

Dariusz Milewski

Between a magnate and a Cossack : two marriages of Vasile Lupu's daughters

Series Byzantina 6, 45-64

2008

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Between a Magnate and a Cossack – – Two Marriages of Vasile Lupu’s Daughters

Dariusz Milewski, Warsaw

In 1645 and 1652 the Moldavian hospodar Vasile Lupu arranged the marriages of his two daughters, Mary and Rosande, with the Lithuanian chamberlain, future voivod of Vilnius and Great Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł, and with Tymofiy (Tymish) Khmelnytsky, the son of the leader of the Cossack Revolt, who was considered in the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth and Moldavia as an inciter of peasant rebels. A real abyss divides the two marriages, contracted within only seven years. The first one, entered into voluntarily and based upon the common aim of both sides to overcome political difficulties, brought respectability to both the hospodar and the Lithuanian magnate. At the same time it could be considered as a sign of the growing interest of the powerful Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth in the Danubian region. The second marriage, forced on the hospodar, marked the beginning of the end of Polish influence in Moldavia and made apparent the weakness of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, which could no longer defend its Moldavian ally against the Cossacks. Both marriages were arranged because of political reasons – therefore their comparison would be an interesting attempt to look more closely at the political and cultural circumstances of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth and Moldavia in the middle of the 17th century.

The territory of the Moldavian hospodars, which had flourished during the times of Stephen the Great (1457–1504), came under Turkish influence; after the failure of the hospodar Petru Rareș in 1538 Moldavia was forced to accept an unfavorable tributary treaty and the loss of its south-eastern part, which began to be called Budziak. The Nogai Tatars, who inhabited the region, together with the nearby Crimean Khanate, created a constant threat to Moldavia. Subjected to Turkey and threatened by the Tatars, Moldavia started to look for support in neighboring Christian countries – Transylvania and the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. Transylvanian dukes, although dependent upon Turkey, conside-

red themselves to be the heirs of the Hungarian kingdom and took over its claims to rule over the Transdanubian duchies – Wallachia and Moldavia. These claims were particularly strong during the war between Turkey and the Habsburgs in 1593–1606, when the first duke Sigismund Batory tried to subdue both territories of the hospodars, and later Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) temporarily conquered all the three territories (1599–1600). In the middle of the 17th century the dukes of the Rakoci family – Georg I and Georg II – also tried to gain control over Moldavia and Wallachia. These actions were not approved by the Ottoman Porte and also caused reactions from the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. Poland had not abandoned its claims to rule Moldavia despite the unfortunate campaign of 1497 by Jan Olbracht against Stephen the Great. Because of decentralization within the state and the growing autonomy of independent magnates, Polish policies towards Moldavia were formed not only by official factors but also by private persons. Moreover, these often acted against the state interest – let us recall, at least, the Moldavian campaigns of Olbracht Łaski, who in 1561 removed Alexis IV Lăpușneanu, who sympathized with Poland, from the throne in Jassy – placed there, it should be noted, by Hetman Mikołaj Sieniawski in 1552 – and replaced him by a Greek adventurer, Jacob Heraclides Despot. In 1568 he intervened again and robbed Oczaków, not taking into account that he was causing difficulties in the current negotiations between Piotr Zborowski and the Sultan in Istanbul.¹ Moreover, the Zaporozhian Cossacks also intervened in Moldavian affairs; in 1574 they supported the hospodar Iwonia (John III the Terrible), who had rebelled against the Turks. In 1577 Iwan Podkowa the ataman of the Cossacks himself took the Moldavian throne for a month.² The turn of the 16th and 17th centuries is marked by especially intensified Polish actions in Moldavia, the victorious campaigns of Jan Zamoyski in 1595 and 1600 and the not always successful interventions of the border magnates Korecki, Potocki and Wiśniowiecki in 1607, 1612 and 1615. They reached their peak in the campaign of Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski in 1620 and the Polish-Turkish war in 1621, which ended with the victorious defence of the camp near Chocim and the not so favorable peace treaty of Krzysztof Zbaraski in 1623. According to this treaty the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth resigned all claims to rule in Moldavia.³

After 1621 Moldavia again came under strict Turkish control. This new relationship appears in the fact that in 1634 the Turks overthrew Hospodar Moise Movilă, accusing him of taking Poland's side during the Polish-Turkish conflict of 1633. The overthrown

¹ A. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 228–229 and 251.

² T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1912, pp. 3–4; V. Stati, *Istoriya Moldovy*, Kishynov 2003, pp. 142–143. Let us add that the unfortunate Cossack hospodar was decapitated in L'viv in 1578 on the order of Stephen Batory in order to improve Polish-Turkish relations.

³ The rivalry between Poland and Turkey in Moldavia at the beginning of the 17th century, which was finished by the peace treatise of 1623, was recently discussed in: D. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie 1595–1623*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 150–152, 166–173, 189–201 and 230–254.

hospodar was replaced by a true adherent of Turkey, Vasile Lupu (Coci), a Moldavian resident of Albanian descent.⁴ The new hospodar turned away from Poland and directed his ambitions towards Wallachia, ruled by Matei Basarab. The Moldavian hospodar tried to remove his neighbour from the throne; however, his two campaigns in Wallachia in 1637 and 1639 did not attain success, whilst the intrigues of Matei Basarab, supported by Transylvania, almost led to the expulsion of Vasile Lupu from Jassy in 1642. Threatened by all his neighbours, the Moldavian hospodar turned to Poland.⁵

In order to start a closer relationship with his northern neighbour in 1643 the Moldavian hospodar offered help to the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth during the journey through Moldavia of Mikołaj Bieganowski, ambassador to Turkey.⁶ It was followed by military cooperation against the Tatars – Vasile Lupu shared information with the Polish side during the attack of Tuhaj Bey in January 1644, which encouraged the glorious victory of Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski at the battle near Ochmatow.⁷ With the passage of time this cooperation was intensified and led to regular communication by letter between the hospodar and the Grand Crown Hetman in autumn 1645 and the inclusion of Vasile Lupu in the plans for the Turkish war by Władysław IV Vasa in spring 1646.⁸

Besides intensified diplomatic and military cooperation Vasile Lupu came closer to the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth by marrying his oldest daughter Mary to the Lithuanian Chamberlain and future hetman, the favorite of king Władysław IV, Janusz Radziwiłł. This marriage could be included in the tradition of Polish-Moldavian kinship relations. In the

⁴ M. Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Moldawskiej i inne utwory historyczne*, ed. by I. Czamańska, Poznań 1998, p. 166; C. Șerban, *Vasile Lupu, domn al Moldovei (1634–1653)*, București 1991, p. 194.

⁵ A. Alessandri to the Venetian doge, Istanbul, 1642/08/02, in: E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. 4, part 2, București 1884, nr DCIV, p. 519. See also: E. Baidaus, *Politica și diplomația Moldovei în timpul domniei lui Vasile Lupu (relații politice cu Republica Nobiliară Polonă și Rusia Moscovită în anii 1634–1653)*, Chișinău 1998, pp. 43–44.

⁶ Indicating his fears of the Tatars, who delayed the start of the Polish delegate's journey, and relating his actions in Istanbul in order to calm the situation between Poland and Turkey, the hospodar wrote: 'Zaczynam mam nadzieję w Bogu, iż posłaniec J.K.M. ściśle zawartej Cesarza J.M. z Koroną Polską przyjaźni stateczny i w niczym nie uszczerbiony przyniesie efekt. Niech tedy bezpiecznie w przedsięwziętą drogę się puści, a ja asekuruję, iż *honorifice* przyjęty i przystojnie traktowany będzie, nie suspikując o żadnej przeciwności, gdyż jeśliby jaka była, wiedziałbym ja o niej przez moich agentów, którzy mi *etiam minutissimo* oznajmują, Vasile Lupu to S. Koniecpolski, Jassy, 1643/09/02, in: *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego hetmana wielkiego koronnego 1632–1646*, ed. by A. Biedrzycka, Kraków 2005, no. 499, p. 640. See also: Baidaus, *Politica...*, pp. 44–45.

⁷ S. Oświęcim, 'Stanisława Oświęcimsa dyariusz 1643–1651', in: *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 19, ed. by W. Czermak, Kraków 1907, p. 30.

⁸ The correspondence between Vasile Lupu and hetman S. Koniecpolski from September 1645: Osso-lineum library, manuscript 224/II, pp. 772–775. For the beginning of Polish-Moldavian cooperation against Turkey in spring 1646 see also: H. Walderode to the emperor Ferdynand III, Warszawa, 1646/05/12, Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Pl I, nr 61, [Polonica 1646], f. 43v., Relacja Jana Tjepola posła nadzwyczajnego Rzplitej Weneckiej do najjaśniejszego Władysława IV, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego, r. 1647, in: *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, ed. by J.U. Niemcewicz, vol. 5, Puławy 1830, pp. 22–25, W. Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*, Kraków 1895, pp. 88 and 118–120, I. Eremia, *Relațiile externe ale lui Vasile Lupu (1634–1653). Contribuții la istoria diplomației moldovenești în secolul al XVII-lea*, Chișinău 1999, pp. 168–180.

16th century the Moldavian hospodars looked for Polish wives, not always with the desired results – it is enough to mention here the rejection of the marriage of Elisabeth, sister of Sigismund I the Old, with Hospodar Bogdan III in 1506, which became one of the causes of the Polish-Moldavian war, or the unfortunate attempt to gain Jadwiga Tarłówna by Hospodar Bogdan IV in 1572, who during his absence lost the throne in favor of Iwonia.⁹ More favorable were the unions of the daughters of Ieremia Movilă, a Polonized Moldavian boyar, who was placed as hospodar in Jassy by Jan Zamoyski in 1595 and was at the same time the tributary of both Turkey and Poland (1595–1606). His sons-in-law were, among others: Stefan Potocki, Samuel Korecki, Michał Wiśniowiecki and Maximillian Przerembski. Because of the internal split in Movilă's family after Ieremia's death these marriages resulted in multiple interventions of Polish magnates in Moldavia, which exacerbated Polish-Turkish relation. It also led to closer Polish-Moldavian relations – because the hospodar, a naturalized Pole, had property in Ruthenia, which was taken as a residence by his widow Elisabeth. Likewise, the children of Ieremia's brother Simon Movilă and many Moldavian boyars moved to Poland, improving Polish-Moldavian relations¹⁰. Janusz Radziwiłł when seeking the hand of Vasile Lupu's daughter entered a path already paved by his Polish forerunners.

The reasons which encouraged Janusz Radziwiłł to seek for the hand of Mary Lupu are not clear enough. She was a daughter from the first marriage of Vasile Lupu with Vasilisa, the daughter of boyar Bucioc, possibly related to Movilă's family. Born in 1625, she was 13 years younger than Janusz Radziwiłł.¹¹ The idea of this marriage did not arouse enthusiasm among the Polish magnates – Grand Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski made remarks about the low origins of the Moldavian hospodar, who until the period in question was not closely related to the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth.¹² This remark was intended to remove the Lithuanian magnate from Moldavian affairs, as they were considered to be in the field of interest of the Crown peers, rather than to defend him against a mésalliance. Noting the fortunate course in the Lithuanian chamberlain's attempt to gain the hand of Mary Lupu, Stanisław Koniecpolski did not hesitate to promote Stephen Potocki, the son of his official colleague, Field Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, in order to arrange the marriage with Mary's sister Rosande. In this case the low origins of Vasile Lupu did not trouble the Crown peers.¹³ Radziwiłł himself, when contracting his first marriage

⁹ Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...*, vol. 1, pp. 195–196 and Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne...*, pp. 267–269.

¹⁰ About Movilă and Moldavians in general of Poland in the first half of the 17th century see: W. Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 391–398 and I. Czamańska, 'Rumuńska imigracja polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku', *Balkanica Posnaniensia*, 6 (1993), pp. 7–16.

¹¹ T. Wasilewski, 'Maria z Lupulów Radziwiłłowa', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 30, Warszawa 1987, p. 399.

¹² H. Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł 1612–1655, wojewoda wileński, hetman wielki litewski*, Warszawa 2000, p. 73. The author quotes the relation of Stanisław Kurosz from the dialogue with S. Koniecpolski, written down for J. Radziwiłł on the 13 of March 1644.

¹³ The hetman's intentions are clear in the following royal letter: 'Na żądanie U.W. chętnie barzo podpisaliśmy list do hospodara wołoskiego za synem wielmożnego wojewody braclawskiego hetmana polnego

with Catherine Potocka rather from love than because of her wealth, proved the possibility of unconventional reasons for marriage. In the case in question he did not even know his Moldavian bride, hence his aspirations to be related to the ruling family of the Moldavian hospodar could not appear strange in this context. Besides that, as Henryk Wisner remarks, the decisive role was played by possible knowledge about the extreme wealth of Vasile Lupu, who during his long rule was able to acquire considerable possessions and to guarantee stability within his country.¹⁴

Janusz Radziwiłł started to seek for the hand of the hospodar's daughter in summer 1643 at the latest and used Kiev Metropolitan Bishop Petru Movilă as a mediator. In high summer of 1643 Igumen Leontius Szycik Zaleski from Łuck, subordinated to the bishop, travelled to Moldavia and carried out an initial, successful conversation about the planned marriage. After him Janusz Radziwiłł sent Lukasz Miaskowski, the sheriff of Kamieniec, to Moldavia in order to discuss the details of the project with Vasile Lupu. Petru Movilă, satisfied with the progress of events, informed Radziwiłł in January 1644 about the expected successful end of his endeavors.¹⁵

However, a quick finalization of Radziwiłł's plans was postponed by the intrigues of the Transylvanian Duke Georg I Rakoci. During the war with the emperor he tried to secure the eastern border with Moldavia. That is why already in 1643 he offered to Vasile Lupu to arrange a marriage between his son Sigismund Rakoci and Rosande, the younger daughter of the hospodar. Forseeing that this action would increase Transylvania's influence in Moldavia, Vasile Lupu rejected the proposal and came nearer to the Habsburgs.¹⁶ Georg Rakoci, who was afraid of closer contacts between Moldavia and the pro-Habsburgian Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, started his vengeful intrigues in Istanbul against the planned marriage between Mary Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł.¹⁷ At the end of March the hospodar informed

koronnego, życząc, aby za tą interpozycją naszą stał się w tym małżeństwie *sui voti compos* i ta sprawa do pożądanego przyszła efektu'; Władysław IV to S. Koniecpolski, Radzanów, 1644/10/03, in: *Korespondencja...*, nr 522, p. 668.

¹⁴ The Moldavian chronicler has noted: 'Panowanie wojewody Bazylego było szczęśliwe, w jego czasie znajdował się ten kraj we wszelkim dobrobycie i bogactwie, a dni tego hospodara ciągnęły się aż do 19 lat, pełne wszelkiego dobra', Costin, *Latopis...*, p. 166. Also see: Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 72. T. Wasilewski, 'Janusz Radziwiłł', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 30, Warszawa 1987, p. 210, considers that the decisive role in choosing the wife of Radziwiłł was played by Władysław IV, who looked for closer relations with Moldavia when preparing for war with Turkey. The dynastic connotations of this marriage are also stressed by W. Deluga, 'Portraits de la famille Movilă du XVII^e siècle', *Revue Roumaine d'histoire de l'art*, 31 (1994), p. 80. The author reaches this conclusion when analyzing the royal elements – a scarf in the fashion of the sultan – in the clothing of Mary Radziwiłł as depicted in her portrait of 1646.

¹⁵ E. Kotlubaj, *Życie Janusza Radziwiłła*, Wilno–Witebsk 1859, p. 77; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 72 and Baidaus, *Politica...*, p. 45.

¹⁶ Şerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, p. 144.

¹⁷ The Venetian bailo even considered in November 1643 that the planned marriage could not be accomplished: 'Credo che il matrimonio della figliuola del Moldavo con il Palatino di Littuania non si concluderà, perchè certo il Primo Visir non vi asente', G. Soranzo to Doge, Istanbul, 1643/11/28, in: Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. 4, part 2, no. DCXVIII, p. 528.

Radziwiłł about these obstacles and sent his own courtier Nicolae Catargi to the Bosphorus in order to defeat Rakoci's intentions. At the same time, answering the demand of Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski to use his influence in Istanbul in order to convince the Turks not to support Rakoci in his war against the emperor, the hospodar did not hesitate to defame the Transylvanian duke in front of the Sultan.¹⁸ The important reason was the fact that in May 1644 Janusz Radziwiłł complained about the loss of his letters to the hospodar which the Moldavian historian interprets as Transylvanian interception. The Lithuanian magnate at the same time expressed his firm decision to continue to ask for the hand of the hospodar's daughter, and this intention was based on goodwill from Vasile Lupu's side.¹⁹

The Moldavian hospodar, being a vassal of the Sultan, had to get his agreement to the marriage of his own daughter. Despite the opposition of Georg Rakoci and through money and inborn diplomatic talent he succeeded: in September 1644 the Sublime Porte made a positive decision about the marriage of Mary to Janusz Radziwiłł.²⁰ Already during the mission of Nicolae Catargi, foreseeing a positive result, Mary Lupu sent a conventional letter to her future husband, informing him about her requital of his feelings ('affections' – the expression rather of a particular goodwill towards Janusz Radziwiłł, not of love).²¹ Thus encouraged, the Lithuanian chamberlain did not hesitate and in September 1644 sent to Moldavia two of his clients, the Lithuanian guards Hrehory Mirski and Jan Mierzeński, who brought Mary Lupu an engagement ring and rich presents for her, her father and family members.²² Maybe as a return for this visit, when the Turks had already given agreement

¹⁸ Baidaus, *Politica...*, pp. 44–46 and Eremia, *Relațiile externe...*, p. 150.

¹⁹ The Lithuanian chamberlain wrote: 'Skryta jakaś fortuny zazdrość wstręt pierwszym uczyniła listom, że do rękę WMmmPana nie doszły, ale nie uczyniła wstrętu zawziętemu memu affektowi [...]. W tym utwierdzają mnie deklaracje WMmmPana przez JMP. podsędka kamienieckiego, a jeszcze rzetelniej przez ojca Szycika dane. Któremu iżeś WmmmPan, na pewny termin powrócić do siebie dla tej sprawy kazal, tedy przez niego dalszą moję z WmmmPanem przedłużam konferencję i prośbę moję wnoszę, abyś staraniu memu dawszy miejsce, skłonić się do tego raczył, żeby ta sprawa w spak nie chodziła, ale tymi, któreś sam WmmmPan, uważnym rozsądkiem swym upatrzył środkami, do skutku przywiedziona była', J. Radziwiłł to Vasile Lupu, Lithuanian Kamianets, 1644/05/03, in: Kotlubaj, *Życie...*, app. VIII, p. 335. See also: Baidaus, *Politica...*, p. 45 and Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, pp. 73–74. The hospodar himself complained about the difficulties in planned marriage of his daughter and Janusz Radziwiłł in spring of 1644, see: Vasile Lupu to Georg I Rakoci, Jassy, 1644/04/05, in: *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești*, ed. by A. Veress, vol. 10, București 1938, nr 106, p. 180.

²⁰ The endeavors of Vasile Lupu are described by the Venetian bailo, G. Soranzo to the Doge, Istanbul, 1644/10/02, in: *Documente...*, nr 626, pp. 533–534 and the same to the same, Istanbul, 1645/01/19, *Documente...*, nr 627, pp. 534–535. See also: Baidaus, *Politica...*, pp. 45–46. The endeavors mentioned were also interpreted as an intention to achieve closer relations with Poland in order to start a common Polish-Russian action against Turkey. Cf. *Oчерки vneshe politycheskoy istorii moldavskogo knyazhestva (poslednaya tret' XIV–nachalo XIX v.)*, ed. D. M. Dragnev, Kishinyov 1987, pp. 203–204.

²¹ M. Lupu to J. Radziwiłł, Jassy, 1644/09/02, in: A. Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość. Z dawnych listów i pamiętników*, Poznań 1981, p. 365.

²² 'Opisanie zaślubin i wesela ks. Janusza Radziwiłła z Marią Mohilanką księżniczką wołoską', The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł's archive, ch. XI, no. 39, pp. 39–40. See also: Kotlubaj, *Życie...*, p. 78, Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 72 and T. Wasilewski, 'Grzegorz (Hrehory) Mirski', 'Jan Mierzeński (Mierzyński)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 21, Warszawa 1976, p. 347, 18.

to the marriage, at the beginning of November Mary wrote a letter to Janusz Radziwiłł: 'Jmść Pan Katardzi, powróciwszy z przedsięwziętej drogi, oddał mi pisanie W.Ks.Mści, które ja wdzięcznie przyjąwszy, uniżenie W.Ks.Mści dziękuję, że mię z tego, którego z woli Najwyższego przeciwko mnie zawziąć raczył, afektu pisanem swoim nie pomijasz'.²³

Events speeded up. At the end of the year the hospodar sent his representatives to Janusz Radziwiłł, led by Nicolae Catargi, who brought, among other things, a portrait of the bride. Its author is not known – Waldemar Deluga guesses the authorship of Abraham van Westerveldt, the author of Vasile Lupu's portrait – but the painting itself is known only from an engraving in *Theatrum Europaeum*.²⁴ At the end of November the hospodar also sent a messenger to King Władysław IV with an invitation to the wedding. The audience took place on 31 December 1644. Although the monarch himself did not intend to travel to Jassy, he received the messenger generously and authorized Piotr Potocki, count of Śniatyń to participate in the wedding in his name.²⁵ Moreover, in answer to the request of Janusz Radziwiłł, the king wrote to Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski in order to secure to the Lithuanian chamberlain the necessary guard on his way to Moldavia.²⁶

Secure in the agreement of the hospodar and the support of the king, on 10 January 1645 Janusz Radziwiłł started on his way from Kamianets to Moldavia through Lviv, Brody and Kamianets Podilskyi. He was accompanied by a large procession, estimated by his biographers as almost two thousand men, among them – two companies of hussars, the same quantity of Cossacks and dragoons as well as an infantry regiment of mercenaries.²⁷ As Stanisław Oświęcim wrote, on 23 January 'książę JM. Janusz Radziwiłł, jadąc do Wołoch na wesele z hospodarówną wołoską, Wasyla Lupula, hospodara wołoskiego, córką starszą, był u JMci [S. Koniecpolski] w Brodziech dla namowy w tych swoich sprawach'.²⁸ From

²³ M. Lupu to J. Radziwiłł, Jassy, 1644/11/09, in: Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, p. 365.

²⁴ *Opisanie zaślubin...*, p. 40; Kotlubaj, *Życie...*, p. 78; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł ...*, p. 74 and Deluga, *Portraits...*, pp. 80–81 (with the copy of the engraving from *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol. 6, Frankfurt am Main, 1663).

²⁵ On 31 December 1644 the Lithuanian Chancellor noted: 'Publicznie przedstawiono królowi posła księcia wołoskiego. Uczynił to król wbrew przyjętemu zwyczajowi dla mego krewnego, podkomorzego litewskiego, który zamierzał poślubić córkę Wołocha [...]. Posel więc, złożywszy imieniem swego pana wyrazy uległości, zaprosił go przekazanym listem na wesele, złożył też królowi jakies dary. Otrzymał przez kanclerza koronnego laskawą odpowiedź oraz obietnicę wysłania na wesele posła; był nim starosta śniatyński', A. S. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, ed. by A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski, vol. 2, Warszawa 1980, p. 423.

²⁶ 'Zaczym żądamy U.W., abyś, jeśliby potrzeba tego i postrach jaki był od Tatarów, którzy o tej wyprawie bez chyby swoje mają języki, chciał poblizsze chorągwie zemknąć na ten czas jego przejazdu, a jeśliby w inszą stronę niebezpieczeństwo jakie na państwa koronne padło, *in hoc casu* to żądanie nasze rozsądkowi U.W. i *necessitati publicae* darujemy', Władysław IV to S. Koniecpolski, Warsaw, 1645/01/02, in: *Korespondencja...*, no. 525, p. 672.

²⁷ As a person, participating in the above events, has written, in Jassy 'so knyazem [Radziwiłł] luidei bylo dve tysyachi', P. Movilă to Michał Romanow, Kiev, 1645/03/06 (editor's mistake about the date of letter as 1644), in: *Akty odnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, vol. 3, Sankt-Peterburg 1861, no. 60, p. 65. See also: *Opisanie zaślubin...*, pp. 41–42; Kotlubaj, *Życie...*, pp. 78–79; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 74 and Šerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, p. 146.

²⁸ Oświęcim, 'Stanisława Oświęcimsa dyariusz', p. 70.

Brody Janusz Radziwiłł departed strengthened by an escort of the standing army and on 29 January reached the Moldavian border at the Dniestr. Moldavian noblemen with their military unit were waiting for him and led him to Jassy. A mile before the capital (about 7 kilometers) on 2 February 1645 the hospodar himself, accompanied by the ambassador of the Transylvanian duke, Jan Kemény, welcomed his future son-in-law. The beginning of the ceremony was also brightened by the delegates of the Polish king, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Kurland, the Wallachian hospodar and the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as Kiev Metropolitan Petru Movilă, who himself conducted the marriage ceremony.²⁹

The wedding of Janusz Radziwiłł and Mary Lupu took place in Jassy on 5 February 1645. It was accompanied by several days of festivities. There are several descriptions of the events, some very superficial and others more detailed. For example, Joachim Jerlicz simply noted that ‘wesele acz dostatkiem wielkim odprawiało się, ale nie podług zwyczaju polskiego’.³⁰ Miron Costin made a more detailed, but not very extensive description, noting the splendor of the festivities.³¹ Very detailed descriptions are given by Edward Kotłubaj, who based it on a manuscript from Radziwiłł’s archive in Nieśwież, and Alojzy Sajkowski, analyzing Polish manuscripts in the Kórnik library.³² Filip W. Bajewski made a special printed paper for the marriage, including a panegyric to Janusz Radziwiłł and his Moldavian wedding – the author, a student in the Kiev Collegium, founded by Metropolitan Petru Movilă, wrote a Latin description of the wedding in prose and a Polish panegyric in verse.³³

Basing on surviving descriptions, the following course of events can be reconstructed. On Thursday, 2 February, Janusz Radziwiłł met Vasile Lupu, and the hospodar gave his future son-in-law a costly Turkish horse as a present. Both, accompanied by a multitudinous escort, cheering crowds and the firing of cannons, entered Jassy and went to the palace of

²⁹ The Wallachian hospodar was represented by Great Logofet Radu Cocorăscu and Great Spatar Diicu Buicescu, Costin, *Latopis...*, p. 180. See also: *Opisanie zaślubin...*, pp. 44–45; Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, p. 79; Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 74 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, p. 146.

³⁰ J. Jerlicz, *Latopisiec*, ed. by K. W. Wójcicki, vol. 1, Warszawa 1853, p. 48.

³¹ ‘Nie zabrakło niczego ze wszystkich ozdób, ile potrzeba na wesele takie, jak to, z takimi panami i wielkimi ludźmi z obcych krajów. Mistrzowie kuchni sprowadzeni z innych krajów, przyśpiewki, tańce krajowe i obce. Cały dwór przystrojony, zwołani bojarzy i przywódcy kraju, synowie bojarów i ludzie młodzi w orszakach na koniach tureckich z ozdobami i pióropuszcami na szlicach. I tak przy zabawie ciągnęło się wesele kilka tygodni, aż wyjechał książę Radziwiłł ze swoją żoną do Polski z bardzo bogatym posagiem’, Costin, *Latopis...*, p. 180.

³² Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, pp. 79–81 (based on the manuscript *Opisanie zaślubin*) and Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, pp. 366–370. Sajkowski uses large fragments of Radziwiłł’s wedding description following BPAN Kórnik, manuscript 201, f. 501–502 (*Wesele księcia Radziwiłła w Wołoszech*) and 503v.–505 (*Supplement do wesela ks. Radziwiłła*).

³³ F. W. Bajewski, *Fortunatissimis sponsis Illustrissimo Domino ac D. Ianussio Radziwiłł Sacr. Rom. Imper. Principi, Birzarum & Dubincorum Duci, M.D.L. Archicamerario [...] et Illustrissimae Dominae Mariae Illustrissimi Io Basilii Palatini et Despotae Moldaviae filiae*, without the place of printing [Kiev?] 1645 and *Wieniec*, without the place of printing [Kiev?] 1645.

the hospodar.³⁴ An accident happened when one of the cannons burst, killing a person from the hospodar's escort.³⁵ The next day of feasts and dances Janusz Radziwiłł spent in the palace with the hospodar – it is curious that 'białogłowy osobno w swoich pokojach tańczyły, a tam książę nie był, aż w sobotę wieczór'.³⁶ Only on Saturday did Janusz Radziwiłł see his bride; the meeting lasted half an hour and was accompanied by the hospodar and his brother, Chief Cupbearer Georg Coci.

Sunday, 5 February, was fixed as the wedding day. In the morning Mary Lupu sent to the duke ten white scarves with golden embroidery, after that both separately took a bath and dressed for the ceremony. Before the departure to the church the sons and daughters of boyars danced in two separate circles and – as one of descriptions relates – 'tych tańców było najmniej godzin trzy wielkich zegarowych, bo i w piątek, i w tę sobotę przed weselem tak tańcowali co dzień, bo taki zwyczaj'.³⁷ At noon the hospodar sent for the duke, inviting him to the church. Janusz Radziwiłł first visited his father-in-law and then rode to the church. He was accompanied by the delegates, led by Piotr Potocki in a carriage, Wallachian soldiers and musicians – Gypsies and Turks. The hospodar's daughter, together with three gentlemen and two ladies accompanying her during the whole church ceremony, was seated in a carriage with six horses. The author of the description praises the rich clothing of the bride and bridegroom: 'Książę Jmć we ferezyi ze złotogłowiui bogatego, biały soboli. Żupan takiż, w papuciach tureckich, tak jako i Wołosza chodzą, w czapce aksamitnej, za którą była zapona diamentowa i kita [...]. Maria Dumna w delii złotogłowowej, taką właśnie jako książę Jmć sobolami podszyta. Na głowie zwyczajna czapka aksamitna sobola, na tej czapce druga z pereł zrobiona, gęsto bardzo kamieniami, to jest diamentami sadzona i perły niezmiernie wielkie, na niej diamentowa zapona z prawej strony za czapką i kita czarna z zaponą wielką bardzo'.³⁸

The marriage ceremony in the church of the Trei Svetiteli Monastery took place according to Orthodox ritual and – as was usual in Moldavia – without the participation of the bride's father.³⁹ The bridegroom's Calvinism caused difficulties in taking the marriage oath. Although at the beginning, when the couple were welcomed by Metropolitan Petru

³⁴ 'Wesele księżęcia Radziwiłła w Wołoszech', BPAN Kórnik, manuscript 201, f. 501v., suggests that J. Radziwiłł stayed at an inn, where 'przysłał mu zaraz hospodar konia ubranego od złota, aby na nim do monastyru na ślub jechał'.

³⁵ 'Tam odnu pushku razorvalo, i chast', ot pushki letyachi s levogo boku, Vasil'ya vovevody Poika do smerti ubila, a tot Paik poluderzhal tam zhe v gorode', P. Movilă to Michal Romanow, Kiev 1645/03/06, in: *Akty...*, no. 60, p. 65. See also: *Opisanie zaślubin...*, p. 44.

³⁶ 'Suplement do wesela ks. Radziwiłła', BPAN Kórnik, manuscript 201, f. 504. See also: Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość*, p. 367.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, p. 368.

³⁹ '[Petru Movilă] stoyal v monastyre Treh Svetiteley; tam v toy tserkvi venchal knyazya iz devitseyu Mariyu mitropolit Kievskiy, genvaryya v 25 den', v nedelyu – P. Movilă to Michal Romanow, Kiev, 1645/03/06, in: *Akty...*, no. 60, p. 65. See also: Wasilewski, 'Maria z Lupulów', p. 399.

Movilă, the duke was placed on his right, the hospodar's daughter on the left side, the bishop made a speech in Polish which lasted two hours, addressing Janusz Radziwiłł in Polish, and Mary in Rumanian, everything went smoothly, 'gdy przyszło do onych słów przy ślubie: "Tak mi, Panie Boże, dopomóż i wszyscy święci", jmc pan młody nie chciał tego mówić, czym się bardzo poturbowała Wołosza, mówiąc: "To Lachowie i my takie swoje śluby odprawujemy, jeśli pan młody tak nie będzie mówił, z wesela nic". Tandem p. Radziwiłł wymówił te słowa, przeleszując jednak'.⁴⁰ The following part of the ceremony took place without any obstacles. At the end of the Mass a monk threw coins over the newly married couple and people around them, and after that everybody left the church. The day ended with a feast in the hospodar's palace.

According to one description, the delegates gave presents the next day after the marriage, according to another – only on Tuesday. It is very likely that first Piotr Potocki gave gifts in the name of the Polish king, after that the couple were presented with presents from other ruling persons and the hospodar himself.⁴¹ During the feast there was Moldavian, Hungarian, Turkish and (brought by Janusz Radziwiłł) Polish music played. Another entertainment was artistic tricks, among which the author mentions an acrobat on rope 'który po sznurach chodził od ziemi sześć kopij do góry na baszcie aż ku galce i różne sztuki wyprawował'.⁴² The manuscript *Opisanie zaślubin*, quoted by E. Kotłubaj, also mentions popular amusements in the form of dramatizations of battles and blockades, which precisely defines the duration of wedding as 12 days. Stressing the splendor of the festivities, the author wrote: 'Mnóstwo było przy tem komediantów, sztukmistrzów, skoczków, szermierzów i różnej tego rodzaju gawiedzi, którzy umieli różne widowiska przedstawiać [...]. Przy hospodarze stał jego podskarbi, który każdemu z tych kuglarzy, gdy ten swoją sztukę należycie wykonał i według zwyczaju krajowego, hospodarowi do nóg upadł i kraj szaty jego pocałował, wypłacał należną nagrodę w monecie; innym zamiast pieniędzy dawano jedwabne materje i sukno'.⁴³

Janusz Radziwiłł and his wife left Jassy on 16 February, the hospodar accompanying them for a mile, with an escort of Moldavian boyars led by the hospodar's brother (maybe Georg Coci) – to Kamianets Podilskyi. Here the Lithuanian chamberlain gave presents and took leave of the Moldavians, and together with his wife made his way to Poland.

⁴⁰ *Wesele*, in: Sajkowski, *Staropolska miłość...*, p. 366. Janusz Radziwiłł probably uttered the unwelcome words indistinctly, marking his disapproval of the invocations to saints insisted on by the Moldavians, see also: Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 75.

⁴¹ *Wesele...*, p. 366, dates the presentation to Monday, *Suplement*, p. 370 – on Tuesday.

⁴² *Suplement*, p. 370.

⁴³ Kotłubaj, *Życie...*, p. 80. In the original text we read: 'Interveniebant comoedi, histriones, caulatores, luctatores, gladiatores et varia hominum spectacula exhibentium genera [...] Adstabat autem Principis Theaurarius, qui singulis comoedis post rem bene actam, promise gentis ad pedes Principum devolutus et fimbriae vestis osculo facto, pecuniam distribuebat nonnullis serica et pannos largiebatur', *Opisanie zaślubin...*, pp. 46–47.

Kiev Metropolitan informed Tsar Michal Romanov about the completed marriage.⁴⁴ The payment of the extremely huge fortune (estimated at about 600,000 Złotys), of the bride lasted into the autumn, because only in October did Janusz Radziwiłł guarantee the property settlement of his wife with some part of his own estate.⁴⁵ This fact did not become an obstacle to further Polish-Moldavian cooperation, including also political affairs. Vasile Lupu used the presence of Transylvanian delegate Jan Kemény to renew good relations with Georg I Rakoci, and at the beginning of the next year he also sent delegates to Warsaw on the occasion of the marriage between Władysław IV and Ludwika Maria, considering at the same time the matter of preparations for war against Turkey. In this way the marriage of Mary Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł – who in summer 1646 visited his father-in-law, accomplishing the mission commissioned by the king to persuade him to join in a union against Turkey – started the longlasting partnership between Poland and Moldavia.⁴⁶

Vasile Lupu himself had to pay the Turks for the agreement to marry his daughter to a Polish husband by sending her younger sister Rosande to Istanbul as a guarantee of his loyalty to the Sultan. He could not openly declare his enmity towards the Sublime Porte, although provided diplomatic help and information to Poland during the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The Cossack rebellion of 1648 and Khmelnytsky's union with the Tatars, whom the hospodar was afraid of, induced him to support Poland in suppressing the rebellion. In 1648 he joined the Polish protest in Istanbul, declaring that the Tatars had broken the Turkish-Polish agreement, and mediated to ransom Polish prisoners. Here his main achievement was helping to ransom both Hetmans of the Crown, Mikołaj Potocki and Marcin Kalinowski, from Crimea in spring 1650.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Petru Movilă to Michal Romanov, Kiev, 1645/03/06, in: *Akty...*, no. 60, p. 65. See also: Kotlubaj, *Życie...*, p. 81 and Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 75.

⁴⁵ Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł...*, p. 76 and Wasilewski, 'Maria z Lupulów', pp. 399–400. On 30 March 1645 Władysław IV had already granted to the newly married couple the privileges of Sejwen seniority, on behalf of which 'mają pomienieni małżonkowie oboje wespół, albo która z nich osoba dłużej żywa będzie, starostwo sejweńskie ze wszystkimi przynależnościami i dochodami, nic z nich nie wyjmując, tak jako jest przywileju ks. Podkomorzego WXL opisane, trzymać i używać aż do żywotów swych, żadnej nam i skarbowi naszemu nie pełniąc powinności, krom *simple nomine* donatywy na aparat wojenny uchwalonej', The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł's archive, ch. XI, no. 39, f. 50. Let us add that after the death of Janusz Radziwiłł in 1655 the seniority was taken over by Mozyr's marshal, Lithuanian army colonel Stanisław Lipnicki – with the king's privilege as taken over from a traitor. In 1660 the hetman's widow assigned the rights of seniority to the Voivode of Trakai Mikołaj Pac, who in 1661 still proceeded because of it against Lipnicki, Wasilewski, 'Stanisław Lipnicki', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 17, Warszawa 1972, pp. 410–411.

⁴⁶ See: Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej...*, p. 88 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu...*, pp. 147–148.

⁴⁷ About the actions of Vasile Lupu in favor of Poland during the first years of Khmelnytsky's uprising see: K. Szajnocha, *Dwa lata dziejów naszych*, vol. 2, Lwów 1869, pp. 91–93; L. Kubala, 'Krwawe swaty', in: *Szkice historyczne*, ser. 2, Warszawa 1901, p. 135; J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Nie tylko "krwawe swaty". Stosunki ukraińsko-moldawskie w okresie powstania Bohdana Chmielnickiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 25 (1982), no. 2 (97), pp. 202–204; and D. Milewski, 'Moldawia a Rzeczpospolita w latach 1648–1649', *Biblioteka Poznańskiego Humanistycznego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, 2 (2003), pp. 9–23.

Aware of Vasile Lupu's enmity, in autumn 1648 Bohdan Khmelnytsky started actions in Istanbul in order to deprive him of his rule and to take Moldavia.⁴⁸ After the failure of these attempts the Cossack hetman took other measures. He used the return of Rosande Lupu from Istanbul in August 1649, deciding that she should be married to his own son Tymofiy and to conquer Moldavia in this way.⁴⁹

After the Zborow settlement in August 1649 Bohdan Khmelnytsky was in a difficult political situation. In Ukraine he had to suppress rebellions of unsatisfied crowds, protesting against the limitation of the Cossack army to the register of 40 thousand and the necessity of returning to work in estates, to which the year before the expelled noblemen had now returned. At the same time he was threatened by entering into an unfavorable war with Turkey or Moscow. At the beginning of 1650 the king's palace in Warsaw was visited by the Bulgarian representative Piotr Parczewicz, a titular archbishop of Marcianople, who revived the old plans of Władysław IV to start a war with Turkey. According to the thought of Jerzy Ossoliński, the regent of the chancellery, the war could bring peace within the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth by destroying the Cossack-Tatar union, directing the Zaporozhian rebellion to the realm of the Sultan.⁵⁰ When in March 1650 the Moscow delegation of two Pushkin brothers arrived in Warsaw to demand the return of territories acquired for the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth by Sigismund III, it seemed that a Polish-Tatar union, which could force the Cossacks eastwards, was very close.⁵¹

Neither solution could have been welcomed by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who saw in Moscow and Turkey possible allies against the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth. In summer 1650, when the Poles in union with the Russians returned to their plans of a Turkish war, and the Tatars had already invaded the steppes against Moscow, demanding the Cossacks' support, Khmelnytsky feverishly sought an agreement with Turkey. The mission of the

⁴⁸ Sending Colonel Filon Dzędżała to the Sultan, the Cossack hetman wrote: 'A mnie za pracę podnóżkowi swemu, jakem pierwszej prosił, tak i teraz powtarzam uniozoną prośbę moje, żebyś gospodarstwo wołoskie z miłościwej łaski swej konferować raczył, wiedząc to zapewne, że gospodar wołoski terazniejszy jest zdrajcą W.C.M. P.M.M.', B. Khmelnytsky to Mehmed IV, Stare Siolo, 1648/11/28, in: *Dokumenty Bogdana Khmel'nyts'kogo 1648–1657*, ed. I. Krip'yakevych, Kyiv 1961, *Supplements*, no. 2, p. 627.

⁴⁹ About the return of Rosande from Istanbul to Moldavia see: G. Soranzo to the Doge, Istanbul, 1649/08/14, in: *Documente...*, vol. 4, part 2, no. 670, p. 571, and the same to the same, Istanbul, 1649/08/20, *ibidem*, no. 671, p. 572.

⁵⁰ About the plans of war with Turkey in 1649–1650 see: rapport of the Nuncio G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1649/11/20, in: 'Vatykans'ky materyaly do istorii Ukrayiny', in: *Zherela do istorii Ukrayiny*, vol. 16, L'viv 1924, no. 110, pp. 61–62; E. Latacz, 'Uгода Zborowska a plany tureckie Jana Kazimierza', *Historja*, 3 (1933), no. 3, pp. 4–6; M. Khrushchovyy, *Istoriya Ukrayiny Rusi*, vol. 9, Kyiv 1996, p. 33 and J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Między Zborowem a Białą Cerkwią. Z dziejów sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego', *Studia Historyczne*, 23/1 (1980), p. 24.

⁵¹ 'Relacja rozmowu wielkich posłów moskiewskich z pp. senatorami w Warszawie in anno 1650', in: *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noy voyne ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654*, ed. P. P. Gudzenko, Kiev 1965, no. 119, pp. 317–320. See also: J. Seredyka, 'Nieudana próba włączenia w 1650 r. Kozaków Zaporoskich do antyrosyjskiego sojuszu polsko-tatarskiego', in: *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVIII w. Studia ofiarowane Zbigniewowi Wójcikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 125–132; and W. Serczyk, *Na płonącej Ukrainie: dzieje Kozaczyzny 1648–1651*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 293–303.

Turkish delegate Osman Aga, who met the Cossack hetman in Chyhyryn on 30 July 1650, offering him the Sultan's protection, was a real salvation.⁵² Khmelnytsky promptly accepted the proposition and grouped his army, pretending to prepare to attack Moscow. At the same time he sent an envoy to the Tatars with the message that he could not unite against the Russians because of Poland, suggesting instead a campaign against Moldavia: 'Wojsko też tatarskie, jako to tryb jego, że się bez zdobyczy nielacno wraca, osobliwie bejowie i murzowie i prawie wszystko przedniejsze wojsko padło do nóg Gałgi Soltana, aby ich nazad do domów próżno nie powracał, ale przypomniawszy mu wiele krzywd i szkody, o które się brat nasz na Wołoszą urażał, snadnie po usilnej i gorącej prośbie do Wołoch zaprowadził. I to tak się stało'.⁵³

Directing the Tatar impetus against Moldavia, Khmelnytsky both avoided his necessary participation in the campaign against Moscow and subdued the hostility of Vasile Lupu by means of an ally. The Tatar attack, followed by the Cossacks, hit Moldavia in September 1650 so unexpectedly that the hospodar did not attempt to defend his land, and the Poles, not prepared for war, did not dare to help him. Consequently Vasile Lupu was forced to pay about 200 thousand thalers of tribute to the Tatars and Cossacks – from 120 to 130 thousand to the Tatars – and to promise to marry Rosande to Tymofiy Khmelnytsky. The agreement with the Cossacks was made before 26 September 1650, and after that Khmelnytsky quickly returned to Ukraine, being afraid of the reaction of Hetman Mikołaj Potocki.⁵⁴

But Vasile Lupu did not intend to keep the agreement with the Cossacks, and the Poles started to make obstacles to the marriage between Rosande Lupu and Tymofiy Khmelnytsky. The Great Hetman of the Crown even worked out a plan to kidnap the hospodar's daughter and bring her to Kamianets Podilskyi; however, the hospodar did not agree because of Khmelnytsky's possible revenge.⁵⁵ The allies acted in two ways. The Poles prepared for war in Ukraine and incited the hospodar not to submit to the Cossacks, whilst he himself delayed over the date of the promised marriage.

In Poland the news about the Tatar-Cossack attack on Moldavia evoked the will to defend an ally and to finish with the untrustworthy hetman of the Cossacks. King Jan Kazimierz aimed for rapid confrontation and coordinated his plans with the hospodar's

⁵² 'Relacja o działaniach Chmielnickiego z miejsca niewiadomego, 29 lipca do 6 sierpnia 1650', in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego, wojskiego lubelskiego, a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza, z dawnego rękopisma będącego własnością Ludwika hr. Morsztyna*, ed. by A. Z. Helcel, Kraków 1864, no. 184, p. 554.

⁵³ Islam Gerej III to Jan Kazimierz, Bachczysaraj, the beginning of October 1650, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 192, p. 573.

⁵⁴ The description of the Tatar-Cossack attack in: Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Moldawskiej...*, pp. 191–192. See also: B. Chmielnicki to Georg II Rakoci, at Prut, 1650/09/16(26), in: *Dokumenti Bohdana Khmelnyts'kogo 1648–1657*, ed. I. Krypyakevych, Kyiv 1961, no. 116, p. 186.

⁵⁵ Kamianets' rector to NN., Kamianets Podilskyi, around 1650/10/20, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 193, p. 575.

son-in-law, Lithuanian Field Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł⁵⁶. Nevertheless, the campaign had to be postponed until the meeting of the Sejm and a decision about the taxes for the army, which happened only in December 1650. At the same session the hospodar got Polish citizenship in order to strengthen his will to oppose the Cossacks.⁵⁷ Actually, the hospodar, endangered by Khmelnytsky's anger, postponed the marriage of his daughter until the beginning of the Polish-Cossack war and the Zaporozhians' defeat at Beresteczko in June 1651. Bohdan Khmelnytsky threatened the hospodar during the feast on the occasion of the settlement of Biała Cerkiew in September 1651 about the matter of marriage, but at the time his hands were tied.⁵⁸ Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł acted in defense of his father-in-law, while Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki did not hesitate with military opposition to the Cossacks and Tatars, when in October 1651 it was rumoured that they were preparing a campaign against Moldavia.⁵⁹ Fortunately this time it ended up only as an empty threat – Khmelnytsky's renewed problems with rebellion and the decisive position of the Crown's army discouraged him from realising the planned undertaking.⁶⁰

The hetman of the Cossacks returned to his plans at a more favourable occasion in spring 1652. The broken meeting of the Sejm did not ratify the settlement of Biała Cerkiew, which became a reason for Khmelnytsky to feel free not to keep it, deceased Mikołaj Potocki was replaced in Ukraine by Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski, a person of not very great ability in leading the Crown army. The Cossacks' leader decided to renew war with Poland, while his first step was to neutralize the hostility of Moldavia through the marriage of Tymofiy and Rosande. In spring 1652 the Poles succeeded in overtaking several Tatars in Moldavia with letters about the Cossack-Tatar plans of the Moldavian campaign; however, the king's court did not believe in the warnings of Hetman Marcin Kalinowski and the hospodar.⁶¹ In such a situation Hetman Kalinowski decided on his own to oppose the Cossacks' route to Moldavia. He grouped an army at a camp near Batoh, on the Cossacks' route and,

⁵⁶ For the correspondence of Jan Kazimierz with J. Radziwiłł from October 1650, concerning the plans of war with the Cossacks see: 'Diariusz kancelaryjny Janusza Radziwiłła', The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł's archive, ch. VI, no. 36, pp. 330–359.

⁵⁷ The hospodar himself sought it, while supported by hetman M. Potocki, see: M. Potocki to Jan Kazimierz, camp at Kamianets Podilskyi, 1650/10/22, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, nr 194, pp. 577–578. See also: 'Diploma Indigenatus Magnifico Vasilio Palatino Moldaviae concessi', in: M. Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, vol. 1, Vilnae 1758, p. 621.

⁵⁸ 'Diariusz obozowy (rozpoczynający kampanię białocerkiewską 1651 roku)', in: *Relacje wojenne z pierwszych lat walk polsko-kozackich powstania Bohdana Chmielnickiego okresu „Ogniem i Mieczem” (1648–1651)*, ed. by M. Nagielski, Warszawa 1999, pp. 305–306; and A. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik...*, vol. 3, p. 313.

⁵⁹ M. Potocki to Jan Kazimierz, camp at Białopole, 1651/10/14, in: *Jakuba Michałowskiego...*, no. 240, pp. 644–645 and Oświęcim, 'Stanisława Oświęcima dyariusz...', p. 377.

⁶⁰ See: Hryshevskyy, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusi...*, p. 381.

⁶¹ On overtaken letters see: Islam Gerej III to Vasile Lupu, without place, 1652, Ossolineum Library, manuscript 189, p. 572; and W. Kochowski, *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV, Climacter I*, Cracoviae 1683, p. 302. On warnings about the prepared campaign and their reception in Warsaw see the reports of G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/05/04, 05/25 and 06/01, in: *Vatykańsky materiały do istoriji Ukrainy*, vol. 1, Lviv 1924, no. 246, pp. 140–141, no. 249, p. 142 and no. 250, pp. 142–143.

not expecting great Cossack-Tatar forces, got entrapped in a battle, which ended with his utter defeat and the murder of Polish captives.⁶² Tymofiy Khmelnytsky gained an open road to Moldavia and the hand of the hospodar's daughter.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky led his army to Kamianets Podilskyi, from there on 22 June sent to Jassy the Greek Ilia Manuilow, demanding that Rosande be given to Tymofiy.⁶³ The hospodar, who in spring had promised rather to kill his daughter than to marry her to a Cossack, had reached a deadlock.⁶⁴ In summer 1652 he incurred the disfavor of the Tatars, by helping Polish prisoners of war to escape from the Crimea, where they were kept until the payment of ransom for both hetmans of the Crown. Now he could expect harsh opposition from their side.⁶⁵ Faced with the defeat of Crown's army and his own weakness, the hospodar was thrown on the Cossacks' mercy – no wonder that he not only promised Khmelnytsky his daughter's hand for his son, but also asked for defence against the Tatars.⁶⁶

Vasile Lupu still tried to play for time, asking Khmelnytsky to postpone the date of the wedding and sending a messenger to Poland for rapid help, but the powerless Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth could not defend the hospodar.⁶⁷ In this situation Vasile Lupu, having received the declaration of the Cossacks about Moldavia's defence against the Tatars, and securing himself against the king with a promise to seek to invalidate the marriage as not being contracted by free will, gave his agreement to marry Rosande to Tymofiy. The Moldavian chronicler wrote about this event with regret: 'Wielka dysproporcja zarówno rodzin, jak i natur! Z tej strony hospodar od 18 lat, cesarz z bogactwa i z rozsianą sławą, ta druga zaś [strona] od dwóch lat wyszła z chłopstwa. Rusinki z Łado, Łado ze wszystkich kątów, sam zięć zaś na zewnątrz tylko człowiek, a cała natura zwierzęca. Niczego jednak nie zabrakło, co powinno być na weselu hospodarskim'.⁶⁸

⁶² The battle at Batoh, which took place on 1 and 2 of June 1652, and its political and military circumstances is described in: W. J. Długolecki, *Batoh 1652*, Warszawa 1995.

⁶³ The relation of F. Chilkow and P. Protasjew to the Prikaz of Delegates 1652/07/15(25), in: *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej*, ed. P. P. Gudzenko, vol. 3, Moskva 1954, no. 119, p. 226.

⁶⁴ The relation of A. Proncziszczew and A. Iwanow to the Prikaz of Delegates, April 1652, *ibidem*, vol. 3, no. 82, p. 174.

⁶⁵ Matei Basarab to J. Kemény, Târgoviște, 1652/07/27, in: Veress, *Documente...*, vol. 10, no. 161, p. 249 and J. Kutnarski to A. Leszczyński, Jassy, 1652/10/19, BUWr, Akc. 1949/440, Steinwehr's collection, f. 544v.

⁶⁶ The relation of F. Chilkow and P. Protasjew to the Prikaz of Delegates, 1652/07/15(25), in: *Vossoedinenie...*, vol. 3, no. 119, p. 226. In Poland circulated information about the overvalued possibilities of mobilization in hospodar's territory – the nuncio supposed the disposability of 30 thousand men (G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/06/16, in: *Vatikans'ky materialy...* no. 253, pp. 144–146) – actually Moldavia could not collect more than 10 thousand men, see: O. Górka, 'Dymitr Kantemir o wojsku i sztuce wojennej Moldawian', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 3 (1956), pp. 265–272.

⁶⁷ At the beginning the marriage was supposed to take place on 9 July, but the hospodar in his constant negotiations with B. Khmelnytsky won a five week postponement – not enough for Poland to send any help though, see: Wilczkowski to NN., without place, 1652/07/10, in: *Jakuba Michałowksiego...*, no. 252, p. 661 and G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/07/27, in: *Vatykans'ky materialy...*, no. 260, pp. 149–150.

⁶⁸ Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Mołdawskiej...*, p. 194. About the Cossacks' guarantees for Moldavia and the declaration of Vasile Lupu for Jan Kazimierz see the reports of G. de Torres to Rome, Warsaw, 1652/08/10 and 08/24,

The hospodar actually tried to organize his daughter's marriage at an appropriate level. The events can be reproduced based on the very detailed description of Rosande and Tymofiy's marriage by Jerzy Kutnarski, the hospodar's secretary. This description, evidently hostile towards the Cossacks, was intended to justify the hospodar to the Poles, depicting him as a victim of the Cossacks' aggression. This fact has to be taken into account when reading the description.⁶⁹

Tymofiy Khmelnitsky arrived at Jampol on the Dniestr on 16 August 1652. Great courtier Thomas Kantakuzen went to Soroka on the Moldavian bank of the Dniestr in order to greet him in the hospodar's name and escort him to Jassy. Treacherous Tymofiy imprisoned the Moldavian nobleman in Jampol, and also demanded that the brother of the hospodar, Gawryl Coci, should be sent as a prisoner. After the fulfillment of his demand, Tymofiy, leading three thousand Cossacks, crossed the border on 26 August. He arrived in Jassy on Friday, 30 August. The hospodar with his army – around 8 thousand Moldavians – waited for him outside the city walls and welcomed his future son-in-law with an oration, answered in Tymofiy's name by the scribe of the Zaporozhian army, Ivan Vykhovsky; after this both sides ceremonially entered the city, accompanied by the sound of cannons and music. The hospodar led Tymofiy to his rooms, introduced him to his son Stefanica, provided servants and left him to rest before dinner. At the same time the Cossack colonels, adjutants and captains received accommodation in the city, while the Cossack camp was placed outside it. During dinner in the hospodar's palace Tymofiy appeared in Polish costume, but kept silence 'co srodze JM. hospodara urażało'. The feast was accompanied late into the night by Turkish and Moldavian music.

On Saturday Tymofiy prepared for the wedding, the date of which was fixed for Sunday, 1 September. 'W niedzielę także rano bojarcki i młódz wołoska tańcowali, a potym hospodar JM. i hospodarowa JejM. Domnę Rozandę *charam pignus suum*, niezgrabnemu ladajakiemu i niememu chłopu z nieznośnym żalem oddali. Jechał do cerkwie na swym koniu tureckim, sam pod kitą w szatach kosztownych od hospodara JM. darowanych, pajków dwóch wedle niego. Prowadzili go bojarowie, jako co dobrego. Tam ich przyprowadzili, gdzie na kobiercu wedle zwyczaju przyklękawszy, przysięgli sobie. Pan Tymosz powrócił frant wesoło z cerkwi do zamku, obłapiwszy pannę'. The ceremony was heightened by fires, songs and huge crowds of people. Only at the Cossack betrothal the older women were missing; a carriage was sent for them, and they were found totally drunk in one of caravanserais. The

in: *Vatykans'ky materialy...*, no. 263, p. 151 and no. 265, p. 152, as far as S. Reniger to Ferdinand III, Istanbul, 1652/09/25, in: *Zherela do istorii Ukrayiny Rusi*, ed. M. Korduba, vol. 12, L'viv 1911, no. 211, pp. 185–186.

⁶⁹ J. Kutnarski, 'Descriptia wesela Tymosza Chmielnickiego z hospodarówną wołoską, anno 1652 die 1. Septembris', in: *Documente...*, vol. 9, part 1, no. 28, pp. 34–37. For the latest critical editions of this description see: *Opisanie wesela Tymoszka syna Chmielnickiego z Rozandą córką Wasila Lupula hospodara wołoskiego 1652*, in: 'Anonimnyy Opis vesillya Timosha Khmel'nyts'koho (1652) yak istoryczne dzherelo', *Naukovi zapysky. Zbyrnik prats' molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv*, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 63–71. This work also identifies the initially anonymous description as the work of J. Kutnarski.

bridegroom, undeterred, returned to the feast in the palace with his wife. With the sounds of Polish music and the start of the Cossack dances he finally cheered up. The drunken feast lasted late into the night, and afterwards the bridegroom went to the room of his wife, 'gdzie *actum est de fortuna et integritate młodej panny*'.

The next two days Tymofiy spent in his rooms; only on Wednesday, 4 September, he took a horseride, on Thursday he made a feast with his parents-in-law and chosen boyars. On the same day presents were exchanged. Tymofiy gave the hospodar forty sable furs, to his wife – an Damascus pelt of sable, to each boyar – a hundred thalers in cash. Vasile Lupu gave him four horses, with two Turkish and two Moldavian sets of harness. The hospodar generously endowed his daughter, not forgetting the Cossacks: 'Posagu za córką hospodar JM. dał 50000 talerów, krom inszej wyprawy, osobno czerwonych złotych dwu tysięcy, karete, skarbnych wozów i inszych wiele rzeczy, mając baczenie na córkę swoją. Wyhowskiemu darował hospodar JM. aksamitu 10 łokci, atłasu dwadzieścia łokci, białą futra rysiego i trzysta lewkowych talerów. Teterze [Cossack colonel Paweł Tetera – D.M.] łokci 10 aksamitu, atłasu 10 i półtora lewkowych talerów. Inszym pułkownikom sukna i bławatu na sukien i po stu pięćdziesiąt lewkowych i inszym assawulom, setnikom pieniędzmi dawano, których bez wstydu jak długu jakiego upominali się'. The delegate of the Wallachian hospodar presented to Tymofiy a Turkish horse with full equipment, to Rosande – a carpet and golden diadem.

The hospodar and his wife said farewell to the newly married couple on 6 September, escorting them outside the city. 'I jak długo hospodar JM. z zięciem swoim żegnając rozmawiał, tak długo Rozanda hospodarową Jej M. obłapiając rzewnie płakała. Potem poszła do hospodara JM., aby go pożegnała, którą on pocałował, pokazując wesołą twarz, ale serce żalem obciążone ledwie mu mówić dopuszcza. Potym bojarki i bojarowie żegnali się. A p. Tymosz, jeszcze hospodar JM. stał *nudo capite*, wsiadł na koń i czapkę nasunawszy pojechał. Hospodar zaś, zbywszy takiego gościa, do miasta pojechał'.⁷⁰

In this way Bohdan Khmelnytsky realized the first stage of his plans to overcome Moldavia, using the marriage of his own son and the daughter of the hospodar. Realizing his own dynastic plans, he looked for means to neutralize Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł – which actually succeeded when in 1653 the Lithuanian army leader opposed the use of force against the Cossacks, remaining neutral during the campaign in Ukraine and criticizing the Polish engagement in Moldavia against the Cossacks and Lupu.⁷¹ His

⁷⁰ *Opisanie wesela...*, pp. 63–68. This edition is slightly different from the one mentioned above of E. Hurmuzaki. See also the same text at K. Szajnocha, 'Domna Rozanda', in: *Dziela*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1876, pp. 313–317. The Lithuanian chamberlain has also based his memoirs on this description, see: Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik...*, pp. 365–366.

⁷¹ On the dynastic plans of Khmelnytsky see: Z. Spieralski, *Awantury moldawskie*, Warszawa 1967, p. 183 and Ya. Dashkevych, 'Klan Khmel'nitskoho- lehenda chi diysnist?', *Ukrayina v minulomu*, 1 (1992), p. 83. The peace initiative of J. Radziwiłł is apparent in his memorial to B. Khmelnytsky, spring 1653, related by K. Burlaj and S. Muzhyłowski to the Prikaz of delegates, 1653/04/22(05/02), in: *Vossoedinenie...*, vol. 3, no. 153, pp. 264–266 (analyzed in: M. Matwijów, 'Próba mediacji hetmana litewskiego Janusza

relations with the Cossacks meant for Vasile Lupu the beginning of the end. He lost his support in Poland – although he tried to keep it by a possible Cossack-Polish agreement⁷² – being opposed by Duke Georg Rakoci II and Hospodar Matei Basarab. The presence of a Cossack on Moldavian territory, their own sphere of influence from the Transylvanian point of view, was unacceptable and in April 1653 Vasile Lupu was overthrown. Cossack help without Tatar support and the necessity of defending Ukraine against Poland was unsuccessful: Tymofiy died in September 1653 near Suceava, where he defended his mother-in-law and the famous treasures of the hospodar, Vasile Lupu arrived in Istanbul via Ukraine and the Crimea, where he died in 1661. Rosande stayed some time in Rashkov in Ukraine and after twenty years went to Moldavia. She died in 1686 in Neamț at the hands of the Cossacks of King John III Sobieski, who tried to force her to show where the treasure of her father was hidden.⁷³

The two marriages of Vasile Lupu's daughters which have been described, Mary's to Janusz Radziwiłł, and Rosande's to Tymofiy Khmelnytsky, lead to some important cultural and political conclusions. Both of them could be characterized as public performances with recurring elements, among which the welcome of bridegroom by the hospodar before Jassy and the ceremonial entry into the city on the first day, festivities on the same day, can be counted. As for the preparations for the weddings, the dances of the young Moldavian boyars took place, starting on Friday, according to the account of 1645, and on Saturday in 1652, being a Moldavian custom, unknown in Poland. The marriages took place in a church according the Orthodox rite prevailing in Moldavia – which caused difficulties for the Calvinist Janusz Radziwiłł. The pair went to the church in rich clothing, the bridegroom – both Radziwiłł and Khmielnitsky – on a horse, presented by the hospodar and led by two servants. After the ceremony in the church a feast took place. Several days later – in the marriage of Janusz Radziwiłł on Monday or Tuesday, in the marriage of Tymofiy Khmelnytsky on Thursday – presents were delivered by the delegates of the invited ruling persons.⁷⁴ This ceremony was more elaborated in 1645, since during the marriage of Rosande only the Wallachian delegate was present, despite the fact that the hospodar had also waited for Jan Kemény from Transylvania. The wedding feast of Janusz Radziwiłł lasted for twelve days,

Radziwiłła w konflikcie polsko-kozackim w latach 1653–1655', *Wrocławskie Studia Wschodnie*, 5 (2001), pp. 12–13 and T. Ciesielski, *Sejm brzeski. Studium z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1652–1653*, Toruń 2003, pp. 22–23).

⁷² The first conversations on this matter took place between the hospodar, J. Kutnarski and I. Wyhowski during the marriage of Tymofiy and Rozande, see: S. Potocki to Jan Kazimierz, Podhajce, 1652/12/26, BUWr, Akc. 1949/440, f. 545.

⁷³ See: C. Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, vol. 1, Chișinău 1991, p. 245. Rosande's sister, Mary Radziwiłł, Janusz's widow, died on 14 January 1660 in Sluck, where she had hidden herself, afraid of the Muscovite army. As M. Vorbek-Lettow noted at this date (in *Skarbnica pamięci. Pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV*, ed. by E. Galos i F. Mincer, Wrocław 1968, p. 288), Mary, because 'nieporatowanie chora była na suchoty i puchlinę, dzisiaj z doczesnego do wiecznego *reclinatorium* przeniesiona jest'.

⁷⁴ The delivering of presents to the newly married couple was a Polish custom, see: T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 158–159.

while Tymofiy departed from Jassy five days after the marriage – in both cases the hospodar escorted them outside the city.

The more modest wedding of Tymofiy and Rosande was the result of the political circumstances of the marriage, which were mirrored in its description. The marriage of Janusz Radziwiłł was celebrated by a special panegyric, the wedding of Tymofiy Khmelnytsky is known only through a pamphlet, as the work of Jerzy Kutnarski could be called. In it the author omits the entire church ceremony – which he maybe did not participate in or understand – and concentrates on the description of the hospodar's splendor and the Cossacks' barbarism. It is proved by his description of Tymofiy, portrayed by Kutnarski as a complete fool, who did not know how to behave in society.⁷⁵

Both marriages – especially the second one – should be analysed by taking into account their political backgrounds. The marriage of a ruler is almost always to be treated from the political point of view. The marriage of Mary Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł was a traditional instance of the relations between the Moldavian hospodars and Polish noble families. Marriage to a magnate of the Crown with property in Ukraine was not extraordinary, but to a Lithuanian nobleman it was – which caused difficulties for Janusz Radziwiłł in playing the role of Moldavia's protector, which he actually felt to be his chosen one.⁷⁶ The hospodar had planned to marry his second daughter 'according to tradition' with a Polish nobleman, a frequently named candidate being Piotr, the son of Mikołaj Potocki: interference with these plans was also possible from old Crown Hetman Marcin Kalinowski.⁷⁷ Both marriages could have been an instance of the pro-Polish policies of Vasile Lupu, who looked for support against the Turks and Transylvania. He accomplished only one point: less than a year after Rosande left Istanbul Bohdan Khmelnytsky wanted her for his son. The hospodar opposed this marriage because of his relations with the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth – which resulted in Khmelnytsky's feeble pressure. The marriage was forced by the Cossacks in 1652, a year later it was annulled by the war, when Transylvania and Wallachia united with Poland opposed the Cossacks' presence in Moldavia. The marriage of Rosande and Tymofiy was paid for by Vasile Lupu by the loss of his throne, the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth lost a temporary ally in this case, who was replaced by the Transylvanian protégé Georg Stefan.

⁷⁵ During the welcoming oration of the hospodar Tymofiy 'i pół słowa nie odpowiedział, tylko stojąc jak wryty wargi swoje gryzł', during the meeting with boyars, 'pojrząwszy na nich jako wilk jaki spode łba, dobył noża i tyłem obróciwszy się (*salve venia*) poczał sobie paznokcie obrzynać przy bojarach wołoskich'. To make long story short, he was 'chłop młody ospowaty, wzrostu niemalego, wielki duren', Gvozdk, 'Anonimnyy Opis vesillya Timosha Khmel'nits'kogo'..., pp. 64–65.

⁷⁶ After the Tatar-Cossack attack on Moldavia in 1650 he wrote: 'Radzić o hospodarze JM. *post factum* trudno i przy tym nieszczęsnym urzędzie mym nie godzi się i nie jak, ale kiedy bym był wolny sobie, ręczę WKs.M., żeby imię Radziwiłłowskie dalej poszło w tamtych stronach, niż Wiśniowieckich, Potockich albo Koreckich. Ale że człowiek związane ma ręce, tylko z daleka *suspirare* przyjdzie', J. Radziwiłł to B. Radziwiłł, without place, 1650/09/29, *Diariusz kancelaryjny*..., p. 319.

⁷⁷ M. Jemiołowski, *Pamiętnik dzieje Polski zawierający 1648–1679*, ed. by J. Dziegielewski, Warszawa 2000, p. 96. See also: Kubala, 'Krwawe swaty'..., p. 141 and Șerban, *Vasile Lupu*..., p. 155.

The new hospodar sent his army against Poland in 1657, supporting Rakoci, who was allied with the Cossacks and the Swedes on his unfortunate road to the Polish crown. This campaign attracted the attention of the Sublime Porte, and the Turks pacified the Transdanubian duchies in 1658–1660, once again introducing their full control. In this way the political profits of the marriage of Mary Lupu (the seven-year cooperation between Poland and Moldavia) were squandered, as well as the negative results in relations between Moldavia and the rebellious Cossacks, due to the marriage of Rosande. The Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth only came back to Moldavian politics actively during the Turkish war of John III Sobieski.