

QVES MOSCOVITICVS.

MOSCOBITA SIVE MSCVS



# Representing Muscovites in Early Modern Textual Cultures

A conference organised by the

Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the

Under and Tuglas Literature Centre of the Estonian Academy of Sciences

31 October – 1 November 2024, Prague

## Program



**9:00 – 9:20** Introduction, welcomes

**9:20 – 10:20** Keynote lecture

**Peter Sjökvist** (Uppsala University), The Image of Russia in Early Modern Swedish Sources: Dissertations, Pamphlets, Poetry

**10:20 – 10:40** coffee break

**10:40 – 11:40**

Chair: **Jüri Kivimäe**

**Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail** (Indiana University), Duchy of Moscovy in the atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)

**Jakub Niedźwiedz** (Jagiellonian University in Kraków), The 16th-century maps of Muscovy as polyphonic texts

**11:40 – 12:40**

Chair: **Tomáš Havelka**

**Ovanes Akopyan** (Ca' Foscari University of Venice), A new Germania? Tacitean Elements in Renaissance descriptions of Muscovy, c. 1525

**László Jankovits** (University of Pécs), Jacobus Piso on the Battle of Orsha: An early representation of the Muscovites

**12:40 – 14:30** lunch

**14:30 – 16:00**

Chair: **Andrzej Borkowski**

**Maria Chantry** (University of Wrocław), Portraits of Moscow tyrants in Latin and Polish Renaissance poetry

**Madis Maasing** (University of Tartu), Russians, Turks and Tatars in the political rhetoric of 16th-century Livonia

**Jüri Kivimäe** (University of Toronto), Naming the Enemy: Balthasar Russow on Muscovites at war

**16:00 – 16:30** coffee break

**16:30–17:30**

Chair: **Maria Chantry**

**Lucie Storchová** (Czech Academy of Sciences), The Nearest Other? Representations of Muscovites in the Bohemian literature around 1600

**Kristi Viiding** (Estonian Academy of Sciences), Multifunctional Neighbours: Reflections on Muscovites in the Livonian Neo-Latin epic from the second half of the 16th century

**9:30 – 10:30**

Chair: **Peter Sjøkvist**

**Viktors Dāboliņš** (University of Latvia), Zacharias Stopius letter to Riga City Council on Stephen Bathory's military campaign in Muscovy and takeover of Velikiye Luki (1580)

**Gábor Petneházi** (University of Innsbruck), The Perfect Enemy? Stephen Bathory's Livonian Campaign and its reception in contemporary Neo-Latin literature in Transylvania

**10:30 – 11:00** coffee break

**11:00 – 12:00**

Chair: **Jakub Niedźwiedz**

**Marcela Slavíková** (Czech Academy of Sciences), Ne Moscis simus praeda cruenta: Aegidius Salius the Bohemian on the Muscovite threat to Europe (1570)

**Andrzej Borkowski** (University of Siedlce), Moscow and Muscovites in the works of Polish Baroque poetry: The case of Waław Potocki

**12:00 – 14:00** lunch

**14:00 – 15:30**

Chair: **László Jankovits**

**Piret Lotman** (Estonian National Library), Are Muscovites Christians? Russian Orthodox believers in Ingria through the eyes of the Lutheran clergy in the 17th century

**Aivar Põldvee** (Tallinn University), Depiction of the Great Northern War in the lament of sacristan Käsü Hans in Estonian

**Kaarel Vanamõlder** (Estonian Academy of Sciences), Otto Fabian von Wrangell: Estonian nobleman and chronicler who met both Peter I and Charles XII

**15:30 – 15:45**

**Conclusions**

**15:45 – 16:30**

**Official closing of the conference (coffee break, wine & beer)**

### **Ovanes Akopyan (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)**

A new Germania? Tacitean Elements in Renaissance descriptions of Muscovy, c. 1525

By 1480, when Muscovy attained independence from the Mongol rule to which it had been subjected for more than two centuries, it remained a *terra incognita* for European scholars. They were ignorant of its actual geography, history, and religion and continued to reproduce the ancient *topoi*, referring to Pliny the Elder and Herodotus when naming the Muscovites as the successors of Scythians and Sarmatians. However, by 1547, when Ivan IV proclaimed himself Tsar, thereby propelling Russia's ambitions to be considered a leading power in Eastern Europe, Western knowledge of the Muscovite state increased significantly. It was not regarded anymore as an unidentified and mysterious eastern neighbour but rather emerged as an integral member of the European world. With a particular emphasis on three writings, all composed around 1525, this paper aims to reconstruct the dynamics of this shift. Although the works by Paolo Giovio, Albert Campense and Johann Fabri have attracted some scholarly attention, mostly among specialists in Russian history, they have been rarely put against the backdrop of Renaissance historical writing. By looking closely at these works and the political and ideological agenda they aimed to pursue, this paper thus demonstrates how the earliest descriptions of Muscovy reflected broader trends within the European historical imagination of the time.

### **Andrzej Borkowski (University of Siedlce)**

Moscow and Muscovites in the works of Polish Baroque poetry: The case of Waław Potocki

The presented research aims to recognize and illustrate the diverse ways of portraying Muscovites in Polish Baroque poetry, using the works of the eminent Polish Baroque poet Waław Potocki as a case study. Even a preliminary examination of this body of work shows that Muscovites are present at various levels of literary discourse, ranging from satirical depictions to a serious tone revealing the threats and conflicts between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire. The Polish Baroque poet, living on the Polish-Slovak border, demonstrated great sensitivity to cultural differences, similarities and contrasts in customs and social relations. Muscovites appear in this ethnic mosaic of Central and Eastern Europe as a group characterized by a kind of insularity and expansiveness, which aroused the poet's interest, as well as critical remarks.

### **Maria Chantry (University of Wrocław)**

Portraits of Moscow tyrants in Latin and Polish Renaissance poetry

In my paper, I would like to present and compare the literary portraits of two Moscow rulers: Vasily III and Ivan IV the Terrible. The image of the former emerges from works written by several authors after the Battle of Orsha in 1514, in which Vasily was defeated by King Sigismund. To commemorate this victory, a collection of epinicia was published in Rome in 1515: *Carmina de memorabili caede scismaticorum Moscoviorum per Serenissimum ac Invictissimum Dominum Sigismundum Regem Poloniae, [...] peracta*. The authors of the collected works were: Jan Dantyszek, Walenty Eck, Bernard Wapowski, Krzysztof Suchten, Andrzej Krzycki, Jakub Pizon and Andronicus Tranquillus.

I will try to reconstruct the literary portrait of Ivan the Terrible based on selected works by Jan Kochanowski, including both Latin and Polish odes (eg. Ode XII *De expugnatione Polottei*), the Polish hodoeporicon *Jezda do Moskwy* and a Latin epinicion for Stefan Batory after the conquest of Polotsk (published in Krakow): *Ad Stephanum Bathorrhheim Regem Poloniae Inclytum, Moscho debellato et Livonia recuperata EPINICION Anno a Christo nato MDLXXXII*. In comparing the literary portraits of these two Moscow rulers, I will draw

attention to (among other things) certain recurring stereotypes and the literary tools used by the authors.

### **Viktors Dāboliņš (University of Latvia)**

Zacharias Stopius letter to Riga City Council on Stephen Bathory's military campaign in Muscovy and takeover of Velikiye Luki (1580)

Zacharias Stopius' (1530 Breslau–1593/94 Riga) unpublished letter in middle-low German from September 1580 is a detailed report from the war zone in western parts of Muscovy to his addressee, Riga City Council. Stopius reported on the progress (6 August – 2 September 1580) of Stephen Bathory's campaign against Muscovy, that was part of his (ultimately successful) endeavor to secure control over the fiercely contested Livonian territories. Stopius was mainly concerned with the failed peace treaty missions, preparations for the siege of Velikiye Luki, the takeover and slaughter of many of its citizens. Despite Stopius' established reputation as a physician (dr. med. in Rostock), serving Riga (city physician 1562-1585) and some of its seigniors (e.g. since 1567 the Duke of Courland), this letter is an early evidence of his engagement in the diplomatic affairs. In this particular account Stopius shares Livonian anticipation in swift and victorious campaign. The animosity towards Muscovy is implicitly justified by the atrocities inflicted upon the Livonian people during the Livonian war years (1558-1582). However, the disaster in Velikiye Luki leaves Stopius emotionally and morally shaken. This paper explores the construction of the Muscovite image through the real life experience of Stopius.

### **Grzegorz Franczak (University of Milan), on-line**

"What Barbaric Savagery!" Albert Schlichting's Misdeeds of the Grand Duke of Muscovy (1571) and the Polish-Lithuanian Antimuscovite Propaganda in the times of Ivan the Terrible's Oprichnina

In European political literature, Ivan the Terrible became an emblematic figure of a bloodthirsty tyrant-psychopath, compared with Nero, Claudius, or Caligula, and among his contemporaries – with the Ottoman sultan. The tsar owed this international black PR to foreign narrators, among whom were direct witnesses and participants of the events of the oprichnina period (1565–1572), when the tsar introduced a reign of terror and decimated the Muscovite princely and boyar aristocracy by tracking down actual and alleged conspiracies.

We will focus on the most influential of those narratives, shaping the negative image of the tsar in the eyes of Europeans – Albert Schlichting's *Misdeeds of the Grand Duke of Muscovy* (1571). The circumstances in which this work has been created, are a real spy story. Schlichting was captured in Muscovy in 1564, and thanks to his language skills (in addition to German, Latin and Polish, he also knew Ruthenian), he became the translator of the tsar's physician – the Italian Arnolf. He was a privileged eyewitness to the most cruel years of the oprichnina, and everything indicates that he passed information about the events in Muscovy to the Polish-Lithuanian intelligence. He escaped to Lithuania in November 1570, where he dictated his story on the spot. It is very possible that its first Polish version and then Latin translation were prepared by the excellent historian Maciej Strykowski. The Polish text – *Sprawa wielkiego kniaza moskiewskiego* – was found in a manuscript in 1988 – I am currently preparing its very first critical edition.

Schlichting's account turned out to be a real revelation and, at the same time, an effective weapon in the propaganda "paper war". It was handed to the papal nuncio dal Portico, who sent it to the Vatican. The action achieved the intended result: Pope Pius V, who had tried to involve Ivan the Terrible in the Holy League against the Turks, now, filled with horror, ordered his diplomats to break off all contact with the "savage barbarian".

This document, *De moribus et imperandi crudelitate Basilii, Moschoviae tyranni*, was in turn included in Alessandro Guagnini's extremely popular compilation historical work, *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* (1574), soon translated into several languages, including Czech (*Kronyka Mozkavská. Vypsání předních zemí, krajin, národův, knížetství, měst, zámkův, řek a jezer velikému knížeti mozkavskému poddaných*, Praha 1590). Schlichting's account (*De magni Moschoviae ducis Ioannis Basiliadis tyrannide*, in the Czech version – *O neslýchaném tyranství Ivana Vasilovice knížete mozkavského, kteréž on za paměti naší nad poddanými svými provozoval*) – a bloody, full of drastic details, and at the same time an extremely attractive literary story about the cruel rule of the *barbarus dux* – thanks to Guagnini's *Sarmatia* long lasting and international career, is one of the most important, literary and most opinion-shaping, or rather stereotypical, anti-Muscovite pamphlets of the last quarter of the 16th century.

### László Jankovits (University of Pécs)

Jacobus Piso on the battle of Orsha: An early representation of the Muscovites

This paper will deal with a letter and a poem written by Jacobus Piso, the Hungarian humanist diplomat, during his diplomatic mission to the rulers of Poland and Muscovy to make peace and turn their weapons against the Ottoman Empire. In 1513, the newly elected Pope Leo X gave his former rival, Cardinal Thomas Bakócz, Patriarch of Constantinople, the impossible task of reconciling the Christian rulers of Europe and leading their united forces against the Ottoman Empire. Part of this mission was Piso's embassy to Sigismund I Jagiello, King of Poland, and Vasili III, Grand Duke of Moscow, who had attacked Lithuania in the previous years. Instead of making peace, Piso secretly helped Sigismund win an important battle against the Muscovites at Orsha on 8 September 1514. On the occasion of this victory, Piso wrote a letter to his friend and patron in Rome, Johann Goritz, and a small panegyric to the King of Poland. These texts may be the first humanist description of the emerging Russian Empire. Piso depicted the Grand Duke in accordance with the classical ancient topoi of the tyrant, considered a selfish and perfidious man whose power is not bound by law or conscience.

### Jüri Kivimäe (University of Toronto)

Naming the Enemy: Balthasar Russow on Muscovites at war

The *Chronicle of the Livonian Province* by Balthasar Russow (c. 1536–1600), the Lutheran Pastor of the Holy Spirit Church (*Heiliggeistkirche*) in Reval/Tallinn and the eyewitness of the Livonian War (1558–1583), was composed in Low German and printed in Germany (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Rostock 1578; 2nd revised and expanded ed. Barth, 1584). Through centuries the chronicle remained the important reading of the history of the Livonian War for its vivid narrative and reliable account of the major conflict between Russia, Livonia, Poland-Lithuania and Sweden in the late 1500s.

Russow's masterful work based on his brief Humanist education in Germany, and selected readings of contemporary history books and current archival sources as well as on his personal experience during the war and sieges of Reval. The style of storytelling used by the chronicler is often fulfilled with verbose rhetoric, although with clear political distinctions. Russow's pro-Swedish attitudes are self-evident, while the City of Reval made an alliance with Eric XIV, the King of Sweden in 1561, thus rejecting the Danish, Polish and Russian political ambitions.

The composite rhetoric of Livonian and Revalian enemies as Muscovites (Low German *Muscowiter*), derived from Neo-Latin *Muscovia*, *Moscovia*, denoting the natives or residents of the Grand Duchy resp. Tsardom of Moscow, and common-used in German printed texts of the later 1500s (cf. Herberstein e.a). Russow was among numerous Western

authors who contributed to popular topic of the *Muscovite War* in the late 1500s (cf. Poe). Russow's authentic depictions of Muscovite troops at the sieges of Reval (1570–1571, 1577) or barbaric habits of Muscovite and Tartar warriors on various battlefields, as well as borrowed tales on terrible tyrant Ivan IV quite obviously impacted the readers of the chronicle. Some modern historical interpretations (cf. Halperin, Soldat) have reproached Russow's chronicle for double-standard attitude and contributing to evil image of Russians and anti-Russian discourse, can be disputed like attempts to politicize past history.

### **Piret Lotman (Estonian National Library)**

Are Muscovites Christians? Russian Orthodox believers in Ingria through the eyes of the Lutheran clergy in the 17th century

Descriptions of Russia, including the Russian Orthodox Church were known in Western Europe as early as the 15th Century. The first comprehensive description of the Russian Orthodox Church written by a Swede is the Diplomat Petrus Petrejus' *Regni Muschoviticæ Sciographia* (1614-1615).

In 1617 Ingria, with a predominant orthodox population was annexed by the Kingdom of Sweden. For the Swedish clergy the attitude towards the Russian Orthodox Church was no longer a theological problem, but a practical one that needed to be solved. In Sweden, being strictly Lutheran, the other denominations were forbidden but an exception had to be made for the indigenous inhabitants of Ingria for both political and economic reasons. In the long term, the government planned to convert the Russian Orthodox to Lutheranism, but this required taking a stand on several theological issues. At the request of King Gustavus II Adolph the court chaplain Johannes Botvidi wrote a treatise of 50 theses *Theses de quæstione, utrum Muschovitæ sint Christiani?*

Botvid's approach is purely theoretical, he had no contact with Russian Orthodox. In the summer of 1643, the problem of the Russian Orthodox was discussed at the church council of Narva, from which the disputation *De quæstione an Moscovitæ Christiani sint* from the Ingrias first superintendent Heinrich Stahl, has been preserved. Russian orthodox remained a problem for Lutheran clergy in Ingria until the Great Northern War. The most comprehensive treatment of the Russian Orthodox Church was published by the penultimate superintendent of Ingria, Nicolaus Bergius (*Exercitatio Historico-Theologica de statu ecclesiae et religionis Moscoviticæ*, 1704).

Based on the surviving written sources, I will try to answer the questions of whether and how the attitudes of the Swedish clergy towards the Russian Orthodox changed during the Swedish Empire. Were the theological positions of the Lutheran Church influenced by the economic and political interests of the State?

### **Madis Maasing (University of Tartu)**

Russians, Turks, and Tatars in the political rhetoric of 16th-century Livonia

By the onset of the 16th century, Russians had become the primary adversaries in the political and polemical discourse originating from Medieval Livonia. The rhetoric of dangerous and schismatic Russians gained further traction after the beginning of the Livonian War in 1558. This paper turns its primary focus towards the comparison and even equation drawn between the 'schismatic Muscovite Russians', and the 'infidel Ottoman Turks', who served as rhetorical archenemies for many within Late Medieval and Early Modern Western Christian Europe. Russians were perceived "as bad as Turks" not only in Livonian chronicles, such as "Eynne schonne hysthorie" of 1508, or "Chronica der Prouinz Lyfflandt" by Balthasar Russow but also in political correspondences, particularly when directed towards recipients within the Holy Roman Empire.



Occasionally, Russians were also linked with Muslim Tatars, either as their 'infidel' overlords, allies or subjects, and were at times utilized to establish direct cooperation between Russians and Turks, through emphasizing alliance between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Crimean Tatars in the beginning of the 16th century, stressing further that the latter were vassals of the Ottomans.

The paper discusses the following questions: what were the key arguments and rhetorical strategies employed to compare or equate Russians with Turks and Tatars? What were the principal reasons behind the utilization of such rhetoric by Livonians? Were there notable disparities in the portrayal of Russians, Turks, and Tatars in various genres of texts (including chronicles, pamphlets, and political correspondence)? Did these representations undergo modifications due to changes in social and political contexts; particularly, were there evident differences before and after the onset of the Livonian War?

### **Jakub Niedźwiedz (Jagiellonian University, Cracow)**

The 16th-century maps of Muscovy as polyphonic texts

In the 16th century, Muscovians did not produce maps of their state. However, in that period, foreigners printed several maps of the Muscovian. Among them, the most important are maps by Paolo Giovio (1525), Sigmund von Herberstein (1548), Anton Wied (1542\* and 1555), Anthony Jenkinson (1562), and Gerardus Mercator (1595). Some of them visited Muscovy. Even though their cartographic representations strongly relied on the accounts of the inhabitants of Muscovy or neighbouring countries and other sources. Thus, in my paper, I will examine Renaissance maps of Muscovy not as maps of one particular author but rather as polyphonic texts that emerged from different, sometimes contradictory sources. In my research, I apply Mikhail Bakhtin's approach, which is the concept of polyphony. Taking into account many 16th-century maps, I will focus on the least examined charter, i.e. the map made by Anton Wied. A German-originated Wied was a painter working in Vilnius in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. His main informer was Ivan Latsky, a refugee from Muscovy. However, he relied also on other sources. The traces of Wied, Latsky, and other informers left fragments of their stories on the map. I call these pieces of information the 'voices'. My main question will be how these 'voices' went into a dialogue and how they communicated the Renaissance knowledge about Muscovy.

### **Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail (Indiana University)**

Duchy of Moscow in the atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)

Ortelius is hailed today as the cartographer who published the atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of which the first of many editions came out in 1570. The Duchy of Moscow appears both in the maps of Europe and of Asia because Ortelius positions it at the eastern edge of Europe facing Asia then called Tartary. The map of Asia refers to "iam dictum Ducis Moscoviae Regnum (now called Kingdom of the Duke of Moscow)" to make us understand that this duchy is new in 1570.

The Duchy of Moscow has an independent map of its own entitled "Rvssiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio" from 1570 presented with the text entitled "Rvssia aut potius Magni Ducis Moscovici Imperium". This text explains that Russia includes "Polonia" and "Lithvania". The text refers to "Sigismundus Baro ab Herberstain" as the source of this information. Two maps entitled "Evropa" and "Polonia" disagree with this information given by "Sigismundus Baro", and map Russia as a separate geographical entity from "Moscovia". Apparently the Duchy of Moscow is an ambitious kingdom. In the map entitled "Tartariae [...] t'pus" (Map of Tartary), "Dvcis Moscoviae confinia" occupy a large extent from the northern shore of "Mare Maggiore" (Black Sea) to the arctic ocean limited by Tartary spreading east of the Lake of



Kitai and Astrakhan. The matter becomes more complicated when Ortelius starts adding historical maps and shows the lands before the Duchy of Moscow existed. I propose to read the geographical meaning of the Duchy of Moscow with the maps and the texts in Ortelius' atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum* from the first edition of 1570 to the historical maps: "Romani imperii Imago" (1592), "Evropam, sive Celticam veterem, sic describere conabar [sic] Abrah. Ortelius" (1595), and "Pontus Evxinxus" (1590).

### **Gábor Petneházi (University of Innsbruck)**

The Perfect Enemy? Stephen Bathory's Livonian Campaign and its reception in contemporary Neo-Latin literature in Transylvania

The Livonian campaign of Stephen Bathory, King of Poland (1576-1586) and Prince of Transylvania (1571-1586), provoked a moderate response in contemporary Hungarian and Transylvanian public opinion. István Szamosközy (1570-1612), a Transylvanian historian, in his work *Rerum Ungaricarum libri* written at the end of the century, only briefly noted that Bathory had increased the territory of Poland with the help of Transylvanian money and military forces, but Transylvania had gained nothing from this. Not surprising then that the contemporary Transylvanian reception of the campaign consists of only two works: the *Gratulatio ad maximum et victorem Poloniae regem* (Cluj, 1584) by the Transylvanian chancellor Farkas Kovacsóczy (1540-1594) and the short *Commentarius rerum a Stephano rege (...) gestarum* of the king's secretary for Transylvanian affairs, Pál Gyulay (1550-1592), written on the military events of the first year of the campaign (2 eds: Cluj, 1580; Rome, 1582). Both authors focus on the efforts of the Hungarian armed forces and the positive impact that the victorious campaign had on Hungarian national pride. In this picture, distant Moscow and the Russian Tsar are merely a faceless, schematic image of the Barbarian against whom the king is waging a war worthy of a textbook: the enemy is distant, the campaign is just, the closure is quick, the territorial gains are considerable, and the international echo is enormous. But political opinion in Hungary and Transylvania was looking to Bathory to lead a much larger-scale war: as a new Matthias Corvinus, he would expel the Turks and unite the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. In this context, the war against Moscow was merely a minor episode – without a sequel.

### **Aivar Põldvee (Tallinn University)**

Depiction of the Great Northern War in the lament of sacristan Käsü Hans in Estonian

The Great Northern War was not only an exceptionally devastating period of Estonia's history, but also pivotal – 150 years of Swedish rule was replaced by the Russian era that lasted for over 200 years. Two chronicles describe the war events through the eyes of the contemporaries: Christian Kelch's so-called *Continuation* in German that remained a manuscript for a long time and Arvid Moller's *Fata Dorpati* (1755) in Swedish. Among them notably emerges a lament with historical content written by the sacristan of Puhja (Kawelecht) Käsü Hans (Hans Kes) from the year 1708. It is the first poem written by an Estonian.

The poem is written in the first person, beginning with the words 'Oh! ma waene Tardo liin' ('Oh me! Poor Tartu town!') and contains 32 stanzas in 256 lines. First, Tartu reminisces about its glorious and happy bygone days. Greed and unkindness towards its citizens and guests were to blame, and the attack by Russians was the punishment for these sins. Then comes the description of the siege and occupation in 1704. The final part describes the destruction of the town in 1708. Hans calls Russians tyrants and begs Tallinn, Pärnu and Riga to be humble, turn away from sin and learn from the example of Tartu, which has become no more than a heap of stones. The Jewish War by Josephus Flavius has been

regarded as an example for the composition of Käsü Hans' lament. The story, which tells us about Jerusalem's destruction, appeared in a South Estonian church handbook (1691) edited by Adrian Virginius who was a pastor in Puhja and the mentor of Käsü Hans. Also a letter in Estonian by Käsü Hans has been preserved describing the wartime conditions that he sent in 1706 to the pastor of Puhja at the time Kõnik Kõnikson who had fled to Pärnu.

### **Marcela Slavíková (Czech Academy of Sciences)**

*Ne Moscis simus praeda cruenta*: Aegidius Salius the Bohemian on the Muscovite threat to Europe (1570)

In 1570, on the occasion of the peace congress in Stettin, Aegidius Salius (died 1580), Jena Professor of Mathematics and Physics born in the West Bohemian town of Görkau, published an elegiac poem titled *Elegia ad Germaniam de repellendis Moscis ex Oceano*. Dedicated to the Kings of Denmark and Sweden and to the delegates of Lübeck, the 186 elegiac couplet long poem is a desperate and yet daring call to the European leaders for the protection against the imminent Muscovite invasion. Salius uses vivid expressions to describe the otherness that the Muscovite nation constitutes. What is the picture he paints of these likely invaders of Europe? What characteristics does he attribute to them? And what advice does he offer on how to prevent the threat the Muscovites are posing? Salius likens the Muscovite expansionism to that of the Turks, who were a popular literary subject in a very similar capacity. What is the position of Salius' elegy among the contemporary literary depictions of the Turks? Can any parallels be detected in the descriptions of these two paragons of otherness? In order to answer these questions, I will compare Salius' elegy with several contemporary elegiac poems discussing Turkish invasions.

### **Lucie Storchová (Czech Academy of Sciences)**

The Nearest Other? Representations of Muscovites in the Bohemian literature around 1600

Building on the findings of the recent *Companion to Central and Eastern European Humanism* project, this paper considers the ways in which the Grand Duchy of Moscow and its inhabitants were represented in neo-Latin and vernacular literature originating from the Bohemian lands. I will begin by introducing a fascinating scholarly dispute among Prague university professors about the origins of the Bohemians. This controversy erupted after Ioannes Matthias published his *De origine Bohemorum et Slavorum* in 1615, in which he located the original territory of the wandering tribe of *Bojemi* in Sarmatia (*Roxolania. Russia*), not in Illyria or directly in Croatia, as earlier historiography had done. The vast majority of Bohemian scholars at the time strongly rejected Matthias' interpretation, an attitude connected with the then widespread idea of "barbaric" forms of government, society and culture in Russian-speaking areas... I then turn to previously unexamined sources of Bohemian imageries of "Russians" at the time: the voluminous *Kronika moskevská* (1590, 1602), which was a translation of Alexander Guagnini's *Sarmatiae Europae descriptio*, supplemented by extracts from a travelogue by Siegmund von Herberstein, and Georg Tectander's bestseller *Iter persicum* (1608, 1609, 1610), describing his diplomatic mission to Moscow and Savafid Iran. My aim here will be to analyse the stereotypes of Muscovites' supposed barbarism, social disorder, everyday violence and the despotism of the tsars, who were presented as examples of tyrannical rulers. My further aim is to discuss how these images of the Other intersected with representations of the Islamic Middle East in the travel literature of the period (especially in pilgrimage accounts, including the most famous one by Kryštof Harant from 1608) and those of the indigenous people of Tupinambá as presented in the Czech translation of Jean De Léry's *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam*, made by members of the Unity of Brethren in 1590.

### **Kaarel Vanamölder (Estonian Academy of Sciences)**

Otto Fabian von Wrangell – Estonian nobleman and chronicler who met both Peter I and Charles XII

During the Great Northern War (1700-1721), the Baltic provinces of Estonia and Livonia passed from Sweden to Russia. The war and the accompanying plague epidemic of 1710 devastated the provinces. The survivors had to adapt to their new circumstances and new rulers. Otto Fabian von Wrangell (1655-1726), a nobleman from the province of Estonia, held high office in his home province at the time of the war: in 1700, as head of the Estonian knighthood, he received the Swedish king Charles XII in Tallinn. In 1711, as a land councillor (*Landrath*), he was one of the signatories of the Pledge of allegiance of the Estonian knighthood to Peter I. In 1711 he also met Tsar Peter I on his arrival in Tallinn.

Wrangell recorded the events of this crucial period in a manuscript chronicle (first published in 1845). It allows us to trace the author's attitude towards the Muscovites and their tsar, and to ask whether his ideas about the ruler changed after he personally became a subject of Russia and Peter I. And how did Wrangell then see his former king – Charles XII? For his chronicle Wrangell made extensive use of (German) printed newspapers of the time. One might therefore ask whether the descriptions of the Muscovites and Peter I in his work are his own or borrowed from Western European press publications.

### **Kristi Viiding (Estonian Academy of Sciences)**

Multifunctional Neighbours: Reflections on Muscovites in the Livonian Neo-Latin epic from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century

Since 1230s Livonia (nowadays Estonia and Latvia) was the eastern borderland of the European civilisation from the geographical, religious and educational aspect. Until 1550s, the contacts of Livonians with their eastern neighbours, i.e. Russians, were mainly of a commercial and military nature. Although several words were borrowed from Russian into Estonian at that time (even *gramata* > *raamat* 'book', *svobodōi* > *vaba* 'free'), there was no wider shared literary culture. The arrival of humanism and Lutheran Reformation in Livonia from 1500s to 1520s separated the neighbours culturally even more. Internal contradictions further weakened Livonia, due to which the Livonian War (1558–1583) changed the political map of Northeastern Europe for many centuries – Livonia ceased to exist as an independent state. Yet it also changed the local humanist literature, in which the shorter forms, such as epigrams, satires, etc., previously preferred were replaced by the longer epic.

My paper is based on a selection of Latin epic works by the authors related to Livonia: from the short ones about the conquest of Tartu by the Russians in 1558 written by Anselm Bock (*Querela de miserrima Livoniensium clade*, Königsberg 1562), Georg Neiners (*Querela Livoniae de sua per Moscos vastationem*, Wittenberg 1561) to the long, but unfinished epic *Stephaneis* about the Polish-Lithuanian campaign against the Russians, incl. for the freedom of Livonia in 1579–1582, written by Prussian-Livonian humanist Daniel Hermann (Danzig 1582) and by Livonian-Curonian nobleman Georg von Tiesenhausen (*Livoniae provinciae quondam clarae et splendidae ruinae et mutationis certae rationes et causae*, Riga 1594).

I will analyse the genesis and context of these epics and demonstrate the multifunctionality in the depiction of Russians: from hereditary enemies to justified divine judges over Livonia and from those reflecting the Livonians' own actions to the potential destroyers of the entire European civilisation.

## Venue

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Husova 4a, 110 00 Praha 1  
Czech Republic



Organising Committee:

Lucie Storchová ([storchova@flu.cas.cz](mailto:storchova@flu.cas.cz), FLÚ AV ČR)

Kristi Viiding ([kristi.viiding@gmail.com](mailto:kristi.viiding@gmail.com), UTKK)

Tomáš Havelka ([havelka@flu.cas.cz](mailto:havelka@flu.cas.cz), FLÚ AV ČR)



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