


Leszek OPYRCHAŁ * (MUT, Warsaw, Poland)

Who was the author of the map of the Khotyn fortress siege of 1788?

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Abstract: *Two maps documenting the capture of Khotyn, which took place during the Russian-Turkish war fought in 1787-1792, have been preserved in Polish archival collections. One was made by Adam Dbuski, the other is anonymous. A comparison of the details of the two maps and the plan of the Kamianets-Podilskiy fortress made by Jan Bakalowicz shows that the author of the anonymous map was the commanding officer of the Kamianets-Podilskiy fortress – Józef de Witte. Due to the fact that his wife, Zofia, maintained too close relationships with General Saltykov, who commanded the Russian army, he was accused of treason. Probably in order to regain the favor of the Polish King Stanisław August Poniatowski, Józef de Witte made a map of the siege of Khotyn.*

Key words: History, Map, Historical Cartography, Khotyn, Józef de Witte, Russian-Turkish war

Introduction

In Russian-Ottoman relations, the 18th century was marked by wars. There were as many as four of them.¹ The first of these, conducted in 1710-1711 and commanded personally by Tsar Peter I, ended in an unsuccessful expedition to the Prut River,² however, during the following wars Russia was only successful. Between 1735 and 1739 it captured Azov,³ which lies at the shore of the Sea of Azov, and then in the years 1768-1772 it captured Crimea. After another war fought between 1787 and 1792, it moved its southeastern borders to the Dniester River.⁴ This war, conducted with the partial complicity of Austrian troops, was made famous by two victories: the capture of the fortress of Ochakov⁵ in 1788 that ended with the slaughter of its

* Corresponding Author. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7585-843X>.
leszek.opyrchal@wat.edu.pl; Military University of Technology, Faculty of Civil Engineering and Geodesy. This work was supported by the Military University of Technology under Grant UGB 814.

¹ Morawski & Szawłowska, 2006: 37-92.

² Also spelled: Pruth; Polish: Prut; Ukrainian: Прут; Romanian: Prut.

³ The locality geographic location was provided according to Google maps. 47°07'N 39°25'E, Russian: Азов.

⁴ Polish: Dniestr; Ukrainian: Дністер.

⁵ 46°37'N 31°33'E, Ukrainian: Очаків, Turkish: Özi.

defenders, as well as the women and children there, and the capture of the fortress of Izmail⁶ by General Alexander Suvorov⁷ in 1791. With such stunning military successes, the capture of the border fortress of Khotyn⁸ was a minor episode of this war.

The Dniester River constituted the border between the Ottoman Porte and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Khotyn lay on the right, Turkish bank of the river. On the left bank, just 30 km away, lay one of the most important fortresses of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – Kamianets-Podilskyi.⁹

Documentation of plans of battles and fortresses was carried out from the 17th century onward. We can find such plans in the works of Samuel von Pufendorf,¹⁰ Nicolas de Fer,¹¹ Gabriel Bodenehr,¹² Jacobus de Rubeis,¹³ Peter van der Aa¹⁴ and other authors and engravers. In Poland, two maps have been preserved from the siege and capture of Khotyn. The first one was made by Adam Dłuski, the second one is anonymous.

It is likely that both maps of the siege of Khotyn were present in King Stanisław August Poniatowski's map collection, in the section 'Planes militaires, batalies, campements etc', the catalogue of which unfortunately has not been preserved.¹⁵ After the king's death in 1798, the collection was dispersed.¹⁶ Part of the collection was sold. Most likely, the map by Dłuski became part of the collections of the Czartoryski Princes, which are now present in Krakow. In addition to the discussed map by Dłuski, two plans of Kamianets-Podilskyi, once belonging to the collection of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, are also kept there.¹⁷ It is not known how Józef de Witte's map ended up in the collection of the Polish writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski¹⁸ who was a well-known collector of prints and drawings. From 1869, Kraszewski's collection passed into the hands of the Branicki family and then the Tarnowski family in Sucha. The map has been kept at the National Museum in Warsaw since 1943, and was purchased for its collections in 2006.

The purpose of the article is to try to determine the authorship of the second, anonymous map. Due to the fact that no mention of its author is known in archival

⁶ 45°21'00"N 28°50'00"E, Polish: Izmail; Ukrainian: Ізмаїл.

⁷ Fuller, 1996: 457.

⁸ 48°29'36"N 26°30'10"E, also spelled: Chotzin, Chotim, Cotzchim; Polish: Chocim; Ukrainian: Хотин; Turkish: Hotin.

⁹ Опурчал, 2022.

¹⁰ Pufendorf, 1696.

¹¹ Fer, 1695.

¹² Bodenehr, 1720.

¹³ Rubeis, 1687.

¹⁴ Aa van der, 1729.

¹⁵ Łonczyńska, 1960: 38.

¹⁶ Łonczyńska (1960: 48) estimates that from Stanisław August Poniatowski's entire collection of about 600 maps, about 120 items have survived in Polish collections.

¹⁷ Łonczyńska, 1960: 43.

¹⁸ Danek, 1970: 221-9.

documents, the reasoning presented below will be circumstantial. In order to carry it out, it will be necessary to analyze the details of both maps, make a comparison with another map from the period, as well as discuss the course of hostilities during the siege of Khotyn in 1788, and, which may be surprising, determine how these hostilities were impacted by a beautiful woman.

Dłuski's map

The map by Dłuski [Fig. 1], which is present at the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków (B. Czart., inv. no. T.122/80bI) was created on paper in the form of an impressive oval with axis size of 200×260 mm, in N orientation. On the wind rose an arrow marks the direction of the south. The map was published by Karol Buczek¹⁹ as early as in 1935, and later by other authors.²⁰ A title was placed in the upper left corner: *Plan okolicy Kamieńca Podolskiego i oblężenia Chocinia przez Woyska sprzymierzone Austriackie pod Ko-mendą Genarał-Leutnanta x[się]cia Koburga y Moskiewskie, dowodzone przez Gene-rala – en Cheffe Graffa Soltykowa. Zrobiony przez Adama Dłuskiego, Komornika Granicznego Lubel[skiego] Porucznika W[ojsk] Kor[onnych]*,²¹ and under it there is a linear scale.

Calculating the scale of the map, unfortunately, is not easy and does not give a clear result. The map shows the pattern of length (half a mile is equal to 37 mm) and states that a half of a Polish mile is six thousand ells. Due to the fact that between the years 1764-1819 an ell was²² 59.55 cm, the scale of the map is $1: 6000 \times 595.5/37 = 96568$ i.e. 1:96568. The length of 1 mile would be 7146 m. On the other hand, if one assumes that the division: 1 mile = 12000 ells dates back to before 1764, then it is the so-called Kraków ell the length of which was²³ 58.6 cm. In this case, the map would be developed in a scale of $6000 \times 586/37 = 95027$ i.e. 1:95027.

¹⁹ Buczek, 1935a: 2-3.

²⁰ Król-Mazur, 2008:480-1; Plamenytska, 2012: 17.

²¹ Plan of the surroundings of Kamianets-Podilskyi and the siege of Khotyn by the following allied forces: Austrian forces under the command of Lieutenant-General Prince Koburg and the Muscovites commanded by General – en Cheffe, Count Saltykov. Made by Adam Dłuski, Boundary Surveyor of Lublin, Lieutenant of the Polish Crown forces.

²² Stamm, 1938: 23.

²³ Stamm, 1938: 33.



Fig. 1. Dłuski's map [B. Czart., inv. no. T.122/80bI], (after Opyrchał, 2019: 183, Fig. 84)

We do not know much about the author of the map. The boundary surveyor, lieutenant Adam Dłuski is not mentioned in the lists of officials of the Lublin Province of the 18th century.²⁴ It is known only that he served in a formation of the troops of the Targowica Confederation with the rank of captain, to which he was promoted on September 24, 1792.²⁵ So it is very likely that, at the time of drawing up the map, i.e. in 1788, he was a lieutenant. A person that is more famous than Adam Dłuski is Tomasz Dłuski – Coat of Arms: Nałęcz.²⁶ He served as chamberlain of Lublin. He supervised boundary surveyors who were appointed by him.²⁷ Due to the fact that in 1788, i.e. when the map was created, Tomasz Dłuski was already 75 years old, and the author of the map, Adam Dłuski, was only a lieutenant, it can be suspected that Adam Dłuski was a grandson or another, distant, relative of the chamberlain Tomasz Dłuski.

²⁴ Kłaczewski, Urban & Gąsiorowski, 1991.

²⁵ Gdański, *et al.*, 2003: 49, 52.

²⁶ Konopczyński, 1946: 197-8.

²⁷ Konieczny, 1924: 107.

The anonymous map

The anonymous map of the siege of Khotyn in 1788 is kept at The National Museum in Warsaw (MNW, inv. no. Gr.Pol.16874). It was drawn on paper using a pen, ink and watercolor [Fig. 2] in N orientation which is marked with an arrow. It has the following dimensions: 375×542 mm. There is a title in the upper left corner: *Plan okolicy fortecy Kamieńca oraz oblężenia i wzięcia Chocimia przez wojska sprzymierzone austriackie i rosyjskie 1788.*²⁸ The map shows the earthwork sconces and positions of the Austrian-Russian allied forces, which are marked with letters. Their meaning is explained in the legend located in the lower right corner. The map shows a scale in miles (1 mile = 15.3 cm) and explains that one mile is twelve thousand paces. Unfortunately, this information does not clarify much. As has been indicated by Stamm, the Polish mile may have ranged from 6520 m to 7810 m.²⁹ The length of one pace is also not fully known. Admittedly, the excellent geometer and surveyor Stanisław Solski claims³⁰ that: two Kraków ells³¹ are three feet, and a pace is five feet, and that 1 Polish mile contained 15000 ells, which would result in:

$$\begin{aligned} 1 \text{ polish mile} &= 15000 \text{ ells} \times \frac{3 \text{ feet}}{2 \text{ ells}} = 22500 \text{ feet} \times \frac{1 \text{ pace}}{5 \text{ feet}} \\ &= 4500 \text{ paces} \end{aligned}$$

Even if the mentioned figure referred to the so-called double paces, this would result in 9000 single paces, but not 12000 paces, as given in the discussed map. Therefore, the presented linear scale is not sufficient to calculate the scale of the map. By measuring the distances on the map and comparing them with contemporary ones, one can conclude that the scale of the anonymous map is 1: 60000.

The anonymous map designates and also includes a description (in the legend) of the location of the Russian-Austrian allied troops, the fortifications they made on both sides of the Dniester River, as well as the bridges built to communicate between the two banks of the river.

In contrary to the previous map by Dłuski, the discussed anonymous map is little known. It comes from the collection of a Polish writer, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski. The map is listed in the catalogue of writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's collection of maps and drawings as: *Kamieniec Podol. Plan des environs du fort de Kamieniec et du siège de Chocim. pris par les Russes et les Autrichiens en 1788. Carte dessinée folio.*³²

²⁸ Plan of the surroundings of the fortress of Kamianets and the siege and capture of Khotyn by the allied Austrian and Russian troops 1788.

²⁹ Stamm, 1938, 32-33.

³⁰ Solski, 1683: 146.

³¹ The Kraków ell was 58.6 cm (Stamm, 1938, 18).

³² Kraszewski, 1865: 131.



Fig. 2. Anonymous map [MNW, inv. no. Gr.Pol.16874], photo by Piotr Liger

Comparison of some details of the maps

In the map by Dłuski, in the village of Tatarzyska³³ located near Kamianets-Podilskiy³⁴ we can see [Fig. 3] a building signed as “mój domek” (my house). However, it is impossible for the author to have lived there. As the title of the map indicates, Adam Dłuski, as a boundary surveyor, was a land official associated with the Lublin province, while Kamianets-Podilskiy, 500 kilometers away, was the capital of the Podolia province. And yet, a boundary surveyor like all other officials, had to originate from the nobility settled in the district³⁵ in which he performed his duties, that is, in the Lublin province. The duties of a boundary surveyor included not only to be well versed in geometry and surveying but also to settle boundary disputes.³⁶ Therefore, Adam Dłuski must have lived in the area of Lublin, not that of Kamianets-Podilskiy.

³³ Currently it is a fragment of the locality named Smotrych (48°39'48"N 26°33'34"E), Polish: Smotrycz; Ukrainian: Смотрич. (Attention! There are two localities with this name near Kamianets-Podilskiy).

³⁴ 48°41'N 26°35'E, Polish: Kamieniec Podolski; Ukrainian: Кам'янець-Подільський.

³⁵ Konieczny, 1924: 107.

³⁶ Adamowicz, 1864: 252-3.



Fig. 3. The location of “mój domek”. A fragment of Dłuski’s map [B. Czart., inv. no. T.122/80bI]

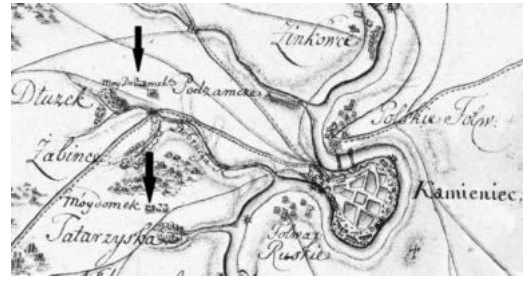


Fig. 4. The location of two of “mój domek”. A fragment of the anonymous map [MNW, inv. no. Gr.Pol.16874]



Fig. 5. An incorrect view of the Stronghold of the Holy Trinity fortress on a fragment of Dłuski’s map [B. Czart., inv. no. T.122/80bI]. It was not built on a pentagonal plan. This proves that the author of the map never saw this fortress.

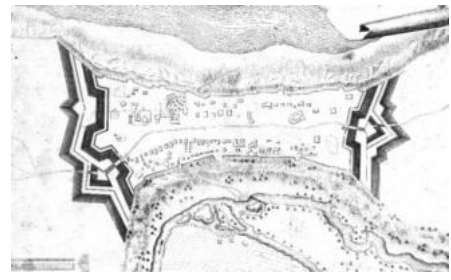


Fig. 6. The Stronghold of the Holy Trinity fortress on a copperplate engraving by Johanna Dorothea Sysang [BN, ZZK 1 343]



Fig. 7. The Stronghold of the Holy Trinity fortress. A fragment of the anonymous map [MNW, inv. no. Gr.Pol.16874]

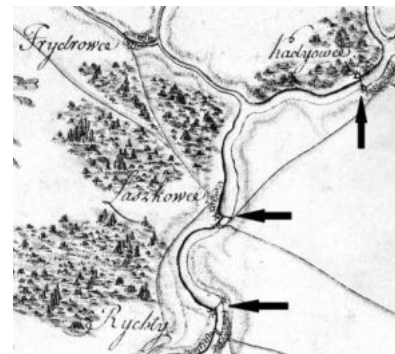


Fig. 8. The location of mills. A fragment of the anonymous map [MNW, inv. no. Gr.Pol. 16874]

The anonymous map also includes the marking of “mój domek” in the locality of Tatarzyska, but, interestingly, another “mój domek” was placed in the locality of Podzamcze³⁷ [Fig. 4]. This means that the author of the anonymous map had two houses.

When discussing the details of the map, it is important to note that on Dłuski’s map the distribution of troops was marked in an approximate manner. A detailed description of the location of the particular military formations and descriptions of the earthwork sconces were not given. On the anonymous map, on the other hand, the deployments of the particular formations of the allied troops were marked by letters and explained in the map legend. The situation is similar in case of some elements of the fortifications of the defending Khotyn fortress. The pontoon bridges made by Russian-Austrian troops to build batteries for firing on the Khotyn fortress from the other, i.e. Polish, side of the Dniester River are marked on the border river – Dniester.

These differences testify to the fact that the author of the anonymous map was, unlike Adam Dłuski, very well oriented in the deployment of Russian-Austrian allied troops. It is likely that he watched them from a close distance.

The fortifications of the Stronghold of the Holy Trinity fortress, built in 1692,³⁸ are shown on Dłuski’s map as a pentagon with bastions located at its corners [Fig 5]. Such a shape of the fortress does not correspond to the real one. This is because it was built on a promontory formed by the deep gorges of the Dniester River and the Zbruch River flowing into it.³⁹ Fortifications crisscrossed this promontory, linking together the steep slopes descending to the rivers. The steep slopes from the side of the two rivers were not strengthened with fortification structures, as shown in a copperplate engraving by Johanna Dorothea Sysang⁴⁰ [Fig. 6]. On the other hand, the fortifications of the Stronghold of the Holy Trinity fortress were fairly correctly mapped on the anonymous map [Fig. 7]. This shows that Adam Dłuski, unlike the anonymous author, did not know the actual shapes of the fortifications of this fortress. Most likely he had never seen this fortress, otherwise he would have remembered its unusual shape.

On Dłuski’s map, rivers are shown as lines, and mills are not marked. The anonymous map, on the other hand, shows the width of the rivers in particular locations and the mills built on them. The widening of the rivers in front of the mills, caused by the formation of a lake due to water damming, is also shown [Fig. 8].

Comparing the details of the maps, one can come to the following conclusions. Firstly, the area covered by them was well known to the anonymous author, unlike to Adam Dłuski whose map includes errors and inaccuracies. And secondly, the fact that

³⁷ Currently it is a district of Kamianets-Podilskyi.

³⁸ 48°32'20"N 26°24'54"E, Polish: Okopy Świętej Trójcy; Ukrainian: Фортеця Святої Трійці.

³⁹ Polish: Zbrucz; Ukrainian: Збруч.

⁴⁰ The copperplate engraving can be found in Jonsac, 1774: 82.

Adam Dłuski marked “mój domek” in the locality of Tatarzyska, in the same position where there is the house of the author of the anonymous map suggests that Adam Dłuski used the anonymous map as a model.

Determining the authorship of the anonymous map

Determining the authorship of the anonymous map is possible thanks to the fact that it includes “mój domek”. The anonymous map shows two buildings signed as “mój domek” [Fig. 4]. The first one, similarly as on the map by Dłuski, in the village of Tatarzyska; the second one – in the village of Podzamcze – this house is missing on the map by Dłuski. It could not have been Adam Dłuski’s house, because, as already mentioned, he must have resided in the Lublin province, some 500 km away. Determining the owner of “mój domek” in the village of Tatarzyska can be supported by a plan of Kamianets-Podilskiyi from 1782 by Jan Bakałowicz.⁴¹ In the corner of the plan there is the inscription „dom pułk[ownika] Wit[t]a” (house of Colonel Wit[t]) [Fig. 9]. The history of Kamianets-Podilskiyi recalls two Witts, Jan and his son Józef.⁴² Jan de Witte⁴³ was the designer of the modernization of the fortifications of the Kamianets-Podilskiyi fortress, and also its commanding officer in the years 1768-1785. He had a house in the village of Tatarzyska.⁴⁴ General Jan de Witte’s son, Józef, also served in the Crown Army. No written information has survived regarding where he resided. However, it is known that on June 14, 1779, in a hasty manner, he married Zofia Glavani⁴⁵ at the parish church in Zińkiwci. The Zińkiwci parish included the village of Podzamcze⁴⁶ in which “mój domek” was marked on the anonymous map. Due to the fact that the father, Jan de Witte, built himself a house with a garden in Kamianets-Podilskiyi in 1770,⁴⁷ it is reasonable to assume that he passed the property in Tatarzyska to his son Józef.

⁴¹ Born in 1740 or 1741 in Kamianets-Podilskiyi, he and his son Dominik were killed during the storming of Praga (a suburb of Warsaw) by Russian forces on November 4, 1794. From 1788 he was a colonel, he designed fortifications and made maps and plans of reinforcements; Buczek, 1935b: 224-5.

⁴² Józef Zefiryn de Witte, born on 27 August 1739 in Kamianets-Podilskiyi, died in 1815 in Demeszyn near Tulchyn. Son of General Jan de Witte. In the corps of the Crown artillery from 1758. Subsequent promotion ranks: captain - 1767, major - 1773, he was appointed major general and commanding officer of the Kamianets fortress on December 22, 1785; Machynia & Szrednicki, 1999: 64-5; Kosk, 2001: 253-4.

⁴³ Jan de Witte, born in 1709 or on 26 February 1716, died on December 22, 1785 in Kamianets-Podilskiyi. He was the designer and builder of many civil and sacred buildings. Subsequent officer promotion ranks: lieutenant on May 8, 1734, captain on October 15, 1735, major on May 6, 1751, lieutenant colonel on September 7, 1754, colonel on December 19, 1762, major general on June 18, 1767, lieutenant general on October 8, 1781. From 1768 the commanding officer of the Kamianets fortress; Łoza, 1954: 331; Machynia & Szrednicki, 1999: 64; Hornung, 1995: 24.

⁴⁴ Srogoź, 1997: 47.

⁴⁵ Łojek, 1995: 79. Zofia (Sophie) Glavani, by her first marriage Witt, by her second marriage Potocka.

⁴⁶ Szczepaniak, 2019: 58.

⁴⁷ Bania & Wirazka, 2001: 139.

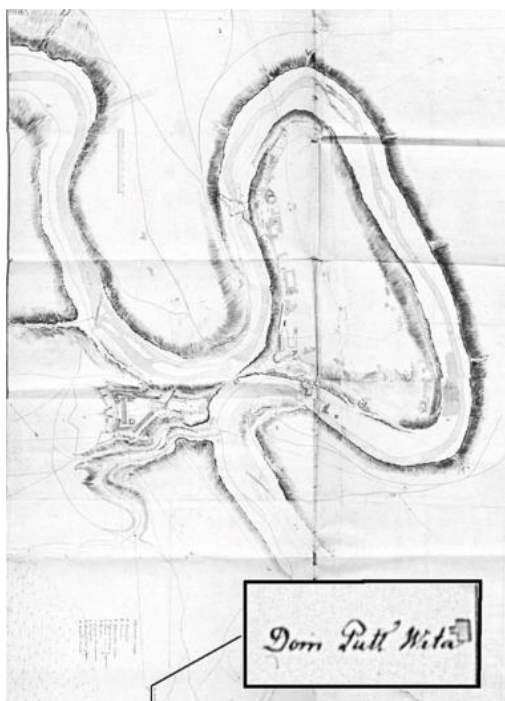


Fig. 9. The marking of the location of Colonel Witt's house in the locality of Tatarzyska. A plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi drawn up by Jan Bakałowicz in 1782 [RGVIA, ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 599], (after Opyrchał, 2019: 111, Fig. 48)

In 1782, which is when Bakałowicz's map was created, Jan de Witte was already a general. If the house continued to belong to the father – Jan, it would be signed as “house of General Wit[t]” and not as “house of Colonel Wit[t]”. And the son, Józef, became a general only in 1785.

Due to the fact that after his father's death Józef de Witte was appointed commander of the Kamianets fortress and of the border fortresses, therefore, both the surrounding area as well as the Stronghold of the Holy Trinity fortress were well known to him and he would not have made a mistake in mapping its fortifications as Adam Dłuski did.

Conclusion

In light of the information gathered, it should be concluded that the author of the anonymous map is Józef de Witte.

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RGVIA – Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy voyenno-istoricheskiy arkhiv [Российский государственный военно-исторический архив / The Russian State Military Historical Archive], ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 599

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