5834, no. 15063, 3 July 1711: 'A com-

part this may result from the fact that Turkuł had given Bąkowski several of his people prior to the latter's departure from Poland.⁶² It is worth noting that until his death Constantine acted as a link person between Sieniawski and the court on the one side, and the Commonwealth's envoy in Istanbul, Stanisław Chomentowski, on the other.⁶³ He also acted as an intermediary in the envoy's correspondence with his wife.⁶⁴ In December 1713 he appeared at the border with the aim of collecting the envoy's letters.⁶⁵

Despite the fact that Turkuł's accounts addressed to Sieniawski might have contained false information deliberately disseminated by the Turks, it seems that most of his reports were based on the information obtained from certain sources. It is worth noting that the information derived from him, if not directly influencing the decisions taken by the Commonwealth's ruling elites, was at least valued by her ministers and considered as requiring no verification.⁶⁶ Turkuł himself expressed his total confidence as to his sources of

panion of Turkuł, who has all the time accompanied Sir Bąkowski, rides with Sir Puławski, hence I beg Your Excellency to display him Your favour'. Cf. Link-Lenczowski, 'Dyplomacja hetmana', 70.

⁶² Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45163,

⁶³ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, *ibidem*, no. 45213, Lisznia, 21 April 1713, no. 45214, *ibidem*, 26 April 1713. Turkuł had forged contact with Chomentowski already prior to his Turkish mission, see Stanisław Chomentowski to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 2882/IV, no. 35, p. 111, Buczacz, 3 Aug. 1711.

⁶⁴ Chomentowska to Jan Szembek, BC, 465/IV, no. 98, p. 465, 9 May 1713.

⁶⁵ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45217, Lisznia, 26 Dec. 1713.

⁶⁶ Ludwik Pociąg to Jan Szembek, BC, 460/IV, no. 112, p. 243, Jazłowiec, 12 Sept. 1711. Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski to Jan Szembek, BC, 457/IV, no. 28, p. 55 [n.p.], 18 May 1710. Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski to Jan Szembek, BC, 460/IV, no. 73, p. 150, Chełm, 19 Aug. 1711. Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski to Jan Szembek, BC, 457/IV, no. 29, p. 57, Oleszyce, 19 May 1710: 'I was just on my way to Lviv, but the letter of Sir Turkuł has just reached me ... Please forgive me for the frequency of my reports ... but this letter has simply left me weak'. Stefan Humiecki to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5834, no. 15062, Mariampol, 20 Sept. 1711. Atanazy Miączyński to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 2883 IV, no. 25, camp at Stanisławów, 23 Oct. 1711. Obviously certain ministers were extremely sceptical of the information brought by Turkuł, see Jan Jerzy Przebendowski to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Gdańsk, 26 Dec. 1711, in *Listy Jana Jerzego Przebendowskiego podskarbiego wielkiego koronnego do Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego wojewody bełskiego i hetmana wielkiego koronnego z lat 1704–1725: "Interes WM Pana wspomniałem Królowi Jmci"*, ed. Adam Perlakowski (Cracow, 2007), 188.

information.⁶⁷ A comparison of his accounts with the diplomatic dispatches of Robert Sutton, an English diplomat operating at this period in Istanbul, comes out positively even though Sutton had access to excellent sources from the vizier's court and that of the sultan's.⁶⁸

Sieniawski's best agent was also responsible for the correspondence of the Crown grand hetman, as well as the correspondence of Augustus II with the Wallachian and Moldavian princes.⁶⁹ It even occurred that Turkuł would personally meet with the princes and conduct conferences with them.⁷⁰

Constantine not only supplied Sieniawski and the Commonwealth ministers with information on what was happening in the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian principalities, but also supplied the Moldavian

⁶⁷ Constantine Turkuł to Atanazy Miączyński, BC, 5971, no. 45198, Tuczapy, 22 Oct. 1711. Constantine Turkuł to Elżbieta Sieniawska, *ibidem*, no. 45179, Gwoździec, 6 Dec. 1710 (?).

⁶⁸ *The Despatches of Sir Robert Sutton, Ambassador in Constantinople (1710–1714)*, ed. Akdes Nimet Kurat (Camden Third Series, lxxviii, London, 1953). This almost forgotten source edition of the meritorious researcher of the eastern crisis, Akdes Nimet Kurat is deserving of wider research attention. One may find in it information on, i.a., Poles in the entourage of Charles XII as well as the crisis of 1712–14 from the perspective of Constantinople. Other editions by the author are also of interest: Akdes Nimet Kurat, 'Letters of Poniatowski on the Pruth Campaign 1711', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xxvi, 66 (Nov. 1947), 239–58 as well as *idem*, *İsveç Kralı XII Karl'ın Türkiye'de Kaldığı Zamana ait Metinler ve Vesikalar* (AÜDTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, 5/1, Ekler I, Istanbul, 1943), where one may find not only an edition of documents from Turkish archives but also materials from Berlin, Stockholm, Uppsala and Vienna including a French description of the arresting of Charles XII by the Ottoman army in 1713 (187–92).

⁶⁹ Nicolae Mavrocordat to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, L'vivs'ka Natsional'na Naukova Biblioteka Ukrainy imeni V. Stefanyka (hereafter: LNBU), 546, p. 266, 20 Nov. (?): 'Although to me ... You [about documents – MWK] wrote nothing but only mentioned them ... to Turkuł'. Constantin Brâncoveanu to Augustus II, BC, 493, no. 50, p. 275, București, 2 Aug. 1704, where he thanks for a letter delivered by „*spectabili ac generoso domino Constantino Turkull, dapifero Czernichoviae, capitaneo Czernensi, nec non colonello eiusdem serenitatis*” (published in Gheorghe Duzinchevici, *Documente din arhivele polone relative la istoria românilor [secolele XVI–XIX]* (Bucharest, 1935), 12. Cf. Constantin Brâncoveanu to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, APKr., ADzied, 26/32, no. 14, Bucharest, 30 June 1710.

⁷⁰ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, APKr., ADzied, 26/32, no. 12, Tuczapy, 9 Jan. 1709. In this letter the signature was, most likely for reasons of security, ripped off, however a comparison of the dating, place of issue, subject matter and type duct of the letter points to his authorship.

and Wallachian princes with information about the situation in the Commonwealth and even would make purchases for them there.⁷¹ One may go as far as to presume that similar information was also sent by Turkuł to the Moldavian boyars. This being all the more the case that he also played out the role of intermediary between the Polish and Romanian world. When in 1698 there appeared in the Commonwealth David Corbea, descended from a Transylvanian family of diplomats, the representative of the Wallachian prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, with the intention of assessing the military intentions of King Augustus II in relation to the Turks, on the return journey to Bucharest he entered into contact with Turkuł at Cernăuți.⁷² One may assume that from this moment onwards Turkuł played the role of intermediary in Sieniawski's correspondence, as well as equally in Augustus II's with Constantine Brâncoveanu.⁷³ As an aside one may recall that Corbea met in Warsaw, i.a., Alexei Nikitin the then envoy of Peter I to Warsaw. He wanted to gauge the possibility for a political alliance between his employer and the tsar, and that Turkuł attempted to persuade them to cooperate with the Muscovites.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Nicolae Mavrocordat to Constantine Turkuł, LNBU, 546, p. 266 [n.p.], 20 Nov. (?).

⁷² Paul Cernovodeanu, 'O familie de diplomați români din Transilvania la cumpăna dintre veacurile XVII și XVIII. Corbea Din Șcheii Brașovului', *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, xxiii (2005), 147. Cf. Teofil Rendiuk, 'Primele contacte ale hatmanului ucrainei, I. Mazepa, cu Moldova și Țara Românească și evoluția lor până în anul 1708', *Romanoslavica*, xlv (2009), 273–89, 284 (the role of Turkuł).

⁷³ Constantin Brâncoveanu to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, APKr., ADzied, 26/32, no. 13, Bucharest, 30 June 1710 (a copy): 'we have sent these letters to sir Turkuł having no doubt, that he will promptly forward them to Your Excellency'. The Wallachian prince also corresponded directly with the royal and Commonwealth's envoy in Istanbul, Stanisław Chomentowski, see Paul Cernovodeanu, 'Coordonatele politicii externe a lui Constantin Brâncoveanu. Vedere de ansamblu', in *idem* and Florin Constantiniu (eds.), *Constantin Brâncoveanu* (Bucharest, 1989), 135 (a photocopy of an uncoded letter of the prince of 1713 with a handwritten signature, addressed to Stanisław Chomentowski; in this letter, as an intermediary in the transfer of correspondence, appears the commander of Okopy Świętej Trójcy, Józef Bartsch), 136, fn. 38 (on the contacts of the prince with King Augustus II, Stanisław Chomentowski and Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski). The same scholar edited a letter from 1713, preserved in AGAD, see Paul Cernovodeanu, 'Din corespondența diplomatică a lui Constantin Brâncoveanu (IV)', *Revista Arhivelor*, 3 (1986), 317, no. 3.

⁷⁴ See fn. 72.

In the winter of 1709 Turkuł persuaded Hetman Sieniawski to make an acquaintance with an influential Moldavian boyar Iordache Ruset, then residing in Lviv (Lwów).⁷⁵ In turn when in the summer of 1710 there came to the Commonwealth a new wave of Moldavian emigration seeking asylum, with Savin Zmucilă, the grand ban of Moldavia, at its head, the fugitives were met at the border by Constantine and thanks to him they established contact with Hetman Sieniawski⁷⁶.

The activities of Constantine Turkuł were based to a large extent on his personal connections. Utilising these he was able to conduct wide ranging trade within Moldavia, starting from armaments and ending with cattle. He corresponded with the Crown court treasurer, Atanazy Miączyński, probably from the times of the Polish-Ottoman war, and thanks to Sieniawski's protection he also established contact with the Crown grand treasurer, Jan Jerzy Przebendowski.⁷⁷ Thanks to these connections, he secured exemptions from customs duties and was able to bring into the Commonwealth Moldavian cattle tax free.⁷⁸

Andrew Turkuł also served on the borderlands, in a way similar to his older brother, in the Crown army, as a distinguished 'borderlands officer'.⁷⁹ There lived in the Moldavian principality relatives

⁷⁵ Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5971, no. 45180, Tuczapy, 8 Dec. 1709. Turkuł met Ruset personally, see fn. 76.

⁷⁶ Sawin, the grand ban of Moldavia to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, BC, 5940, no. 36531, Śniatyń, 26 May 1710. In the letter addressed to Sieniawski with a request for asylum there appear three signatures: *Deduł, spatar wielki, Sawin, banuł wielki, Paweł, radzyna sudzier* (BC, 5940, no. 36530, Śniatyń, 26 May 1710). These were Dediul, the grand sword bearer (Rom.: *mare spătar*), Savin Zmucilă, the grand ban (Rom.: *mare ban*), and Pavel Rugină, the grand meat provider (Rom.: *mare sulgar*). Their surnames can be identified on the basis of the editions: Ion Neculce, *Latopisețul Țării Moldovei*, in: Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin, Ion Neculce, *Latopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed. Tatiana Celac (Chișnău, 1990); and Ion Neculce, *Latopisețul Țării Moldovei și samă de cuvinte*, ed. Gabriel Ștrempele (Bucharest, 1982). Besides those mentioned there also escaped to the Commonwealth Ștefan Luca, Ilie Abaza and Iordache Ruset.

⁷⁷ Constantine Turkuł to Atanazy Miączyński, BC, 5971, no. 45167, Oryszów, 16 Sept.(?), no. 45195 [n.p.], 19 Aug. 1711, no. 45198, Tuczapy, 18 Oct. 1711.

⁷⁸ AGZ, vol. 10, pp. 385–6: 'In Lublin on 18 July 1703; Jan Jerzy Przebendowski, the Crown grand treasurer, the *starost* of Pokrzywno and Puck, permits Constantine Turkuł, colonel, to bring once only 130 oxen to Gdańsk or Silesia without the payment of duty'.

⁷⁹ Mariusz Markiewicz, 'Rady senatorskie Augusta II (1697–1733)', unpublished PhD thesis, Cracow, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Zakład Historii Powszechnej Nowo-

and political friends of the Turkuł family, thanks to whom the Turkuł brothers – the older (Romanian: ‘Turculeț cel mare’) as well as the younger (Romanian: ‘Turculeț cel mic’) could obtain reliable and exact information if not on the situation in Istanbul then, for certain, about events in Jassy, Bucharest and in the Crimea.

Following Constantine’s death his wife, Antemia, made claims to the inheritance. Initially she in person requested Crown Grand Hetman Sieniawski to confirm the privilege given by John III to the demesne Lisznia and demanded for herself the *ius communicativum* (the right to a deceased husband’s property).⁸⁰ Later she attempted to have the armoured banner, bestowed on Constantine Turkuł already after his death by King Augustus II, conferred on one of his sons.⁸¹ Most probably Antemia had been in touch with Sieniawski already earlier, for Constantine used to send his family in the face of overt danger to the estate of the hetman’s wife, Elżbieta.⁸² Constantine’s sons were still minors at the moment of their father’s death and therefore the legal case to the inheritance was taken up by Antemia. She most probably gained from Augustus II confirmation of the privilege.⁸³ Following Augustus II’s death (1733) the Turkułs initiated attempts for confirmation by the new monarch of their rights to the demesne Lisznia.⁸⁴

żytnej 128. On the 17 Aug. 1699 the senatorial council meeting in Warsaw recommended Andrew Turkuł, among other borderland officers, to the king. Jan Wimmer, ‘Materiały do zagadnienia organizacji i liczebności armii koronnej w latach 1683–1689’, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, viii, 1 (1962), 270.

⁸⁰ See fn. 56.

⁸¹ Antemia Turkuł to Elżbieta Sieniawska, BC, 5971, no. 45218, Cf. AGZ, vol. 10, p. 397.

⁸² Constantine Turkuł to Elżbieta Sieniawska, *ibidem*, no. 45204, Lviv, 10 March 1712. Constantine Turkuł to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, *ibidem*, no. 45205, Lviv, 29 March 1712.

⁸³ In the 1720s and beginning of the 1730s Antonina (i.e., Antemia) Turkułowa, the wife of the *starost* of Cernaŭți, figures as the owner of the Lisznia and Kołpiec estates belonging to the royal domain of Sambor, see ‘Kompozycja o dziesięcinę z folwarków liśniańskiego i kołpeckiego i z łąnu Iniańskiego w Niedźwiedzi, 1725 et 1734’, Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrubleskių biblioteka, fond 273/ Zbiór Alberta Zasztowta, 693.

⁸⁴ AGZ, vol. 33, p. 15. *ibidem*, vol. 33, p. 198, where in a dietine instruction dated 22 Aug. 1740 the deputies to the Diet were required to support the supplication of Turkuł. The confirmation must have taken some time as already on 9 Sept. 1735 the dietine in Wisznia proclaimed a similar instruction in favour of Constantine’s descendents, see *ibidem*, 147.

This estate, which had been granted to Basil Turkuł by John III Sobieski in the seventeenth century, with the villages of Lisznia, Niedźwiedza and Kołpiec, was to be transferred from generation to generation and was to remain in the possession of the Turkuł family up until 1772 when it was taken over by the Austrian government.⁸⁵

The choice of protector made by Antemia – not in Moldavia but in the Commonwealth – was one that was to serve for several generations. In consequence, the Turkuł family remained in the Commonwealth, yet they did not forget about their Moldavian roots.

Constantine's first born son was Basil, the *starost* of Cernăuți and deputy palatine of Lviv.⁸⁶ Basili was not, however, a man of his father's mettle, although he was politically active in the Ruthenian palatinate, participating in dietines.⁸⁷ He belonged to the clientele of Prince Augustus A. Czartoryski's, playing an important role as dietine informant.⁸⁸

Constantine's remaining descendants settled in the Ruthenian palatinate and further integrated into the Commonwealth. Elijah became the *starost* of Bachtyn, in the Latyczów (Ukrainian: Letychiv) county in Podolia, and a colonel in the Crown army, and had at his possession several villages.⁸⁹ In the years 1744–5 he commanded one unit of the Crown grand hetman's troops in the environs of Śniatyń (Ukrainian: Snyatyn).⁹⁰ Joachim Jerzy became the pantler of Czernihów.⁹¹ Constantine had also a son Peter, who did not display much in the way of public service.⁹² In addition the Turkuł

⁸⁵ Filip Sulimierski, Bronisław Chlebowski and Władysław Walewski (eds.), *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* (dalej: SGKP), v (Warsaw, 1884), 326.

⁸⁶ Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, ix, 151.

⁸⁷ AGZ, xxiii, 27. Basil Turkuł to August Aleksander Czartoryski, BC, 5971, no. 45153–45160, 1730–1740.

⁸⁸ Katarzyna Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich* (Cracow, 2010), 320.

⁸⁹ SGKP, vii (Warsaw 1886), 882.

⁹⁰ 'Ordynanse Turkuła dla Cieńskiego, miecznika żydaczowskiego', APKr., Archiwum Podhoreckie Rzewuskich, VII 2/8, Śniatyń, 16 Feb. 1745, 20 March 1745, 4 April 1745, 27 July 1745, 2 Oct. 1745.

⁹¹ Eugeniusz Janas and Witold Kłaczewski (eds.), *Urzednicy województw kijowskiego i czernihowskiego XV–XVIII wieku. Spisy* (Kórnik, 2002), 195.

⁹² AGZ, vol. 23, p. 25, where Piotr Turkuł appears among the signatories to the act of confederation of the Ruthenian palatinate dated 20 March 1733.

family, thanks to numerous daughters, married their way into the Polish gentry.⁹³

In 1792 the Turkułs applied for recognition of their noble status and such recognition was obtained by fourteen male descendants of the family.⁹⁴ Nineteenth-century evidence demonstrates that the family was still active within the former borderland. Presumably Basil Turkuł, a former colonel in the Polish army, hereditary owner of the village Czereszenka and the castle judge of Latyczów, was a descendant of Constantine.⁹⁵ Onufry Turkuł, operating in the borderlands at the turn of the nineteenth century, must have also been a descendant of the Turkułs who had settled in the Commonwealth a century earlier.⁹⁶ For certain a descendant of Constantine was Jan Turkuł, the author of memories.⁹⁷ The last of the family, Felixs, who used Ostoja as his coat of arms, died in Lviv on 28 March 1885.⁹⁸

The activities of Constantine Turkuł and his family within the borderland region may be considered a reflection of what I call belonging to 'frontier society'. Despite the clearly displayed hostility on the part of certain groups, the general tendency in interpersonal relations on the Polish-Ottoman border was a willingness to forge peaceful mutual contacts, the utilisation of those chances resulting from inhabiting the border region to gain economic advantages, as well as building the most advantageous family strategies. In the economic sphere taxation in mutual trade was bypassed, in the private sphere the contacts established on the other side of the

⁹³ Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, ix, 151. LNBU, fond 141, opys 3, 498, pp. 15–21.

⁹⁴ Sylwester Korwin Kruczkowski, *Poczet Polaków wyniesionych do godności szlacheckiej przez monarchów austriackich w czasie od roku 1773 do 1918* (Lviv, 1935), 52.

⁹⁵ 'Summaryusz dokumentów granicznych w sprawie dziedzica wsi Czereszenki, pułkownika byłego wojsk polskich S. G. L. Bazylego Turkuła na skutek rezolucji sądu pierwszej instancji spisany w czasie odbywającego się zjazdu na gruncie spornym dnia 3 kwietnia 1839 r.', BO, 4571/III.

⁹⁶ Family and property papers of Onufry Turkuł, 1798–1831, LNBU, fond 131, opys 2, 742.

⁹⁷ Turkuł, *Gawędy familijne*.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*. Two other members of the family, who also used Ostoja as their coat of arms, Tadeusz and Władysław, died in 1881 and 1873, respectively; see Józef Białynia Chołodecki, *Cmentarzyska i groby naszych bohaterów z lat 1794–1864 na terenie wschodniej Małopolski* (Lviv, 1928), 18. It is nonetheless possible that some members of the family moved to Russian-held Congress Poland.

border eased political relations and facilitated the exchange of people and news.

The family connections beyond the border influenced in a significant way the unification of the territory of the Polish-Ottoman frontier in its social plane. The Turkuł family appears here a good example, illustrating this process within the nobility. Boyars accepted into the Commonwealth nobility fused into its noble society, they rarely forgot, however, their Romanian origins. This distinguishes the nobles from the Wallachian or Moldavian principalities from the Ruthenian ones, who underwent almost total Polonisation. Indeed some boyars are known to have returned at a later period to Moldavia or Wallachia, there did exist, however, families like the Turkułs who functioned successfully on both sides of the border. The borderline was often for them a defence, but it could also be a source of danger. Its understanding was specific. Cernăuți, situated immediately beyond the Commonwealth's border, where the Turkułs held their posts of starosts, was not alien territory for them. Constantine Turkuł used in relation to his estates the term 'possessions on the hither side' and 'possessions on the other side'. Yet, it does not seem that he perceived the division line as the border in its present-day meaning. Although this notion could be easily applied to the Dniester River, naturally constituting a noticeable obstacle between the territories to the north and to the south of it, crossing the Dniester was not, however, such an experience for Turkuł and those like him as it is today for anyone who attempts to cross an international border.

trans. Guy Torr