

DEMETRIUS DVOICHENKO-MARKOV

GHEORGHE DUCA HOSPODAR OF MOLDAVIA AND HETMAN  
OF THE UKRAINE, 1678-1684\*

After the battle of Mohacs August 29, 1526, Hungary fell into the hands of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1494-1566) and was occupied by the Ottoman Turks for over 150 years (1541-1699). For the first time the heart of Europe was threatened when the Ottoman Turkish army and their reluctant Christian satellites appeared before the walls of Vienna in the year of 1529<sup>1</sup>. Due to lack of heavy siege artillery the first siege of Vienna by the Turks lasted from September 27 to October 15, 1529. The suburbs of Vienna were largely destroyed and Turkish raiders penetrated as far as Ratisbon in Bavaria and Brunn (Brno) in Bohemia.

The culminating point of Turkish advance into Eastern Europe represents the beginning of direct Turkish-Russian contact and conflict when King John Sobieski of Poland (1674-1696) was forced to cede the greater part of his Right Bank Ukraine (Little Russia) including Kamienec and the province of Podolia to the Ottoman Empire. Due to the mediation of King Louis XIV of France, the war between Poland and the Ottoman Turks came to an end, and peace was concluded at Zurawna (Zurawno) on October 27, 1676<sup>2</sup>. The Russian Czar Alexis "the Quiet" (1645-1676), who assumed the title of "Czar of all the Great, the Little, and White Russias" joined Poland in the defense of its half of Little Russia (the borderland of Ukraine) the so called Left Bank

\* I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my mother Professor Dr. Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markov (1901-1980) a former assistant of the great Rumanian scholar Nicolae Iorga, for her inspiration and guidance. Kind assistance with pertinent material on this subject was put at my disposal by Mrs. Eugenia Georgescu-Tistu and Professor Dr. Virgil Căndea of the Asociația "România".

1. Mustafa Ali Mehmed, *Istoria Turcilor* (History of the Turks), Bucharest, 1976, pp. 184-185. See also Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1978, p. 408.

2. L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, New York, 1958, p. 170. See also Peter F. Sugar, *Southwestern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, Seattle and London, 1977, p. 198.

Ukraine. For three years Turks, Tatars, Moldavians, and Wallachians fought Russians and the Cossacks of borderland of Ukraine. The Russian borderland of the Ukraine found itself divided between three major powers with three competing Hetmans who were claiming control over a united Ukraine. The land was terribly devastated. The Czardom of Muscovy, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire were supporting the claims of their choice of Hetmans, angling for the support of the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Zaporozhian Sich fighting each other. The Ukrainians (Little Russians, Malorossy, Ruthenes) swung from side to side with appalling rapidity, handicapping their more able Hetmans, who were trying to establish an independent or at least autonomous Ukraine under the protection of one of their powerful neighbours. Five times the Turkish armies passed through the Rumanian principality of Moldavia placing an extra burden upon the country and one of its ruling Hospodar (Prince, Voevod, Duke, Domn, Bey) Gheorghe Duca (Duka), who ruled several times in Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire 1665-1666, 1668-1672, and 1678-1684, and once in Wallachia 1673-1678<sup>3</sup>. The Grand Vizir asked Hospodar Duca to become an intermediary in the peace negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and the Czardom of Russia. During these negotiations the personal envoy of Hospodar Duca a certain Captain Ionashku (John) Bilevici was received in a private audience by Czar Alexis on May 10, 1679, in Moscow. Letters were exchanged between the Russian Czar and the Moldavian Hospodar which have been recently published<sup>4</sup>. The negotiations continued also into the reign of Czar Feodor II (1676-1682) resulting in the Treaty of Radzin which is also described as the armistice of twenty years at Bakhchisaray of 1681<sup>5</sup>.

The new border between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Czardom was established along a line stretching from Kiev on the Dnieper to the Sea of Azov blocking the exit to the Black Sea and leaving the southern portion of the Russian Czardom at the mercy of the Ottoman Turks and their allies the

3. Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor* (History of the Rumanians), Bucharest, 1944, Vol. III, pp. 124-126 and pp. 139-153. Hereafter cited as Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III.

4. I. S. Grosul, A. C. Oțetea, L. V. Cherepnin, E. Russev, et al. eds., *Relațiile Istorice Dintre Popoarele URSS România în Veacurile XV-Începutul Celui al XVIII-Lea. Documente și Materiale* (Historical Relations between the Peoples of the USSR and Rumania in the Fifteenth Century - Beginning of the Eighteenth. Documents and Materials), Moscow, 1970, Vol. III, 1673-1711, pp. 44-47, 50, 52, 60-62, 64-65, 67-70, 73, 75, 76, 342, 345, 346, 349-352, 359... Hereafter cited as Documents and Materials.

5. George V. Vernadsky, *Political and Diplomatic History of Russia*, Boston, 1936, p. 209 and pp. 217-218.

Tatars of the Khanate of Crimea and the Bugeac (Budjuk). The countryside along the Western Bank of the lower Dnieper was devastated and its population fled eastward across the river seeking the protection of the Russian Czardom. The Turkish Grand Vizir Kara Mustafa was contemplating a declaration of war on Austria, capture Vienna, and make himself the Viceroy of the area between the Danube and the Rhine river. In order to consolidate his position in Eastern Europe and assure the neutrality of the Russian Czardom during the coming war with Austria Hospodar Gheorghe Duca was appointed to take over the responsibility of administration and colonization of the ruined Turkish part of the Right Bank Ukraine in 1681<sup>6</sup>. For the first time a Moldavian Hospodar achieved a common border with the Czardom of Russia. The Moldavian chronicler Logothete (Chancellor) Nicolae Costin (1660-1712) records this event as a contemporary eyewitness the following way:

It was Duca Voda, being in Czar'grad, the Empire gave him also the Hetmanate of the Ukraine dressing him with a robe, giving him also the mace of that land, and returning again to his throne in Jassy with great joy being master of two lands; to the Ukraine he dispatched his governor a certain Iane who was the second Marshal of the Court (Postelnic) placed him as Hetman in Nemirov; and from that time on started to raise and write the title: Hospodar of Moldavian Land and of the Land of Ukraine<sup>7</sup>.

(My translation from original Rumanian)

The same information can be found in a slight different form in another Moldavian chronicle:

Than the Cossacks of the Ukraine submitting to the rule of the Turk, have conferred the Hetmanate (which is like a reign) of the Cossack Land upon Duca Voda and have granted him a banner of one horse tail and a Cossack fur hat and mace of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. And coming to Moldavia he married his daughter Catherine to the son of Radu Voda. And Duca Voda proceeded to the Ukraine up to Nemirov and placed as Hetman a certain Greek, Iani Drahinici, a

6. C. C. Giurescu, M. D. Popa, N. Stoicescu, et al. eds., *Chronological History of Romania*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 135. Hereafter cited as *Chronological History*. See also my "Transnistria: A. Rumanian Claim in the Ukraine", *Südost-Forschungen*, Muenchen (Munich), Germany, 1957, Band XVI, 2. Halbband, p. 377.

7. Michail Kogalniceanu ed., *Cronicele României sau Letopisețele Moldaviei și Vlahiei* (The Chronicles of Romania or Annals of Moldavia and Wallachia), Bucharest, 1872, Vol. II, p. 21. Hereafter cited as N. Costin, *Chronicles*.

man of service who also knew the Russian language, and also appointed also Colonels from among the Cossack leaders. He also built houses in the Ukraine at the shore of the Buh and other houses at Ticanauca on the Dniester across from Soroca. Duca Voda ruled in Moldavia and the Ukraine as a ruler with a banner with three horse-tails. He wrote his name: Duca Voevoda, Lord of the Land of Moldavia and the Ukraine<sup>8</sup>.

(My translation from original Rumanian)

Slightly different is the description of this event by the well known Moldavian chronicler Hetman Ion Neculce (1672-1745):

Than Duca Voda spent a great deal of money at the Porte almost a thousand purses of money. And the Turks granted him the Hetmanate of the Ukraine, a robe, fur cap, and a mace and a horsetail. And he left Czar'grad together with the son of Radu Voda, his son in law, with three horsetails and with the mace carried in front of him along with great entourage he entered Jassy<sup>9</sup>.

(My translation from the original Rumanian)

After a detailed description of the wedding of Catherine the daughter of Hospodar Duca the Moldavian chronicler continues:

Afterwards preparations were made and he moved to the Ukraine at Nemirov. And all the Cossacks were gathered there with Duca Voda at Nemirov. And they chose from among their leaders and appointed Judges and Colonels and Sotniks and also placed in his place a Lord-Lieutenant in place of Hetman to take care of them a certain Ene Gredinevici, a man of service, knowing the Cossack language, of Greek origin. Residences were erected near Nemirov at the shore of the Buh, also other residences were erected at the shore of the Dniester at Ticanauca across from Soroca. From there he re-

8. C. C. Giurescu ed., *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei dela Dabija Până la Domnia a Două a Lui Antioh Cantemir 1661-1705* (Annals of the Land of Moldavia from Dabija to the Second Rule of Antioh Cantemir 1661-1705), Bucharest, 1913, p. 72. Hereafter cited as *Annals of the Land of Moldavia*.

9. Iorgu Iordan ed., *Ion Neculce Letopisețul Țării Moldovei și o Samă de Cuvinte* (Ion Neculce the Annals of the Land of Moldavia and an Introduction), Bucharest, 1959, p. 68. Hereafter cited as *Neculce Annals*. See also E. Russev ed., *Ion Neculce o Samă de Cuvinte Letopisețul Țării Moldovei Ediția a Doua Revăzută* (Ion Neculce an Introduction the Annals of the Land of Moldavia Second Revised Edition), Kishinev, 1974, p. 111.

turned to Jassy in the fall. And Duca Voda ruled Ukraine and the Land of Moldavia, a ruler of three horse tails<sup>10</sup>.

Both the Rumanian and Russian historians agree that Hospodar G. Duca did become the Turkish choice to take over the responsibility of administration and colonization of the ruined Turkish part of the Right Bank Ukraine in 1681. For the first time in history the Hospodar of Moldavia was able to add the proud title of a Ukrainian Hetman and call himself "Lord of Moldavia and the Land of the Ukraine"<sup>11</sup>. A Soviet Moldavian historian adds some very interesting details about Hospodar Duca, details which are based on some Russian and Polish sources:

In 1681 the threat of the country to be changed into a Pashalyk became so real that Hospodar G. Duca through his closest Boyars Logothete (Chancellor) M. Costin and Hetman A. Buguş asked for a military intervention by Sobieski promising him unlimited assistance and in case of failure he was seeking to obtain the permission to emigrate to Poland. Truly before the war the threat to be turned into a Pashalyk passed due to the political flexibility of G. Duca and his advisers. The successful mediation of the Moldavian state during the conclusion of the Russian-Turkish peace which was absolutely necessary to the Porte before the beginning of the war with Austria to a considerable degree contributed to the fact that the Turks changed "the whip to a cookie". G. Duca was created the Hetman of "the Turkish part of the Ukraine and his small army was summoned to the campaign against Vienna"<sup>12</sup>.

(My translation from Russian)

A modern Rumanian historian who does not mention Hospodar G. Duca, but has chosen to emphasize the contemporary Wallachian Hospodar Serban Cantacuzino (1678-1688) seems to share a similar point of view when he states:

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Wallachia and Molda-

10. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

11. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 148. See also Nicolae Iorga, "Ucraina Moldovenească", ("Moldavian Ukraine"), *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorie* (The Annals of the Rumanian Academy. The Memoirs of the Historical Section), Bucharest 1912-1913, Seria II, Tomul XXXV, p. 354. Also Michael S. Hrushevsky, *A History of the Ukraine*, New Haven, CT, 1941, p. 341.

12. A. V. Vlasova, *Moldavsko-Pol'skie Politicheskie Sviazi V Poslednei Chetverti XVII-Nachale XVIII V* (Moldavian-Polish Relations During the Last Quarter of the Seventeenth - The Beginning of the Eighteenth Century), Kishinev, 1980, p. 24.

via had to choose between an alliance with Poland, Austria or Russia to withstand Ottoman pressure. Serban Cantacuzino, Wallachia's ruling prince contacted Vienna as well as Poland's king John Sobieski, and sent a mission to Moscow. Although Serban Cantacuzino sympathized with the "Holy League" he was forced to participate in the siege of Vienna (1683) on the side of the Turks<sup>13</sup>.

Hospodar Gheorghe Duca was of Greek origin from Rumelia who came to Moldavia as a child. He married Nastasia the daughter of Dafina the wife of the Moldavian Hospodar Eustratiu Dabija (1661-1666) who was the stepfather of Nastasia. The father of Nastasia was the first husband of her mother the Vistiarnic (Treasurer) Bukhush (Buhus)<sup>14</sup>. The appointment of G. Duca in the Ukraine was an effort by the Turks to counterbalance the growing prestige and influence of the Russian Czardom as the champion and the protector of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Ukraine, the Rumanian Principalities of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia and the numerous nationalities of Eastern Europe. It is a well known fact that the Rumanians (Vlachs, Valati, Blaques, Moldavians, Olahs, Bogdanians, Volokhs, etc...) practiced the same Eastern Orthodox Christian religion, and were using the same Slavic alphabet (Kirilica) as their next door neighbours the Little Russians (Malorossy, Ukrainians, Ruthenes) of the Ukraine and the Great Russians (Muscovites) of the Russian Czardom. Often all of them were involved in a common struggle of survival against the incursions of the Polish and Hungarian Roman Catholics (Papists) and the Ottoman Turkish and Tatar Moslems who sometimes tried to impose their religion on others.

In addition to his Turkish banner of two horse tails as the Hospodar of Moldavia G. Duca received an additional horse tail as the Hetman (Sanjak Bey) of the Turkish Right Bank Ukraine together with the traditional symbol of Hetman authority the "Bulava" (a mace) set in gold and precious stones from the Sultan himself. During a splendid reception in Constantinople (Czar'grad) Duca and eighteen Moldavian Boyars received ceremonial robes ("Kaftan") while the eight Ukrainian Cossacks accompanying him received loose wide trousers ("Sarvanele" possibly the equivalent of the traditional Cossack "Sharovary") and ceremonial hats ("Calpace")<sup>15</sup>. Duca appointed a

13. Ștefan Ștefănescu, "Defense of the Integrity of the Romanian States in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Ilie Ceausescu ed., *War Revolution and Society in Romania the Road to Independence*, New York, Social Science Monographs, Boulder, 1983, p. 76.

14. *Neculce Annals*, op. cit., p. 37. See also N. Costin, *Chronicles*, op. cit., p. 5.

15. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 148. See also Iorga, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

Greek as his Kaimakan (representative) in the Ukraine a certain Ian Draghinici who spoke also Russian. Soon Duca followed his representative into his new domain across the Dniester river which at that time was the border of the Rumanian principality of Moldavia<sup>16</sup>.

The first documentary record of Duca's arrival in the Ukraine, which was preserved in the Rumanian National Academy in Bucharest, is an order issued by Duca in the Ukrainian village of Postruga in 1681. At Pestera near Nemirov, a small Zaporozhian town on the Bug river where Duca made his residence and the new capital of his Ukrainian domain<sup>17</sup>. In a document issued on November 20, 1681, in Nemirov G. Duca states that "Immediately after taking possession of the Ukrainian land we have directed our care so that the devastated Ukraine should flourish again by colonizing it with people"<sup>18</sup>. By promising a long period of freedom from taxation and leaving the local traditional administration intact in the Ukraine, Duca was able to attract new settlers in great numbers. The devastated area was resettled according to the old principle of Ukrainian Cossak organization by regiments leaving the highest judicial court decisions to be made in Jassy (Iasi) the capital of Moldavia<sup>19</sup>.

Quite a few Universals (Manifestos) inviting people to settle were issued<sup>20</sup>. The promise of all kind of liberties and privileges attracted settlers not only from other parts of the Ukraine still under the domination of Poland or in the Russian Czardom, but also from the Rumanian principality of Moldavia. The old ruined sites awoke to a new life and increased the Rumanian minority of the Ukraine. The new fortified Ukrainian residence of the Hospodar of Moldavia and the Turkish Right Bank Ukraine Gheorghe Duca was visited by the Moldavian chronicler Ion Neculce. Both contemporary chroniclers Nicolai Costin and Ion Neculce agree that Duca organized several promising and money making enterprises in the Ukraine in the field of husbandry, agriculture, and a monopoly on beer, brandy (khorylka), and mead. All the inns of the Ukraine at that time were serving the popular drink mead made out of the honey produced on the extensive land estates of Duca<sup>21</sup>. The final goal of Duca was to establish profitable enterprises in the Ukraine in order to replenish his depleted treasury. This seemed to have been successful not only for him, but

16. *Annals of the Land of Moldavia*, op. cit., p. 72.

17. Iorga, op. cit., p. 356.

18. Emil Diaconescu, *Românii din Răsărit - Transnistria* (Rumanians of the East - Transnistria), Jassy, 1942, p. 91.

19. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 146-149. Also Iorga, op. cit., p. 357.

20. Dmitro Doroshenko, *History of the Ukraine*, Edmonton, Canada, 1939, p. 324.

21. N. Costin, *Chronicles*, op. cit., p. 22.

also for his henchman Ian Draghinici who has also grown rich and prosperous in the Ukraine during his relatively short stay. A document has been preserved in the Rumanian archives in Bucharest regarding the purchase of hay and a mill in Koshnitsa (Cosnita) in the Ukraine by Draghnici. Several Ukrainian Cossacks have signed the document as witnesses to this bill of sale such as the "Khorundzhii" (Cornet in the Cossack Cavalry) Ivan Goguma, the "Sotnik" (Senior Lieutenant of Cossack Cavalry) Vuvkarenko, and the Rumanian "Genralnii Pisari" (the General Secretary) of the office of the Hetman Ursaki (Ursachi) who was also the formal personal notary of Hospodar Duca<sup>22</sup>.

In about a year the administration and colonization policy of Duca in the Ukraine showed a remarkable progress. According to a Wallachian chronicler Constantin Capitanul the Ukrainian Cossacks returned in great numbers and settled down on the sites of their destroyed hamlets, villages, and towns<sup>23</sup>. Gheorghe Duca with his family spent more time in his new domains in the Ukraine than in Moldavia and the Moldavian chronicler Nicolae Costin reports that

...he was contemplating to move there, as the word spread among his men of how he was to leave Moldavia and to move with his entire household to the Ukraine and from there to go over to Moscow<sup>24</sup>.

(My translation from the original Rumanian)

History records several attempts on the part of the Moldavian Hospodars to seek the protection of Christian Moscow against the Turkish Ottoman Empire. An early attempt is duly documented and recorded during the reign of the Moldavian Hospodar Gheorghe Stefan (George Stephen) 1654-1658, who has negotiated a treaty with the Russian Czar Alexis on May 17, 1656, in Moscow<sup>25</sup>. This treaty was never put into effect, but nevertheless it marked the beginning of Russian diplomatic influence in the affairs of the Rumanian principalities. Hospodar G. Duca followed the same path and renewed the secret negotiations with Czar Alexis through his special envoy Captain Ionashku (Ionascu) Bilevich (Bilevici). This attempt was also a failure and was never realized<sup>26</sup>.

22. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

23. Ion I. Nistor, "Die rumänisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen in Ihrem geschichtlichen Werdegang", *Südostdeutsche Forschungen*, Munich, Germany, 1939, Jahrgang IV, p. 235.

24. N. Costin, *Chronicles*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

25. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 13. See also Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 209 and p. 218.

26. *Documents and Materials*, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-359.



According to the contemporary Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers the rule of Hospodar G. Duca in Moldavia was not very popular. This ambitious Greek was often cruel in his financial demands and he carried the taxation of the people and the Rumanian aristocracy to the extreme in order to be able to maintain the luxury and the splendor of his court and to finance his frequent participation in the war campaigns of his legal suzerain the Turkish Ottoman Empire<sup>27</sup>.

On the positive side it was during one of the reigns of Hospodar G. Duca when the Metropolitan Dosoftei through the special envoy Bilevich was able to obtain some new printing equipment from the Patriarch of Moscow. The fortified monastery Cetatuia on a hill which a tourist can visit today just outside of the city of Jassy was built by Hospodar G. Duca. It was started in 1669 and it was completed in 1671. Duca has also sponsored the erection of the monastery of Saint Ioan Zlataust (Saint John Chrysostom) in Jassy built on top of a small church erected by Hospodar Stefan Tomsa. The dedication proclamation dated December 1682 lists Hospodar Gheorghe Duca and his wife Anastasia along with their son Constantin and his wife Maria the daughter of Hospodar Brancoveanu of Wallachia. Hospodar G. Duca has also renovated the White Church and he finished the painting of the St. Nicholas the Lord church in Jassy. His wife Anastasia was the founder of Agapia monastery where she has sponsored the building of houses and the cellar of the monastery<sup>28</sup>.

As early as the year 1682 both Hospodar G. Duca and Hospodar Seerban Cantacuzino have received orders from the Turks to make preparations for war. Next year the Turks paid a visit to the Rumanian principalities in order to obtain horses for their army. According to the chronicler Ion Neculce on April 20, 1683, Hospodar Gheorghe Duca with his entire army of Moldavians and Ukrainian Cossacks left Jassy and he "did bring along several Cossack regiments from the Ukraine, cavalry, mercenaries, and members of the court"<sup>29</sup>. Just at that time Duca was informed that Murat Gherei Khan with the Tatar Crimean and Bugeac army was on his way to Vienna through Moldavia. G. Duca failed to send the traditional gifts and token of esteem to the Tatar Khan

27. N. Costin, *Chronicles, op. cit.*, p. 22. See also A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* (History of the Rumanians from Traian's Dacia), Bucharest, 1929, Vol. VII, pp. 258-259.

28. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Also N. Cartoian, *Istoria Literaturii Române Vechi* (History of old Rumanian Literature), Bucharest, 1980, pp. 203-204.

29. Neculce *Annals, op. cit.*, p. 71.

and as the result of this breach of etiquette the Tatar army ravaged Moldavia plundering, pillaging, and robbing on their way everything they could lay their hands on. The only thing they failed to take along this time were Christian slaves which they considered a useless burden during a military campaign of this magnitude<sup>30</sup>.

During the siege of Vienna in 1683 Hospodar G. Duca delayed the construction of a bridge and did find other secret ways how to assist the besieged garrison of Vienna. Without compromising himself in the watchful eyes of the Turks Hospodar Duca was able to facilitate the secret movements of Austrian couriers carrying valuable information in and out of Vienna<sup>31</sup>. After the route of the Turkish armies at the gates of Vienna Duca followed the defeated remnants under Kara Mustapha to Belgrade. From there he proceeded through the Principality of Transylvania and through the Carpathian mountain pass "Oituz" back to Moldavia. He found refuge at the village of Domnesti on the estate of his sister near Putna in December of 1683.

During Duca's absence the conditions in the Rumanian Principality of Moldavia and in the Ukraine underwent a drastic change. On March 31, 1684, the Pope of Rome gave his blessings and his ample financial support to a newly formed coalition called "The Holy League" with the ultimate aim to drive the Ottoman Turks out of Europe and to liberate the subjugated christian nations under their yoke<sup>32</sup>. King John III Sobieski of Poland was entrusted with the task of liberating the Rumanian Principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia as well as the liberation and the recuperation of the Ukrainian lands lost to the Ottoman Empire earlier. The domains of Hopsodar G. Duca were invaded by the christian liberation armies. The Poles brought along with them a former Moldavian Hospodar Stefan Petriceicu (1672-1673) who was trying to recuperate his lost position and the Ukrainian Cossacks under their new Polish sponsored Hetman Kunitsky. All the Ukrainian estates and any property of Duca were confiscated and his regent in the Ukraine Dorohin was deposed<sup>33</sup>. The Polish army occupied the capital of Moldavia Jassy on December 19, 1683<sup>34</sup>, and the Ukrainian Cossacks under Hetman Kunitsky together with Stefan Ptericeicu invaded Moldavia near Soroca. Taking advantage of the absence of the Tatar Khan of the country of Bugeac,

30. N. Costin, *Chronicles*, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Also Xenopol, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

31. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

33. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

34. Giurescu, *History*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

Kunitsky and his Moldavian ally penetrated deep into the Bugeac, massacred the Tatar families, and conquered and burned down the Turkish fortresses ("Vilayet") of Bendery (Tighina). However the return of the Tatar Khan of Bugeac with his army from the siege of Vienna forced the Christian armies back until the Rumanian Principality of Moldavia was returned under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire<sup>35</sup>.

Hospodar Gheorghe Duca was not able to assert his rule of Moldavia and the Ukraine again and was taken prisoner by a 500 men detachment under the command of a Polish Captain Bainsky on January 4, 1684<sup>36</sup>. He lived in Polish captivity over a year, hoping that his wife would be able to send him the ransom of 180 purses of gold. These purses however, never reached him because they were captured on their way in Transylvania. When Duca found out about it he suffered a stroke and died within a week on April 10, 1685, in Lemberg (Lvov) on the Ukrainian soil at that time still under Polish rule<sup>37</sup>. Duca continued to live in a Rumanian historical legend which was written down in prose for the first time by the famous Russian poet A. Pushkin in 1823 during his exile in Eastern Moldavia known also as Bessarabia. According to the legend the brutal "silver loving" Duca was overthrown by the insurgent Moldavian Boyars. As a prisoner he was driven in a four-wheeled oxcart through a village. Mistaking him for one of the numerous victims of Duca a woman offered him some milk to drink and while doing so she complained about the evil destroyer Hospodar G. Duca wishing that the sweet drink should transform for him into poison. Instantly the milk turned into poison and Duca died on the spot. His body was buried on the bank of the Dniester and on his tumulus flowers do not bloom and close to it pigeons and turtle-doves do not fly. Only snakes abound in the tall grass, and occasionally an owl perched on a fragment of an old cross utters his cry<sup>38</sup>.

The administration and colonization policy of G. Duca in the Turkish part of the Ukraine had a far reaching effect and influenced quite a few important events in this border area. By opening the gates wide to a mass migration of Rumanians and Ukrainians from the neighbouring lands the colonization policy of Duca prompted the Polish Kingdom to reconsider and considerably

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-151.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

38. Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markoff, "Puškin and the Rumanian Historical Legend", *The American Slavic and East European Review*, New York, N.Y., April 1948, Vol. VII, pp. 144-149.

improve their policy of repression in their portion of the Ukraine. In 1685, the same year that Duca passed away, the Polish Sejm (Diet) granted the Ukrainian Cossacks the same rights and privileges they had enjoyed during the Polish Republic. As the result of this policy the Ukrainian territories of Korsun, Cherkassy, Chikhirin, Lisyanka, and Uman were successfully repopulated and the former Cossack regiments were reestablished<sup>39</sup>. The Russian Left Bank Ukraine felt also the effects of the successful colonization policy of Duca. Large numbers responded to the tempting invitation of the Moldavian Hospodar and the Russian sponsored Hetman Samoilovich had great difficulties trying to stop the exodus of the Ukrainians from his Left Bank Ukraine into the Turkish Right Bank Ukraine under Hospodar G. Duca<sup>40</sup>. The proud title of Hospodar of Moldavia and Hetman of the Ukraine survived G. Duca only for a short time. It was used again only by his successor in Moldavia Hospodar Dumitrașcu Cantacuzino (1684-1685)<sup>41</sup>. This Moldavian Hospodar did not have the actual control of any part of the borderlands of the Ukraine, but he continued to use the proud title of G. Duca in his official documents of state.

*Department of History  
Monmouth College  
West Long Branch  
New Jersey 07764 USA*

39. B. Krupnyckiv, *Geschichte der Ukraine*, Leipzig, 1943, p. 141.

40. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

41. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

## PERTINENT LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1. "A Rumanian Priest in Colonial America", *The American Slavic and East European Review* (New York, Oct. 1955), Vol. XIV, pp. 383-390.
2. "Transinustria: A Rumanian Claim in the Ukraine", *Südost-Forschungen* (Munich, Germany, 1957), Vol. XVI, 2. Halbband, pp. 375-388.
3. "Russia and the First Accredited Diplomat in the Danubian Principalities, 1779-1808", *Slavic and East-European Studies* (Montreal, Canada, 1963), Vol. VIII, Parts 3-4, pp. 200-229.
4. Contributing editor to *Handbook of World History, Concepts and Issues* (New York, Philosophical Library Inc., 1967) author of the following papers: "Ame Slave", pp. 30-31; "Balkanization", pp. 108-110; "Cossacks", pp. 251-255; and "Eastern Question", pp. 313-317.
5. "Lomonosov and the Capture of the Fortress of Khotin in 1739", *Balkan Studies* (Thessaloniki, Greece, 1967), Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 65-75.
6. "Austria-Rumanian Relations, 1883-1916", *Balkan Studies* (Thessaloniki, Greece, 1968), Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 41-55.
7. "Demetrius Kantemir and Russia", *Balkan Studies* (Thessaloniki, Greece, 1971), Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 383-399.
8. "The Origin and the Meaning of the Term 'Vlach'", *Carpatii (The Carpathians)* (Madrid, Spain, Feb. 22 - March 25, 1974), Anul XX, No. 20/21, pp. 15-16.
9. "The Vlachs", *Romanian Bulletin* (New York, Romanian Library, July 1975), p. 3.
10. "The Origin of the Vlachs", *Romanian History Symposium* (Abilene, Texas, Hardin-Simmons University Occasional Publications No. 1, 1976), pp. 13-23.
11. "The Origin and the Meaning of Term 'Vlach'", *Romanian Folk Arts* (The Romanian Library of New York & Duquesne University Tamburitzans Institute of Folk Art, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1976), pp. 57-69.
12. "Benjamin Franklin and the First American-Romanian Relations", *Cahiers Roumains D'Etudes Litteraires* (Bucharest, Romania, February 1977), No. 2, pp. 61-70.
13. "Romanian Studies Symposium at Campbell College, Buies Creek, North Carolina", *Romanian Bulletin* (New York, N.Y., April-May 1979), Vol. VIII, No. 4-5, p. 8.
14. "Romanian-American Relations", *Romanian Bulletin* (New York, N.Y., June-July 1979), Vol. VIII, No. 6-7, p. 10.
15. "The Russian Primary Chronicle and the Vlachs of Eastern Europe", *Byzantion* (Bruxelles, Belgium, 1979), Vol. XLIX, pp. 175-187.
16. "The Duty of Everyone is to Understand History", published in Romanian language "Datoria, pentru fiecare de a înțelege istoria: in *Contemporanul* (Bucharest, Romania, August 15, 1980), Nr. 33 (1762), p. 8.

17. "Byrlad the First Moldavian Principality", *American Romanian Christian Literary Studies* (Buies Greek, N.C., 1980), Vol. I, pp. 92-116.
18. "The Ukrainian Cossacks in the Anti-Ottoman Struggle for Independence of Moldavia", *East European Quarterly* (Boulder, Colorado, 1980), Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 241-250.
19. "Hetman Ivan Mazepa in Romanian Literature", *Romania Between East and West Historical Essays in Memory of Constantin C. Giurescu*, East European Monographs, Boulder, Colorado. Distributed by Columbia University Press (New York, 1982), pp. 147-159.
20. "A Romanian in Colonial America", *100 Years of American Romanian Relations*, The East European Center, Dragan European Foundation, and Editrice Nagard (Milano, Italy, 1982), pp. 19-27.
21. "The Vlachs: The Latin Speaking Population of Eastern Europe", *Byzantion* (Bruxelles, Belgium, 1984), Tome LIV, Fascicule 2, pp. 508-527.
22. "Prince Demetrius Vishnevetsky-Baida and the Ottoman Empire" *Rivista Internazionale Di Studi Bizantini E Slavi*, Bologna, Italy, 1988, Vol. V.
23. "Transnistria: A Romanian Claim in the Ukraine 1681-1944", *Kubanetz* magazine of Kuban Cossack Association, 17 Pearl Street, Red Bank, New Jersey 07701, July 1988, No. 110, p. 18.
24. "Early Christianity in Kievan Rus", *Kubanetz* magazine of Kuban Cossack Association, 17 Pearl Street, Red Bank, New Jersey 07701, July 1988, No. 110, p. 18.
25. "Movement for European Unification Reactivated by Prof. Dr. Joseph Constantin Dragan", *New York Spectator*, Box # 1364, New York, N.Y., November 1988, No. 29-30, pp. 1-2.
26. "Transnistria", *Kubanetz*, magazine of Kuban Cossack Association, 17 Pearl Street, Red Bank, New Jersey 07701, Dec. 1988, No. 115, pp. 13-16; Jan. 1989, No. 116, pp. 17-21; Feb. 1989, No. 117, pp. 12-19.
27. "The Alaskan-Siberian Ferry Route 1943-1945 A Personal Account", *Kubanetz*, Magazine of Kuban Cossack Association, 17 Pearl Street, Red Bank, New Jersey 07701, June 1989, No. 121, pp. 14-19.
28. "The Latin Peoples of Eastern Europe", *New York Spectator*, New York, Box # 1364, a quarterly of culture and tradition, No. 33-34, September 1989, pp. 18-21.
29. "Stephen III the Great of Moldavia and Ivan III the Great of Muscovy", *New York Spectator*, a quarterly of culture and tradition, New York, No. 37-38, September 1990, pp. 48-50.