

INSTITUTUM
HISTORICUM POLONICUM
ROMAE

SOCIETAS
POLONICA SCIENTIARUM
ET LITTERARUM IN EXTERIS
LONDINII

X I V

A N T E M U R A L E



NON EXSTINGUETUR

ROMAE

LONDINII

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INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE

VIA DEGLI SCIPIONI 284 - ROMA

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- XI — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Vaticani, 1943.
- XII — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *De archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis quod nunc in Archivo Secreto Vaticano servatur*. Vaticani, 1944.
- XIII — SAVIO P., *De Actis Nuntiaturae Poloniae quae partem Archivi Secretariatus Status constituunt*. Romae, 1947.
- XIV — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Prospectica descriptio Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. (Ed. chirotypica, exhausta).

ANTEMURALE, I-XIV, Romae, 1954-1970

ELEMENTA AD FONTIUM EDITIONES

- Vol. I — *Polonica ex Libris Obligationum et Solutionum Camerae Apostolicae*. Collegit J. LISOWSKI, pp. XV+292, 704 doc. (A.D. 1373-1565) Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum).
- Vol. II — « *Liber Disparata Antiqua Continens* » Praes. E. WINKLER, pp. XVIII+190, 281 doc. (ante a. 1424) 19 facs. Ind. nom. propr. 1960. (Archivum Capituli Trident.).
- Vol. III — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino*, I pars. Coll. W. WYHOWSKA-DE ANDREIS, XVIII+162, 1144 doc. (A.D. 1565-1787) 29 tab. Ind. nom. propr. ind. chron. 1961.
- Vol. IV — *Res Polonicae Elisabethae I Angliae Regnante Conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum*. Ed. C. H. TALBOT, pp. XVI+311, 166 doc. (A.D. 1578-1603) 9 tab., Ind. nom. propr., ind. chron., glossarium verb. ang. ant., 1961.
- Vol. V — *Repertorium Rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Dragonetti de Torres in Civitate Aquilana*. Ed. P. COLLURA, pp. XI+86, 483 doc. (A.D. 1568-1682) 4 tab. 1962.

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Ignoscere nobis velint benevoli lectores, quod ephemerides nostrae ANTEMURALE 1970 ob crebras impressorum operis cessationes retardationem subierunt.

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F O N T E S

VALERIANUS MEYSZTOWICZ

RELATIONES ORATIONUM, QUAE AB ORATORIBUS
PRINCIPUM CHRISTIANORUM IN COMITIIS ELECTIONIS
VARSAVIAE A. 1575 PROLATAE SUNT.

(*Ex Bibl. Vat., Reg. Lat. 1510*)

INTRODUCTIO

Inveniet hic lector sex documenta, in quibus referuntur sex ex multis orationibus, quas oratores et nuntii terrarum in comitiis Varsaviensibus a. 1575 habuerunt. Comitia haec ad eligendum regem Poloniae et magnum ducem Lithuaniae convocata sunt; electus est a quibusdam Maximilianus II imperator, ab aliis Stephanus Bathoreus, qui et coronam obtinuit a. 1576.

Nescitur, quis sit harum relationum auctor nec unde textum ipsarum hauserit. Amanuenses, qui textum transcripserunt, duo saltem fuisse videntur. Exemplar ab eis exaratum plenum errorum calami apparet, quod praesertim in oratione Suetica (N. 3) clare patet. Inde concludendum est textus, ex quibus haec exemplaria transsumpta sunt, lectu potius difficiles fuisse.

Relationes transcriptae sunt in unico volumine, quod in Bibliotheca Vaticana sub sigla "Reg. Lat. 1510" custoditur. Nil aliud praeter illas sex orationes in isto codice invenitur.

Hae sex orationes prolatae sunt ab oratoribus principum Christianitatis, qui ad coronam Poloniae adipiscendam contendebant.

Volumen "Reg. Lat. 1510" in Bibliotheca Vaticana pertinet ad collectionem, quae "Reginae Suetiae Christinae manuscripta Latina" vocatur et "Bibl. Vat., Reg. Lat." signatur. Haec collectio librorum a regina Suetiae Christina collecta est. Christina, filia Gustavi Adolphi regis Suetiae, nata a. 1626, regnavit in Suetia ab 1632 a., a. 1654 coronam deposuit, Romam venit, obiit a. 1689, in Basilica S. Petri Vaticana sepulta est; pertinebat ad dynastiam Waza, ex qua multi erant reges Suetiae et reges Poloniae. Facile inde intelligi potest, cur illa Wazarum regina ultima inter libros suos habere voluerit volumen, in quo de successione regni Poloniae agebatur et in quo invenitur etiam oratio oratoris Ioannis III Waza regis Suetiae, Christinae proavunculi.

Volumen constat ex 43 foliis chartaceis; in angulo dextero chartarum recenter incausto inscripti sunt numeri. Dimensiones voluminis sunt 28 cm × 20 × 1,5; religatum est in pergamena alba, quae stemmatibus Pii VI (1775-1799) et cardinalis bibliothecarii Zelada (1779-1804) ornata est, ex quo facile tempus ligaturae cognoscitur (1779-1799). Nulla vestigia chartarum deficientium notantur. Signa aquatica diversa in singulis foliis apparent.

Editores gratias enixas agunt Cl.mo Domino Paulo Skwarczyński pro pretiosis eius consiliis in hac editione praeparanda.

V.M.

TEXTUS

Orationes habitae in petitione Regni Polonici anno 1575

N. 1.

S.l., s.d. [post 9.XII.1575]

Ignotus scriptor

ad rei memoriam

refert orationem a [Wilhelmo de Rosenberg] oratore imperatoris [Maximiliani II] in comitiis generalibus Varsaviae habitam.

(Lat., sine subscriptione).

Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 1510, ff. 1-5.

Oratione dela Maestà dell'Imperatore Massimiliano II et dell'Arciduca Ernesto, suo figliuolo, recitata in Varsovia per l'elettione del nuovo Re di Polonia nela Dieta di quel Regno l'anno 1575 il dì 9 di Decembre.

Reverendissimi, Reverendi, Illustres, Spectabiles, Magnifici ac Generosi Domini, Antistites, Proceres, Nobiles Viri Fortissimi Equitesque Generosi.

Nulla vis maior humanis a Deo immortali insita est mentibus mutui amoris singularique benevolentiae studio, quae duo rerum omnium, quas ad bene beateque vivendum natura comparavit, ita magna sunt ut nihil sit maius, nihil uberius. Quid enim aliud est, quod charos parentes dulcissimis liberis, cognatos propinquis, cives popularibus, Principes Regibus, quod denique amplissima Regna summis maximisque Imperiis et Rebus Publicis coniungat atque asociet, praeterquam solus amor mutuus et sincerae benevolentiae studium. Adeo haec duo incredibilem quandam, ut prope divinam, ad coniungendos animos mortalium vim habent, ut sine his nihil in communi hominum vita iucundum,^{a)} stabile atque firmum esse possit. Hunc divinum amorem et benevolentiae studium, a Deo Optimo Maximo hominibus datum, quanto est omnium aliarum rerum humanarum praestabilius, tanto id maiore cura ac studio Sacratissimus Caesar Maximilianus cum hoc in primis inclyto Regno Poloniae fideliter colendum observandumque esse putat, tum quia ex eiusdem Regni laudatissimorum Regum sanguine non mediocrem generis sui atque originis partem ducit, tum quia Maiestatis Suae Regna ac ditiones huic amplissimo Poloniae Regno adeo vicinae sunt, ut nisi utrinque amicitiae mutuae et vicinitatis studia recte collocata et conservata sint,^{b)} finitima Regna haec haud diu salva esse queant; quae res Sacrae Caesariae Maiestatis animum appulerunt, ut sicut ad priorem novi Regis electionem misit^{c)} legationem suam, sic etiam ad has gravissimas de Regni huius universi rerum summa deli-

berationes atque consultationes nos ablegaret. Non quod in aliena Republica curiosius aliquid agere cupiat, verum ut ea verbis suis in hoc sapientissimo Regni procerum consessu et corona exponi curaret, quae huic Poloniae inclyto et florentissimo semper Regno (cuius salus dignitasque non minus quam Regnorum suorum cara sibi et iucunda est) perpetuo ornamento et commodo essent.^{d)} Antequam vero ea proferre paramus, Reverendissimas, Illustrissimas, Magnificas et Generosas Dominationes Vestras rogatas esse cupimus, ut hasce literas^{e)} fidei, a^{f)} Sacra Maiestate Domino nostro clementissimo datas, benevole a nobis accipere iisque perlectis nos deinde pro sua consueta erga Sacram Caesaream Maiestatem humanitate, benevolentia et favore suo aequis auribus perpensisque animis^{g)} audire velitis.

Sacratissimus Imperator Romanorum Caesar Maximilianus, Dominus noster clementissimus, universo Senatorum, Nobilium atque Equitum ordini a Deo Optimo Maximo foelix, faustum fortunatumque sit precatur Regnum, suam caesaream benevolentiam et amantissimae vicinitatis studia amice defert atque pollicetur.

Et posteaquam superiore anno Serenissimus et Christianissimus Galliarum Rex Carolus morte nullo maiusculo^{h)} haeredeⁱ⁾ relicto commutavit et Serenissimus Princeps Frater Henricus eius paulo ante Rex Poloniae Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae potentissimus creatus, in Gallias relicto Poloniae Regno se recepit, universi ordines ac status Regni, Varsoviae mense Septembri congregati, consiliis collatis decreverunt, ut nisi Serenitas Eius ad designata Commitia non rediret, de novo Rege eligendo aliquid statuere foret.^{j)}

Idque legatione honorifica Serenitati Suae significarunt. Commitia deinde eius nomine Scentitiae^{z)} ¹⁾ celebrata fuerunt atque Maiestas Caesarea suos etiam legatos mittendos esse duxit, ea vero certis de causis in aliud tempus fuerunt prorogata.

Sane Maiestas Caesarea erga memoratum Serenissimum Regem Henricum cum propter propinquitatis coniunctionem, tum propter eximiam eius.^{z)} in hoc Regno esset humanitatem, ea semper fuit affectione et benevolentia, ut plane sibi persuaserit non minorem cum Serenitate Eius, quam cum Sigismundo Augusto Rege inclytae memoriae, amicitiam singularem omnisque generis necessitudinem colere atque observare.

Nunc vero Serenitate Eius neque ad priora neque ad haec ipsa Commitia revertente, si quidem animi ordinum atque statuum Regni huius ad novi Regis electionem sunt inclinati, sane Maiestas Caesarea pro sua paterna erga hoc Regnum cura et sollecitudine nihil antiquius nihilque offitio suo magis dignum esse iudicavit, quam veteris ac constantis benevolentiae studium erga carissimos coniunctissimosque vicinos atque amicos suos legatione hac sua Dominationes Vestras peramice^{k)} rogare, monere atque hortari, si quid ex ista novi Regis electione tota Regni salus et totius Christianae Reipublicae incolumitas tantae dignitati Regem, qui domi maiorum et superiorum Poloniae Regum exemplo, religione, pietate, virtute, auctoritate ac prudentia sit ornatissimus, pactorum et publicorum foederum^{l)} amantissimus, concordiae et tranquillitatis studiosissimus, foris vero adversus inimicos et Regis ac hostes Regni propugnator et defensor fortissimus et gloriosissimus.^{m)} Hisce virtutibus cum Serenissimus Archidux Ernestus, acri et maturo ingenio Princeps, conspicuum se reddat et Iagellonicae atque Austriacae familiae claritate dignum se gerat, Caesarea Maiestas eum prae caeteris ad Regni huius gubernacula

assumenda benevole et amice commendandum esse duxit. De cuius inclyta stirpe nihil attinet nulla hoc loco commemorare, nec parentes nec maiores, si vis in toto orbe terrarum clarissimos heroas, quorum vestigiis Serenitas Eius fausto pede et pleno gradu inferet²⁾ atque insistit, magnis laudibus extollere ac virtutum praeconiis celebrare, cum id ad liberae electionis negotia parum aut nihil pertinere videatur. Nec est eius loci eiusdem Serenissimi Archiducis ingenium, mores atque virtutes plurimum praedicare, quandoquidem ordines ac status Regni ex aliorum sermone Serenitatis Eius naturam generosam, heroicam et Principis dignam satis abunde cognoverunt. Non pauci etiam coram perspexerunt nobis sane legatis, quibus huius Serenissimi Principis a multis annis non solum publice, sedⁿ⁾ et principaliter^{o)} familiari conversatione et ingenium et mores probe cogniti sunt, omni ostentatione atque remota re recteque confirmare et sancte assecurare. Licet Serenitatis Eius ingenium et naturam nihil ab optimi parentis Maximiliani ingenio moribusque discrepare pateat,^{p)} in Serenitate Eius conspicitur mira animi bonitas, mansuetudo, ingenuitas lucetque in eo omnis heroica virtus, quam eidem partim natura partim diligens educatio ac disciplina cummulatissime attribuit.

Ea denique est aetate et iuditio, ut totis iam annis, quorum summis maximisque Sacri Imperii consultationibus pacis et belli deliberationibus et Regnorum Hungariae et Boemiae negotiis non modo interfuit, sed crebris et assiduis de rebus, arduis publicisque Commitiis magna cum laude praefuerit. Ea quoque est peritia linguarum, ut ex omni genere hominum plerosque facile intelligat. In Boemica vero lingua partim lectione, partim exercitatione loquendi cum familiaribus et cubiculariis Boemicis tantum profecit, ut quemvis Boemice loquentem non incommode percipiat. Polonicam igitur linguam, ut est acri et prompto ingenio Princeps, nullo negotio facillime addiscet. Interea lingua Latina, quam non minus ac maternam exactissime novit, recteque uti poterit idque sine omni Regni incommodo, quoniam praeter reliquas virtutum laudes, quae huic nobilissimae genti ac nationi Polonicae sunt propriae, haec non mediocris laus est, quod omnis fere Latino sermone utatur libenter atque delectentur plurimi.

Unde cum nec genere atque stirpe, nec ingenio ac moribus, nec aetate atque iuditio, nec rerum^{q)} usu, nec linguarum scientia, nec aliis virtutibus ad Regni gubernationem necessariis cuique cedat, cui dubium erit, Procere Amplissimi Equitesque Fortissimi, Serenissimum Archiducem Ernestum non ad quodvis genus gubernationis domi forisque aptum accommodatumque esse, accedente praesentium tot sapientissimorum integerrimorumque Senatorum huius Regni consilio et exactissimorum in bello ducum atque militum studio. Ad²⁾ quid publici commodi, quid private²⁾ utilitatis creato Caesareae Maiestatis filio in Poloniae Rege existere poterit.

Primum omnium, quid per Deum immortalem beatius nobis et maioribus nostris foelicius accidere potuit, quam¹⁾ Illustrissimae Iagellonicae Familiae cum Augustissima Domo Austriaca constans et perpetua amicitia, summa animorum coniunctio et utriusque gentis pax et concordia, quid per hominum fidem nobis fortunatius pactis^{s)} foederibusque publicis atque commertiis, quam ut hactenus divina favente clementia inter Poloniae, Hungariae et Boemiae Regna maxima, cum Reipublicae Christianae salute conservata fuere, ita Serenissimo Archiduce¹⁾ Ernesto in Polonia Rege ascito magis ac magis firmabuntur et commertia ac studia privatorum locupletius augebuntur. Quid porro sanctius honestissimis

Regni legibus, quid preciosius aurea libertate, quid carius et dulcius patriis et avitis honoribus ac dignitatibus, quae salva erunt omnia et integra.

In religionis vero causa ea aequitatis ratio ac moderatio observabitur, ut cum pietatis ac iustitiae studio tranquillitas publica foveatur, quemadmodum Caesarea Maiestas in suis Regnis ac ditionibus observare consuevit, ubi propter religionis controversias nullum est civile aliquod dissidium, sed summa subditorum familiaritas, fida societas et secunda concordia. Longum esset hoc loco omnia prioris legationis capita recensere, quae cum publice aedita²⁾ ac typis impressa sint, eaque omnia et singula Caesarea Maiestas praestare promittit, nova commemoratione non egent. Duo tamen sunt, de quibus tamen verba facienda esse videntur.

Primum de praesidio Regni, deinde de publico aerario militumque stipendio, si illud verum est, quod non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia Regni sint, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parere queas, offitio et fide parantur, ut rerum usus quotidianus comprobatur. Quis unquam maiora et firmiora praesidia Regno Poloniae adducet, quam Maximilianus Caesar, certissimorum ac potentissimorum amicorum abundantissimus? Memoria tenetis, quid Regni Boemiae status, ordines nobilissima legatione sua in prioribus Warsoviae Committis fraterne et amice^{u)} exponi curaverunt. Meministis etiam, quid Reverendissimi et Illustrissimi Sacri Romani Imperii Principes Electores, divitiis, armis et copiis clari atque potentes, uno ore omnes ac voce priores suos viros insignes benevole suaserunt suaeque studia et offitia amplissima detulerunt. Nec cuiquam vestrum esse obscurum arbitror, quid Serenissimi et Illustrissimi Hispaniarum Regis Catholici orator, Dominus Petrus Iagardus²⁾ Comes, vir nobilissimus atque illustris, in mandatis habuerit.

Iam vero in Italia quis, obsecro, Princeps aut quae Respublica extitit, quae cum Maximiliano Caesare amicitiam et societatem non colat? Quis Regum in Gallia, Anglia, Dania caeterisque christianorum nationibus, qui se non summum maximumque amicum Caesaris eiusdemque Serenissimorum filiorum fautorem profiteatur? Postremo quis ignorat benevolentissimam Moschorum Principis potentissimi sanctionem,²⁾ qui humanissimis literis et internuntiis nihil magis quam Maximiliani Caesaris eiusdemque Serenissimorum liberorum amicitiam desiderat, societatem expetit et tranquillam vicinitatem ultro defert ac pollicetur. Cuius rei causa Caesareae Maiestatis honorifica in itinere in Moscoviam nunc est legatio, ab ipsomet Moschorum Principe desiderata. Quos amicos, hos inquam socios, exemplo Cyri Regis Persarum celeberrimi, Maximilianus Caesar et praesidia et thesauros suos existimat, quorum benevolentia domi regnat, Imperium secure^{v)} gubernat, amicos et socios consilio et auxilio iuvat.^{w)}

Poloniae quoque Regnum, Deo Optimo Maximo bene iuvante, fortunaretur atque bearet, si Maiestatis Suae filius, omnibus naturae et ingenii dotibus praestantissimus Princeps, Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis, Magnificis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris non displiceret.^{v)} Nam pacis tempore hostibus formidini, belli vero tempore terrori et exitio esset, cum horum praesertim finitimorum Regnorum et Sacri Romani Imperii fida et sincera coniunctione adversus quemvis hostem paratissimo praesidio tueri possit. Quis enim vero competitorum est aut quis Christianae Reipublicae Princeps, qui tantum praesidii polliceri et tanta amicorum copia ac foelicitate cum Sua Maiestate, quis denique Serenissimis filiis certare audeat?

Quod si Caesareae Maiestati aliquid humanitus acciderit, quam Deus Optimus Maximus pro salute Rei Publicae diu salvam atque incolumem servare dignetur, en vobis Maiestatis Suae primogenitum Rodulphum, Hungariae et Boemiae Regem, et nuper concordatissimis suffragiis liberima Principum Imperii Romani electione Regem Romanorum electum atque creatum, qui omnibus paternis amicitiiis atque societatibus munitis fratrem germanum, quotiescumque opus fuerit, non minus quam parens Augustissimus magnis iuribus iuvare volet ac poterit.

Satis enim multa verba fecisse videor, quid praesidii Caesarea Maiestas una cum filio suo ad hoc Regnum adferre queat. Restat, ut de aerario publico etiam dicendum esse videatur.

Utinam, Patres Amplissimi, Proceres Equitesque Nobilissimi, fisci seu aerarii huius Regni ratione Caesarea Maiestas sciret et commoda atque incommoda Regni cognita atque perspecta haberet, profecto non omitteret ^{ab)} ea invenire remedia, quibus Regno Poloniae recte consulere-
retur, aerario subveniretur et militibus, qui vitam et sanguinem pro patria fundere non dubitabant, stipendia persolverentur.^{ac)} Rumor quidem et fama est autem exigua a prioribus Regibus pro necessitate et utilitate Regni esse contracta. Hoc si ita est, Maiestas Caesarea omnia legitima et liquida Regni de suo solvere et militibus satisfacere spondet ac pollicetur.

Praeterea ad tutandos adversus barbarorum incursiones fines, ubi nostra petitio et totius fere Christiani Orbis desiderium votumque atque expectatio eum, quem confidimus, locum invenerit, certa et parata pecuniae summa suppeditabitur, unde praesidiarii milites cogi atque sustentari poterunt.

Quidquid denique ornamenti, dignitatis, commodi, studii atque officii, quicquid praeter filium suum, Serenissimum Archiducem Ernestum, in sua potestate habet: opes, fortunas, facultates, amicos, denique semetipsum pro libertate, salute et dignitate inclyti Regni, pro totius Reipublicae Christianae incolumitate benevole defert Vosque, sapientissimos Senatores, Proceres Amplissimos, Equites Fortissimos rogat, obsecrat obtestaturque, ut, sicut maioribus vestris pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis Imperii huius dignitatem, gloriam atque splendorem relinquere, sic vobis curae et studio sit illud, quod accepistis, sapienter tueri ac conservare et nomen vestrum, in toto orbe terrarum gloriosum, novi Regis electione magis ac magis amplificare atque illustrare.

Omnia vero et singula, quae supra recensui, Sacra Caesarea Maiestas, ut est ingenuus Princeps et integerrimus Caesar, una cum filio suo Ernesto in verbo Caesareo sancte observare et bona fide adimplere promittit, sicut ea de re plenissima iam ^{ad)} deferimus mandata, quae, ubi opus fuerit, a nobis exhibebuntur.

a) In ms. icucundum

b) Verbum sint supra lineam alia manu additum.

c) misit correctum ex mittit

d) In ms. esset

e) In ms. liberat

f) In ms. ac

g) In ms. animi

h) Sic in ms., forsitan error, pro: masculo

i) In ms. haeredi

- j) *In ms. fore*
 - k) *In ms. amice*
 - l) *In ms. faeudorum*
 - m) *Propositio satis obscura vel imperfecta esse videtur.*
 - n) *In ms. se*
 - o) *In ms. principi cum signo contractionis.*
 - p) *In ms. paterni*
 - q) *In ms. verum*
 - r) *In ms. qua*
 - s) *In ms. partis*
 - t) *In ms. Archiduci*
 - u) *In ms. fraterno et amico*
 - v) *In ms. seccore*
 - w) *Iuvat correctum ex alio verbo.*
 - y) *In ms. displicent*
 - ab) *In ms. amitteret*
 - ac) *In ms. persolveretur*
 - ad) *In ms. cum vel cam*
 - z) *Sic in ms.*
- 1) Stężyca.
- 2) Petrus Fajardo (*cfr. Elementa ad Font. Ed. XI et XII*)

N. 2.

S.l., s.d. [post 9.XII.1575]

*Ignotus scriptor
ad rei memoriam*

*refert orationem a Wolfgango ab Isenburg, legato electorum Imperii in
comitiis generalibus Varsaviae habitam.*

(Lat., cum subscriptione).)*

Bibl. Vat. lat. 1510, ff. 6-8.

Oratione degli Elettori del Sacro Romano Impero fatta in favore dell'Arciduca Ernesto nell'ultima elezione di Polonia l'anno 1575 in Varsovia.

Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi, Reverendi, Illustres, Spectabiles, Magnifici, Generosi, Nobiles ^{a)} viri inclyti Regni Poloniae Magnique Ducatus Lithuaniae Proceres, tam maiorum quam propriis virtutibus insignes, ^{b)} prudentia rebusque fortiter gestis celeberrimi, summa nobis observantia gratisque officiis colendi, salutem plurimam omneque amicitiae officium et benemerendi voluntatem ex se Reverendissimi atque Illustrissimi Principes Sacri Romani Imperii Electores, Domini Domini nostri clementissimi, Reverendissimis, Magnificis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris denuntiant.

Et quamquam non dubitant Reverendissimas, Illustrissimas, Magnificas et Generosas Dominationes Vestras memoria tenere et ex oratione, quam priores Principum nostrorum legati anno 1573 mense Aprili^{c)} die eiusdem 13 hoc ipso loco ad vos, Principes statusque et ordines Poloniae amplissimos habuere, quanto dolore ferant Regnum hoc florentissimum Rege suo Sigismundo vere Augusto ex Serenissima Domo Iagellonica orbatum, et rursus quam ardenti studio flagrent vobis vestroque Regno talem concordibus votis successorem Regem elegi atque coronari, qui prudentia, qui iustitia, qui animo magno perinde ac ipse Augustus atque Constantinus Magnus Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis, Magnificis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris optatam pacis tranquillitatem procuret,^{d)} vim iniustam facile animis victricibus propellat eamque veterem amicitiam, quae semper Imperatoribus Romanis atque^{e)} Germanis ipsis cum vobis vestrisque nationibus summa cum utriusque partis utilitate fuit coniunctissima, conservare sacrosancte^{f)} velit.^{g)}

Tamen cum fama aliisque certis nuntiis ad Principes nostros delatum sit iterum Procere ordinesque totius Poloniae Regis eligendi causa hoc die ad hunc locum conventuros, omnino putarunt non ingratum Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis, Magnificis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris neque alienum a praesenti Reipublicae statu et necessitate futurum, si per nos de electione futuri successoris, quam instituerunt, amice cum eisdem conferrent. Idque non eo quidem proposito, quod prudentiam Reverendissimarum et Illustrissimarum, Magnificarum et Generosarum Dominationum Vestrarum incomparabilem praesenti negotio dubitent non sufficere, quam ut rei aliquid sibi summopere cogitent, vel etiam quid curiosi in aliena Republica^{g)} Polona videre^{h)} vellint,ⁱ⁾ verum eo potius fine, ut et ipsi de sua apud vos voluntate testarentur et ne officio, quod patriae, paci et concordiae publicae debent, defuisse videantur, quod quidem pro ea, quae est summa vestra sapientia et humanitas, in sinistram partem suscepturos vos non esse confidunt.

Optant autem omnium primum Principes nostri Dominationibus Vestris ad hanc deliberationem Vestram eum divinitus concedi spiritum, quo earundem auspicatissimis^{j)} suffragiis eum videre Poloniae Regem liceat, qui non nisi Deo grata, huic Regno salutaria quaerere^{j)} et procurare velit^{k)} ac possit, qui cum vicinis populis, maxime vero Romano Imperio societatem colat, amicitiam servet et pacem amet, quique in profligandis et debellandis christiani nominis hostibus fortuna Augusti, annis virtutibusque^{k)} et ornamentis^{l)} armatus sit. Cuiusmodi Reverendissimas, Illustrissimas, Magnificas et Generosas Dominationes Vestras habituras Regem Principes nostris clementissimi non diffidunt, si summorum in Christiano Orbe^{m)} monarcharum multorumque aliorum Principum necnon omnium eorum, quibus communis Reipublicae salus curae est, sententiam secuti in Serenissimumⁿ⁾ Archiducem Ernestum, Caesareae Maiestatis filium, suffragia vestra contuleritis.

Nam cum sit Princeps in Republica^{o)} Christiana natus, florente iam matura virili aetate, rebus praeclare administrandis aptissima, quae ab ineunte aetate optimis disciplinis, linguarum cognitionibus et quae deinde virtute, consilii et prudentia paterna sub Imperatore nostro Maximiliano eius nominis secundo, quomodo Imperia et Regna iuste, pie et fortiter gubernari debeant, optime instructa sit, quis dubitet tam bene natam et tam generosam mentem, tantum ab Imperatore Romano et ex communi sanguine Polonorum natum Principem sua sponte libenter ea, quae ad

publicam pacem et cuiusque vestrum privatam utilitatem pertinere intelliget, regio animo foelicissime procuraturam.

Norunt Reverendissimae, Illustrissimae, Magnificae et Generosae Dominationes Vestrae, quam arctissimae semper necessitudines inter Iagellonicam et Austriacam Familias extiterint, huncque Ernestum ex Iagellonico quoque sanguine oriundum esse. In memoria enim habetis Casimiro Regi vestro primogenitum fuisse Vladislaum, Hungariae et Boemiae Regem, hocque prognatam Annam matrimonio collocatam Ferdinando Imperatori,^{p)} quae postea mater fuit Maximiliano, qui Imperio nunc praeest Romano, et huic Ernesto fuit avia.

Quid autem omni aetate et apud omnes populos in Regum stirpibus maxime progeniturae datum fuerit, satis constat, ut eo nomine non minima huius Ernesti in praesenti deliberatione prae caeteris competitoribus habere esse rationem existimetur. Quanti idem Sigismundus Rex sapientissimus necnon ex pientissimi patris institutione Sigismundus Augustus Austriacam Familiam fecerint et quantopere uterque semper studuerit hanc Domum Illustrissimis Reverendissimis Dominationibus Vestris quam commendatissimam facere, memoria tenetis. Itaque et si non obscure pateat esse alios, qui vel ipsi Regni vestri sceptrum regum pro sua libidine gubernandi ambiant, qui et ^{q)} vestros animos consensumque unanimum ^{r)} disturbare aliove ^{s)} avertere non intermittunt, nullus tamen eorum est, cui non persuasum sit vosmetipsos ex tam multis rerum argumentis prospicere vestrum amplissimum Regnum Augustissimae ^{t)} Austriacae Familiae potius, quam illorum fidei permittendum esse, cum illa Domus humanitate, clementia, pietate, iustitia et aliis Rege dignissimis virtutibus ab immortali Deo quam maxime ornata easque ob causas, non sine magno iuditio, eidem familiae iam octavum gubernacula Imperii Romani commissa sunt. Quin etiam ex eadem inclyta Domo Austriaca et novum Imperii successorem cum Imperatoris nostri Maximiliani Secundi primogenitum Rodolphum, Hungariae et Boemiae Regem, eiusdem Archiducis Ernesti, quem vobis commendamus, fratrem, magno unanimique Principum Electorum consensu Regem Romanorum electum designatumque esse fama ad vos pervenisse non dubitamus.

Quare ut in eandem sententiam concordibus suffragiis, semota omni sinistra suspicione, Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationes Vestrae descendant, Reverendissimi atque Illustrissimi Principes nostri pro ea, qua et ipsi erga communem Orbis Christiani salutem, Imperii Romani et huius Regni multis nominibus sibi coniuncti incolumitatem tranquillitatemque affectione tenentur, hactenus exoptarunt et etiam nunc id ipsum hodie exoptant, petunt atque rogant, quo et fata huius Regni trahere, propriam ^{u)} salutem id exposcere, manes Regum defunctorum efflagitare et denique ^{v)} quo Deum Optimum Maximum Reverendissimas et Illustrissimas Dominationes Vestras vocare non obscure cernitur. His itaque tantorum Principum desideriis, bonorum virorum votis, amicorum expectationi ubi satisfeceritis, videre nunc videmur publicam letitiam, in quam maxima pars Christiani Orbis tunc est effusura. Quis enim, qui non perspiciat hoc facto vobis Germanorum, Italarum, Hispanorum, Hungarorum, Boemorum, Belgarum et omnium aliorum populorum, quibus Austriaca Domus praeest, animos conciliatum ^{w)} iri? Gaudebunt enim hi omnes sub communi vos secum vivere tutela, unde ad commertiorum, affinitatum, societatum et omnium denique fortunarum communicationem vobis, tanquam eiusdem ^{y)} civitatis civibus, sunt aditum perlubenter absque omni difficultate concessuri fraternoque vos simul amore complexuri.

Denique inclytam nationem Polonicam de se polliceri rogant Principes nostri non solum sibi gratissimum fore visum et Romanum Imperium potentissimum et tria vicina^{ab)} Regna a duobus fratribus germanis sapienti, concordi et placida administratione gubernari, sed etiam se sedulo daturos operam apud reliquos Principes et status Imperii, quo illa, quae hactenus inter utramque gentem Germanicam et Polonicam observata fuit necessitudo, etiam cummulatior, auctior et firmior reddatur ac ad socios quoque Reges et Respublicas cum omnium vestrum satisfactione et utilitate transmittatur.

Ac quoniam Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris perspectum est et cognitum Moschorum Principem Caesareae Maiestati ac Serenissimis filiis suis atque Sacro Romano Imperio ita addictum,^{ac)} ut nihil magis quam ipsorum amicitiam et societatem expetat summamque coniunctionem offerat, certum est, si Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis filius in Regem Poloniae eligeretur, non solum firmam et perpetuam pacem hoc Polonicum Regnum cum^{ad)} ipso, verum etiam contra hostes Regni praesentia et vicina^{ae)} auxilia se habiturum; atque si status Imperii animadverterint sibi suaeque petitioni locum datum, quod ut faciatis summa obtestatione quantum possunt a Reverendissimis, Reverendis, Illustrissimis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris iterum atque iterum contendunt, certo certius vobis persuasum esse cupiunt se vestro amplissimo huic Regno omnia bellica auxilia contra hostes Regni esse amice et cumulate subministraturos singuloque per se etiam Reverendissimis, Illustrissimis et Generosis Dominationibus Vestris summopere devinctos fore, adeo ut omnis generis studiis atque officiis vobis ac vestratibus nunquam sint defuturi.

Quare cum tantae amicitiae et benevolentiae atque auxiliorum adiumenta ex omnibus partibus Reverendissimae, Illustrissimae et Generosae Dominationes Vestrae sibi polliceri possint, si hunc quem summo studio commendent Regem eligant, quis dubitat iam sive publica sive privata spectentur omnia summo loco fore neque ullum Regnum atque Rempublicam cum huius nobilissimi Regni foelicitate vix^{af)} comparari posse.

Quod multis verbis ne molesti simus et prudentiae ac bonitati Reverendissimarum [et] Illustrissimarum Dominationum Vestrarum diffidere videamur, commorari supervacaneum existimamus. Et nos id ipsum, quod tot tantorumque Principum animos non obscure propendere videamur, toti Orbi Christiano ac inprimis nationi Polonicae et Germanicae foelix faustumque sit Deo Optimo Maximo ardentibus votis totoque pectore una cum Principibus nostris praecamur et optamus.

Reverendissimarum, Illustrissimarum, Magnificarum et Generosarum Dominationum Vestrarum obsequentissimi Sacri Romani Imperii Principum Electorum Legati

Wolfangus ab Isenburg Comes in Budlingen

Hartmanus natu medius a Cronberg manu propria.

a) *In ms.* Nobili

b) *In ms.* insigniis

c) *In ms.* Aprilis

d) *In ms.* procaret

e) *In ms.* utque

f) *In ms.* sacro sanctae

- g) *In ms. Reip. P.*
- h) *In ms. videri*
- i) *Correctum ex: auspicatissimus*
- j) *In ms. querere*
- k) *In ms. virtutesque*
- l) *In ms. contractio vel abbreviatio fere illegibilis: oraiudis*
- m) *In ms. Urbe*
- n) *In ms. Serenissime*
- o) *In ms. Reip.*
- p) *In ms. Imperatore*
- q) *In ms. re*
- r) *In ms. unanimen*
- s) *In ms. alione*
- t) *In ms. augustissime*
- u) *In ms. proprie*
- v) *In ms. dinique*
- w) *In ms. conciliatos*
- y) *In ms. eisdem*
- ab) *In ms. vicinia*
- ac) *In ms. adictum*
- ad) *In ms. tum*
- ae) *In ms. vicinia*
- af) *In ms. vice*

*) *Cfr. similem orationem a legatis Imperii habitam in electione a. 1573 in El. XII, N. 147.*

N. 3.

S.l., s.d. [post 9.XII.1575]

*Ignotus scriptor
ad rei memoriam*

refert relationem ab oratore [Ioannis III] regis Suetiae in comittis generalibus Varsaviae habitam.

(Lat., sine subscriptione).

Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 1510, ff. 9-19.

Oratione del Serenissimo Re di Suetia.

Reverendissimi Illustrissimique Poloniae Regni amplissimi Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae Patres, Proceres, Seniores, Consiliarii caeterique Equites gratiosissimi.

Quandoquidem ex parte Serenissimi Regis et Reginae Suetiae, Dominorum meorum clementissimorum, in quintum nunc annum apud Dignitates et Dominationes Vestras necessaria quidem, sed amicissima legatione functus fuerim, ex qua summam et perfectissimam Suae Maestatis amicitiae constantiam, ipsius scilicet^{a)} personae, Regni et facultatum suarum ad quamlibet Regni vestri gravitatem sublevandam, qualem vix ab ullo alio expectare potestis, adeo abunde experti estis, ut nec vicinum nec amicum merito vobis persuadere possitis integriorem. Cum

vero neque in privatis neque in publicis suarum in tantum negotiis tanti temporis sollicitationi condignum responsum acceperim, itaque nuper Slenitia²⁾ descendens perneccessarium esse duxi, velocissime mare trahiciens,²⁾ hisce rebus et molestiis omnibus clausibili fine²⁾ imponere, cum Suis Maiestatibus praesens conferre, et certe ad omnia adeo^{b)} clausibile et laudabile rursum impetravi, ut non modo Dignitatibus et Dominationibus Vestris id gratum et acceptum fore, sed etiam quam maxime placere et approbare mihi persuaserim,^{c)} quia Dignitatum et Dominationum Vestrarum Regnique Poloniae rationem maiorem quam sui ipsius se habuisse clarissime apparet. Discedens vero utraeque Maiestates^{d)} Suetiae Dignitatibus et Dominationibus Vestris in primis salutem et benedictionem omniumque rerum vestrarum, tam publicarum quam privatarum, foelicissimos ac optatissimos successus a Deo Optimo Maximo et animo integerrimo optant atque precantur suamque quoque perfectissimam amicitiam, benevolentiam regiam et quicquid a fratre, consanguineo et vicino optimo expectare unquam potestis, id omne sincero animo re ipsa praestatueros perpetuo offerunt.

Primum itaque negotiorum brevissimis verbis capita quaedam legationis meae quinquennalis repetendo, Dignitatibus et Dominationibus Vestris notissimum esse scio, quomodo tempore defuncti Regis vestri altae memoriae perpetuum inter Regna utraque foedus contra perfidissimum^{e)} hostem Moschum inceptum fuerat, id quod post mortem ipsius in Regni conventu Varsoviensi etiam publico^{f)} applausu denique a Serenissimo Henrico Rege in conventu coronationis suae firmiter stabilendum statueratis, et iam inceptum²⁾ mecum erat articulorum tractatio, sed nescio quo fato, vel potius^{g)} importunio ad imperfectum²⁾ finem nunquam deductum sit. Certe tot classes,^{h)} Regnorum devastationes aliaeque mala plurima, cum parva hostium manu, nullo resistente, ut etiam erubescendum sit in maximum utriusque Regni damnum nunquam subsequutae fuissent; ac tamen tarde potius quam nunquamⁱ⁾ recipiendus est animus. Non enim illata eiusmodi damna sunt, quae unanimis utriusque Regni concordia facillimo statu negotio²⁾ in pristinum redigere ac optime se de iis^{j)} vindicare non possunt. Notum autem sit Dignitatibus et Dominationibus Vestris certas nunc inducias inter Suetiam et Moscoviam factas esse, sed Serenissimum Regem Suetiae respectu amicitiae Polonicae nullas in Livonia pacis vel induciarum condiciones recipere^{k)} voluisse. Tum etiam quod Illustrissimi Domini: Dominus Palatinus Vilmensis et Dominus^{l)} Livoniae Administrator (vestro procul dubio omni nomine) solenni legatione Serenissimum Regem Suetiae rogarunt, ne cum Moscho pacem ferat²⁾ aut inducias ullas acciperet, indubitate perpetuum foedus et commune auxilium contra dictum Moschum promittentes, tum etiam Serenissimus Rex Suetiae bellum in Livonia continuandum statuit, quod Moschus ipsam Livoniam suorum antiquam et haereditariam esse ordinarie gloriari solet offertque Serenissimo Regi Suetiae perpetuum auxilium contra Lituanos pro filio, si eum liberare Livonia poterit, concedere et adiuvari velit.²⁾ Ex quo facile intelligitur illum non quieturum contraque donec eam totam suae tyrannidi subiugarit. Videmus enim, quod fides, vincula et pacta antiqua nullum apud illum locum obtineant, sed quibuscunque occasionibus intentus (posposita²⁾ omni ratione) ad Regnum suum amplificandum solummodo incumbit.

His igitur de causis, tanquam ad commune incendium^{m)} restringendum, Serenissimus Rex Suetiae amice et mature vobiscum transigere cupit. Et primum quidem hoc modo, ut communi hosti et etiam communi

auxilio Regnorumⁿ⁾ scilicet Suetiae et Poloniae terra marique resistatur, ad quod tertiam omnium impensarum belli partem ego a Serenissimo Rege Suetiae nunc impetravi et spero me adhuc plus a Sua Maiestate impetraturum, postquam voluntatem vestram super ea re integram intellexerim; vel et etiam sequenti modo transigere possumus: quandoquidem Regnum Poloniae nullum ex Livonia fructum percipiat, sumptus autem et incommoditates nunc et in futurum ad summum transeunt, ut igitur eam, quam tenetis, partem Maiestati^{o)} Suae in compensationem debitorumque suorum tradatis rogat; tunc finitam iudicare poterit inter Suetiam et Moscoviam eius provinciae controversiam, sic vos etiam magnam argenti summam, secus exponendam, retinebitis, ubi nunc sine aliqua spe summos^{p)} coacti eritis erogare sumptus, vel et quod si haec conditio non placet, transigere aliter, scilicet ut Polonia eam quam possidet partem Serenissimo Suecorum et Iagellonis unico^{q)} haeredi Principi Sigismundo in perpetuum Regni Poloniae faeudum^{r)} concedat, cui faeudo Serenissimus Rex Suetiae Revaliam et quicquid ipse in Livonia possidet statim adiungere pollicetur.

Insuper equitum et peditum exercitum pro temporis ratione classemque promptissimam in ipsius filii tuitionem et protectionem suis sumptibus alendam promittit, praeterquam quod ipsa Livonia in unum coniuncta faciet, vestroque potissimum consilio sic facile et brevi esse effecturum certo statuit, ut tota Livonia in perpetuam et pacificam Regni Poloniae provinciam et faeudum reducatur, quod nunc ante omnium^{z)} sola Suetia effecisset, nisi Scotos aliquos tum Gallo quodam ad summos honores evecto, Carolo Monroco, vitae Maiestatis Suae, cum Reginae tum Infantium, proditores habuisset. Quod si vero neque haec ratio inconsueta vobis videatur, plures necnon commodissimas alias inveniemus, ut aut per Serenissimam^{s)} Infantem Poloniae Annam, cuius causa Sua Maiestas plurimum facere cupit, ut per filium proprium vel etiam Illustrissimum Principem Carolum, Serenissimi Regis fratrem, aut per alios modos, qui^{u)} hic recenseri non debent. Ne plane hoc sanctum et necessarium Livoniae negotium removeatur^{v)} in Moschorum^{w)} Principis incrementum ad Poloniae et Suetiae damnum perpetuum, vel etiam per ordinarios commissarios vestros mecum ea negotia nunc statim ad optatum finem perducatis.

Secundum est de debitorum Serenissimi Regis Suetiae indisputabilium solutione, quorum causa per 14 annos tot legationes et impensae factae sunt, quod omnibus notissimum est, adeo ut nunc finem habere aut omnino deserere eam debere videantur. Itaque si vestra bona adsit voluntas, rationes facile nunc inibimus applausibiles, ut citra Regni vestri gravamina et incommoda facillime nunc ista omnia exequantur.^{y)} Neque Serenissimus Rex Suetiae credit, quandoquidem faciles et commodae solutionis viae ac rationes nobis proponuntur, quod eam ulterius differre et probatissimo illius animo impari gratitudine eo respondere vellitis^{z)} et potestis (si videatur) et alios probare amicos, promptiorem vix invenietis.

Tertium de dote Serenissimae Reginae, et quinquaginta millia ducatorum a Serenissima matre altae memoriae cuilibet Infanti relictorum. Sors vero Serenissimae Reginae Suetiae in usum Regni vestri conversa est, sed in gravissimum damnum et detrimentum Serenissimi Regis et Reginae Suetiae quattuordecim annis a vobis nunc detinentur, ut non modo amici, sed etiam extranei Principes maxime admirari soleant, quo

animo id a vobis fiat, cum sit exemplum plane vanum et vix antea auditum.

Quantum, quis non adhuc magis admiraretur, quod bona, a Serenissima matre cum consensu totius Regni vestri empta, nunc a vobis ipsis detinentur. Item, quae ^{aa)} vestes et mobilia parentum, a Serenissimo Rege defuncto altae recordationis in testamento relicta ipsisque haeredibus et propriis sororibus utenda et fruenda, prolubeantur contra statuta Regni vestri id non approbantia et etiam contra decreta ipsa vestra Serenissimo Regi adscripta, scilicet (iustis exequiis persolutis testamentum statim aperietur et voluntas defuncti Regis vestri suae executioni mandatur) quam Illustrissimus Princeps Thobia ^{z)} Dux Bransvicensis ^{z)} animo iusto propensoque suis sororumque petitis ac rationibus aequissimis, ne quicquam responsi ac gratitudinis nunquam a vobis extorquere potuerit, maerore et tristitia exhausta potius quam morbo aliquo confecta immaturam sibi mortem contraxit, praeterquam quod Serenissimae Infantes etiam ab intestato ad ea accedere merito a nullo impediri deberent neque quovis iure possent, o Patres, o Patres, qui experientia rerum, aetate et prudentia caeteros praecellit...^{z)} permittitis ad extremum tractari benefactores nostros. Certe Lublini, ubi Lituania fuit Regno Poloniae nuper incorporata,^{ab)} aliter receptum et notatum fuit. Num Deum aeternum vivum haec non videre, nec videre nec sentire creditis? Annam ^{ac)} multo foeliciores postmodum facti estis, providete, Patres, ne pia rationis ac conscientiae vestrae oculos contumaciter perstringere ipsum Deum et fortunam contra vos iritasse videamini. Praeterea Dignitates et Dominationes Vestrae hoc etiam certo scire debent Serenissimum Regem Suetiae eius mobilibus ^{ad)} rebusque aliis non adeo indigere neque multum curare, immo Maiestatem Suam multo magis sollicitam esse maximeque praecavere, ne amicitia Regnorum communis minima in re offendatur. Nulli enim Principes christiani, neque etiam ipsi ethnici Monarchae huiusmodi (praesertim de bonis emptis, de debitis, de dote, de testamento et aliis plurimis rebus, iis quae in disputationibus nullam per tot annos iustitiam nec executionem impetrare potuissent ^{ae)}) sine admiratione audire poterunt. De quibus vero rebus omnibus nunc in conventu hoc celeberrimo Serenissimus Suetiae Rex debitam et condignam executionem expectat, quod utique facturas Dignitates et Dominationes Vestras nequaquam dubitat, quia id gloria et gratitudo vestra, tum ipsa aequitas et Regnorum amicitia vicinitasque plurimum a vobis requirunt. Quod si vero neque publica vota vestra super has res nunc dicere placeat neque (ut toties speretis ^{z)}) ordinatos ^{af)} ex senatorio et equestri ordine commissarios deputare volueritis, qui cum maxima vestra laude, commoditate et utilitate haec omnia mecum placide transigere possint, certe eas cogitationes in mentem optimi et amicissimi Regis ac vicini vestri integerrimi inicitis, quod Serenissimus Rex Suetiae de toto hoc negotio suo et vestro ^{ag)} erga illum animo difidens,^{z)} hinc fortasse me revocare aliaque consilia inire statuet, quo in posterum cautius agat neque toties per tot annos in vanum ^{ah)} legatos suos expediat, vel electis vel eligendis commune habent, ut idcirco ^{z)} 14 annos continuos accusationibus infinitis utentes ius suum et sororum Infantium tum maximo damno et expensis impedire et negare velitis, ignoscite mihi, Patres, rogo, non enim ego, sed vestra culpa loquitur, neque etiam Iagellonis merita et Serenissimi Regis benefacta haec me retinere patiuntur.

Ultimum et gravissimum est, de quo Serenissimus Rex plurimum dolet, quod incepta amicitia, fraternitate et vicinitate Serenissimi Regis

vestri Henrici diutius ferre non licuit, quae maximam procul dubio Regnorum gloriam et utilitatem attulisset quaeque vero ad institutam hanc vestram novam electionem, in qua de totius Regni huius et omnium vestrum^{ai)} salute perpetua et libertate nunc agitur. Ante omnes certe quoscumque competitores Serenissimo Regi Suetiae, Domino nostro clementissimo (quemadmodum ex propria oratione mea Stentitii^{z)} habita abunde intellexistis) gravissimas et aequissimas loquendi vobis etiam aequo animo consultando et obsequendi causas et rationes esse maximas omnibus vobis certissime constat, adeo ut multi alii, qui a Serenissimo Rege Suetiae et vobis Regnisque ambobus nec maiores nec aequiores rationes inter sese posse videantur.^{aj)} Nam ipsa res immobilisque veritas, quae mater est omnis persuasionis, apertissime loquuntur et ad mutuam coniunctionem Regnorum invitant et impellunt.^{ak)} Ac tamen Serenissimus Rex Suetiae propter publicum auxilium et commune christiani nominis bonum (quod suis privatis honoribus et commoditatibus longissime praefert) nulli certe quemcumque tandem vobis commodiorem iudicaveritis dignitatem hanc invidet, nec suis rationibus impedire cupit. Ac tum ratione modo is vobis et Regno rebusque Polonis et Lituaniis optatus, foelix et semper commodus esse possit. Scitis enim omnes et iam experti estis, quod nulla levis libido dominandi nec gravis habendi cupiditas, nullaque, laus Deo, penuria Maiestatem Suam movet, quo tempore vos diligat Regnumque hoc ambiatur,^{z)} sed vestrae sunt potius et christiani nominis bonum,^{z)} vestramque salutem et commoditatem, quam propter condignam vicinitatem non minus quam propriam suam amat perpetuo et vere promotum esse cupit. Hoc tamen vobis tanquam maxime necessarium et notabile admonendum esse duxit, immo simul instanter rogat, ut ante omnia, si animos vestros a Serenissimo Rege Suetiae alio declinaveritis, saltem de Republica vestra bene merita familiam Iagellonis (quam suae personae longissime praefert) huius generis participem esse omnino concedatis nec eam plane ad eo excludatis. Nulla enim^{al)} vobis foelicitas, nulla salus nec gloria ab ulla alia maior expectanda est,^{am)} quam ab ea, quam ius,^{an)} natura, ratio omniumque Regnorum consuetudines et ipsa vestra gratitudo vobis ostendit et offert. Neque enim ab extraneis et ignotis, qui^{ao)} apud vos quasi surdi et muti per alios Reges^{ap)} cogantur, amor esse natus erga subditos nec subditorum erga illos unquam similis erit et proxima quidem electione Varsoviense^{z)} scripsistis Serenissimo Regi Suetiae haec verba, scilicet Serenissimam Infantem Poloniae Annam Reginam nostram fore inter veteres^{aq)} conditiones cum Serenissimo Rege pactas per nos est translatum. Quae res si per Regem est (ut dicebat) exequuta, similiter considerate, quaeso, quantis difficultatibus, perplexitatibus et periculis sit ligata, Respublica vestra nunc...^{ar)} neque Serenissimus Rex Vester concessimam^{z)} eorum partem cogitare potuisset, quae nunc ab eo re ipsa peracta sunt ea, quae Iagellonica familia quoties a nobis spreta est et neglecta, toties eam experti estis, quod Deus Optimus Maximus ipsaque fortuna deliberationibus vestris adversati sunt. Itaque Serenissimus Rex Sueciae scriptis promissionibusque vestris^{as)} publicis considero, quam causa originata^{at)} alia media a Serenissima Maiestate intermisit^{z)} sunt, iterum atque iterum instanter et amice rogat, ut omnia ipso Deo optimo et fortunam crimitatibus^{z)} gratitudinique vestrae et expectatione indubitatae familiae Iagellonicae,^{z)} nobis tandem ipsis et amicis vestris eligerimus,^{z)} quemadmodum de Serenissima Anna scripsistis, in hoc satis faciendum morem nunc geratis omnes, quod huic adversantes animos consiliis vestris excludere velitis, id quod summum gratiae^{at)}

et foelicitatis vestrae ornamentum fore existimare debetis. Habetis enim in promptu exemplum in Regno Angliae rationibus omnibus, quod similes ob causas de eligendo Rege diu consultantes tandem ex optime merita familia proximam virginem Cherabecam ^{z)} eligerunt, ultroque ^{av)} nunc divitiis et potentia fere omnium Regnorum foelicissimum, excitis magis magisque indies a Deo benedicto. Sic etiam et vobis certo credendum, quod si familiam hanc spreveritis nec iusticiam rerum suarum (quae magni ^{z)} sunt) debite concesseritis, Deum et fortunam ^{av)} hoc factu perpetua detestanda habebitis. Haec enim sola actione ^{aw)} omnia negocia, tam Pollonica et Suetica quam Livonica et Moscovitica, tum etiam debita dos, testamentum, materna bona empta omniaque alia gravamina, ^{ay)} bella denique et pericula imminencia ^{ba)} facilius et foelicius ^{bb)} undique transierunt nostrisque in potestate. ^{z)} Regis ex Regisvetiae ^{z)} esse existimare debetis, quod non simul in perpetuum Serenissimae Infanti Annae, vobis et Regno Polonico communia et semper ad manus parata esse debeant. Idque Serenissimo Regi Suetiae nobis ^{bc)} gratum et acceptum erit, ^{bd)} ac si ipsius manum suam propriam in Regem eligeretis, verumque pro certo ^{be)} publicare poterunt ^{bf)} foelicissima Regnorum Sueciae et Polloniae factam ^{bg)} esse coniunctionem, quae intra proprios fines suos omnibus rebus necessariis et super coram crescentibus ^{bh)} maxima abundantia adeo diflata ^{z)} sunt, ut vestro favore et auxilio caetera fere orbis Regna perpetuo indigeant. Haec est iurium ^{bi)} illa non fantastica, sed vera et certa ^{bj)} in finibus vestris nuper inventa aurifodina et portus nobilissimus. Quid enim gloriosius, quid optabilius, quid denique melius et commodius accidere aut excogitari possit? Quoties namque Polonia, Suetia et Lituania unanimiter ^{z)} manus vestras clauseritis, quod esse, quero, ^{z)} Regnum, quod vestram beneficentiam sibi comparare non studebit ^{bk)} et aliquod implorare cogatur? ^{z)}

Ad caeteras vero commoditates cuiusque Regni quod pertinet, ^{bl)} tam multae et magnae re ipsa comprimuntur, ^{bm)} ut quisque prudens nec finem nec numerum satis intueri, nec percipere ^{bn)} possit. Quarum nunc ne vobis nimis gravis, ^{z)} simpliciter nos paucas admodum narrare placebit.

Primum coniunctis duobus et vicinis ^{bo)} Regnis nullum Imperium septentrionale terra marique illustrius aut lacius esse potuerit, nec in Christiano Orbe foelicius aut commodius ob commune et mutuum consilium et auxilium terra marique in civitatis causa coniunctum, ^{bp)} quia omnia quae in uno desiderantur, abundant in altero Regno. Plusquam nullibique ^{z)} foelicitatem cum dicta Iagellonica Familia (si vellitis ^{z)}) nunc vobis perpetuo conservare potestis. Incommoditates, inimiciciae et pericula cum hac coniunctione nulla unquam commendatione, ^{z)} imo perpetuam cum Turcis, Tartaris ^{bq)} et Imperio Christiano amicitiam, pacem adferet. ^{br)} Neque enim consultum est nobis presumptuose pericula dubii belli appetere, quam diu sine sumptu et periculo pacifice vivere possit. ^{z)} Nam Deus omnipotens et ipsa fortuna ^{bs)} presumptuose communire adversam solent. ^{bt)}

Coniunctis hoc modo animis unanimiter et astutus Moschus ^{bu)} terra ^{bv)} Livonica aliisque locis ab eo inceptis facili negotio iterum excludetur omniaque pristino tutori ^{bw)} restituentur, ita ut etiam in posterum superiorem agnoscere cogatur. Narvica etiam navigatio aliorumque locorum, ^{by)} quibus nunc Moschus in maximum Poloniae Regni et Lituaniae incommodum, suo autem inestimabili emolumento vivit ac fruitur, sine ^{ca)} ulla mora impediri ac tolli poterunt.

De arce Bar proprio sumptu in sui memoriam edificanda ^{cb)} aliisque contra Tartaros et Turcas ac Moschum locis restaurandis perpetuoque ibi collocandis praesidiis, ea omnia consilio et auxilio tum cum ^{cc)} Serenissimi Regis Sueciae suasu sola Serenissima Infans Anna facile perficere poterit.

Debitorum quoque Regni Polonici omnium ex intimo et communi Regnorum fideli consilio facillima ^{cd)} solutionis commoditas ^{ce)} subsequetur. Sic etiam eorum omnium, quae iure optimo Regibus ^{cf)} Suetiae ex Polonia debentur interorumque, ^{z)} quae a tota Iagilonica ^{z)} Familia expectari ^{ch)} possunt et tacite immense ^{ci)} crescunt, quae sola certe multo ^{cj)} maiora esse scitis, ^{ck)} quam ullus alius ^{cl)} in hoc Regnum adferre possit aut vellit, ^{cm)} facillima tamen transactio tunc erit, ^{cn)}

Monetam quoque cum Regni Poloniae tum Magni Ducatus Lituaniae ^{co)} optimam Serenissimus Rex Suetiae ex propriis fodinis Sueticis ex aequa abundanter et perpetuo subministrare ^{co)} poterit. Bumbardas, ^{z)} quoque alias machinas bellicas terra marique utendas facile ex propriis omnium generum nobilissimis fodinis ex aequa ratione copiosissime prestare poterit.

De religione nec disputatio nec mutatio unquam ^{cs)} timenda, ^{cu)} nec mutatio, ^{z)} quae etiam citra haec certis legibus merito praecavere ^{cv)} stabilire ^{cw)} possunt.

Audentiam et iustitiam promptissimam ^{cy)} facile omnibus propter lingae vestrae et morum innatam noticiam semper perhibere, ^{da)} maximum enim totius Regni Poloniae gravissime ^{db)} damnum et fastidium est habere Regem quasi mutum et surdum moribusque vestris alienum. Similiter de privilegiis, commoditatibus ac immunitatibus vestris, tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus, amplificandi et observandi ratione, non solum illesae ^{z)} atque illibata ^{z)} conservabuntur, imo si ex iis aliquid labefactum vel immunitum fuerit, potius restaurabuntur. ^{dc)}

De Serenissimae Principis Annae personae ^{z)} cuiusque ^{z)} ac dotibus atque virtutibus, ea omnia re ipsa maiora et veriora esse scitis, quam ut aliena ^{dd)} commendatione egeant aut illustrari ^{de)} queant.

Multa preterea et maxime necessaria dicenda fore existimarem, nisi vobis ipsis plura notissima esse ^{df)} scirem. ^{dg)} Contigua enim Regnorum vicinitas et coniunctio ipso iudice clarissime ^{dh)} demonstrant, ^{di)} tum quod Serenissimi Regis intentio ^{dj)} non sit persone regiae rationes et commoditates, vel proprias vel amicorum, quamvis verissimas, quasi buccina verbis nimium extollere eoque minus patitur aliqua vana vel ficta sinceris suis institutis admirari, ut non modo ad Regnum hoc vestrum, sed neque ad totius Regni imperium nisi per viam virtutis et veritatis ipse accedere, nec animos persuadere unquam vellit nec secus dicere, quod etiam facere decrevit. Non ^{dk)} enim per fenestram aut tectum, sed per ipsam introeundi. ^{z)} Si namque minima... ^{dl)} nos semel dum taceat, illud contingeret ^{z)} apud vos et vitae et mortis conditionem perpetuo coniunctam esse cupit. Deum immortalem, quae esset ista Regnorum alia quam simulata coniunctio et quod Serenissimam Infantem (quod in primis optet) vero unquam amore prosequi potestis aut quibus animi oculis ^{z)} illa vicissim vos intueri summamque iusticiam digne et debite administrare ^{dm)} possit.

Si ipsa illaudatis et indignis mediis mirisque insidiis intrusa potius quam laudate a vobis electa ^{z)} et accepta fuisset, ab omnibus merito insimularetur. Et a Serenissimo Rege et a sua aestimanda ^{dn)} probitate ^{do)} et mansuetudine omnino alienum ^{dp)} esset.

Haec omnia cum sint certissima^{dq)} Regnoque vestro vicina et notissima, Serenissimus Rex Sueciae vestro gravissimo iudicio discernendum reliquit, an quaedam magis salutifera, commodiora vel utiliora ad publicum vestrum et christiani^{dr)} nominis bonum in hoc difficillimo et periculosissimo rerum statu unquam aliunde exoptare potestis ea, quae ipsi omnipotens creator Deus, natura, fortuna, ratio, gratitudo vestra, consanguinitas et ipsa arctissima vicinitas foeliciter suadent. Hoc modo Iagellonis familiam, quae semper vere perpetua^{ds)} et foelicissima apud nos extitit,^{du)} tum acquisitae gloriae et laboris sui, tum etiam benevolentiae et gratitudinis vestrae adhuc participem reddetis,^{dv)} praeterquam quod eadem ratione et illi et vobis posterisque vestris optime et praeclarissime consuluisse videbimini. Quod si vero Serenissimorum Sueciae Regum et simul Iagellonicae stirpis unicum heredem masculum, Principem Sigismundum (qui eadem aetate et annum fere^{dw)} ultra nunc floret, qua defunctum Regem Sigismundum Augustum coronastis, qui Polonice,^{dy)} et Suecice^{ea)} perfectissime, Latine vero, Italice et Germanice^{eb)} mediocriter loquitur), Serenissimae Infanti Annae substituere in Regem decreveritis, omni procul dubio amorem et zelum Serenissimi Regis et Reginae Sueciae adeo excitabitis, ut pro conservatione Regni vestri sororis et filii sui unici non modo eas, quas recitavi commoditates, Regno vestro coniunctas esse velint, sed ipsam quoque vitam profundere nequaquam dubitabunt, nec pignus amoris erga vos sui carnis^{z)} et certius ad vos mittere unquam possunt nihilque in mundo^{ec)} hoc habent vel habebunt, quod sorori charissime^{z)} et filiae unicae^{ed)} liberalissime non prestare velint. Hoc tandem Deus Optimus Maximus sine aliquo dubio in omne aevum benedicet Suaeque Maiestates^{ee)} Regiae perpetua gratitudine erga vos omnes et singulos reddere^{ef)} studebunt,^{eg)} quotiescunque urgebit necessitas etiam propria in persona auxilium. Iturus^{eh)} ipsemet Serenissimus Rex Sueciae huc in Poloniam...,^{ei)} ut nullo tempore amplissimo huic Regno, sorori et filiae charissimis unquam deesse videatur.

Quod vero magna nobilitas suis propriis sumptibus incommodoque privato huc ad eligendum Regem convenerunt, Serenissimus Rex Sueciae eorum dignas habens rationes,^{ej)} si^{ek)} hoc modo erga Iagellonicam Familiam affecti extiteritis, ex abundante erga Polonicam et Lituanicam^{el)} nobilitatem more suo perfectissimo naturaeque libertate^{em)} donum instituit publicum et applaudatum,^{z)} ad factas hic expensas et generum nobilium sublevandas distribuendum,^{en)} quod quidem minus ipse Serenissimus Princeps Sigismundus ex Suecia secum conferendum ordinabit, omnibus vero ceteri^{eo)} ordinis dominis proceribus Poloniae Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae perpetua benevolentia, gratitudine et liberalitate regia seorsum persequendis.

Haec sunt proposita optimo Rege amico dignissima, quae huc mecum attuli in promotionem Serenissimae Infantis Annae et Iagellonis familiae, non quisita,^{z)} sed vere certa et omnibus vobis evidentissima, quodque omnes fideles indigere, Poloni et Lituani nobiles amice collaudare et approbare eaque honorum et vitae etiam periculo a patria distrahi vel disiungi merito unquam desiderat.

Multa equidem magnifico et splendido^{z)} promissa simul dumtaxat vos exhilarabunt, ut si alius quisquam parati summam incredibilem^{ep)} nunc promittere posset. Hisce cum praedictis adequare minime vellent, nec Regno vestro utiliora nec certiora nec commodiora unquam exoptari possunt, nisi quis adeo exuatur^{eq)} aut perverse^{z)} gentis extet, qui in disfurtum^{z)} vel etiam perniciem patriae ac totius Reipublicae^{er)} omnisque

posteritatis frivolari^{z)} suam opinionem tanquam optimam in medium tenere, adferre tutarique obstinate vellit.^{z)}

Nam Deum immortalem, qui vim gravi iudicio clarissime non videt, Sueciam absque auxilio extraneo proprio^{es)} suorum indigenarum sanguine propriisque domesticis sumptibus contra omnes sibi confines hostes potentissimos quinquaginta quinque annos continuos bello gravissimo sustenuisse^{et)} et ne unquam unicum pagum inimicis concessisse. Insuper, quod multo maiori admiratione^{eu)} dignum est, quod mortalium nemo vivit, qui ratione debiti vel aeris alieni vel saltem viginti millia florenorum a Suetia expostulare queat vel possit, ex quo facillime et certissime coniciendum est proventus Regis Sueciae necessarios tales esse oportere, quod si Serenissimo Regi Sueciae quatuor vel quinque annos pace frui^{ev)} contingat fore, ut in Suetia preter ordinarios Regni proventus ex solis omnium generum inexhaustis^{z)} fodinis, quarum nec ditiores nec nobiliores usquam reperiantur,^{ew)} thesaurum maximum ad perpetuum utriusque Sueciae et Poloniae Regni solacium^{ey)} colligi posset. Quanto igitur magis sperandum, si in viginti, quinquaginta vel centum^{fa)} annos et si in perpetuum cum Polonia coniunctum erit, haec certe scitis, haec clarissima et verissima videtis, huc in ipsis Poloniae finibus sita sunt ita, ut testimonio nullo indigeant. Incommoditates vero aliaeque omnia, quae forte ociosis hominibus in mentem venire queant, hic commemorari non merentur eaque tanti fore non iudico, ut gravissimorum ordinum et aequitum^{z)} nobilissimorum animos ab hoc optimo proposito et commoditatibus Regni vestri perpetuis^{z)} avertere possent^{z)} vel debent.

Haec breviter et simpliciter quidem commemorare volui, nam ipsa Regnorum coniunctio et vicinitas (quae sola vicinitas omnium competitorum^{fb)} quascunque commoditates longissime excedit) Dignitates et Dominationes Vestras infinitis voluptatibus, aliis quam hic necessarium recensere erat, quotidie afficiunt,^{fc)} imo saturabunt, quas omnes rationes privatis affectibus postpositis si vere et sincere discernere velitis, certe nihil vobis posterisque vestris, Regno, religioni, iustitiae, publicae privataeque^{fd)} saluti commodius, utilius nec foelicius unquam accidere potest et ipsi inimici clare atque aperte fatentur timentes, ad quod sese virtutes et merita Iagellonici sanguinis,^{fe)} et si nihil quicquam Serenissimus Rex Sueciae offerat, accomeruisse^{z)} plurimum tamen, nos exortari possent ac debent.^{z)} Vestrum itaque est, ut si quid penes quosdam satiare^{z)} odii vel aliud impediendi,^{z)} idem odium deponatis ac patriae vestraeque salutis potius optime consulatis. Hoc vobis, hoc patriae hocque posteris et vicinis, amicis omnibus gloriosissimum et utilissimum in perpetuum erit. Quod si vero ex laudatissima Domo Austriaca rebus vestris magis opportunum iudicaveritis, erit certe et ille Serenissimo Regi Suetiae sine omni invidia merito charissimus, quia Moschum propter horrenda exempla vobis nunquam approbari neque ex longinquis et salutis vestrae suspectissimis nationibus alium vos Regem quaesituros esse certe certius credit. Hoc tum Serenissimus Rex Suetiae ad gratitudinem vestram dictae Iagellonicae familiae amice rogat, ut eandem antiquo honore suo, ut petil, adhuc participem reddere velitis, denique etiam ut ducatus Barenensis Rosanensis et comitatus etiam emptus nec non ab alienata mobilia^{z)} monitiones et damna omnia passa aliaeque bona nominata illi prius effectualiter^{z)} restituenda inter ceteras condiciones comprehendantur. Quod vero ad literas Maometh, Supremi Imperatoris Turcarum Baschae, ad Serenissimum Regem Suetiae datas, quas nuper Dignitates et Dominationes Vestrae mihi Stentiziae dedistis, responsum retuli.

Quum ^{ff)} quidem vero ea nihil praeter amicitiae argumentum offerunt, ^{fh)} non potuit Serenissima Maiestas Suetiae quin pari benevolentia ei quicquam responsi redderet, ^{fi)} quod prima commoditate ac tabellario praesenti, antequam huic expediatur, praedicto Maometh Baschae multum Serenissimus Rex Suetiae amice petit, quarum ego expositionem simul adiunxi quod Dignitates et Dominationes Vestrae clare intueri possent suam interim negotiari aut molliri ^{z)} nihil velle, quam quod vobis utrique ^{fi)} Regno gloriae ^{fk)} ac commodo futurum fore videatur, imo si una cum iis ad eundem Bascha vel ipsum Turcarum Imperatorem Serenissimi Domini mei scripta, aut ad legatum vel tabellarium nomine Serenissimi Regis verba mea aliquid utilitatis ac commoditatis allatura vobis videantur, ut scilicet vice et nomine Serenissimi Suetiae Regis, Domini mei clementissimi, dictus Imperator promissorum suorum comune fiat, ^{z)} ne charius Regni vestri limites hoc praesenti interregni tempore aliqua molestia afficiat, aut a suis vel alio modo fieri patiatur, in hoc quidem sicut in omnibus aliis, Serenissimi Regis Suetiae promptitudinem (qui non minus de Regno vestro quam de suo proprio perpetua cura sollicitus est) paratissimam et me etiam omni quo potuero officiorum genere assidue obsequentissimum habebitis.

Serenissimi Suetorum etc. Regis et Reginae
ad Amplissimos Polloniae Regni Magnique Ducatus
Litvaniae Status ac Ordines
Legatus Ordinarius.

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- a) *In ms. sigla.*
 - b) *In ms. ad eo*
 - c) *In ms. persuaderim*
 - d) *In ms. Maiestatis*
 - e) *In ms. perfidissimi*
 - f) *In ms. publice*
 - g) *In ms. sequitur verbum: ad*
 - h) *Sic in ms., forsitan error pro: clades*
 - i) *In ms. mensque*
 - j) *In ms. Deys*
 - k) *In ms. correctum ex: repere*
 - l) *In ms. abbreviatio: Dnae*
 - m) *In ms. auxilium*
 - n) *In ms. sequitur sigla pro: scilicet vel videlicet*
 - o) *In ms. Maiestatis*
 - p) *In ms. sumos*
 - q) *In ms. unici*
 - r) *Sic in ms., correcte: feudum*
 - s) *In ms. Serenissimum*
 - u) *In ms. quae*
 - v) *In ms. removetur*
 - w) *In ms. Moschum*
 - y) *In ms. exequuntur*
 - aa) *In ms. qui*
 - ab) *In ms. incorporato*
 - ac) *Lectio incerta: in ms. Annae*
 - ad) *In ms. nobilibus*

- ae) *In ms. potuisse*
- af) *In ms. ordinatas*
- ag) *In ms. vestrae*
- ah) *In ms. inanum*
- ai) *In ms.strararum*
- aj) *Syntaxis confusa.*
- ak) *In ms. impleunt*
- al) *In ms. inde alia manu continuatur.*
- am) *In ms. est correctum ex: estc*
- an) *In ms. ius correctum ex: eius*
- ao) *In ms. sequuntur expuncta verba: vera hoc*
- ap) *In ms. Reges correctum ex: Regen vel regem*
- aq) *In ms. veteras*
- ar) *Sequitur verbum illegibile.*
- as) *In ms. veteris*
- at) *In ms. eriginata*
- au) *Lectio incerta.*
- av) *In ms. sucunam*
- aw) *In ms. iacione*
- ay) *In ms. gravimina; deinde sequitur verbum illegibile.*
- ba) *In ms. omminentia*
- bb) *In ms. facilias et foelicias*
- bc) *Lectio incerta.*
- bd) *In ms. erie*
- be) *In ms. veruque procerunt*
- bf) *In ms. poterint*
- bg) *In ms. faccam*
- bh) *In ms. cresuntibus*
- bi) *In ms. iurio*
- bj) *In ms. ccreta*
- bk) *In ms. scudebit*
- bl) *In ms.abbreviatio indistincta, etiam perineat legi potest.*
- bm) *In ms. compricuntur*
- bn) *In ms. peripicm*
- bo) *In ms. viciniis*
- bp) *In ms. coniunctu*
- bq) *In ms. Tarcario*
- br) *In ms. adferit*
- bs) *In ms. socuna*
- bt) *Syntaxis totius propositionis satis confusa.*
- bu) *In ms. insubus Molestus*
- bv) *In ms. urra*
- bw) *In ms. nltiori*
- by) *In ms. locum*
- ca) *In ms. serum*
- cb) *In ms. edificando*
- cc) *tum cum lectio incerta.*
- cd) *In ms. facilima*
- ce) *In ms. commodicas*
- cf) *In ms. Suecibus*
- ch) *In ms. expectare*
- ci) *In ms. emmensu*

cj) *In ms. multa*
 ck) *In ms. seccis*
 cl) *In ms. ultus alias*
 cm) *In ms. vellis*
 cn) *In ms. eris*
 co) *In ms. subminiserare*
 cp) *In ms. utilitatae*
 cq) *Et in ms. deest.*
 cr) *In in ms. deest.*
 cs) *In ms. correctum ex alio verbo.*
 cu) *In ms. correctum ex: tomenda*
 cv) *In ms. precavere*
 cw) *In ms. scabilire*
 cy) *In ms. promptistimam*
 da) *In ms. prahibere*
 db) *In ms. gravistime*
 dc) *In ms. restaverabuntur*
 dd) *In ms. alienis*
 de) *In ms. illuserari*
 df) *In ms. este*
 dg) *In ms. et nescirem*
 dh) *In ms. sequitur expunctum verbum: vicinitas*
 di) *In ms. demonserant*
 dj) *In ms. intintio*
 dk) *In ms. Num*
 dl) *Verbum illegibile.*
 dm) *In ms. administrari*
 dn) *In ms. correctum ex: aestuerinda*
 do) *In ms. pubitate*
 dp) *In ms. mansuetum*
 dq) *In ms. indistict scriptum: etulstima?*
 dr) *In ms. christiano*
 ds) *In ms. prua cum signo contractionis.*
 du) *In ms. excitit*
 dv) *In ms. redelecis*
 dw) *In ms. fore*
 dy) *In ms. Polonicae*
 ea) *In ms. Sueciae*
 eb) *In ms. Sacinae... Italicae... Germanicae*
 ec) *In ms. mondo*
 ed) *In ms. filia unica*
 ee) *In ms. Suaque Maiestas*
 ef) *In ms. resene*
 eg) *In ms. scudebunt*
 eh) *In ms. Iaturus*
 ei) *Verbum illegibile.*
 ej) *In ms. contractio: roes correcta ex alio verbo.*
 ek) *In ms. correctum ex: sic*
 el) *In ms. Lituaniam*
 em) *Correctum ex alio verbo.*
 en) *Syntaxis confusa.*
 eo) *In ms. ceteris*

ep) *In ms. ineredibilem*
eq) *In ms. excuatur*
er) *In ms. Republica*
es) *In ms. propria*
et) *In ms. suscinuisse*
eu) *In ms. admiratorum*
ev) *In ms. sul*
ew) *In ms. reperiant*
ey) *In ms. solaci*
fa) *In ms. veluntum*
fb) *In ms. compotitorum*
fc) *In ms. afficunt*
fd) *In ms. privatique*
fe) *Syntaxis confusa.*
ff) *In ms. Quam*
fh) *In ms. offerint*
fi) *In ms. rederet*
fj) *In ms. utroque*
fk) *In ms. gloriam*
z) *Sic in ms.*

N. 4.

S.l., s.d. [post 9.XII.1575]

Ignotus scriptor

ad rei memoriam

*refert orationem ab oratore archiducis Austriae Ferdinandi in comitiis
generalibus Varsaviae habitam.*

(Lat., sine subscriptione).

Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 1510, ff. 20-31.

Oratione dell'Archiduca Ferdinando di Austria recitata nella Dieta di
Varsovia per l'elettione del novo Re di Polonia l'anno 1575 il mese
di dicembre.

Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi, Reverendi, Spectabiles, Magnifici ac Ge-
nerosi Antistites,^{a)} Proceres, Nobiles, Viri Fortissimi Equitesque Genero-
sissimi etc.

Quantum hisce periculosis temporibus, Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi,
Illustres, Spectabiles, Magnifici, Generosi Domini, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi,
Palatini, Castellani, Clarissimi Nobiles, Equites Fortissimi, tota Respublica
Christiana in Europa nostra erumnis opprimatur, quam misere inquam sit
afflicta, manifestius est, quam ut a me paucis iam explicari queat. Recte
igitur vos, Amplissimi Senatores ac equestris ordinis Viri Fortissimi, faci-
tis, qui post subitum et inopinatum discessum Henrici Galliarum Regis
hactenus omnes salutiferas et vigilantissimas cogitationes vestras, talibus
principibus viris dignas, ad hoc unum convertistis, qua ratione tantis pe-

riculis^{b)} ultimum iam interitum secum ferentibus succurrere^{c)} ex vestro florentissimo, tot christianae fidei hostibus infestissimis^{d)} exposito Regno,^{e)} Regem et Principem aliquem perpotentem, qui tantae moli gubernandae^{f)} par sit ac truculentissimos^{g)} Regni vestri hostes fortiter profligare audeat, praeficere queatis; quominus autem sanctissimi vestri^{h)} conatus hucusque ex animi sententia feliciter vobis successerint, equidem non amplissimis Dominationibus Vestris, sed aliis, qui variis modis haec sanctissima coepta vestra impedire conati sunt, omnem culpamtribuendam esseⁱ⁾ existimo.

Itaque cum iam a vobis, amplissimis Senatoribus et omnibus tam incliti Regni Poloniae quam Magni Ducatus Lituaniae proceribus, de novo Rege creando rursus augusta commitia indicta fuerint idque passim in Germania et aliis exteris^{j)} nationibus innotuerit, statuit et Serenissimus Princeps Invictissimus ac Dominus Dominus Ferdinandus, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae et Comes Tirolis, Dominus noster clementissimus, ad hunc splendidissimum^{k)} et celeberrimum^{l)} conventum vestrum pro insigni benevolentia et amore, quo complectitur inclitam nationem Polonicam, aliquos nobilitatis suae^{m)} proceres et illustri genere natos et rerum usu preditos mittere, qui iussu prefati Serenissimi Principis ac Domini nostri omnem Serenitatis Suae benevolentiam, studium et operam vobis deferrent. Et si forte opus esset, ut maxime referre arbitror, alia quaedam de novi Regis electione in medium adducerent, non eo quidem consilio, quod Serenissimus Dominus Archidux quidquam de eximia vestra prudentia dubitet aut modum vobis in electione regia praescribere velit, sed potius ut hac quodammodo ratione propensam animi sui voluntatem erga vos omnes, tam Regni Poloniae quam aliarum vestrarum provinciarum subditos heroes, testatam faciat.ⁿ⁾ Si igitur quantus est, Reverendissimi ac Illustrissimi Principes, dignitatis vestrae splendor, si quanta est, Nobilissimi ac Fortissimi Viri, augusti huius ordinis vestri maiestas, tanta quoque nobis inesset^{o)} dicendi ubertas et copia, sperarem profecto Serenissimi mei^{p)} Principis parem ac Regni istius amplissimi laudibus orationem habiturum, verum cum videam ea omnia, quae ad dicendum attinent, in me esse exilia, vires, ingenium, facundiam, hic vero nihil esse nisi excelsum, sublime^{q)} et eximium, sive in vos, Principes viri, oculos convertam, seu clarissimos hos proceres,^{r)} qui mihi assistunt, intuear, heret adheretque^{s)} faucibus vox,^{t)} vixque verbum in verbo nectere audeo, ne dum rem tantam pro dignitate ac pro magnanimi Principis nostri voto orationem complecti,^{u)} nec ulla plane mihi ad hoc munus obeundum daretur facultas, nisi vestra huic dignitati, Reverendissimi ac Illustrissimi Principes, coniuncta benignitas tantum mihi virium adderet,^{v)} quantum ademit tantae maiestatis imago. Quare vos, amplissimos Senatores, enixe rogo, oro, obsecro^{w)} obtestorque, ut clementi et patienti animo me^{x)} audire velitis. Ego vero quantum Dominus dederit mihi facultatis quantumque ingenii mei vires fere potuerint, ita carptim et breviter omnia me dicturum polliceor, ut nullum fastidium, sed voluptatem potius mea vobis sit paritura oratio.

Principio igitur, ut ad rem propius^{aa)} accedam, Serenissimum Principem nostrum non latet vos, tam Regni Poloniae quam Magni Ducatus Lituaniae aliarumque provinciarum proceres, in unum ea de causa iam convenisse, ut et post insperatum Henrici Galliarum Regis discessum, quem in vestrum Regem legitimum elegeratis,^{ab)} nunc de novi Regis electione nova commitia ineatis et tractetis, et talem scilicet Regem vobis

eligatis, qui non solum iura, leges et privilegia vestra conservare, qui inquam non solum pacis, sed etiam belli artibus clarus vos ^{ac)} a barbararum nationum frequentibus incursionibus et aliis quibusbet hostibus, qui huic Regno vestro opulentissimo et Magno Ducatui Lituaniae aliisque provinciis vestris insidias moliuntur, a quibus incliti heroes Poloni multum iacturae variis temporibus passi sunt et adhuc in praesentia ^{ad)} patiuntur, defendere et tueri possit. Neque etiam latet Serenitatem Suam, quanto-pere referat, ut hisce duris et turbulentissimis temporibus in hoc florentissimo Regno vestro unum caput, a quo reliqui proceres et magnates omnes pendeant et cuius auspiciis omnia regantur, eligatur. Quam ob causam tanto magis vobis elaborandum ^{ae)} erit quod ^{af)} nunc in deliberationem suscepistis, talem Principem in Regem vobis eligere, ^{ag)} qui huiusmodi periculis occurrere ^{ah)} et inclitum hoc Regnum vestrum eiusque iura, privilegia, libertates et dignitates pacisque bellique temporibus fortiter et strenue tueri et defendere queat. Ad hanc vero talem tanque insignem provinciam administrandam ^{ai)} neminem ullum utiliozem et aptiorem ^{aj)} inveniri posse existimo, quam Serenissimum ac Invictissimum Principem Ferdinandum, Archiducem Austriae etc., Dominum nostrum clementissimum, ut pote qui vitae integritate ^{ak)} et omnium virtutum splendore non modo nulli Principi cedat, sed multos etiam etatis suae Principes antecellat, ut taceam ^{al)} interim, quod huius laudatissimi maiores Reges et Imperatores per omnem aetatem infidelibus fortiter restiterint et pro Christianae Reipublicae salute copias et omnes fortunas suas perdere, ^{am)} sanguinem effundere et vitam amittere non sint veriti. Quorum maiorum suorum vestigia hic Serenissimus Archidux noster sequi studet ac in iis ^{an)} innata virtute et christiano zelo usque ad finem vitae perseverare desiderat atque utinam tanta mihi esset eloquentia, quanta preclaris oratoribus olim fuit, ut et Serenissimi Archiducis virtutes eximias dignis preconiiis recitare et vestras delicatissimas ^{ao)} aures sic demulcere possem, ut haec in ea oratiuncula, qualis tandem sit, sententia nullum vobis tedium, sed voluptatem et iucunditatem afferret. ^{ap)} Nunc vero quoniam virtutibus illis nulla oratio par inveniri potest, pauca quaedam sed vera et quae negari non possunt, breviter explicuisse sufficiat. Sed, me hercle, propemodum iam sentio vos, amplissimos Dominos, qui omni virtutum genere estis absolutissimi et in quos omnes, velut in speculum sapientiae, inspicere merito debent, in percipiendis Serenissimi Archiducis laudibus avidos et propensos esse, quocirca ut vos, inclitos Proceres et Magnates, non diu detineamus, concise tamen eas perstringemus et ita moderabimur, ne aut affectibus nimium indulsisse aut in adulandi suspicionem (a quo vitio nos semper natura, nunc vero etiam ratione atque consilio abhorremus ^{aq)}) incidisse videamur, tantus autem Serenissimi Principis nostri virtutum ^{ar)} cumulus quocunque me confero ^{as)} effertur, ut prorsus nesciam, unde principium exordii sumendum ^{at)} est. Si ^{au)} enim pietatem in Potentissimo Principe nostro spectare velim, tanta is est peditus, ut parem cuique ^{av)} habeat, ^{aw)} sive facilitatem et clementiam desideretis, tanta mansuetudine hic noster Princeps erit, ut non solum magnos, sed etiam plebeios ac infimae conditionis homines querellas ad Suam Celsitudinem deferentes benigne ac hilari vultu audiat. Novit quippe mitissimus ^{ay)} Princeps hoc in primis decere ceteris prepositos, ut subiectorum sollicitudini et necessitatibus subveniant, preces exaudiant et controversias dirimant et auctoritate sua cuncta moderentur. Iam quod magnanimitatem eius attinet, mediocritatem quidem in omnibus servare potest, in

secundis vero rebus minime elatus, adversis vero infracto animo sit, fortiter omnes casus ferat, ut in melius convertat. Quid autem dicatur de Serenissimi Principis nostri prudentia eximia, quae ita claret, ut magni nominis Princeps et alii gravis existimationis viri, imo Sacratissima Caesarea Maiestas ipsa ad huius Principis nostri consilia in rebus arduis confugiat, et vel in dissidiis componendis vel controversiis sedandis ipsius oracula tanquam rerum certa quaedam iudicia sequantur.

Quid vero iam ego commemorem insignem eius eruditionem et doctrinam, qua ab ineunte aetate a doctissimis preceptoribus ita imbutus et formatus est, ut de omnibus rebus propositis gravissime et acutissime loqui possit, et quod infoelici hoc seculo nostro in Principibus viris rarissimum est, precipue vero lingua vestra Serenitati Suae admodum familiaris est, ita ut, si Dei Optimi Maximi et vestro hoc favore ad Regni huius ^{ba)} fastigium pervenerit, omnia Regni negotia lingua Polonica expedire posset. Multum autem referre arbitror Reges et Principes in Regnis et ditionibus suis subditos loquentes intelligere.

Sed ut ad ulteriora iam progrediar, laudare sane pro ingenio merito ^{bb)} vix potero insignem Principis nostri iustitiam, qua, ut philosophus ^{z)} inquit, neque Hesperus neque Lucifer formosior est, quam Princeps noster constantissime semper colit in regionibus et provinciis suis et iudiciis secundum leges scriptas. Testarentur haec scripta Tirolensia et municipalia, ab ipso Principe in commodum et utilitatem subditorum suorum et magna cum laude promulgata. Testes etiam sunt huius rei Boemiae proceres, quos hic Princeps noster mirabili quadam ^{bc)} ingenii dexteritate rexit, a patre ^{bd)} suo Ferdinando Imperatore augustissime memoriae omnia illis ^{be)} salutaria et utilia impetravit; quin adeo iustitiae et aequitatis est amans et studiosus, ut nullius ^{z)} dicat vel dicere permittat, iuribus auditis et ponderatis, et ne digito quidem transversos, imo qui maximum est in distribuendis et discernendis ^{bf)} premiis, in exigendis poenis et puniendis atrocibus delictis summa ^{bg)} semper iustitia, summa ^{bh)} etiam misericordia utitur, laudanda vero in primis Potentissimi Principis nostri preclara et illustris magnificentia ac liberalitas, qua ille alios sui ordinis Principes longe superat, id quod testantur multi amplissimi viri, quos et honoribus et splendidissimis ^{bi)} opibus cumulavit. Animadvertit enim Sapientissimus et optimus Princeps vix ullam aliam virtutem liberalitati in conciliandis hominum studiis atque benevolentiam prestare. Natura si quidem haec Domus Austriae virtus est, ^{z)} ut erga omnes humana, benefica ^{bj)} et liberalis sit, ut cuidam ^{bk)} Maximilianus Imperator, proavus nostri Archiducis, de profusione liberaliore reprehendenti more suo responderit: neque posthac de iis mecum conferas, meminisse enim te oportet me Austriae, non alterius familiae, ^{bl)} esse Principem; hactenus Austriae Princeps longe liberalitate sua plura quam alii tenacitate seu magis avaritia sua acquisivere. Neque sane hoc loco pretereundum erit, quanta Serenissimi Archiducis in extruendis arcibus ac edificiis instaurandis sit magnificentia, namque vetustate temporis vel bellicis tumultibus collapsa novis ^{bm)} structuris reedificavit, alia regia edificia denuo extruere curat, quae oculis nostris coram exposita sunt, quod non parum quoque in Principe nostro laudem meretur, quod fidelissimus sit pater familias et oeconomus, quod plures annuos redditus, villas, pagos, oppida, civitates et dominia emat, redimat et elevat. ^{bn)}

Iam ad bella quod attinet, si vos, amplissimi Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae Proceres, Principem bellicosum in Principem vestrum

eligere cupitis, equidem quem Serenissimo Domino nostro comparare, aut etiam preferre possitis, non facile video, si quidem is belli tanta insignitus claritate atque gloria est, ut quicquid de hoc dixerim, minus illud a laude et gloria ipsius esse videatur, nam si enumerare voluero, quo invicto labore iuventutis IV annos militari pulvere exercuerit, frigora, aestus ^{bo)} ceteraque incommoda quanta animi perseverantia pertulerit, non somnum, non quietem, non potum sibi indulserit, dum optimi ducis munus expleret, dies deficiet; neque vero iam commemorare, quanto animo tot periculosa et horrida bella non solum gessit, sed et nonnunquam anteivit.^{bp)} Testantur id tot expeditiones, in primis Saxonica et Boemica et novissima Turcica, in qua tot preclara facinora patravit, ut exemplo edocti vos, si quod bellum inciderit (quod Deus Optimus Maximus a vestris amplissimis ditionibus clementer avertere velit), vobis Rex bellicosus et dux egregius non sit defuturus. Testantur hoc quoque Boemi, viri ^{bq)} omnino bellicosi,^{br)} qui sola nominis sui ^{bs)} fama et gloria commoti ^{bt)} militari disciplinae Serenitatis ^{bu)} Suae sese ^{bv)} dedere non dubitarunt. Imo quam hic Princeps noster belli artibus clarus et laude militari ^{bw)} excellat, inter vos ipsos, Magnifici equestris ^{by)} ordinis viri, nonnullos esse ^{ca)} arbitror, qui hisce rebus testimonium adferre potestis, quin et Helvecii, gens alioquin ferocissima, bellicosissima et prorsus fere armis indomita, semper ^{cb)} Serenissimum Archiducem, Dominum nostrum,^{cc)} colere maluit quam arma ipsius experiri,^{cd)} et ut dicam id quod res est, militari disciplina adeo excellit, ut nemo ei suo tempore par sit, ne dum superet quisquam, adeo ut Martem ipsum arcana sua ei credidisse ^{ce)} et Principem nostrum ad bellum vocatum iure quis dicere queat. Hinc fit, ut apud principes viros ubique principem locum teneat, hinc Principes ipsi tanquam praesidium quoddam vitae, salutis suae colunt,^{cf)} hinc etiam Sacratissima Caesarea Maiestas Serenitatem Suam in summo Principis habet et columnam Domus Austriae appellare non veretur. Et ad haec quidem omnia obeunda suppetunt affatim miro Dei beneficio lacerti validi, remi compacti totiusque corporis indomitum robur atque ardor, promptitudo et alacritas, ut temeris ^{cg)} nonnullis videatur magis frenis quam calcaribus indigens,^{ch)} et quamvis in magno Principe non tantundem afferunt momenti corporis vires, quantum mentis vigor, tamen absolutum quiddam est et ex omni parte perfectum, cum ingenti animo egregium membrorum robur amplitudoque respondet. Quis vero non laudet in Principe nostro heroicam totius corporis speciem, procul etiam Principem ostentantem,^{ci)} quis non predicet non eximiam quidem, sed decentissimam proceritatem et staturam talem, qualis tamen Principem decet, quis non insignem capitis honorem, vividum oculorum vigorem, prestantis oris dignitatem et ex amabili quadam venustate pauciter ac maiestate temperatam magna cum iucunditate et affabilitate non inspiciat? Talis unquam oris habitus in eo elucet, qualem et hostis formidare et vereri improbi debeant, boni vero non possint non amare.

Denique de Serenissima nobilissimaque familia Serenissimi Principis nostri dicendum est, quod ego maximas ad ipsius laudes pertinere existimo. Habet enim sanguinis splendor nescio quid latentis energiae, qua omnes tacite quodam affectu ducimur et ad reverendum et amandum compellimur. Quis vero est qui ignoret Familiam Austriacam, ex qua hic noster natus est, ex nobilissimis Principum familiis nobilissimam, ex antiquissimis antiquissimam, ita ut quemadmodum et ^{cj)} sol syderum est luminare maximum, sic diva haec prosapia prae ceteris maxime sit il-

lustris maximeque eluceat, ut ex ea quasi ex equo Troiano Principes omnium virtutum absolutissimi semper prodierint et adhuc quotidie prodeant. Quod si quis incomparabile Principis nostri generis decus paternum et avitum, imperatoriis imaginibus insigne, intuetur, quis huius patre, avo, proavo et abavo sapientior, iustior atque omni denique virtutum genere ornatior, quis inquam gloria togatarum bellicarumque rerum gestarum amplitudine cum illis conferendus ^{ck)} fuit, quos omnes sic pacis sic belli decora nobilitarunt, ut annis veterum heroum possint non solum conferre, sed etiam anteferre. Principes certe non in Germania solum, sed etiam aliis nationibus tot imperatoriis et regiis stematibus serie ^{cl)} non interrupta natos vix invenietis. Maternum vero genus apud vos, gentiles ^{cm)} suos, laudare necesse non est. Nota est vobis sancta Iagellonis propago. Hic Princeps, Vladislai nepos, decus Lituanici sanguinis, gloria Poloniae nobilitatis, plantula foelix tot Regum ^{cn)} fortissimorum stirpis ^{co)} Sarmaciae terrarum, orbi formidabilis. Quae causa vos, amplissimos Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae Proceres, tanto magis hortari et monere debet, ut Serenitatem Suam prae ceteris omnibus ad hoc foelix Regni auspiciū adipiscendum ^{cp)} promoveatis.

Postremo, si ad ceteras Principis nostri virtutes respicimus, quae mentis puritas ac sinceritas in verbis, fides, nemo est qui ignoret. Vultis ut multa paucis complectar: mitis est, benignus, placidus, providus, aequus, magnanimus, liber, prudens, iustus, fortis, modestus, liberalis, pacis defensor et auctor, bellator egregius et audax, publicis et privatis in rebus ceteris huius tempestatis Principibus ut non minus praeferendus, quam ipse unice colendus ^{cq)} et amandus sit, dum offendit neminem, prodest vero omnibus.

Sed longius, quam volebam, fluxit oratio mea. Ut igitur tandem eo redeat, unde iam dudum est diggressa, atque in eo finiat, cum, ^{cr)} Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi Principes, Illustres, Generosi ac Magnifici Proceres, Nobiles et Equites, ^{cs)} Fortissimi Viri, per se etiam me tacente ^{ct)} in Serenissimum nostrum Archiducem ^{cu)} omnia naturae, mentis et corporis bona ^{cv)} congesta esse cognoveritis, profecto vestrae prudentiae vestrique officii erit huius tam potentissimi Principis ad conservationem et amplificationem christianae fidei, ad incrementum et commodum Reipublicae vestrae amplissimae in hac regia electione preclaram et insignem habere rationem, et Serenitatem Suam ad hanc regiam dignitatem et fastigium florentissimi Regni vestri promovere et inaugurare, olim id vos fecisse non poenitebit. Potentissimus est hic Princeps, habet amplissimas ditiones et provintias, auri et argenti et omnis metallorum ^{cw)} generis feraces. De his hactenus non solum Germania, sed et reliquae nationes, quae metallis ^{cy)} carent, cudendi et, quod peius est, recudendi versuras faciunt, negotia conficiunt et commercia miscent, a quibus annuatim proventus maximos habet, quorum etiam bonam partem ad conservandum amplissimum Regnum vestrum lubens conferret. Sed et si regiones vestrae a barbaris crebris incursionibus et aliis vestris hostibus damnabuntur, magnas ille ^{da)} et vallidissimas ^{z)} Germanorum pedestres copias, si ita vobis, amplissimis Senatoribus, visum fuerit, ex suis provintiis ad hoc Regnum vestrum florentissimum, alterum Christianitatis propugnaculum, in subsidium vestrum adducere poterit. Itaque re ipsa experiemini, qualem Principem Imperiis vestris praefeceritis, quos olim ex impiis et infidelibus Christo relaturus triumphos, quae factururus ex ^{db)} immani illa barbarie spolia, quam late Polonici Regni fines

prolaturus, quas gentes Poloniae ditionis provinciis additurus, quamque foelicibus momentis statum Regni vestri in melius commutaturus ac a diabolicis ferrei seculi reliquiis auream aetatem Regno vestro renovaturus sit et preterea ^{dc)} interim multa, quae pridem ^{dd)} et in praesentiam patiuntur, defendere et tueri possit. Neque etiam latet Serenitatem Suam, quantopere referat ut hisce duris et turbulentis temporibus in hoc florentissimo Regno vestro ^{de)} unum caput, a quo reliqui proceres et magnates omnes pendeant et cuius auspiciis omnia regantur, eligatur. Quam ob causam tanto magis vobis elaborandum erit, muneri deliberationem suscipitis, ^{z)} talem Principem in Regem vobis eligere, qui huius modi periculis occurrere ^{df)} et inclitum hoc Regnum vestrum eiusque iura, privilegia, libertates et dignitates pacisque bellicae temporibus fortiter et strenue tueri et defendere queat. Ad hanc vero talem tanque insignem provinciam administrandam neminem alium utiliorem et aptiorem inveniri ^{dg)} posse existimo, quam Serenissimum ac Invictissimum Principem Ferdinandum, Archiducem Austriae et Dominum nostrum clementissimum, ut pote qui vitae integritate ^{dh)} et omni virtutum splendore non modo nulli Principi cedat, sed multos etiam aetatis suae Principes antecellat, ut taceam interim, quod huius laudatissimi maiores Reges et Imperatores per omnem aetatem infidelibus fortiter restiterint et pro Christianae Reipublicae salute copias et omnes fortunas suas periclitare, imo sanguinem effundere et vitam amittere non sint veriti. Quorum maiorum suorum vestigia hic Serenissimus Archidux noster sequi studet ac iis innata virtute et christiano zelo usque ad finem vitae suae perseverare et circumspecta ^{di)} vestra sapientia ^{dj)} providet.

Addo vobis, amplissimis Senatoribus, non solum fructuosam, sed et vestrae omni salutis necessariam futuram electionem Serenissimi Archiducis nostri. Nec sane hic Princeps noster avaritia aut ambitione ductus hoc vestrum splendidissimum Imperium affectat, id quod plerique alii Principes (absit invidia dicto) facere solent. Quorum magna pars largitionibus, vi et armis et nonnunquam per scelus et flagitium ad principatum sibi aditum parant, id quod ab inclita Domo Austriaca hactenus semper alienissimum fuit et adhuc erit. Movetur autem in primis insigni amore et singulari benevolentia, qua inclitam nationem Polonicam, gentilem suam, peculiariter complectitur. Quod nisi Principem nostrum amplissima illa dignitas, in qua est constitutus, prohiberet et itineris longinquitas a proposito suo averteret, non ille meae aut alienae vocis ministerio uteretur, sed presentibus vobis praesens ipse universis et singulis viva voce explicaret, quam miro desiderio erga vos afficiatur quamque rebus Polonicis faveat eorumque damna et detrimenta avertere, commoda vero et utilitates promovere studeat. Nec mirum vobis videatur, si Invictissimus Imperator Maximilianus et Serenissimus Archidux Ferdinandus, fratres germani, in eodem Regno petendo sunt competitores. Hoc nanque rationabili causa et honesta non caret. Tantum vero abest, ut Serenitas Sua ^{dk)} Sacram Caesaream Maiestatem vel Maiestatis Suae filios in petitione Regni impedire cupiat, ut ultro etiam si ita vobis, amplissimis Senatoribus et equestriis ordinis fortissimis viris, consultum ^{dl)} visum fuerit, apud vos, quod absit, Principem nostrum hoc florentissimo Regno vestro minus dignum esse iudicaveritis, cedere velit, tanta est amplissimi Principis animi ^{dm)} magnitudo et in necessarios pietas. Ceterum, si, Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi, Magnifici, Generosi, Nobiles Equitesque, Fortissimi Viri, in amplificanda Christi gloria, in propagando et dilatando Regno vestro inque augenda dignitate vestra vobis ipsis, vestris rebus, fortunis,

vitae salutique ^{dn}) Regni vestri amplissimi et oppulentissimi consultum esse cupitis, ad sacram illam anchoram, ad inclitam inquam Domum Austriacam, cuius hic Serenissimus Archidux noster precipuum membrum est, confugite ac salutiferas cogitationes vestras referte. Agite hanc novam Regis alectionem, bonis inchoate auspiciis, huic Regi pro virili incumbite, eligite inquam, ut sepius monui, in Regem vestrum Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Ferdinandum, Archiducem Austriae, quem omnium ordinum mentes, publicae voces et iudicia hoc regio fastigio dignum esse attestantur, qui, ut antedicta denuo repetam, est Princeps aetate maturus, prudens, rerum expertus, pietatis amans, morum gravitate peditus, linguam Boemicam, quae eadem est cum Polonica, egregie calens, filius Annae Reginae, filiae Vladislai Poloniae Regis, Boemiae et Unghariae. Quo Principe nostro nemo plane hoc ^z) vestro Regno gubernando aptior, quod certe virum gravem, prudentem, in Imperio natum, in iudiciis versatum, inter leges iustitiae nutritum et rerum publicarum peritum desiderat, qualis est Archidux Ferdinandus, Princeps noster clementissimus, qui sane vos non ut subditos, sed ut filios paterne ^{do}) tractabit, qui opulentissimo ^{dp}) amplissimoque Regno vestro magno commodo et utilitate praeerit, qui in arduis Regni negotiis inconsultis vobis, magnatibus et proceribus, nihil tractabit, omnia placito ^{dq}) et autoritate vestra conficiet, qui denique cum ipsum non fugiat, quod difficile ^z) sit et operosum boni Regis sustinere personam quotque ^{dr}) angores et molestiae Regum et Principum vestibus contegantur, vos tanquam collegas et Regiae Suae Maiestatis participes suo sudore quesitis premiis ornabit omnes et, ut est Princeps prudens et cordatissimus, omnem habebit diligentiam omnemque movebit lapidem, ut pacificam, quietam, tranquillam et securam vitam agatis utque immanissimos hostes vestros a dominiis, ditionibus et provinciis vestris longissime propellat, ^{ds}) ab omnibus iniuriis fortiter defendat atque tueatur. Quod superest, Serenissimus Dominus Archidux Ferdinandus vobis, tam incliti Regni Poloniae quam amplissimi Ducatus Lituaniae aliisque provinciarum vestrarum magnatibus, omnem suam benevolentiam, studium et operam deffert, imo quod maximum est, si ita postulabit necessitas, pro vobis, liberis vestris et tota vestra Republica florentissima sanguinem effundere et vitam quoque non dubitabit.

Faxit Deus Omnipotens Maximus, ut haec petitio nostra, ^{dt}) quam est honesta et toti cum Christiano Orbi tum Reipublicae vestrae salutaris, tam bonis auspiciis ^{du}) eat, melioribus procedat, ac foelicissimis exeat. Dixi.

a) In ms. Antistes

b) In ms. sequuntur verba expuncta: secum ferentibus

c) In ms. succurrere

d) In ms. infectissimis

e) Verbum: Regno additum super lineam.

f) In ms. gubernande

g) In ms. truculencissimos

h) In ms. correctum ex: viri, cum signo contractionis

i) In ms. sequitur expuncta littera: x

j) In ms. exteris

k) In ms. splendissimum

l) In ms. celleberimum

m) In ms. sue

n) In ms. serviat

- o) *In ms. hoc verbum ex alio correctum.*
- p) *In ms. mei correctum ex: mei*
- q) *In ms. correctum ex: sublinem*
- r) *In ms. procures partim super lineam scriptum.*
- s) *In ms. verbum: adheretque expunctum et iterum superscriptum.*
- t) *In ms. vox correctum ex: nox*
- u) *In ms. compecti partim super lineam scriptum.*
- v) *In ms. aderet*
- w) *In ms. verbum: obsecro correctum ex: rogo*
- y) *In ms. me correctum ex: mei*
- aa) *In ms. proprius*
- ab) *In ms. eligeratis*
- ac) *In ms. nos*
- ad) *In ms. correctum ex: praesentiam*
- ae) *In ms. elaberandum*
- af) *In ms. quod super lineam scriptum.*
- ag) *In ms. correctum ex: elligere*
- ah) *In ms. occurrere*
- ai) *In ms. administerandam*
- aj) *In ms. aptiorem leviter correctum.*
- ak) *In ms. verba: vitae integritate linea subducta sunt.*
- al) *In ms. tacem*
- am) *In ms. perditarissimo cum desinentia: issimo expuncta.*
- an) *In ms. correctum ex: acciniis*
- ao) *In ms. dellicatissimas*
- ap) *In ms. afferet*
- ap) *In ms. abhoremus*
- ar) *In ms. virtutum alia manu superscriptum.*
- as) *In ms. conferro*
- at) *In ms. summendum*
- au) *In ms. si correctum ex: sic*
- av) *Lectio incerta.*
- aw) *In ms. habet*
- ay) *In ms. mittissimus*
- ba) *In ms. verba: Regni huius correcta ex: Regnum hoc*
- bb) *In ms. merito correctum ex alio verbo.*
- bc) *In ms. quaedam*
- bd) *In ms. verbum: patre leviter ex alio correctum.*
- be) *In ms. illi*
- bf) *In ms. discernentis*
- bg) *In ms. sumae*
- bh) *In ms. suma*
- bi) *In ms. splendissimis*
- bj) *In ms. correctum ex: beneficia*
- bk) *In ms. quidam*
- bl) *In ms. correctum ex: familiae*
- bm) *In ms. verbum: novis loco alicuius verbi expuncti superscriptum.*
- bn) *In ms. verba: dominia emat, redimat et elevat linea subducta.*
- bo) *In ms. aestus correctum ex: aestas*
- bp) *Lectio incerta, in ms. antemet*
- bq) *In ms. vire*
- br) *In ms. verba: omnino bellicosi linea subducta sunt.*

- bs) *In ms. correctum ex: suis*
- bt) *In ms. commotti*
- bu) *In ms. Serenitati*
- bv) *In ms. sese super lineam scriptum.*
- bw) *In ms. militare*
- by) *In ms. equesteris*
- ca) *In ms. correctum ex: essere*
- cb) *In ms. semper loco expuncti verbi: quaecunque suprascriptum.*
- cc) *In ms. Archiducem, Dominum nostrum correctum ex: Archidux, Dominus noster*
- cd) *In ms. experire*
- ce) *In ms. verbum: credidisse indistincte scriptum et ex alio correctum.*
- cf) *In ms. correctum ex: collunt*
- cg) *In ms. temeris*
- ch) *In ms. correctum ex: indigneus*
- ci) *In ms. obstantantem*
- cj) *In ms. correctum ex: est*
- ck) *In ms. conferendus*
- cl) *In ms. serie ex alio verbo correctum.*
- cm) *In ms. gentilos*
- cn) *In ms. Regnum*
- co) *In ms. stripis*
- cp) *In ms. correctum ex: adeptiscendum*
- cq) *In ms. correctum ex: collendus*
- cr) *In ms. correctum ex: eam*
- cs) *In ms. correctum ex: Aequites*
- ct) *In ms. correctum ex: tacentem*
- cu) *In ms. Austriducem*
- cv) *In ms. bonae*
- cw) *In ms. mettalorum*
- cy) *In ms. mettalis*
- da) *In ms. illum*
- db) *In ms. flicurus et*
- dc) *In ms. correctum ex: ut preter eam*
- dd) *In ms. correctum ex: prudens*
- de) *In ms. vostro, correctum ex: nostro*
- df) *In ms. occurrere*
- dg) *In ms. invenire*
- dh) *In ms. correctum ex: integritatam*
- di) *In ms. urcum specta.*
- dj) *In ms. sapientiae*
- dk) *In ms. Suae*
- dl) *In ms. sequitur expunctum verbum: visum*
- dm) *In ms. animi supra lineam scriptum.*
- dn) *In ms. salutisque*
- do) *In ms. correctum ex: paternae*
- dp) *In ms. opulertissimo*
- dq) *In ms. placite*
- dr) *In ms. correctum ex: quodque*
- ds) *In ms. correctum ex: propellebat*
- dt) *In ms. nostrae*
- du) *In ms. sequitur expunctum: erat*
- z) *Sic in ms.*

S.l., s.d. [post 13.XII.1575]

*Ignotus scriptor
ad rei memoriam*

*refert orationem a [Baptista Guarini] oratore ducis Ferrariae [Alfonsi
II] in comitiis generalibus Varsaviae habitam.*

*(Lat., sine subscriptione).**

Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 1510, ff. 32-39.

Oratione del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Ferrara, recitata in Varsovia^{a)} per l'Elettione del novo Re di Polonia l'anno 1575 il di 13 di decembre.

Cum Serenissimus Ferrariae Dux, Dominus noster clementissimus, intelligeret, Illustrissimi, Reverendissimi, Magnifici et Generosi Domini, Senatores integerrimi, Equites ornatissimi et ordines huius incliti Regni Poloniae universi, Dominationes Vestras — Deo Optimo Maximo earum corda et animos ita moderante et dirigente — in novam Regis electionem inclinare idque ipsas praesentiae suae salutiferum ac necessarium his tam difficilimis²⁾ temporibus, ut Rege praesente utantur, iudicare, sibi committendum non putavit, quin Dominationibus Vestris quid omni ea in re, quid erga res et fortunas vestras studii habeat hoc tempore potissimum, in quod haec tam gravis deliberatio vestra incidit, per nos, nuncios suos, palam faceret.

Ac primum quid eum ad capiendum hoc consilii impulerit, Dominationibus Vestris paucis demonstrabimus. Deinde ad res ipsas, Deo iuvante, sine multis et longis ambagibus ac coloribus vere et simpliciter aggrediemur. Coepit hoc consilii Serenissimus Princeps noster primum, quia, cum multa semper de nobilissimo Regno hoc a viris prudentibus praedicari^{b)} audiret et plurimos adolescentes nationis vestrae nobiles tam in Italiam studiorum causa quam in alias regiones orbis profectos videret ac eorum plenos ingenuitatis mores, vultus amabiles honestamque ac generosam indolem, tum ingenia ad omnes honestas disciplinas et artes molia²⁾ et foelicia, ad omnes virtutes facilia et apta perspiceret, facilem coniecturam semper de totius reliquae nationis vestrae moribus ac nobilitate et certum iudicium fecit ac eam semper magno amore complexus est. Deinde talis^{c)} status est et conditio huius Regni amplissimi, quod cum inter tot tam crudeles ac potentes nationes positum existat, ita earum potentiam et arma suis pectoribus sustineat, iura depellat, ut non solum se ipsum fortiter tueatur, sed etiam causam totius Republicae Christianae publicam solum propemodum sustinere videatur, ita mentem Serenissimi Principis nostri percellebat, ut foelices eos reputaret Reges, quibus ibi regnare contingat, ubi sit immortalis gloriae seges, ubi famae sempiternae messis uberrima percipi facile possit. Accedunt aliae causae fortissimae, quas vel tacebimus vel moderatius attingemus, ne in causa hac tanta aliquid audacius^{d)} dicere et favorem verbis mercari videamur, virtutes vestrae, fides erga Reges incorrupta ac inter ipsos et vos pene paterna concordia, tum excellens ille libertatis amor, quam vos modo non soli toto

terrarum orbe retinetis et in qua qui generantur optimi semper habiti sunt, magna sunt Serenissimo Principi nostro incitamenta, ardentissimae faces ad Dominationes Vestras amandas et plurimi faciendas.

Mirum itaque cum nemini esse debeat, quod qui antea tam laudatos Reges habuistis, ut ad eos Regna externa deferrentur^{e)} ac ad imperandum remotissimis nationibus deposcerentur, nunc ipsi ita clari et amabiles sitis, ita Regnum vestrum celeberrimum, ut apud vos^{f)} regnare multi clarissimi Principes non solum optent, sed etiam maxime desiderent. Nemo mirabitur, si in hoc Principum multorum desiderio et quasi cursu Serenissimus etiam Princeps noster suam personam ac cum ea omnia sua Dominationibus Vestris ac earum Reipublicae Polonae totique Regno inclito non tam quidem ingerat quam offerat, qui et si sine ulla controversia et generis antiquitate ac nobilitate, de qua paucis inferius dicemus, et integritate educationis et usu rerum ac prudentia et belli ac pacis artium scientia et ceteris virtutibus vere Rege ac Principe dignis clarissimus ac nemine eorum inferior est, qui laudatissimi habentur, tamen ita a sua modestia non recessit, ut nihil prius maluerit, nihil libertius videre voluerit, quam Christianissimum hunc Regem Galliarum, Dominum Henricum, Principem Excellentissimum, consanguineum suum, et quem hic non nisi summi honoris gratia nominamus, a Dominationibus Vestris regnantem retineri, si ea Dei voluntas, si res et fortunae vestrae, si temporum conditio, si denique prudentissima iudicia vestra, in primis autem gravissima Reipublicae Polonae necessitas permisisset; ita et Sacrae Imperatoriae Maiestatis nomen et authoritas tanti est Serenissimo Principi nostro, ut de iis, quae Eius Maiestati deferrentur, pro ea qua illius Maiestatem prosequitur observantia, certandum sibi non existimet.

Nihilominus^{g)} si quid eiusmodi et divina praedestinatione et vestro iudicio ac consensu in persona Eius Celsitudinis considerent Dominationes Vestrae, quod ad usum et commodum huius Regni facere videatur, cuperet Celsitudo illius magnopere Dominationes Vestras id in publicam^{h)} deliberationem et consultationem defferre atque hoc statuere, quod e re Vestrae Reipublicae Polonae, quod ex honore vestro, quod commodo et ornamento Regni, quod omnibus vobis securum, libertatibus vestris accommodum, gloriae vestrae conveniens fore iudicaveritis.

Princeps quidem Serenissimus in hoc toto negotio vestro ut erga vos ac Rempublicam vestram summam benevolentiam et amorem adfert, ita a curiositate tantum abest, ut quid inⁱ⁾ eligendo Rege spectaret, quas in partes oculos^{z)} et animum obvertere, quid sequi aut immutare debeatis, de eo nos apud vos^{j)} verba facere voluerit, cum hoc ad prudentiam vestram pertineat et amorem vestrum, quem patriae debetis; quis enim vobis peritior^{k)} est vobis ipsis, ita etiam^{l)} a prava ambitione alienus est, ut ceteros competitores nec contemnat nec eorum postulata evertat, elevet aut debilitet. Satis illi erit, ut quis ille sit et qualis, tum quid possit ac vellit^{z)} vestra causa intelligatis. Iudicii vestri erit ac prudentiae sequi et eligere quae vobis accomodatissima, certissima et indubitatissima non solum videbuntur, sed et re ipsa declarabuntur. Quis iam ille itaque sit, et si tota novit Europa et vestrum plurimi tenent, tamen et vos hic in hoc vestro amplissimo conventu cognoscite.

Alphonsus hic est Secundus, Dei gratia Dux Ferrariae, Mutinae, Reggii,^{z)} Carnutum etc., qui natione Italus est; de eius provinciae^{m)} nobilitate nihil est quod afferamus, cum satis sit unica Romanae Reipublicae memoria, familia vero Attestinus, a Caio Attio Principe Attestis, antiquissima omnium antiquae Romae; familiaⁿ⁾ a Caio inquam Attio,^{o)} qui decli-

nante Romano Imperio contra impetum et arma externorum electus fuit Princeps anno humanae salutis quadringentesimo²⁾ secundo, cuius filius Aurelius ad praeturae Vindelicam vocatus neposque Tiberius a tota pene ora Veneta in principatum evectus, inde ad successores³⁾ Illiricum per venit, et multae aliae provinciae amplissimae libera populorum voluntate, cum⁴⁾ primum Imperatorum, deinde Pontificum iudicio, in domum hanc Attestinam transierunt. Hinc magni Carinthiae,⁵⁾ Bavariae, Sueviae⁶⁾ et Saxoniae utriusque Ducatus, Palatinatus Rheni, Prussiae Magnus Magistratus, Marchionatus Attestinus, Veronae, Mediolani, Ianuae atque Hetruriae, nec non Anconae, Spolietum,⁷⁾ Sardiniae, hinc Regnum Neapolitanum, Sacrum Imperium, cuius duo electores in eadem domo extiterunt ac Ottonis Quarti Imperatoris prosapia, Anglicae affinitates, Gallicae functiones et sanguis etiam Hungariae dominatus et alia huiusmodi quam plurima, quae in tam brevi oratione recitari non possunt et quibus annales omnium earum regionum refertissimi sunt, qui abunde demonstrant clarissimam hanc Attestinam familiam cum omnibus fere Christiani Orbis Regibus ac Principibus sanguinis necessitudine colligatam esse, ex qua Serenissimus hic Princeps noster descendit, patre Hercule Duce Ferrariae eius nominis Secundo et Renata, Ludovici XII Galliarum Regis filia, qui et pietate¹⁾ erga Deum et erga subditos clementia singulari ceterisque magnorum Principum prestantibus virtutibus excelluerint²⁾ ac recte et laudabiliter vivendi exempla suae soboli, ex qua hic Princeps Serenissimus venturus est, reliquerunt.

Quis igitur dubitare poterit ex tam claris et probis maioribus et honestis atque optimis principiis hunc Principem digniorem³⁾ procreari potuisse? Quorum omnium ut in pace foelix, florens ac moderatum, ita in bello sagax, vigilans⁴⁾ et acre fuit provinciarum suarum imperium; ita is Principatus suos et dominia a maioribus suis relictam non solum in suo statu foeliciter, his praesertim iniquissimis temporibus, quibus nihil usquam alibi intentatum relictum est, administravit, sed etiam commendavit ac reformavit. Innocentissima et sanctissima educatio omnem vitae regendae rationem ita constituit, ut nihil cogitaret unquam vile aut abiectum, non mens immersa voluptatibus, non voluntas cupiditatis serva; ut oculi a lascivia, ita mens⁵⁾ et cetera externa a maleficio semper abhorrebant; iustitiae cultor,⁶⁾ laboris patiens, ocii et voluptatum contemptor, non prodigalis aut profusus, sed decenter liberalis, verax, non promittit quae non praestare aut velit unquam aut possit, subiectis clemens, paribus comis, suis gratus, exteris amabilis. Natura plurimum in eum contulit, plus educatio, omnia usus et exercitatio usque ad hanc, in qua nunc est virili et matura aetate, non enim fervet in eo iuventus nec refrigescunt⁷⁾ praesertim vires, sed vir et vere vir est, aetate scilicet⁸⁾ et virtute. Aetas ipsa XXXXI anni est, in tot laboribus et curis exercitata et confirmata. Non recitabimus ea, quae annales referunt ac etiam referunt, quomodo is in illis bellis, quae inter Carolum Quintum et Henricum Secundum Galliarum Regem, Principes clarissimos gesta sunt, annum agens XVII cum Henrico fratre suo consobрино coniunctus, ita fidelem ei operam navavit, ut in gerendo bello strenuum se et fortem ostenderit et non solum Principis, ducis et imperatoris exercituum, sed etiam militis privati⁹⁾ officio suo egregie fungeretur et cum ad pacis tractationem et ad federa peragenda deventum esset, in ea re singularia et prudentiae et dexteritatis, imo et facilitatis suae argumenta semper dedit. Non recitabimus etiam eius contra Turcam sumptus ac spontaneam propria persona expeditionem pro amore Reipublicae Christianae et gloriae desiderio sus-

ceptam, qui quidem locus et campus est omnium nobilium et presertim Principum honestissimus et pulcherimus.²⁾ Utinam ceteris tantum fuisset ac etiam nunc esset studii, tantum erga christianum decus ad salutem amoris. Viguit in eo semper virtus militaris penes Imperatorem et in Regum amicorum causis declarata, qua de causa semper carus huic ordini extitit, quem charissimum semper habuit ac etiam nunc habet. Nihil in eo fictum ac simulatum, virtutes verae et vivae non adumbratae, affabilis comisque gravitas, ingenium robur et validitas corporis, forma Principe digna, nihil temerarium aut procax, omnia pulchra, iusta et moderata. Sed haec moderatius a nobis praedicare oportet, qui ab eo venimus; nihil incredibile aut mirandum de eo praedicamus, credite iis, qui eum norunt et mores illius cognitos et perspectos^{ac)} habent. In re sane familiari sua ita prudens et occulatus est, ut absque omni subditorum gravamine ac iniuria^{ad)} rem paratam habeat, quam ex nunc in hoc tam pium et christianum non solum vestrae, sed totius Reipublicae Christianae opus libenter impendet ac communicabit. Ea mens, is animus semper erat in eius maioribus, idem^{ae)} in ipso vigor, idem fervor, idem sanguis, qui eum ad vos trahit^{af)} et vestrum esse iubet.

Quae quidem omnia ne videantur a nobis declamatorie esse dicta aut decantata, accipite, clarissimi Ordines Poloniae, quae is dat, dat autem non promissiones, nec ea quae fidem excedunt aut quae non possit, sed quae vos ipsi credibilia mox iudicabitis, non multis post seculis, sed in re praesenti explenda et perficienda. In primis ita secum omnium cogitationum, consiliorum, rerum et fortunarum suarum rationes subduxit, ut bene perspicat et intelligat quid sit Regnum Poloniae et quali Rege ac pactore habeat opus, deinde quid ille possit, quid eius humeri possint et quid fere recusent. Quamobrem ita sese iam comparavit, ut si id et Deus Optimus Maximus velit et vos communi vestro consensu ac suffragiis eum Regem dicatis, in primis se suaque omnia vestra esse libenter profiteatur ac ut ad speciem omnia recitentur.

1. Primum libertates et privilegia vestra omnia salva et integra vobis conservabit.

2. Nihil innovabit nec mutabit, nisi omnium ordinum consensu.

3. Dignitates et praefecturas nemini extraneorum conferet.

4. Pacem inter ordines tuebitur, eiam inter dissidentes de religione.

5. Cracoviensem scholam^{ag)} viris doctis instruet et quacunque in professione pro Regni commodo et ornamento reformabit; artificesque munandarum artium peritos adducet et suis stipendiis fovebit.

6. Ob maiorem commerciorum et negotiationis commoditatem^{ah)} navigationis rationem mercatoribus vestris in Italiam ostendet ac efficiet portum navibus recipiendis ab hac regione circumventis.^{ai)}

7. Iam de perpetua vobiscum mansione atque aliis atque Reges boni legibus vestris tenenti^{aj)} atque ad decorum regium pertinent, vestrae salutis et commodis sese accomodabit.

8. Si adversus Moscum vel quemvis alium hostem iudicatis aliquo externo peditatu opus esse, propriis stipendiis 4 000 sclopetanorum Italarum per sex menses conducet idque ex ditionibus propriis, ut eis rectius uti et fidere melius Respublica^{ak)} possit. Si vero alio milite utendum censueritis, eum etiam pro suo sumptu proprio conficiendum pollicetur.

9. Si contigerit, quod Deus avertat, Regnum in periculo versari, ille ditionum omnium suarum, consanguineorum et amicorum omnium vires

et auxilia, ut in propriae vitae defensionem, conferet ac convertet et rationes in promptu habebit, quomodo vel exteri milites, si opus esset, vel alia subsidia in Regnum hoc semper ingredi possint. Ex persona quidem illius nulla ex parte bellum vobis pertimescendum est, cum ei nulla cum ullo Principe ac provincia^{al)} controversia aut inimicitiae intercedant.

10. Bellum quodcunque pro Regni salute ac defensione et recuperatione rerum amissarum susceptum semper in propria persona administrabit.

11. Pacis temporibus munia boni Regis legibus vestris expressa vel in loco manens vel omnes partes Regni transeundo, uti vobis visum fuerit, obibit atque implebit.

12. Solvet debita Regni legitime contracta iudicio Senatus et ordinum.

13. Singulis annis ex Italia in Poloniam importabit proventus suos relicta ea parte, quae ad conservationem illius sui domini necessaria futura eat.

14. Ducatum Carnutum, qui ab eo in Gallia iure haereditario possidetur, Regno Poloniae in perpetuum donabit ac incorporabit aut, si Reges Christianissimi Ducatum ipsum rediment, pecuniam ipsam redemptionis Regno obligabit.

15. Quinquaginta nobiles iuvenes Polonos Ferrariae vel in quacunque alia urbe ditionum suarum literarum aut armorum causa, cuiusque generis fuerit, suis stipendiis fovebit.

16. Supra omnes dictas conditiones oblatas promittit ad summum duorum mensium spacio, ubi Rex declaratus fuerit, pro defensione Regni ter centum millia florenorum et ipsemet quam primum adfuturus, ut am)^{am)} persona et consilio et opibus necessitatibus Regni providere possit.

Ea sunt, Illustrissimi, Reverendissimi, Magnifici et Generosi Domini, quae Dux Serenissimus Dominationibus Vestris ac huic nobilissimo^{z)} Regno offert et pollicetur. Quae quidem et si minora fortasse sunt, quam dignitas huius Regni, quam beneficii vestri magnitudo, quam gloriae ipsius splendor in Eius Celsitudinem collatus requirat, tamen iudicii et aequitatis vestrae erit ea non quanta sint, sed quantus offerentis animus aestimare. Non is Principatum ambit, cum is iam sit Princeps bene potens et comode suis dominiis utatur. Non voluptates meditatur, non quaerit otium, non affectat opes, quorum in Italia nunc tranquilla locus est non postremus, quaerit gloriam, quaerit campum de vobis ac Republica^{an)} Christiana bene merendi. Neque hoc agit iuvenili fervore aut lapsu iudicii aut ambitione dominandi aut quod nesciat, quam laboriosum sit vestri Regni Regem esse, sed iudicio virili et maturo; qui non otia aut desidiam novit, sed rebus bene et praeclare gerendis, quibus iam continuo usu et exercitatione ac experientia idoneus et aptus est, viam ad immortalitatem sterni ac comparari; liberos autem cum nullos habeat, vos illius liberi eritis, caritatem illam, quam in illos erat habiturus, in vos ac Rempublicam vestram effundet universam, et cum sit Princeps liberrimus, qui de rebus suis libere disponere potest, nemini dubium esse debet, quin is, cum in hoc Regno fuerit, omnes etiam facultates suas ad se apportari in usum Regni ac Reipublicae, cuius Rex esset, ac in munus decorumque suum regale convertere velit. Linguae^{ao)} fatemur Polonicae usum nondum habet, quinque alias externas tenet exacte et loquitur, inter quas Latina et Germanica, quae et si homini, praesertim Italo, difficilis^{ap)} est, tamen eam^{aq)} brevissimo tempore iam adultus nulla necessitate, studio tantum-

modo linguarum, didicit idque domi suae et vestram uti maxime necessariam pro sui excellentia ingenii ac dexteritate consequi et sibi comparare omni studio elaborabit.²⁾

Haec profecto omnia, quae et de Serenissimo Principe nostro et nomine Eius Celsitudinis apud Dominationes Vestras diximus, ita vera et certa sunt, ut eius rei probationem et inquisitionem, quatenus dignitas Eius Celsitudinis concedit, ipsis Dominationibus Vestris libenter permitamus ac iam nos cum his nobilibus, qui adsunt atque adfuturi adhuc^{ar)} sunt, pro his omnibus ad iustas et dignas oblationes afferamus.^{as)}

Intellexerunt Domini Illustrissimi Senatores et ordo equester, clarissimi ceterique ordines, quis sit iam Princeps noster et qualis et quo consilio eam rem aggressus sit, quid deinceps de eo vobis sperandum et certo statuendum sit, brevissimis verbis, non ostentatione, sed tanquam in tabella demonstratum. Iam vos ad nunc opus attingite et viri ad virum (si ita Deus vult) animos applicate et quo vos patriae vestrae caritas, quo libertatis amor, quo famae studia, quo integritas gloriae, quo salutis firmitas, quo fortunarum vestrarum stabilitas, quo Deus et fata ipsa ac tempora vocant, consilia et studia vestra dirigite.

Finis erit, si hoc addamus: non solum re ipsa brevi experiemini, sed etiam, si rem diligenter attenderitis, comperietis nullum vos inde incommodum aut discrimen vobis, nullum liberis vestris, nullum posteritati, nullum Reipublicae vestrae praesenti ulla ex parte conciliaturos, nihil a quoquam^{at)} invidiae, nihil periculi, nihil difficultatis cum Republica vestra habituros.

Iam Deus, omnium bonorum largitor, corda et animos vestros dirigat, ut hoc a Dominationibus Vestris in hoc amplissimo consilio vestro statuatur ac decernatur, quod sit primum gloriae divinae, deinde non solum saluti vestrae, sed etiam totius Reipublicae Christianae subsidio et ornamento futurum. Caeterum, quoniam hominum mores et populorum usus non parum differant, si aliquae aliae conditiones honestae nobis a Dominationibus Vestris proponantur, quae ad dignitatem, commoditatem et utilitatem huius amplissimi Regni pertinere videbuntur, mandata amplissima ostendemus ad haec omnia implenda et conficienda. Dixi.

a) In ms. Varsonia

b) In ms. praedicare

c) In ms. talis supra lineam scriptum.

d) In ms. adlatus

e) In ms. deferentur

f) In ms. nos

g) In ms. correctum ex: Nichilominus

h) In ms. sequitur expunctum verbum: consultationem

i) In ms. quid in correctum ex: quidem

j) In ms. nos

k) In ms. correctum ex alio verbo: superitior?

l) In ms. etiam super lineam scriptum.

m) Sic in ms., forsitan error pro: provenientiae

n) In ms. familiae

o) In ms. Atlo

p) In ms. successores

r) In ms. Carnithiae

s) In ms. correctum ex: Sueciae

- t) *In ms. correctum ex: pietatem*
- u) *In ms. dignerem*
- v) *In ms. correctum ex: mensis*
- w) *In ms. sequitur expunctum verbum: laboris*
- y) *In ms. refrieerunt*
 - aa) *In ms. scilicet suprascriptum pro aliquo verbo expuncto.*
- ab) *In ms. privatis*
- ac) *In ms. perfectos*
- ad) *In ms. verba: subditorum gravamine ac iniuria linea subducta sunt.*
- ae) *In ms. id.*
- af) *In ms. correctum ex: trhait*
- ag) *In ms. scelam*
- ah) *In ms. sequuntur expunctae litterae: nag*
- ai) *In ms. circum vestris*
- aj) *Hic evidens est confusio huius puncti cum puncto 11. (cfr. infra, ubi legimus verba: boni Regis legibus vestris...*
 - ak) *In ms. Rempubliam*
 - al) *In ms. provinciae*
 - am) *In ms. ac*
 - an) *In ms. Reipublica*
 - ao) *In ms. linguam*
 - ap) *In ms. difficulis*
 - aq) *In ms. ea*
 - ar) *In ms. adhunc*
 - as) *In ms. afferramus*
 - at) *In ms. quemquam*
 - z) *Sic in ms.*

*) *Cfr. huius orationis exemplar minus correctum in: El. XII, N. 107.*

N. 6.

S.l., s.d. [post 9.XII.1575]

Ignotus scriptor

ad rei memoriam

refert orationem a Georgio Blandrata oratore Stephani Bathorei principis Transilvaniae in comitiis generalibus Varsaviae habitam.

(Lat., sine subscriptione).

Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 1510, ff. 40-43.

Oratione dell'Illustrissimo Principe di Transilvania Stephano Battori recitata nella Dieta di Varsovia ^{a)} l'anno 1575 il mese di dicembre per l'elettione del novo Re di Polonia.

Reverendissimis, Illustribus et Amplissimis Regni Poloniae Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae Senatoribus, equestris ordinis viris celeberrimis et generosis, a Deo Optimo Maximo Regum omnium creatore ^{b)} favorem et fausta quaeque praecatur Illustrissimus Princeps Transilvaniae.

Cum demum eo ventum sit, ut sepositis verborum lenociniis graviora consilia et maturae deliberationes necessario quaerendae sint facereque

nunc magis quam dicere expediat, ne Respublica Christiana, cuius murus aeneus Sarmatia est, aliquid maioris detrimenti capiat. Ego, qui provinciam hanc viribus meis longe imparem coactus suscepi, mentem Illustrissimi Principis mei simplici oratione et perspicua aperiā brevitate.

Cum igitur fortissimae genti Unghariae cum invictissimis Polonis ob summam coniunctionem vicinitatemque veraque fortuna communis semper extiterit^{c)} et subinde aequo iure utrique metuerint, ne altero pariete ardente alter quoque contiguus flammis^{d)} absumatur, Illustrissimus Princeps Transilvaniae, qui non solum proximum, sed omnes etiam procultas Europae Respublicas ex^{e)} salute celeberrimi istius Regni pendere non dubitat, pio zelo — ne dicam metu quodam — tactus percussusque, hanc praeclaram de cum^{z)} patria in tantis posita difficultatibus bene merendi ac promptitudinis suae oblatam occasionem praetermittere noluit. Quapropter pro sua erga hanc fortissimam Rempublicam observantia fideque non solum obsecratur, sed et per superos Regni omnes ordines amanter obtestatur, ut privatis affectibus et commodis omnibus sepositis publicae paci studeant, libertatem vero dignitatemque unanimiter tueantur unicum Reipublicae bonum spectando. A Deo vero, qui Regnorum solus gubernacula moderatur et Regnorum sceptrā tenet simulatque, pro suo recondito^{f)} consilio cui vult largitur prudentiam, concordiam et sana consilia humiliter expectent,^{z)} ceterum quamque sua sorte Illustrissimus Princeps contentus sit nec altius quidpiam vana regnandi libidine ambiat, uti Regni proceres ferme omnes norunt, deque ingenii sui tenuitate et corporis viribus recte sibi persuasus sit, nihilominus pro ardenti quodam tuendae foelicitatis Polonicae desiderio ac veteri novaque comparata necessitudine, tametsi quam grave pondus, quam difficilis provincia et quantis viris Sarmaticum diadema obnoxium sit illum minime lateat, nihilosecuius inquam amicitiae, societatis, constantiae propensionisque suae perpetuum apud amplissimos Regni ordines deprehenderit,^{g)} quod huic invictae Reipublicae Poloniae usui esse aut eandem ornare et amplificare queat, id totum perceleberrimum hoc Regnum se profusurum esse candide et amanter pollicetur, non solum arma, consilia, conatus, animos amicosque, sed personam vitamque suam ac thesauros omnes ingenue proponendo offerendoque.

Idem cum omni promptitudine sinceritateque^{h)} facturus coronaturo Serenissimo Polonorum Rege, qualiscunque tandem futurus sit, id vero ea conditione faciendum esse duxit, ut primum locum dignitatemque omnem Caesareae et celeberrimae Austriacae Familiae, cui sese plurimum debere et non parum tribuere velle semper professus est et nunc quoque profitetur, amplissimi Regni ordines tribuant et concedant. Tantum enim abest, ut Princeps meus Illustrissimus cursum desideriumque Invictissimi Caesaris memorati aut impedire in animo habeat, ut etiam magnis suis conatibus promovere,^{z)} amplificare illustrareque paratus sit. Suam itaque operam et quicquid habet Illustrissimus Princeps Transilvaniae amplissimae Reipublicae Poloniae, superata exceptione manente, breviter et amanter dedicat.

Ratus Reverendissimos et Illustrissimos Senatores, equestris ordinis generosos viros, hanc bonam Principis mentem puraeque mentis conscientiam aequi bonique consulturos, caeterum quod de re tota promptius iudicare Regni ordines possint, duo argumenta ab Regnorum coniunctione et personae qualitate sumpta obiter addemus. Regnorum Unghariae et Poloniae conformitas, quae firmiorem reddet amicitiam, mores utriusque gentis, leges habitusque ferme similes, arma vero, disciplina militaris,

religio, libertas et vivendi ratio plane communia, victusⁱ⁾ praeterea societas Regumque utrinque facta vicissitudo, perpetua concordia et suppliciarum ferendarum facilitas, quae^{j)} omnia animos vehementer conciliare et Regna stabilire solent.

Regiae Principis dotes.

Summa pietas fideique catholicae^{k)} constantia, educatio ingenua, insignis eruditio, mores candidi, modestia et humanitas incredibilis, sagax liberalitas, rerum humanarum longa experientia et disciplinae militaris ingenita peritia, par in bellis gerendis et pace iustitiaque servanda, et foelix promptitudo, par laboris et in edictis tolerantia, consilio gravi et profundo iudicio tenacique memoria dotatus, corporis vero forma, fortitudo et sanitas admiranda, quae in Rege potissimum requiruntur.

Quod autem nonnulli obiciunt linguae imperitiam, non erit cur sint solliciti, cum Latina proceres omnes et maior equestris ordinis pars intelligat et negotia omnia Regni Latino sermone transigantur, Princeps vero facundus sit et elegantissimus et eodem anno Polonam facile discere possit, cum illam iam dudum subintelligat. Quod tributum pendeat, pariter didicimus non ipsum Principem, qui a nemine unquam victus fuit et liber est, sed Regnum publicae pacis et utilitatis nomine^{l)} tributa pendere non ipsum in quantum tributum dare cepisse, sed quod ab Regina Isabella et filio Serenissimo, quibus Imperator Transilvaniam dono dederat, olim fuerat inchoatum, nunc reddere; quod, ni fallor, facerent et Regni huius ordines, si illis Moldaviam Imperator dono daret; adde, quod is qui in Regem creatur, ab omni servitute liber esse dicitur et omnem amissam vindicasse libertatem, quod postremo verentur, ne lis illis perpetua aut iuga imponantur,^{m)} dum Imperator legationibus Regni respondere amanter suadet et ne hostem suum eligant et subinde consulit, ut Piastum Regem Sueciae aut Principem Transilvaniae coronent; facilis erit ad haec responsio.

Primo, Imperatorem nihil iubere mandareque, si dumtaxat amice ad constantiam hortari, ne ruptis foederis vinculis difficultates multas subire cogantur.

Secundo, quid non sponte, sed legatis Regni respondendo consilium suum de eligendo futuro Rege ultro praebet, quid facto huic Regno opus esset amanter pronunciando.

Tertio, quod abitionem liberam proceribus et cunctis ordinibus manifeste relinquit, dum alium neminem praeter binos Principes, quos pro hostibus acerrimis habet, excludit.

Quarto, exponeretⁿ⁾ an amice recteque moneat Imperatorem nec ne, si sana dat optimaque consilia, cur ambabus in ulnis ampleximur et bene consulenti gratias agimus, si vero perperam sequitur, nulla inde coactio, sed integra eligendi libertas manebit. Cum ergo satis honeste amiceque consulat suadeatque, ut prudenter paci publicae prospiciant, non autem imperet, quid amabilius et magis plausibile optari possit non video.

Haec et alia plurima, quae nunc commemorare nolumus, si Regni ordines altius reputaverint, facile deprehendent non secus cupere Imperatorem huius Reipublicae pacem ac Rempublicam Imperatoris foedus et amicitiam magni facere videtur, cum nihil impium factum vel ab amico Imperatoris fuerit, quod bonum publicum et Regni libertatem offendere possit, et praeterea constat invito Illustrissimo Principe et praeter eius opinionem in literis nominatum fuisse.

Nunc ad accessiones utilitatesque futuras et pollicitationes veniam ac easdem de more succincte commemorabo. 1. Principio igitur promittit Illustrissimus Princeps se libertates, leges, ritus intactos relicturum, tum in Poloniae Regno cum et in Magno ac clarissimo Ducatu Lituaniae, et prout utriusque Regni et Ducatus ordines statuent, cuncta pro ipsorum consilio facturum et observaturum^{o)} esse; 2. se omnia debita Regni, quae ad ipsum pertinere merito poterunt, soluturum; 3. si ita ordinibus Regni visum fuerit, pollicetur se confestim recuperaturum quicquid Moscus occupavit, quod si veteranis suis copiis opus erit, illas minime recusaturum.

4. Perpetuum foedus illud, quod iam olim initum cum Imperatore Turcarum fuerat, confirmaturum, cum Tartaris vero sempiternam quietem et pacificationem^{p)} habiturum.

5. Limites Regni omnes ita muniturum, ne hostis quispiam facile accedere possit.

6. Dum adventum suum (si ita Deo visum fuerit) parat ac interim aliqua ex parte hostis quispiam negotium Regno facessere possit, ducenta millia florenorum promissurum se pollicetur, quibus iudicio Senatus et ordinum finibus et aliis futuris necessitatibus prospiciatur; ubi vero ipse advenerit, non per legatos, sed per semet ipsum cum hostibus Regni bellum gerit, paratus etiam pro salute Reipublicae Polonae vitam fundere.

7. Cum favore tum propriis sumptibus vinctos et captivos nobiles Russiae non ita pridem abductos redempturum esse.

Supersunt et alia plurima, quae nunc palam proferre incommodum esset, praesertim de redditibus et aliis quibusdam necessariis, de quibus fusius et exactius, ubi aliquid certius de Illustrissimo Principe Regni ordines statuerint, dicemus.

Deus Optimus Maximus consilia conatusque omnes vestros ad nominis sui sacrosancti gloriam et ad totius Reipublicae Polonae utilitatem dirigat et pro sua clementia secundet.

Hanc autem legationem Principis mei Illustrissimi summam^{r)} et propensi animi solidaeque amicitiae declarationem ita cupiat oblatam et lectam coram amplissimis ordinibus Regni esse, ut Principis mei novi oratores, si qui futuri sint, publice loquendi et de rebus omnibus tractandi suum locum in Senatu, ubi venerint, habeant et retineant, quod etiam Princeps meus Illustrissimus magnopere petit et requirit.

Illustrissimi Principis Transilvaniae ad amplissimos proceres Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae prima legatio per Georgium Blandratam Bedemontanum a secretis consiliis et pro ratione temporis nunc oratoris.

Notae, quae sequuntur, diversis manibus in fine folii 43r. et in folio 43v. scriptae, sine ullo ordine factae apparent et vix ad textum orationum pertinent.

Georgium Blandratam Bedemontanum a secretis consiliis et pro ratione temporis nunc oratoris.

Dum adventum suum (si ita Deo visum fuerit) parat ac interim aliqua ex parte hostis quispiam.

Salve. Salve Salve, Sancta Parens, enixa puerpera regem. Dio ti salvi,
santa madre gravida del re del cielo.

Ego Ioannes Leonardus Colius Laureanus.

Tante mihi cum quinto hippio causae sunt necessitudinis, ut nihil
possit esse coniunctius.

Al Molto Reverendo Padre Fra Giovanni Battista.

-
- a) *In ms. Varsonia*
 - b) *In ms. creatorem*
 - c) *In ms. exciterit*
 - d) *In ms. flamis*
 - e) *In ms. correctum ex: et*
 - f) *In ms. reondito*
 - g) *Syntaxis confusa*
 - h) *In ms. sinceritatoque*
 - i) *Lectio incerta*
 - j) *In ms. quam*
 - k) *In ms. catoolicae*
 - l) *Lectio incerta, in ms. nomio cum signo contractionis.*
 - m) *In ms. imponatur*
 - n) *In ms. exponerit*
 - o) *In ms. observandum*
 - p) *In ms. pacificaturum*
 - r) *In ms. sumam*
 - z) *Sic in ms.*

STEFAN WYHOWSKI

MÉMOIRES D'UN COMBATTANT DE 1863

INTRODUCTION

Nous publions ici, en polonais, puisque c'est la langue dans laquelle l'auteur l'a conçu, un bref mémoire, écrit vers le début de notre siècle, ou dans les dernières années du siècle précédent. Ce récit concerne un seul épisode des combats qui eurent lieu, lors de la guerre d'insurrection faite par les Polonais contre la domination russe en 1863: les faits qui se passèrent en Ukraine, à Kiev et dans les proches alentours. L'auteur en est non seulement un témoin oculaire; il y a eu une part personnelle. Il avait 18 ans. Il s'appelait Étienne (Stefan) Wyhowski.

L'organisation polonaise dont il nous informe résidait à Kiev. Elle se proposait de faire participer l'Ukraine à la guerre polono-russe, la libérer du joug tsariste, y abolir le servage. Les membres de ce groupe étaient inspirés par un amour profond pour leur pays natal; ils avaient pleine confiance dans le peuple ukrainien. Ainsi, ils s'entendaient bien avec les autres mouvements sociaux et politiques qui existaient alors en Ukraine et qui voulaient rendre indépendantes les nations et affranchir les serfs. (Par contre, ils étaient en opposition avec la "rousska gromada" qui avait pour chef Vladimir Antonowicz, plus tard apostat converti à l'orthodoxie russe; son organisation fondée sur l'adjectif équivoque, dénotait les tendances russophiles). Il n'est point lieu ici de s'occuper des courants politiques en Ukraine avant la guerre d'insurrection; il est facile de les connaître par de nombreux mémoires et travaux historiques. Mettons seulement en relief le fait que le mouvement insurrectionnel à Kiev s'appuyait sur la tradition de l'union avec la Pologne, établie par les accords de Horodło (1413), de Lublin (1569) et de Hadziacz (1658). Cette tradition avait son symbole: les bannières des combattants portaient l'Archange de l'Ukraine à côté de l'Aigle et du Cavalier de Lithuanie. (Ces armoiries ont été adoptées par un vote commun des Ukrainiens et des Polonais dans leurs réunions de Horodło et d'Uscitug en 1861).

L'attitude des masses populaires de l'Ukraine était au centre du problème de la guerre contre la Russie. La situation en Ukraine était tout autre que celle qui existait dans le Grand-Duché de Lithuanie (v. BÓBR-TYLINGO, La Russie, l'Eglise Catholique et la Pologne 1860-1866. Rapports des consuls français, dans "Antemurale XII", Rome 1969). Les "petits nobles" en Lithuanie étaient très nombreux et ils augmentèrent les rangs des combattants contre la Russie. En Ukraine ils avaient été presque anéantis après la guerre de 1831. Les paysans, serfs de la glèbe, pouvaient se joindre au combat contre le tsar; mais ils étaient habitués à l'inertie, en plus, après l'abolition de l'union des Eglises ils étaient orthodoxes, et n'étaient point solidaires avec les Polonais, catholiques latins. Cela ne promettait point de succès à l'entreprise qui

se proposait de soulever la population ukrainienne contre le tsar: l'insurrection, sans les masses, ne pouvait point vaincre la puissance russe. F. Rawita Gawroński écrivait que "toute la guerre d'insurrection [en Ukraine] c'était la lutte des Polonais contre le gouvernement [russe], pour gagner les paysans Ukrainiens. Les Polonais leur faisaient voir de nobles buts à atteindre, la liberté et l'indépendance; la Russie, mieux avisée de leur simplicité primitive, se servait d'autres attraits, qui étaient à leur niveau et qu'ils comprenaient mieux. En plus, le gouvernement national polonais ne pouvait agir que par des canaux clandestins, tandis que le gouvernement russe agissait sans se cacher, à l'aide du clergé orthodoxe russe, des fonctionnaires et de la police".

Le gouvernement national de Varsovie avait nommé le général Joseph Wysocki au poste de commandant de l'insurrection en Ukraine. Il avait à ses ordres des détachements polonais dans le territoire soumis à l'Autriche; il devait s'unir avec ces troupes à celles qu'on formait en Ukraine sous la domination russe.

L'auteur du mémoire, Étienne Wyhowski, était en 1863 étudiant des sciences naturelles à l'université de Kiev. Sa famille conservait la tradition des liens qui unissaient la Pologne avec l'Ukraine. On s'y souvenait du grand ancêtre, Jean Wyhowski, hetman de l'Ukraine et de son oeuvre, l'union de Hadziacz. Le caractère du jeune Étienne Wyhowski, son patriotisme ardent, les traditions de sa famille, le poussèrent à se joindre au groupe qui préparait le soulèvement.

Dans sa relation il parle d'abord des réunions des étudiants dans ce qu'ils appelaient "leur pigeonier", de leurs préparations aux combats, enfin de leur expédition et leur défaite.

Ils réussirent à former un détachement d'une vingtaine de jeunes gens; ils appartenaient presque tous à des familles nobles, propriétaires fonciers; ils étaient provisoirement armés et quelques uns d'eux, montés. Ils sortirent de Kiev, sous le commandement d'Antoine Jurjewicz, le 26 avril 1863. Ils se dirigeaient vers Borodianka, où ils devaient rejoindre d'autres détachements semblables. Chemin faisant on devait annoncer partout aux habitants le manifeste du gouvernement national de Varsovie, dit "Lettre d'Or", qui abolissait le servage et appelait les populations au combat contre les Russes, pour la liberté. Dans la matinée du 27 avril, Jurjewicz, étendard déployé, entra à Motowidłówka. Le manifeste fut lu devant la foule des habitants. Le détachement entra ensuite à Fastówek: la lecture du manifeste eut de nouveau lieu; les assemblés se déclarèrent prêts à marcher avec les Polonais contre les Russes; pourtant il suffit d'une protestation violente du maire du village pour que le feu de paille s'éteignit et pour que la foule se dispersât. Jurjewicz continua la marche; il entra sans obstacle à Sołowijówka. Mais les fonctionnaires russes avaient déjà préparé l'opposition. La foule, qui avait entouré le petit groupe des Polonais leur était hostile. Ils pouvaient encore se frayer le passage jusqu'à Borodianka, lieu de concentration des détachements polonais; mais pour cela il aurait fallu ouvrir le feu contre la foule. Ils y renoncèrent. "Nous ne pouvions pas tirer contre nos frères" écrivra plus tard Étienne Wyhowski. Ils voulaient coûte que coûte avoir les Ukrainiens pour la cause de la liberté, ils étaient même prêts, pour gagner leur confiance, à leur céder leurs armes. Mais deux coups de feu partirent de la foule; ce fut le signal du massacre, auquel les étudiants n'ont point opposé de défense. Douze en furent tués (entre eux, Abramowicz, qui n'avait que 15 ans). Étienne Wyhowski — retenu

d'abord pour mort — se trouva ensuite au nombre des 8 blessés qui furent amenés à Żytomierz, où on exécuta Pierre Chmielowski et où Dorożyński mourut de ses blessures. Les autres furent amenés, en chaînes, à Kiev; cinq d'eux, et Wyhowski était du nombre, furent envoyés aux travaux forcés en Sibérie.

La prison de Kiev est la dernière scène du récit autobiographique d'Etienne Wyhowski. On sait d'autres sources, qu'il passa un certain temps à Usolje, qu'il fut ensuite à Irkoutsk et plus tard dans les mines d'or sur la Olekma. Il en rapporta une paralysie partielle des jambes. Une amnistie proclamée par le tsar lui permit de se rendre en Belgique, où il termina l'école polytechnique de Gand. Il lui fut pourtant interdit d'entrer dans le "Royaume de Pologne" du tsar. Il mourut à Odessa en 1905.*)

Le mémoire de Wyhowski que nous publions ici est écrit de sa main, dans un simple cahier d'écolier, orné d'une étiquette d'une papeterie de Kiev et d'Odessa. Il contient 22 pages, format 18 × 22. Les bornes chronologiques du récit sont entre les mois de décembre 1862 et juin 1863. L'auteur l'écrivit plus tard, en âge mûr, peut-être vers la fin de sa vie, à Odessa. Le récit pourrait être continué par l'auteur et très probablement ce qui en reste n'est qu'un prologue.

Le manuscrit, après la mort de l'auteur, passa à son frère aîné Apollinaire Wyhowski, de Tytusówka. Actuellement il est conservé par l'Institut Historique de Pologne à Rome.

L'intérêt historique du mémoire n'est pas dans la description d'un épisode. Ce qui est important, c'est qu'il saisit sur le vif l'esprit des combattants polonais de 1863; ceux-ci voulaient lutter contre la Russie pour la liberté, celle de leur peuple et des autres nations. Étienne Wyhowski et les autres soldats du peloton de Jurjewicz ont poussé jusqu'aux dernières limites leur volonté de ne pas se laisser entraîner dans une lutte contre les Ukrainiens, pour ne pas compromettre l'idée d'une lutte commune de toutes les nations opprimées par le tsar, pour leur indépendance.

Comité de Rédaction

*) Extraits de IWAŃSKI August senior, *Pamiętniki 1832-1876*. Warszawa 1968.

p. 191. Pendant que nous étions à Kremieniczug... je me suis rapproché d'un autre camarade qui était beaucoup plus jeune que moi et que j'ai connu déjà en prison. C'était Etienne Wyhowski, qui avait été dans l'expédition de Sołowiówka. Rude de manières, ferme dans ses convictions, il avait de grandes capacités, qui n'avaient été pas cultivées. Il gagnait mes sympathies par sa jeunesse, son intelligence, son caractère droit et fort. Des querelles éclataient souvent entre cet enfant des steppes de l'Ukraine et moi, qui étais son aîné de 12 ans et qui avais longtemps vécu en occident... mais nous avions beaucoup de respect l'un pour l'autre; cela permit à notre amitié de durer non seulement pendant la marche mais aussi au temps de notre détention en Sibérie et plus tard, après le retour, jusqu'à la mort du plus jeune des deux. Wyhowski mourut en 1905.

p. 235. [Wyhowski] en Sibérie [ne fit pas comme beaucoup d'autres], il ne devint pas alcoolique, ne s'adonna point au jeu de hasard, n'épousa pas une Sibérienne, bien qu'il y eut son premier amour; il avait une grande force de caractère, grâce à laquelle, après tant d'épreuves il alla à Gand, où il apprit le français, passa des examens dans cette langue et termina l'école polytechnique avec mention honorable. Il travaille ensuite pendant six ans à l'usine des wagons de chemin de fer de Malcov, au gouvernement de Orel... dans un entourage déplaisant pour un Européen... il mourut de maladie, à Odessa.

TEXTE

Byłem na drugim kursie przyrody, gdy zaczęły dochodzić do mnie, krążąc po obudzonym Kijowie, wieści o powstaniu, z początku głuche i niewyraźne, potem coraz głośniejsze i szczegółowsze. Do żadnych jednak spisków^{a)} nie należałem i, gdy koniec 1862 zagarnął mnie do szeregów cichych pracowników, nie znałem ani organizacji walki, ani jej rozwoju. Miałem dopiero 18 lat i w wolnych chwilach oddawałem się z zapalem myśliwstwu. Wyrabiałem proch, o który było trudno, poświęcając na to tyle czasu, że zwróciłem uwagę przenikliwych oczów tych ludzi-orłów, których niewidome skrzydła coraz większe ogarniały obszary, budząc sennych i wicher podnosząc, który już opaść nie mógł.

Raz o zmroku przyszedł do mnie Wicek Wasilewski, rozpoczął rozmowę o myśliwstwie i zaczął badać, w jaki sposób proch wyrabiam. Olśniłem go widocznie erudycją, bo spytał nagle, czy chcę zwiedzić gołębnik. Nie bardzo wiedziałem, co to za gołębnik, ale zgodziłem się z zapalem, bo pochlebiło dumie własnej młokosa, że przecież chcą mu coś tajemniczego pokazać. Poszliśmy więc do gołębnika. Była to dwupiętrowa lepianka, dotykająca tylnej ściany wozowni domu^{b)} przy Kuźnieckiej ulicy, w którym się mieścił postój dragonów. W górnej izdebce, szumnie zwanej mieszkaniem Przedpełzkiego,¹⁾ zastaliśmy Antoniego Jurewicza,²⁾ przyszłego naczelnika rządu narodowego i organizatora naszej kwietniowej wyprawy. Był o wiele starszy ode mnie, ale ofuknął mnie, gdy go panem zatytułował i ze słowami "nie mów do mnie pan, mów do mnie ty", zaprosił do herbaty. Tu zaczął nieznaczenie badać olśnionego takim przyjęciem chłopaka i wreszcie patrząc mi prosto w oczy spytał, czy mi nie żal straconej ojczyzny. Dziwne wzruszenie ogarnęło mnie na takie zapytanie i przez łzy wyrzekłem: "Wiedcie, panowie, dalibóg, gdyby choć księcia mieć swego, to padłbym mu do nóg i powiedział: będę się całe życie w prochu przed tobą tarzał i wszystkie twoje rozkazy spełniał. Gdy każesz — rodzzonego ojca zdradzę i zabiję... byleby był swój książę!" — "Patrzcie, zauważył na to Jurewicz — taki młody, a taki paskudny!". Był to chrzest, po którym Stefan Wyhowski, alias Szydło, został przyjęty do gołębnika dla wyrabiania prochu. Od tej chwili, znów jak i przedtem daleki organizacji, wziąłem się do pracy. Wyrabiałem proch, czyściłem i naprawiałem broń, ostrzyłem pałasze. A praca to była ciężka i niebezpieczna wobec tych sąsiadów dragonów, którzy nieraz i na herbatę do gołębnika się zjawiali. Właściwie apartament do przyjęć mieścił się, jak wzmiankowałem, na górze. Tu też zjawiałem się po klucz, schowany pod poduszką i zostawiałem rewolwer, bez którego nikt z nas nie przychodził. Na dole było tak ciasno, że tylko we dwóch mogliśmy pracować, więc z ilości rewolwerów pod poduszką uważaliśmy, czy iść na dół, czy też opuszczać gołębnik. Pracowaliśmy w ciszy, by nie zwrócić uwagi dragonów, w ciągłej obawie wybuchów z powodu ciasnoty. Przesuwały się tam co dnia przede mną tajemniczym zmrokiem otoczone postacie sprzysiężonych; Antoniego

Jurewicza, Leona Syrocińskiego, Przedpełzkiego, Wyszyńskiego i tylu innych. A gdy praca była skończona, lub gołębnik zajęty, to śpieszyłem ujeżdżać u Olszańskiego konia, "Zulemę", kupionego od Uziembły za nędzne resztki moich kapitałów. Często też, hartując się do przyszłych wycieczek i spotkań, robiliśmy z Władysławem Wyszyńskim po 40 wiorst konno, ocierając się nieraz o kozaków, z których sennych azjatyckich twarzy trudno było wyczytać, czy się domyślają, co to za jeźdźcy i do czego te konie służyć mają.

W owym też czasie zapoznałem się z kapitanem kijowskiej fortecy, Włodzimierzem Rudnickim z Radomyńskiego. Był to bardzo zdolny inżynier, akademik, wysoko ceniony przez Tolla, ale człowiek lichej moralności, próżny i łgarz. Pewnego razu, gdy uczyłem się od niego szlifowania prochu w fortecy, zagabnął mnie: "Co to jest, że ty, ubogi chłopiec, i przyrodę w trąbę puściłeś, i konia kupiłeś?" Od nitki do kłębka rozgadaliśmy się o powstaniu i Rudnicki oświadczył, że pragnie przyłączyć się do ruchu. Obiecałem, że pomówię o tym i wkrótce też, za zgodą Peszyńskiego,³⁾ wprowadziłem pana inżyniera do gołębnika. Niebawem przy spotkaniu chwalił mi się, że będzie naczelnikiem. Wysłany potem do Królestwa jako emisariusz, został tam schwytany. Po wyjeździe z Kijowa furman, nie wiedząc co z rzeczami pozostałymi w fortecy robić, zwiózł je do mieszkania mojej matki, która niemało miała potem kłopotu z żandarmami.

Wracam do opowiadania. Już parę razy odkładał nasz naczelnik Jurewicz wymarsz do powstania. Stawiałem się każdy raz, a gdy mi oznajmiano, że "powstanie się odkłada", wsiedałem na konika i ćwiczyłem się w dalszym ciągu. Nareszcie stanęło na tym, że w piątek, 26 kwietnia⁴⁾ mamy nieodwołalnie wyruszyć. Pożegnałem się z rodziną. Matka się spłakała, a ojciec, kiwając smutnie głową, wyrzekł na pożegnanie: "Wstrzymywać ciebie nie mam prawa, ale dałby Bóg, by to wszystko szczęśliwiej się skończyło niż w trzydziestym pierwszym roku!" Już zmrok zapadał i mżył wiosenny deszczyk, gdy się stawiał do Olszańskiego. Stąd mieliśmy wyruszyć. Tu, z powodu zderzenia skóry na nodze przy czyszczeniu fuzji, zamieniłem moją Zulemę na konia Kostki,⁵⁾ nieco spokojniejszego. Gdy się już wszyscy zebrali, wsiedliśmy, Kasta,⁶⁾ Peszyński i ja na konie. Rozwarły się wrota i Jurewicz zakomenderował: "pierwsza trójka w imię Boże, na prawo marsz". Dzień jeszcze dogorywał i światła z okien magazynów na Włodzimierskiej ulicy rzucały na nas promienie, gdy spacerująca publiczność ujrzała tę pierwszą trójkę, która z bronią w rękę, z okiem roziskrzonym, sunęła przez miasto, hen daleko do stepów i do tych chat włościańskich, gdzieś serc w unisono z naszymi sercami bijących szukali, do tych Rusinów w niewoli, którzy z hasłem "za waszą wolność i naszą" mieli wkrótce ze sztandarem Archanioła przez te same ulice z nami kroczyć. Nie zauważyliśmy nawet, jak otarło się o nas czterech konnych oficerów koło korpusu kadetów; nie przyszło nam do głowy, że i strzelby w rękę i rewolwery odpięte mogą naszą wycieczkę na inną drogę skierować. Minęliśmy miasto i za Łybędzia połączyliśmy się z innymi uczestnikami przedwczesnej majówki. Czekają tu nas dwa wozy naładowane bronią, prochem, prowizją i osiemnastu zapaleńcami. Ruszyliśmy. Noc była cicha, łagodna, droga równa i pusta. Nie odczuwaliśmy najmniejszego zmęczenia i nazajutrz o 7-ej rano stanęliśmy pod Motowidłówką, minąwszy Browary, rzeźwi i weseli. Tu rozwiała się po raz pierwszy od lat

wielu chorągiew z Białym Orłem, Pogonią i Archaniołem; tu wobec zebranej chłopskiej gromady odczytał Jurewicz Złotą Hramotę od rządu polskiego. Słuchali chłopci w milczeniu o tym, że już i pańszczyzny nie będzie, i czynszów nie będzie, a będzie jedna tylko wielka wolność. A widocznie znakomicie nas zrozumieli, bo stojący na czele tych "wolnych od dziś dnia Kozaków", jak opiewała Hramota, wołostny, długi, rudy drab wyrzekł z pokorą, gdy się czytanie skończyło: "Sława Bohu i cariu!".

Zdawało się, że po takim porozumieniu mogliśmy wracać do Kijowa. Ale zapał i wiara, te dwie zwodnicze czarodziejki młodości, nie opuściły nas ani na chwilę. Minęliśmy w pysznym humorze Motowidlówkę i stanęliśmy obozem przy karczynie koło mogiły Perepiata i Perepiatychy. Jeden z nas stanął na czatach, a reszta zabrała się do śniadania. Po chwili czatujący nadbiegł zadyszany i oświadczył, że zauważył z daleka jakichś jeźdźców. Zdecydowaliśmy, że to Moskale i że stoczmy bitwę. Zatoczywszy więc wozy do rozkopanej mogiły stanęliśmy wokoło z nabitą bronią w ręku. Ale nikt się nie zbliżał i Władysław Szaramowicz dosiadłszy mego konia, popędził na zwiady. Wkrótce ujrzelśmy w wielkim oddaleniu jeźdźców. Było ich ośmiu lub dziesięciu. Widzieliśmy, jak się cofali, gdy Szaramowicz się zbliżał, jak później znowu wyrastali z ziemi. W taką grę w chowanego upłynęło sporo czasu, ale do starcia nie doszło, bo jeźdźcy znikli, a my po spożytym śniadaniu, wyruszyliśmy do Fastówka. I tu zaroilo się od chłopstwa na nasze spotkanie. I tu młodzi apostołowie Jurewicz i Przedpełzki odczytali Hramotę i zaczęli tłumaczyć cel naszego zjawienia się. Tłum rósł, a z tłumem nasz zapał. Wytłumaczyliśmy milczącym w pierwszej chwili chłopom, że nie na nich idziemy, lecz na Moskalą z nimi, że bez nas powtórzy się to, co ich pod Białą Cerkwią w 1854⁷⁾ roku spotkało, że tylko wspólnymi siłami złączeni i jedną ideą wolności zagrzani możemy do niej, do tej wolności dojść. "Jak tak, to dobre" słyszeliśmy wśród chłopów. "Budem bytysia!" krzyczeli śmielsi. Ale do pokonania zapału wystarczyło zjawienie się wołostnego z Fastowa. Na zapytanie: "A to szto?" odpowiedziano mu: "To Lachy idut, budem byty Moskalow". Tu wołostny świsnął nahażem po głowach bliżej stojących. Zabłyśła myśl, czy nie strzelać czasem do niego, ale wnet odrzuciliśmy ją i patrząc ze smutkiem, z goryczą na uciekające chłopstwo i na cuchnącego wódką wołostnego, podążyliśmy powoli dalej. Minęliśmy Fastów, gdzie coraz wyraźniejsza była niechęć chłopów, gdzie coraz bardziej złowrogie ślali nam spojrzenia, a tylko groźba: "budem stryłaty" trzymała ich w karbach. Zmieniwszy u Chojeckich w Hylakach⁸⁾ konie już w nocy, dotarliśmy do Sołowijówki, w myśli przedrzeć się do Borodianki. Ale takie zdenerwowanie i zmęczenie już ogarniało nas, że jeden z wojaków, Przedpełski zasnął stojąc oparty o wóz. Machnął ręką na wzrastające niebezpieczeństwo, bo chłopstwo już i drogi zagradzało i rowy przekopywało. Był już głuchy na wzrastającą stugębną wrzawę i nieczuły na rozwijający się szybkim tempem dramat. A chłopstwo płynęło i płynęło niepohamowaną falą, uzbrojone w kosy, w fuzje i w najstraszniejszą broń — nienawiść. Jak ta fala tak nas zalewało, żeśmy wśród nich ginęli oderwani jeden od drugiego, jak ta fala cofało się tylko na groźne krzyki: "odajdit". A Jurewicz przed nami, przed tą bezbronną garstką zgubioną w złowrogich stepach i okrążoną wijącą się gadziną, wśród tego zamętu i zgiełku, w tym powietrzu przesyconym wódką gadał i gadał, otulony płaszczem ciemnej tajemniczej nocy. "Nie

różnąć, nie palić przyszlismy tu do was — krzyczał — przyszlismy dla waszego i naszego dobra. Chcemy dla was i dla siebie wolności. Ziemię wam oddamy, czynsze zniesiemy!" Ale słowa ginęły wśród pomruku dwutysięcznego tłumy pijanego i podrażnionego tą niezwykłą^{c)} igraszką. A igraszka stawiała się coraz groźniejsza i zakończenie jej pełnym tajemniczej zgrozy. Złożyliśmy naradę. Sprawa była krytyczna, jedyne bowiem możliwe wyjście — przedrzeć się z bronią, przez tłum — odrzuciliśmy prawie jednogłośnie, bo z wyjątkiem jednego Peretiatkiewicza,⁹⁾ wszystkich nas trzymała w żelaznych kleszczach silniejszych od poczucia samozachowawczego idea — że nie mamy prawa strzelać.¹⁰⁾ Ta zgraja smarkaczów ani na chwilę nie zapomniała, że nie wtedy cel całej wyprawy będzie chybiony, gdy nas chłopci rozszarpia, lecz gdy pierwszy wystrzał z polskiej fuzji do chłopca po ukraińskich huknie polach. Po pierwsze nie mogliśmy strzelać do braci, bo w imię braterstwa przyszlismy tutaj, po drugie dalibyśmy, strzelając, Moskałom prawo do mówienia chłopom, że chcemy ich mordować, po trzecie stała przed nami obawa, że po pierwszym wystrzale rozpocznie się rzeź chłopska, a wtedy krwią się zaleją i z dymem zginą polskie zagrody. Tylko te powody, mało dziś znane, kierowały i pchały nas w dalszy wir tragicznych następstw. Chłopsstwo nacierało coraz natarczywiej, drwiąc, że "siła taka mała". Tłumaczyliśmy, że "bude bilsza", gdy z nami się złączą i na Kijów się rzucą. — "Ce dobre, dobre — powtarzali — ale siła mała". I coraz nowsze nalatywały na nas zastępy tych pijanych rozjuszonych braci. Ponieważ solą im w oku nasza broń była, więc zdecydowaliśmy się na krok ostateczny — oddać im tę ukochaną, wypieszczoną broń. Zdawało się, że wtedy, gdy bezbronnych ujrzą, zaufają im.¹¹⁾ Złożyliśmy więc^{d)} broń do wozu i pozwoliliśmy, by nas zrewidowano. Chcąc się przekonać, czy "jeszcze czochoś nema, czy liwolwery ne zapriatany", ogołocili w jednej chwili nasze kieszenie z sakiewek i okrążyli każdego z osobna, ciągnąc do wołosti. Straciłem towarzyszków z oczów. Tu w chwili, gdy jakiś czarny drab popychał mnie naprzód, usłyszałem nagle dwa wystrzały. Drgnąłem. "Strelajut, strelajut" zawrzało w tłumie, wzmógł się dziki zgiew i raptem otrzymałem silne uderzenie kijem po głowie. "Szto tobi treba, szto win tobi zrobił?" ujęła się za mnie moja straż honorowa. — "Strylajut!" krzyknął napastujący. — "Ne oni" — uspakajali bliżej stojący chłopci. I czułem, że w tej chwili tam w ciemności gorsze już cięcia moich towarzyszków spotykają. Prowadzono mnie koło popowskiej sadyby. Wypadła na nasze spotkanie rozjuszona popadia, spojrzała mi w oczy złymi, krwią nalanyimi ślepiami, uśmiechnęła się do mnie: "Ehe, pryszły pałyty!" i zaczęła prosić chłopów, wskazując na świeżo zrąbaną wierzbinę przy studni: "Nakażył, lubczyki, Lacha, otriżte jemu na cej kołodi hołowu!" A gdy chłopci po naradzie na taką rozprawę się nie zgodzili, schwyciła w złości garnek wiszący na drewnianym kołku i rzuciła mi w głowę. Miłosierny jednak Bóg chciał, by nie garnek zraził bohatera, lecz szlachetniejszy od garnka kij. Dostałem nim po głowie i zemdlałem. Ocknąłem się dopiero w wołosti, w lochu. Mówił mi potem W. Wasilewski, że była chwila, gdy jeszcze wstałem i podniosłem kamień, błagałem go, by mnie dobił. "Wiesz, opowiadał z filuternym uśmiechem, że wielką miałem chęć to zrobić". Nad ranem, jak mi mówił, nadjechał^{e)} dr. Henryk Sągajło w wojskowym mundurze i kazał mnie oddzielić od kupy umarłych, mówiąc, że może jeszcze żyć będę. W parę zaś godzin zjawił się z Byszowa idący przez Żytomierz do Warszawy Isajew z pułkiem kozaków. Był

wielki czas, bo po zrabowaniu chłopci uradzili dobić żyjących. A to słońce, które nas wilią promieniami bezmiernej otuchy witało, zalało nazajutrz obojętnym światłem dwanaście trupów, leżących w szeregu przed wołostią, dwunastu strasznych, ze skrzywionymi ustami i rozplatanymi czaszkami, obdartych bohaterów. Z reszty Wasilewski, Szaramowicz i Peszyński byli zupełnie przytomni, zaś Antoni Jurewicz, Wienczysław Kurzański, Antoni Kościuszko (student 2-go kursu) Aleksy Strelczenko, Józef Dorożyński, który wkrótce potem umarł z ran w Żytomierzu i ja — byliśmy wszyscy w godnym oplakania stanie. Tu też w Sołowijówce, jak mi później mówiono, okazało się, że z Kijowa był za nami wysłany pościg — szwadron dragonów z rotmistrzem M. na czele. Powiadano, że nie mógł nas dopędzić. Przekonany jednak jestem, że mógł, lecz nie chciał... Odwieziono dziewięciu niedobitków do Żytomierza. Po drodze doznawaliśmy wszędzie ze strony obywateli serdecznego przyjęcia. Byłem wciąż nieprzytomny. Jak przez sen pamiętam tylko, że w Korostyszowie, u hr. Olizarów lokaje podawali nam jedzenie na srebrnych tacach, a urządzono dla biednych dzieciaków tak wygodny nocleg, że W. Wasilewski skarżył się potem, iż z powodu przeperfumowanej poduszki spać nie mógł.

Odzyskałem na chwilę przytomność, gdy wnosili mnie do żytomierskiego więzienia czterech kozaków na soldackiej szyneli. Pociągnęły się znowu potem dwa tygodnie ciągłego majaczenia. W Żytomierzu trzymano nas dwa miesiące. W naszej obecności skołał Dorożyński, przy nas prowadzono na stracenie Piotra Chojnowskiego, bo był to taki dziwny człowiek, że wolał śmierć, niż prosić o ulaskawienie. Nareszcie w czerwcu popędzono nas do Kijowa. Myśleliśmy, że wpadniemy do niego ze zmartwychwstałym ukochanym polskim sztandarem, na czele wolnych braci chłopów, że stara Złota Brama zatrzęsie się z rozkoszy, że wolne miasto z tryumfem bohaterów powita. A wracaliśmy chorzy i znękani, niedobitki, więźniowie w otoczeniu bagnatów do cytadeli, i Złota Brama nie zatrzęsa się z rozkoszy. Tylko tryumf ocalał, wprowadzicie zmodyfikowany z powodu "nieprzewidzianych okoliczności". Bo w kilka dni po naszym przyjeździe, były kurator od wyborów obywatelstwa szkół kijowskich, Erazm Michałowski, publicznie w więzieniu objął każdego z nas za kolana, a gdyśmy zdumieni pytali: "Co pan robi, panie kuratorze?", wyszeptał wzruszony: "Pozwólcie dotknąć stóp waszych, szlachetni szaleńcy!" Tu wręczył każdemu dar drogocenny, kartkę z napisem: "Erazm Michałowski, dziedzic Sołowijówki, na wieczną pamiątkę bohaterom miłości chrześcijańskiej". Doprawdy ten dar nam za wszystko wystarczył. Od niego też dowiedzieliśmy się, że te dwa wystrzały w Sołowijówce, ten ponury prolog do dramatu, były dziełem furmana jego Semeną i drugiego chłopą. Dziwne też losy spotkały tych ludzi, bo Semeną, kąpiąc konie, utonął, a drugi zastrzelił wypadkowo własną matkę i sam się obwiesił. Powstał niepokój we wsi. Zaczęły się molebny, biedną mogiłę otoczono dwunastoma osikowymi kołkami; gdy pani Przedzrymirska¹²⁾ przyjechała pomodlić się na grobie syna, to chłopci spotkali ją z niezwykłą czcią i szacunkiem. Oprócz Michałowskiego znalazł się jeszcze jeden człowiek na przeciwnym krańcu społeczeństwa stojący, który zrozumiał i ocenił myśl, co nas kierowała przy złożeniu oręża. Był to prezes komisji śledczej, żandarm Nowicki. Bo gdy przy badaniu wskazywałem na tę łagodzącą naszą winę okoliczność, wyrzekł: "za takoje położenie orużja do 1 maja was wsiech sliedowałoby razstrielał".

- a) Słowo: spisków dopisane po przekreśleniu słów: organizacji przez cały czas.
- b) Tu następuje słowo niewyraźnie napisane; może nazwisko właściciela domu.
- c) Tu wykreślone słowo: zabawką.
- d) W rękopisie, przez omyłkę: się zamiast włęc.
- e) Słowo: nadjechał zamiast przekreślonego: zjawił się.

1) Przedpełski Godfryd.

2) Recte: Jurjewicz.

3) Peszyński Bolesław.

4) WIELHORSKI Władysław w pracy: *Ziemie Ukrainne Rzeczypospolitej. Zarys dziejów* (w "Pamiętniku Kijowskim I", Londyn 1959 str. 80), *powołując się na dzieło S. ZIELIŃSKIEGO: Bitwy i potyczki 1863-4, Rapperswil 1913, podaje datę 9 maja (nowego stylu); OLECHNOWICZ Józef w pracy: Polska myśl patriotyczna i postępową na Ziemiach Ukrainnych w latach 1835-1863 ("Pamiętnik Kijowski II", Londyn 1963) podaje datę 7 maja, (25 kwietnia starego stylu). Jego opis przebiegu wyprawy jest bardzo zbliżony do relacji Wyhowskiego.*

5) Jan Kosko (?).

6) Kasta: może omyłka, zamiast: Kostka? u innych autorów nie wymieniany.

7) Wielhorski podaje rok 1855. Op. cit. Pam. Kij. I, str. 77.

8) Recte: Holaki.

9) Recte: Peretiatkowicz (Adolf).

10) IWAŃSKI August senior w swych *Pamiętnikach 1832-1876 (Warszawa 1968) str. 176* pisze: "... Uzbrojeni doskonale mogli przecież utworować sobie drogę po trupach oblegających ich włościan, by się połączyć wedle zamiaru z góry powzłętego z kolegami z uniwersytetu tj. partią borodiańską; nie sprzeniewierzyli się jednak zasadzie... sztandar niepokalany z tej tragicznej imprezy wynosząc".

11) Nieściśle więc podaje Wielhorski za Zielińskim (Op. cit. Pam. Kij. I, "Chłopi zaofiarowali im zdradziecko gościnę do przenocowania w chacie. Młodzieńcy łatwowiernie rozbroili się i spali bez straży. Większość z nich chłopi bestialsko zamordowali, nim przybyło wojsko rosyjskie".

12) Dwaj jej synowie polegli pod Sołowijówką.

S T U D I A

HENRYK PASZKIEWICZ

(London)

ARE THE RUSSIANS SLAVS ?

Among many controversial problems in the history of the Slavs there is one, undoubtedly important, which shall be the subject of the present considerations. It is the question whether Russians are, in fact, Slavs.

To raise such a problem might seem superfluous and even paradoxical. Is it not generally accepted — every encyclopaedia and text book provides the information — that the eastern part of Europe is inhabited by the Eastern Slavs who form the three Rus'ian¹⁾ nations: Great Rus'ians or Russians proper, Little Rus'ians or Ukrainians and White Rus'ians? Is it not also general knowledge that the Russian language is a Slavonic one? And yet, the matter is not as simple as it seems at first glance. Doubts upon this subject were expressed already in past centuries by writers of various countries. From the point of view of historical studies the problem is extremely fascinating, as well as important, since it concerns great masses of population settled in the east of Europe.

The history of Russia seems to be enveloped in a haze of mystery. Tyutchev, a well known Russian poet of the 19th cent., said that Russia cannot be understood or measured, "Russia can only be believed in" (*v Rossiyu mozhno tol'ko verit'*). A similar thought was expressed by Berdyaev, an eminent Russian philosopher of history, who in the 20th cent. wrote that Russia always remains an "unfathomable mystery" (*nerazgadannaya taina*). Obviously, such statements are exaggerated, and yet they remain near the truth in suggesting that the process of Russia's national development followed a course different from that of most European nations.

Before starting to analyse this process it is first necessary to eliminate certain ideas artificially introduced into the subject in later times. Among them are the concepts of "Eastern Slavs" and of "Three Rus'ian Nations". In the sense given to these terms today they are late creations, dating only from the 19th century. True, Tatishchev, an eminent Russian historian of the 18th century, does speak of "Eastern" and "Western" Slavs but his division of the Slavs fundamentally differs from the views now currently held. According to him, the Eastern Slavs lived on the

1) "Rus'ian" is the adjective form of the noun "Rus' ". The terms *Rus'* and *Rossiia* which appear in the text of sources are not identical as regards their connotation; that is why the author of the present study makes use of both for reasons of accuracy. West European languages know only one single term ("Russia" in English, "Russie" in French, "Russland" in German, etc.). This leads sometimes to a confusion of ideas and to many misconceptions.

left-bank territories of the Dnieper, whilst the inhabitants of the lands on the right-bank of that river were classified as Western Slavs.²⁾

Before the 19th century nobody had ever heard about the three Rus'ian nations as they are understood today, nor could anyone have heard of them, since such terms as "Great Rus'" or "White Rus'" had then different geographical connotations. Tatishchev, for instance, still regarded Great Rus' as a territory spreading over the regions of Pskov, Novgorod, Ladoga, etc., while he placed Moscow in White Rus'. Once, a part of the modern White Rus' used to be called the Black Rus'. Why those names underwent such changes or were shifted around - is another matter.

The terms "Great Rus'" and "Little Rus'" first appear in the 14th century sources. They are an artificial creation, originating from Byzantium and introduced by the Greek clergy. In connection with the complicated political situation in the East of Europe at that time, the necessity of dividing the old Metropolitan See of Kiev into two separate ones became unavoidable. The patriarchs of Constantinople, although most unwillingly, had to agree to this ecclesiastical disintegration. Thus, two Metropolitan Sees were established, one in Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, a tributary of the Oka, later transferred to Moscow and known in Constantinople as that of "Great Rus'", and another in the South, in Galich, called that of "Little Rus'". Both names were connected only with Church organization and had no ethnical character. They embraced believers of various nations sharing the same faith.

More important, however, than terminology is the evidence of sources dating from before the 19th century. They know nothing about the existence of three Rus'ian nations. They always speak of one Rus', stressing the links which bind her together, ecclesiastical and political, especially the link of the common reigning dynasty. As regards ethnical kinship blending the population of Rus' - on this matter the sources remain silent.

The thesis concerning the existence of three Rus'ian nations was first put forward in the 19th century. It should be stressed that it had emanated from Russian governmental circles, which indicates its political motivation directed toward the interest of the State, and in particular to justify Russian rights of domination over the Ukraine and White Rus'. Only then did Russian scholars — historians, philologists, archaeologists, ethnographers etc. — the majority of whom accepted the theory with enthusiasm, start to amass arguments in support of the government's intentions. This produced a large amount of literature on the subject able to boast of exceptional success since, in consequence, the theory concerning the existence of three Rus'ian nations became generally accepted as an evident fact.

Nevertheless, the concept of these nations remains vague by its very nature. One could ask why the English, French and other nations show no trace of such multiplicity? Most important of all, however, when speaking of three Rus'ian nations, it is to define properly the ethnical meaning of the term "Rus'". In Soviet historiography the opinions are almost unanimous in this respect: the Rus' of early history, in the 9th century A.D. at the latest, were in fact of Slavonic descent.

2) V. TATISHCHEV, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya s samykh drevneishikh vremen* I, 1768, pp. 464, 477. New edition - 1962.

However, to accept the theory that 9-10th century Rus' were Slavs, means to come into immediate conflict with all sources of the time. I shall restrict myself to giving only a few examples. The German Bertinian Annals relate that in 839 envoys from the Byzantine Emperor to Louis the Pious, Emperor of the West, arrived in Ingelheim, near Mainz, begging free passage through Germany for a group of Rus' (*Rhos*) in their company who were returning home. Louis, who had never heard of Rus' before, was interested to know of what nationality they were. The matter was thoroughly investigated and they turned out to be - Swedes.³⁾ Liudprand, bishop of Cremona, who in the years 949 and 968 went as ambassador to the Court of Byzantium, relates that in Constantinople the name of Rus' is given to those people who in the West are called Norsemen.⁴⁾ There is a long list of other sources of the period in question which all agree in distinguishing Rus' from Slavs settled in the East of Europe.⁵⁾ Some are even more precise as regards the origin of these people, identifying Rus' with Norse Varangians. There is nothing unusual in these reports when one considers that it was a period of great Norse expansion and conquest which marked so decisively the history of Britain, France, Southern Italy and other countries, on the one hand, and the past of Eastern Europe on the other. In the West this expansion was mainly conducted by Danes and Norwegians, in the East by Swedes.

The Rus'ian State came into being in the 9th century as a result of Norse conquest, when many East European tribes, both Slavonic and non-Slavonic, fell under the domination of Varangians-Rus'. Evidence of this fact can be found, for example, in the names of the first rulers and dignitaries of that State.⁶⁾

Obviously, Rus'ian speech differed fundamentally at the time from that of the Slavs and of other peoples conquered by the Varangians. This is clearly confirmed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of Byzantium and an eminent writer. Listing the names of the Dnieper cataracts he gives them in two languages, Rus'ian and Slavonic,⁷⁾ and the Rus'ian ones — as proved by etymological research (R. Ekblom, K. Falk, A. Kalgren, J. Sahlgren, etc.) — are Norse.⁸⁾ The famous Kievan Chronicle *Povest' vremennykh let* ("The Tale of Bygone Years"), the

3) "*Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum*". *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, 1883, pp. 19-20.

4) ... "*Rusios quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos appellamus*"...; "*Greci vocant... Rusios, nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos*"... LIUDPRAND, *Antapodosis*, ed. L. Becker, 1915, I p. 11; V p. 15. The English translation by F. WRIGHT, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, 1930, pp. 38, 185.

5) All these sources are quoted and analysed by H. PASZKIEWICZ, *The Origin of Russia*, 1954 (reprint 1969), pp. 109-132.

6) Rurik is the Scandinavian Hrorekr, Oleg-Helgi, Igor'-Ingvarr, Olga-Helga, Vladimir, Volodimer-Valdimarr, Rogvolod-Ragnvald, Rogned'-Ragnheid, Askold-Hoskuld, Dir- Dýri, Sveneld-Sveinald, Budy-Bóndi, etc. A. STENDER-PETERSEN, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 13, 92, 116, 130, 207, 247.

7) Constantine PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio* I, ed. Gy. MORAVCSIK; English transl. by R. Jenkins, 1949; II R. Jenkins (ed.) Commentary, 1962, pp. 38-52. *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* I, 1967. The work was written in the middle of the 10th century.

8) Cf. T. ARNE, Die Warägerfrage und die sowjetische Forschung, *Acta Archaeologica* (Copenhagen) XXIII, 1952, pp. 138-139.

chronicle of the so-called Nestor, dating from the early 12th century, confirms indirectly — as will be further discussed below — that the language of Rus' in those times was not Slavonic, which accords with the evidence given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Although exceptionally numerous considering the early age from which they date, all these sources — West European, Byzantine, Arabic, Kievan — were rejected by many modern historians as tendentious. Such wholesale rejection fails to convince, especially as no valid argument is provided to support it. It is difficult to suppose that accounts given by so many writers, coming from different countries, written at different times and independently of one another, could all fall into the same error.

There is, however, one source which seems to provide some reason for accepting the Slavonic descent of the Rus'. It is an account in "Nestor" where the chronicler states that the Slavonic *yazyk* and that of Rus' are one (and the same). *A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyyi odno est'*.⁹⁾ Since the word *yazyk* indicates tongue, language, people, nation, etc., the above text is often quoted as evidence to prove the identity of Slavs with the Rus'. Nevertheless, the question remains - is this correct?

When analysing this passage of the Kievan chronicle the key-word for its understanding is that of *yazyk*.

After the conversion and baptism of Vladimir the Great (988) many Greek writings were being translated into Slavonic in Kiev as well as in other places. From those translations it clearly emerges that the Slavonic word *yazyk* had as its counterpart the Greek word *ethnos*. Therefore, we are faced with the necessity of establishing the exact meaning of *ethnos* in Greek sources, above all in the monuments of canon law of the Eastern Church. Special attention should be given here to comparing the 34th "Apostolic Canon" with the 9th Canon of the Council of Antioch (341), as well as to commentaries to these texts by eminent Byzantine canonists of the 12th cent.: Aristenes, Zonaras and Balsamon. An analysis of this material leads to the conclusion that the term *ethnos*, which had various meanings, was also used in the sense of *eparchia*, that is to indicate a Metropolitan province of the Church.¹⁰⁾

In the second half of the 9th cent., as is commonly known, the Slavonic Rite of Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius made its appearance, linked with both Constantinople and Rome, spreading from Moravia to other countries, and reaching the region of Kiev before Vladimir. Also at that time a Metropolitan See of this Rite was being established in Eastern-Central Europe.

Thus, in the above quoted passage of the *Povest'*, the term *yazyk* is used in a meaning well known and commonly understood at the time, that is as *ethnos*, *eparchia*, ecclesiastical Metropolitan See and, in its wider sense, as Church and Faith in general.¹¹⁾ *A sloven'skyi yazyk* (the

9) D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest' vremennykh let* I, 1950, p. 23.

10) The problem *ethnos* - *eparchia* - *yazyk* was discussed at full length in H. PASZKIEWICZ, *The Making of the Russian Nation*, 1963, pp. 21-31, where texts of sources and literature on the subject were analysed.

11) There is plenty of evidence concerning this matter: The Church Statute of Yaroslav the Wise forbids a member of the Eastern Church to eat and drink in company with an infidel unless he *ot nashego yazyka nekreshchen budet'*. *Ot* means "by", thus: unless (that

Slavonic Metropolitan See of Cyril and Methodius' Rite) *i ruskyi* (and the Rus'ian Metropolitan See established in Kiev after Vladimir's baptism) *odno est'* (are one and the same).¹²⁾

Such an interpretation can be supported by the following remarks: 1) Historians, when elaborating upon the information relating to the identity of both *yazyks*, do so by disconnecting it from the text as a whole (and thus distort the text itself). 2) If the Church-organization connotations of the word *yazyk* are accepted, all ambiguities and contradictions deriving from the chronicler's further narrative are removed, and the whole text becomes consistent and perfectly clear. 3) The identification as applied to the two Metropolitan Sees is correct from several points of view, in the first place because both used Slavonic language in the liturgy. 4) The analysed text relating to both *yazyks* forms part of an extensive passage of the Chronicle where the activity of Cyril and Methodius is largely described. 5) When analysing the text of a source special attention should be given to the literary manner peculiar to the author. In the case of "Nestor" one observes that, when describing events from a distant past, he often supplied them with his own commentaries. In this instance such commentary was, in fact, indispensable, since the variety of meanings of the word *yazyk* could easily lead to a false understanding of the text (namely, to its interpretation in the language or ethnical sense). Thus, immediately after stating the identity of both *yazyks* (Slavonic and Rus'ian), the chronicler adds his own remark that people who formerly called themselves Slavs, or strictly speaking Polyanians (inhabitants of the Kiev region are here in mind), had later adopted the name of Rus' from the Varangians (*ot Varyag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu*), yet in spite of this Rus'ian name still retained their Slavonic speech (*no sloven'skaa rech'*

one) will be baptized by our *yazyk*, i.e., in our Church. In his Prayer, Metropolitan Hilarion implores God to protect "our... prince by *yazyk*" (...*knyazya nashego... yazykom ogradi*). In Church literature one often finds such expressions as: *veroyu ograzhden* (protected by faith), *krestom ograzhden* (protected by the cross), *angely ograzhden* (protected by angels), etc. It follows from this comparison that *yazyk* belongs here to the same category of religious expressions as faith, cross, angel, and so on. In the text: *yazykom ogradi yazyk* cannot stand for tongue, nor for language, nor for people or nation, as this people, according to the Prayer, is itself awaiting God's mercy and aid, and the sentence would not make sense. In the Slavonic translation of the *Tacticon* of Nikon CHERNOGORETS one reads: "The *yazyk* of the Vandals was [i.e. derived] from many heresies, such as Macedonians, Nestorians, Arians and similar to them" (*yazyk uandar'skyi be... ot razlichnykh eresei: makidon'yane, nestoriyane, ariyane i podobni sim*). The enumerated heresies prove that the word *yazyk* in the above text can only be understood as "faith" or "religious belief". In detail - H. PASZKIEWICZ, *The Making*, pp. 31-109.

12) The Chronicle also contains other passages where the word *yazyk* appears in its ecclesiastical and religious meaning. One reads for instance: "There was one Slavonic *yazyk* [including] the Slavs settled along the Danube..., the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, and the [Kievan] Polyanians"... (*Be edin yazyk slovenesk: sloveni, izhe sedyakhu po Dunaevi..., i morava, i chesi, i lyakhove i polyane...*" D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest'* I, p. 21). If the word *yazyk* in the above text were to be understood in the sense of tongue, the information thus obtained would be difficult to explain, as for instance the statement of a language (and ethnical) affinity between Czechs and the population of the Kiev region, while tribes kindred to that population and much closer situated (as the Derevlans, Dregovichians, Severians, etc.) are not even mentioned. However, any sort of doubt or criticism is removed since the text clearly states why those particular peoples, and no other, have been enumerated: it is for them that the books have been translated (into Slavonic). *Sim bo pervoe prelozheny knigi* - and the sacred books formed the very foundation of the Faith. They were the link which bound the mentioned peoples together into one *yazyk*.

be).¹³⁾ In this way "Nestor" indirectly affirms that the language of the Varangian Rus' was not Slavonic. If it were so, there would be no point in stressing the fact of Slavs along the Dnieper retaining their native tongue. The thing would be obvious in itself.

Although the mentioned passage of the *Povest'* is usually interpreted in the sense of *yazyk* - nation, this interpretation cannot be accepted. It would lead to the conclusion that "Nestor" had stated in the same breath (by sentences immediately following each other), that the Rus' were at the same time Slavs and (Norse) Varangians. Such a statement, obviously, would be too contradictory.

An analysis of the Chronicle's text has led many scholars to the conclusion that information in the *Povest'* had been collected not only from oral tradition, but also from written records in earlier sources. Thus, according to the reasoning of those who follow the *yazyk*-nation thesis, since the analysed passage of "Nestor" mentions both the Slavonic and Varangian descent of the Rus', this proves that the compiler had used two different narratives and introduced both into his text.

However, the matter is not as simple as it might seem at first glance. In the first place, one has to be extremely wary as regards those earlier records relating to the problem under consideration. Their existence, even if probable, still remains hypothetical. Scholars differ as they try to establish the amount and the contents of those lost sources. The literature on the subject is marked by a characteristic feature: the authors are apt to read into those non-existent texts such information as they regard necessary to support their preconceived idea (i.e. the Slavonic origin of the Rus') thus adding to and correcting the text of "Nestor".

Let us accept for a while that two such contradictory reports concerning the ethnical character of the Rus' did, in fact, exist. From this supposition it does not necessarily follow that a later compiler had to repeat them without critical examination. But let us further accept that for reasons of accuracy the chronicler did transmit every item of information received, being himself completely ignorant on the subject, although this is more difficult to believe since such an important matter should have been still of common knowledge at his time. In connection with the above one fundamental observation must be made: the Varangian origin of the Rus' as reported by "Nestor" finds support in many other sources of the period,¹⁴⁾ while their Slavonic descent - finds none at all. Thus, in consequence of such reasoning one can only conclude that there had been one source, and one only, which regarded the Rus' as being Slavs (and on the grounds of which the chronicler could identify the Rus' with Slavs), and that it is exactly this very source which has disappeared.

Such are the results to which the defence of the *yazyk*-nation thesis leads in connection with the *Povest'* text here analysed.

13) "A sloven'skiyi yazyk i ruskiy odno est', ot varyag bo prozvashtsya Rus'yu, a pervoe besha slovene; ashche i polyane zvakhutsya, no sloven'skaa rech' be. Polyami zhe prozvani byshi, zane v poli sedyakhu, a yazyk slovenski edin". D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest'* I, p. 23.

14) H. PASZKIEWICZ, *The Making*, pp. 145-175.

One initial error leads to another. Starting with the assumption that the ancient Rus' were one of the East-Slavonic tribes, a further thesis was advanced: this tribe imposed its domination and its name upon other kindred populations, forming thus the "Old-Rus'ian or East Slavonic nation" (*drevnerusskii ili vostochnoslavianskii narod*). This nation was monolithic in its internal structure: its ethnical unity was so strong as to exert a formidable impact upon the whole history of Eastern Europe.¹⁵⁾ The territory where this nation dwelled stretched from the Carpathian mountains to almost those of the Urals, and from the far north to the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea in the south. From this nation, as from the trunk of a tree, three branches grew out in time (Russians, Ukrainians and White Rus').

The idea of such a nation is in complete contradiction with the process of national development of other European peoples. Everywhere the same pattern is repeated: first small, mostly tribal units blend to form larger groups, until — in some countries sooner, in others later — national consolidation is reached. In Russia this process is supposed to have taken place in reverse: first an extremely strong national consolidation, which later disintegrates and is split into three nations.

The question immediately arises: where did those early Rus' live before they started their expansion? The great majority of authors indicate the territory: it was that of the river Ros', a right tributary of the middle Dnieper. The only argument they find to justify this conjecture is the similarity of names Rus' - Ros'. However, if one wished to apply such a criterion it would be possible to maintain, with equal success, that the Rus' had lived, for instance, in the north near the lake of Ilmen', and that their central settlement was Rusa (Staraya Rusa), as was supposed by many scholars (A. Shakhmatov, S. Platonov, etc.). Geographical terms deriving from the root: rus-ros, are found throughout Eastern Europe (and not only Eastern).

The proposition of the river Ros' is impossible to accept. Archaeological findings in that region are scarce and do not point to the existence of some larger group of inhabitants. It would be more correct to suppose that the territory was a desert, bordering on the steppes and open to continual raids by nomadic tribes. Usually, captives taken in battle or carried off from other lands were brought and settled in such border regions in order to protect Kiev from any threat from outside. This actually took place along the Ros'.¹⁶⁾

Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that "Nestor", who lived in Kiev, who was able to place correctly the various East-Slavonic tribes in their territories, would remain completely ignorant as regards one of them — the Rus' from the banks of the Ros', a river that flowed at a comparatively short distance from Kiev. Especially as the Rus' were to have been responsible for an event of such historical magnitude as the creation of a great "Eastern-Slavonic nation".

But, the very name of such a nation is already inadmissible. An "Eastern-Slavonic nation" could never have existed, just as there never was a "Western-Slavonic nation" (only particular and separate nations such as Poles or Czechs), or a "Southern-Slavonic nation" (only separate

15) Such an opinion is shared by Grekov, Mavrodin, Pashuto, Rybakov and many others.

16) D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest'* I, p. 101.

Slavonic nations in the Balkans). The term "Eastern Slavs", in its present connotation, was still unknown in the 18th cent., as I already pointed out with reference to Tatishchev. What is more, the term "Old Rus'ian or East Slavonic nation" immediately suggests the identity of the Rus' with Slavs at the beginning of history. Such an identification has been often accepted, although it is denied by records in the sources of the period. Thus, the results of archaeological research were called in for support but - as Tret'yakov justly remarked¹⁷⁾ - they did not help to elucidate the matter.

From the concept of three Rus'ian nations, all deriving from a single common nation, it immediately follows that they were all supposed to be Slavonic and — applying the terminology in use today — East Slavonic. The Slavonic origin of Ukrainians and White Rus'ians remains an undeniable fact. The matter is very different, however, as regards the North-East, the region of the Upper Volga, where in the 14th and 15th centuries was to emerge the powerful Grand Duchy of Muscovy, later called Russia.

Are then the Russians (Muscovites) Slavs?

"Nestor" states that in his time, in the early 12th century,¹⁸⁾ this region was inhabited by the Merya (generally known as a Finno-Ugrian tribe) and by Varangian Norsemen who ruled over Merya.¹⁹⁾ The chronicler regards the Merians as the original inhabitants of the country. The Varangians were later new-comers of the 9th century.

The presence of Varangians along the Volga was a part, and only a fraction, of the huge Norse expansion over Eastern Europe. The *Povest'* pays a great deal of attention to the role played by the Rus' (Varangians) settled along the Dnieper, far less to those settled on the Volga, thus providing not a false, but a rather one-sided picture. For this, in my opinion, there were two good reasons. Firstly, the chronicler lived in Kiev and was, therefore, better informed about what happened in the lands bordering on his own, than in those of the distant North-East. Secondly, "Nestor" was a monk of the famous monastery of *Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra*. Obviously, he was more interested in Byzantium and the Christian faith which radiated into Rus' from Constantinople, than in the far removed Volga region still lost in pagan darkness.

However, we have some material, most important to an explorer of

17) "Were the Rus' once a distinct tribe, Slavonic or not Slavonic, did they dwell between the Polyanians and the Ulichians [i.e., in the region of the River Ros'], to those questions, until now, there is no answer". P. TRET'YAKOV, *O drevneishikh rusakh i ikh zemle*, in *Slavyane i Rus'*, 1968, p. 187. "Allegedly, here [along the Ros'] there was also some local ethnical element — whether Slavonic or not Slavonic one does not know — which gave to the land of Rus' its name. Efforts to decipher its riddle [of this people] on the grounds of archaeological data, did not bring any positive results until now". P. TRET'YAKOV, *U istokov drevnerusskoi narodnosti, Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* 179, 1970, p. 154.

18) "Nestor" when speaking of by-gone events was in the habit of relating them to his own times, D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest'* I, p. 12-17, etc. To differentiate between periods, he used in the first instance the passed tense, and the present tense in the second. Thus, speaking about Merya, the chronicler says: ... "sedyat' ... na Rostov'skom ozere merya"... *Ibidem*, p. 18. Similarly - p. 10. *Sedyat'* - live, dwell on the Lake of Rostov the Merya. "Nestor" does not write here: *sedosha* (lived, dwelt), as he often did in connection with other peoples (*ibidem*, pp. 11-14).

19) *Povest'* I, p. 18.

the past, which somewhat at least fills this gap in the chronicle. It consists of Arabic coins dating mostly from the 9th and 10th centuries and found in exceptionally large numbers, in hundreds or thousands, along the Volga and its tributaries and along many rivers of the North, as well as on the shores of the Baltic, in Scandinavia, and especially numerous, on the island of Gotland.²⁰⁾ To make trade possible over such vast regions there must have existed along the river-routes, the Volga in particular, many Varangian settlements, trading stations, groups of warriors, in order to ensure the safety of merchants on their dangerous travels.

Seen against this concrete background "Nestor"'s reports, few but significant, gain fresh importance. Following the voice of tradition, the chronicler states that the first Rus' - Varangians arrived in the East of Europe from Scandinavia (in the second half of the 9th cent. at the latest). It is with northern lands (Novgorod, Beloozero, Izborsk) that he links the exploits and activity of Rurik (and his brothers), legendary or historical founder of the ruling dynasty. Only after settling in the North did Rurik's successors move South, to Kiev (of course in the direction of Byzantium) without, however, breaking old contacts with those northern regions.

In this connection, the treaties concluded in the first half of the 10th cent. between Oleg and Igor', Grand Dukes of Kiev, and Byzantium, are worth special attention. Prominent in the negotiations is a group of the Rus' (*My ot roda ruskago*), several princes of lesser degree and their dignitaries, all enumerated by name.²¹⁾ In great majority those names are unmistakably Norse ones. From these names derive appellations of various vast estates, which leads one to suppose that their first holders had actually been the enumerated Rus'. These estates were situated in the north and east, stretching through lands in the region of Novgorod²²⁾ and on Merian territory.²³⁾ "Nestor" relates that in his time (i.e. early 12th cent.) Varangian military hosts occupied many cities, such as Polotsk, Beloozero, Rostov, etc.²⁴⁾ The agreements with the Greeks mentioned

20) A. MARKOV, *Topografiya kladov vostochnykh monet (sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh)*, 1910; R. FASMER, *Ob izdanií novoi topografii nakhodok kuficheskikh monet v Vostochnoi Evrope*, 1933; M. STERNBERGER, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, 1947; G. KORZUKHINA, *Russkie klady IX - XIII vv.*, 1954; V. YANIN, *Numizmatika i problemy tovarno-denezhnogo obrashcheniya v drevnei Rusi, Voprosy istorii*, 1955; *idem*, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo srednevekov'ya. Domongol'skii period*, 1956, and many others.

21) D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest' I*, pp. 25, 34, 35.

22) This was pointed out by B. GREKOV, *Krest'yane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka*, 1952, p. 100.

23) In the geographical nomenclature of the territory in question, the names of the Rus' mentioned in Igor's agreement with the Greeks, still subsist in later times. And thus: Ivor-Ivorovskaya volost', Ivorovskoe selo; Istr-Isterva volost'; Kar(a)sh-Karash volost'; Klek-Klekovskii stan, etc. M. LYUBAVSKY, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii Velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, pp. 11, 12, 14, 50, 56, 113, 120.

24) "Nestor" relates that after the death of his brothers "Rurik assumed the sole authority. He assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero" (*I priya vlast' Rurik, i rozdaya muzhem svoim grady, ovomu Polotesk, ovomu Rostov, drugomu Beloozero*). While speaking of those events the chronicler — according to his habit — relates them at once to his own times and continues in the present tense: "In these cities there are the Varangian new-comers" (*I po tem gorodom sut' nakhodnitsi varyazi*). D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest' I*, p. 18.

above serve to supplement "Nestor" 's report, and prove that Varangians (the Rus') did not only concentrate in cities, but that some of them held large estates received from their princes.

Sources dating after "Nestor" support the above information. The Kievan *Paterikon* reports that in the first half of the 12th cent., the main ruler in the land of Merya was a Varangian. His name is given and his Varangian descent elaborated upon.²⁵⁾ As late as the 13th cent., the Rurikides settled on the Oka appear in chronicles bearing names in their characteristic Scandinavian form, e.g. Ingvor, Ingvar, instead of Igor'.²⁶⁾

In the first half of the 13th cent. a Hungarian Dominican, Julianus set out as a missionary to the middle Volga and its left tributary, the Kama. Giving account of this travel, he writes that he had met in the Volga region a Tartar envoy who knew many languages, "Teutonic" among them (... *qui sciebat... Theotonicum*). Moreover, one has to take note of the letter of the Hungarian Franciscan, brother Johanca, written in 1320 to the General of his Order. Johanca, with three other friars, of whom two were Hungarian, while one was English, carried on missionary activities among the riparian populations of the Volga, under Tartar domination. In his letter, he affirms that it might be possible to win these peoples over to the Catholic Church if English as well as German missionaries were sent to them (... *de Anglicis... et Teutonicis precipue...*).²⁷⁾ These facts show clearly that even as late as the 13th and 14th centuries the population on the Volga — or to be more exact, a part of that population — was still Norse, as it used a language related to English and German.

All those reports indicate that the Varangians remained settled on the Volga for surprisingly long period, and also continued for a long time to play there a considerable role. Soviet historians do not attach much importance to the sources above mentioned. They base their opinions on results of archaeological research which — as always when ethnical problems are concerned — remain uncertain and controversial. Archaeologists question the existence of larger Varangian settlements in the North-East, while the influence and role in the history of Merya and other kindred tribes, they reduce them — at best — to very limited dimensions.

The thesis concerning the existence of three Rus'ian nations, all descending from a common Slavonic stock, compels one to recognize the third member of this group, the population of the Upper Volga, as being also Slavs. In order to reconcile such an assumption with the fact of the Finnish Merya living in the same territory, another theory was advanced in the 19th century, today generally accepted, according to which a mass infiltration of Slavonic settlers into the country had taken place, chiefly from the Smolensk region and in part also from the shores of lake

25) D. ABRAMOVICH, *Kievo-Pecherskii Paterik, Pam'yatki Movi ta Pis'menstva Davnoi Ukraini* IV, 1930, pp. 1-5.

26) A. NASONOV, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, pp. 58, 63, 74, 267, etc.; M. PRISELOV, *Troitskaya letopis'*, 1950, pp. 285, 295, 305.

27) L. BENDEFFY, *Fontes authentici itinera (1235-1238) fr. Juliani illustrantes, Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* III, 1937, pp. 1-50; S. ANNINSKY, *Izvestiya vengerskikh missionerov XIII - XIV vv. o tatarach i Vostochnoi Evrope, Istoricheskii Arkhiv* III, 1940, pp. 71-112.

Ilmen' and the river Oka. This infiltration is supposed to have brought about the disappearance of Merya from the historical scene. According to some authors, this tribe had been pushed out into other territories, according to others — and this opinion prevails in the literature on the subject — the Merya remained in their native land, but the process of their Slavonization was so rapid that in the 13th cent. (at the latest) the region of the Upper Volga had already become a Slavonic country. Thus, "Nestor's" account where the Varangians and the Merya are mentioned as sole inhabitants of the region in question at the beginning of the 12th cent., is regarded to have been "elucidated" in this way: there had been hardly any Varangians on the Upper Volga, and the Merya had just - disappeared.

It is generally accepted that Slavonic colonization of the territories discussed had taken place in historical times (either entirely or in major part). Historical sources, however, have no knowledge of such a colonization, and indirectly even deny it.

Special attention should be given here, as always, to the irreplaceable "Nestor". The chronicler is silent on the subject of colonization although he himself was a Slav and interested in the migration of peoples and settlement problems.²⁸⁾ The *Povest'* enjoyed great popularity in later ages and was copied frequently until the 17th century. It was also copied by people settled in the North-East. Still, no one ever thought of correcting "Nestor's" account, nobody ever tried to complete it by recording the colonization of the Merian land by Slavs, an event of such crucial importance as to change the whole ethnic picture of the country. An eminent Russian historian, Klyuchevsky (d. 1911), observing that both early and later chronicles have no knowledge of an influx of Slavonic settlers into the Merian territory, decided to investigate another group of sources, namely the numerous lives of Rus'ian saints.²⁹⁾ But there also he was unable to find any data corroborating the supposition of the above mentioned colonization.

Since historical sources were so disappointing on all points concerned, the followers of the colonization thesis had to turn for support to other fields of knowledge. And this was done. Anthropology proved of little help. According to anthropologists, Finno-Ugrians in the first millennium of the Christian era were not entirely homogeneous, in the anthropological sense, but of clearly mixed stock. The same applies to Slavs and Balts. Similar anthropological characteristics are found both in Finns and Slavs. When compared, Merian and Slavonic skulls show similarity.³⁰⁾ It is, therefore, easy to make mistakes in classification and take Merian skulls for Slavonic or *vice versa*.

In view of this, the colonization thesis became mainly based on archaeology and linguistics. Soviet archaeology can boast of real success

28) D. LIKHACHEV, *Povest'* I, pp. 11, 14, 18, 21, etc.

29) V. KLYUCHEVSKY, *Drevnerusskie zhitiya svyatykh kak istoricheskii istochnik*, 1871.

30) T. ALEKSEEVA, *Antropologicheskii sostav naseleniya Volgo-Okskogo basseina (K probleme slavyano-finskikh vzaimootnoshenii v Povolzh'e)*, *Trudy Instituta Etnografii* 33, 1956, p. 47; *eadem*, *Sravnitel'naya kranilogicheskaya kharakteristika slavyanskikh grup srednevekov'ya na territorii, naselennoi russkimi, Proiskhozhdenie i etnicheskaya istoriya russkogo naroda po antropologicheskim dannym*, *Trudy* 88, 1965, pp. 248-255.

as regards the profusion of collected material.³¹⁾ There are, however, certain gaps in its achievements which should also be taken under consideration: the until now uncoordinated investigations in the territory itself, not to mention the fragmentary and accidental character of archaeological findings, something which is usually impossible to avoid. Moreover, archaeologists have to cope with difficulties similar to those of anthropologists. Voronin thinks that "the Merian tribe [was], as archaeological data indicate, very close in character to Slavonic culture; this might appear to explain the swift dwindling [disappearance] of ethnical and cultural differences between the two tribes [Slavs and Finns]".³²⁾ Lyapushkin also affirms that the "tribes of Balts and Finns [when taking into consideration] various elements of material culture, differed very little from the Slavs".³³⁾ If the differences in question were, in fact, so slight (and this allegedly should explain the swift Slavonization of Merya), then from the above observation another conclusion could be reached: archaeologists might easily label their findings as Slavonic vestiges, or the other way round. In other words, the classification of archaeological material as to its ethnical contents is most uncertain, and in many cases quite impossible.

Moreover, there exists a great divergence of opinion among archaeologists and linguists which found expression in never-ending polemics. This controversy produced a paradoxical situation: the archaeologists had shown up all the weak points of the etymological arguments, while the etymologists did exactly the same regarding to the reasonings of archaeologists. And since the objections of both sides are justified, any possible constructive result of the discussion is reduced to nil, even though all participants tried to defend the same colonization theory. "Although modern archaeologists — writes Tokarev — often very decidedly speak about "Slavonic", "Eastern-Finnish" and similar pottery of the first millennium of our era,... about [certain] burial fields as appertaining to Slavs, etc., this is, in fact, nothing more than suppositions... Neither [the manner] of burial, nor pottery, can tell us anything about the language spoken by their proprietors... It would be in no way improbable [to assume] that the same sort of pottery could belong both to Slavonic and to Finnish tribes".³⁴⁾ Toporov and Trubachev state, that "archaeological data [although] competing with those of linguistics... fail to win in comparison with the latter — firstly, because from the point of view of ethnical interpretation they prove to have a wider variety of possible meaning, and secondly — archaeological facts remain mute if there is no information about the linguistic situation in the territory in question".³⁵⁾ In answer to such opinions, the archae-

31) Cf. A. ROGACHEV and others, *Dostizheniya arkheologicheskoi nauki v RSFSR, Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1967 (3), pp. 9-46.

32) N. VORONIN, *Kul'tura Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoi zemli XI-XIII vv., Istoricheskii Zhurnal*, 1944 (4), p. 35.

33) I. LYAPUSHKIN, *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki slavyan lesnoi zony Vostochnoi Evropy nakanune obrazovaniya drevnerusskogo gosudarstva (VIII-IX vv.)*, in *Kul'tura drevnei Rusi*, 1966, p. 127.

34) S. TOKAREV, *K postanovke problem etnogeneza, Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1949 (3), p. 20.

35) V. TOPOROV and O. TRUBACHEV, *Lingvisticheskiy analiz gidronimov Verkhnego Podneprov'ya*, 1962, p. 3.

ologist, Goryunova, says: "Unfortunately, the history of language in this territory [concerning Finnish Merya] is almost in its initial stage,³⁶⁾ and we [archaeologists] cannot rely upon the arguments of linguists".³⁷⁾ From all this exchange of opinions one point only remains relevant: it seems that the crux of the matter lies rather in the language problem than anywhere else. However, even here one meets with diverse difficulties.

The language of the Merya, as that of other Finnish tribes was, at that time, used only in speech. No vestige of it has reached us in writing. The only available data we have in this respect comes from geographical names, from the toponymics of the Merian country. According to Popov, the Merian speech was Finno-Ugrian, although somewhat peculiar, containing certain lexical elements different from those surviving in Finno-Ugrian languages known today.³⁸⁾ Thus, many old geographical names of the region in question remain impossible to decipher. Names of waters, large rivers and lakes, are usually supposed to be the most ancient. According to Serebrennikov's reckoning, the number of appellations in the region between the rivers Volga and Oka whose origin cannot be determined, adds up to several thousand.³⁹⁾ Moreover, the problem whether the Merians were indigenous to the Upper Volga, or had been preceded in the land by other dwellers from whom certain geographical names could have descended, remains still unsolved. In conclusion, a classification of geographical names according to their ethnical origin leads to continual controversy in the rich literature on the subject. Even names of fundamental importance for the country's history, such as the Moskva river and the town called after it, must be counted among controversial problems. Some scholars, like Il'insky, Chernykh, Saushkin, etc. regard it as Slavonic,⁴⁰⁾ some — like Berg, Burnham, Dickenmann and others — treat it as Finno-Ugrian,⁴¹⁾ while Melkheev, Popov, Nikonov, etc., admit that the question remains still unanswered.⁴²⁾

36) Etymologists admit that — on the whole — Finno-Ugrian toponymics has not been, as yet, sufficiently studied. Cf. K. MAITINSKAYA, in *Yazyki narodov SSSR*, vol. III: *Finno-ugorskie i samodiiskie yazyki*, 1966, p. 25.

37) E. GORYUNOVA, *Etnicheskaya istoriya Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurech'ya, Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 94, 1961, p. 6.

38) A. POPOV, *Osnovnye zadachi issledovaniya finno-ugorskoj i samodiiskoj toponimiki SSSR, in Voprosy finno-ugorskogo yazykoznaniya. Gramatika i leksikologiya*, 1964, p. 207.

39) B. SEREBRENNIKOV, *Volgo-Okskaya toponimika na territorii evropeiskoi chasti SSSR, Voprosy yazykoznaniya*, 1955 (6), p. 28; *idem*, *Pochemu trudno razreshit' problemu proiskhozhdeniya verkhnikh sloev severnorusskoj gidronimii*, *Voprosy*, 1970, pp. 44-59.

40) G. IL'INSKY, *Reka Moskva, Izvestiya Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk* (6th Series), 1922, pp. 601-604; *idem*, *Nochmals der Name von Moskau, Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* IV, 1927, pp. 104-109; P. CHERNYKH, *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii imeni "Moskva"*, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i yazyka* IX, 1950, pp. 393-401; *idem*, *O nekotorykh starykh nazvaniyakh rek, Movoznavstvo* XIV, 1957, pp. 97-98; Yu. SAUSHKIN, *Moskva. Geograficheskaya kharakteristika*, 1964, p. 54.

41) L. BERG, *O proiskhozhdenii nazvaniya Moskvy, Geograficheskii Vestnik* XXVI (3-4), 1924, pp. 5-10; R. BURNHAM, *Who are the Finns?* 1946, p. 56; E. DICKENMANN, *Aufgaben und Methoden der russischen Ortsnamenforschung, Beiträge zur Namenforschung* VI (2), 1955, pp. 253-254.

42) M. MELKHEEV, *Geograficheskie imena*, 1961, p. 60; A. POPOV, *Geograficheskie nazvaniya (Vvedenie v toponimiku)*, 1965, pp. 115-116; V. NIKONOV, *Kratkii toponimicheskii slovar'*, 1966, pp. 275-276.

"There are — writes Zhuchkevich — tens [plenty] of etymological [explanations] linguistically justified relating to such generally known names as Moskva, Volga, Dnieper and others, but in the best case only one of them is correct for each name. Thus, [to observe strictly] the rules of language does not always preserve us from false etymological conclusions. Only that becomes reliable which is probable not only from the point of view of language, but also acceptable from the point of view of geography and history"⁴³⁾ Popov as well warns against relying too much upon the arguments of etymologists. They can be put to good use only when supported by other disciplines, and — above all — by historical data.⁴⁴⁾

All this together indicates that, as regards the question of Slavonic colonization on Merian territory, both geographical names and archaeological findings in themselves — without taking into consideration strictly historical material — are unable to lead to anything but some more or less probable hypotheses.

The colonization thesis seems to be highly questionable and provokes serious reservations also as regards general probability. Those who support it assert that the colonizing activity on the Upper Volga was being mostly developed by the tribe of Krivichians, settled in the region of Smolensk. On the other hand, the same authors state that the land of Smolensk was inhabited — as late as the 8th-10th cent. — by the so-called Eastern Balts.⁴⁵⁾

To find a way out from this awkward situation it is assumed that Krivichians, having overrun the Eastern Balts' territory, brought about their Slavonization. If this had taken place, the inhabitants of the Smolensk region at the time here discussed should be regarded as ethnically mixed, a Slavo-Balt combination. Going further, "the Krivichians" — who now should be understood as half-Slavs and half-Balts — are supposed to have gone on with the colonization of Merya, soon completing the Slavonization of that tribe. In this way another mixing had occurred, of Slavo-Balts and Finns this time. It follows, that in the region of the Upper Volga the Slavs could only amount to 1/3 or 1/4 of the population (using, obviously, only comparative figures). If to all this one adds "Nestor's" account about Merian cities held by

43) V. ZHUCHKEVICH, *Toponimicheskie "landshaft", Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva* 100 (4), 1968, p. 345.

44) A. POPOV, *Toponimika kak istoricheskaya nauka, Movoiznavstvo XIV*, 1957, p. 8.

45) Geographical names — and strictly speaking, names of waters (rivers and lakes), remaining mostly in use for very long — form the basis for studies of the Balts' earliest history. An etymological analysis of those names leads to the conclusion that Balts had once occupied huge territories in the east, the region of Upper Dnieper on both banks of that river, that of Western Dvina and partly that of the Upper Volga. Cf. K. BUGA, *Die Vorgeschichte der aistischen (baltischen) Stämme im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, Streiberg - Festgabe*, 1924; M. VASMER, *Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas. I. Die Ostgrenze der baltischen Stämme, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. - Hist. Klasse), 1932; A. MOORA, *O drevnei territorii rasseleniya baltiiskikh plemen, Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1958; V. TOPOROV, *Nekotorye zadachi izucheniya baltiiskoi toponimiki russkikh territorii, Voprosy Geografii* 58, 1962; V. TOPOROV and O. TRUBACHEV, *Lingvisticheskie analiz gidronimov Verkhnego Podneprov'ya*, 1962; P. TRET'YAKOV, *Finno-ugry, balty i slavyane na Dnepre i Volge*, 1966, and many others. (Today the only remaining Balts are the Lithuanians and the Latvians).

Norse Varangians (and they too are supposed to have undergone swift Slavonization), then the Slavonic element on the Upper Volga becomes even more diluted and is reduced to a negligible quantity.⁴⁶⁾ Such are the conclusions to which lead the works of the very authors who claim that, in the 12-13th cent., the territory of Merya had become a Slavonic country.

There arises, moreover, another question: is it possible to assume such a swift process of assimilation as regards indigenous populations in general, and especially at that period? It should be borne in mind that Merya, for instance, had already existed for a long time, at least for eight centuries (6th⁴⁷⁾-13th cent. A.D.) and thus also had its own well rooted traditions, a separate tongue, a vast national territory and a considerable strength to dispose of.

It remains a mystery why all the non-Slavs (Eastern Balts, Finnish Merya, Norse Varangians), should have so easily undergone Slavonization, when Slavs at that time — judging by the vestiges of their material culture — were unable to boast of great superiority over other tribes. It is generally accepted that Slavs made no military conquests on the Upper Dnieper and Upper Volga. Now, since the assumed process of assimilation is supposed to have followed an easy and smooth course, one cannot avoid the impression that all the mentioned non-Slavonic peoples were only too keen to discard and obliterate their own ethnical characteristics. Unfortunately, till now nobody was able to elucidate the reason for and the cause of such an extraordinary desire.

The thesis relating to the peaceful character of Slavonic colonization on Merian territory, advanced both in older literature on the subject (Solov'ev, Klyuchevsky, Lyubavsky, etc.) as almost everywhere in the most recent, is based on a peculiar interpretation of historical sources. According to those scholars, Slavonic settlers obviously proceeded to occupy Merian lands in a most friendly and gentle way since the chronicles never mention Slav victories in war nor any battles between the native population and the new arrivals. Chroniclers do, in fact, remain silent on this subject, and for a simple reason: they know nothing of any colonization. Thus, the whole argument draws a blank.

In the opinion of many authors (Maksimov, Nasonov, Tikhomirov, Tret'yakov, Voronin, etc.), the Slavonic settlers infiltrating into the Upper Volga region were farmers and, therefore, chose above all such lands in the new country as were best for cultivation. Thus, one is invited to believe that the Merya looked on passively while an alien element continued to appropriate patches of fertile soil in a land covered by immense forests, marshes and swamps. In order to give some probability to such a state of affairs, Merya becomes invested by present day authors with outstanding qualities: it was a kindly tribe, hospitable, gentle, conciliatory, peaceloving, etc. Again, the sources offer no grounds

46) To make the colonization hypothesis more acceptable, it is often assumed that the non-Slavonic populations which underwent Slavonization were extremely small in numbers, in contrast to the vastly procreative Slavs. There is, however, complete lack of evidence in support of such an assumption. ,

47) Jordanis (Jordanes) writing in the 6th century A.D. already speaks about Merya.

whatsoever for such a picture of Merya. Drawing inference from analogy it must be rejected as utterly false.⁴⁸⁾

Notwithstanding the great number of works where the supposed colonization is accepted as an undeniable fact, all details relating to this process remain obscure. Nothing definite is known about the reasons leading to Slavonic infiltration into Merian country, the time when it occurred, its character, the attitude of Slavs towards Merya and *vice versa*, the later fate of Merya, etc. This is admitted even by decided supporters of the colonization thesis. "While the colonization of the North-East accomplished by Slavs — writes Sukhov — and in particular that of the land of ...Merya, apparently proves to be undeniable, the time, the paths, the character of that colonization still remain completely unexplored"⁴⁹⁾ Despite the widely publicized successes of archaeologists in confirming the colonization thesis, Nasonov is rather pessimistic in his assessment of the results obtained: "Information about Rostov [the oldest city of Merya] and the Rostov land are — until the middle of the 12th cent. — scanty. Neither is much gained from archaeological material which could be of great help as supplement to the written one"⁵⁰⁾ And Goryunova states: "Until now it is difficult to form [a definite] judgment, either concerning the character of this [colonization] process or the reasons which led the first [Slavonic] settlers to abandon the places they had long occupied and move on, far into ... Merian lands"⁵¹⁾ A similar opinion is held by Rabinovich: "Unfortunately, [archaeological material] from the region between the Volga and Oka rivers has not been, as yet, sufficiently elaborated upon to allow for a clear opinion concerning the population of the country in the 8th-10th cent., the Slavonic colonization of that territory and the mutual relations between Slavs and the Ugro-Finnish population"⁵²⁾

This state of affairs is not astonishing. It is impossible to fix the details of an event, when its very existence remains to be proved.

So far the present considerations have led to negative conclusions. One has to reject: 1) the Slavonic descent of early Rus', 2) the existence of an "Old Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation", 3) the Slavonic colonization of Merya territory. All three theses which appear in the literature on

48) The hypothesis concerning Merya's meekness and gentleness remains in blatant contradiction with information about Mordva, a tribe kindred to Merya. The relation of Julianus, a Hungarian missionary, who passed through the land of Mordva in the first half of the 13th century, may serve here as an example. Julianus puts great stress on the savagery and cruelty of the Mordva (... *qui [Morduani] sunt pagani, et adeo homines crudeles, qui pro nichilo reputatur homo ille, qui multos homines non occidit, et cum aliquis in via procedit, omnium hominum capita, quos occidit, coram ipso portantur, et quanto plura coram uno quoque portantur capita, tanto melior reputatur*). *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* III, 1937, p. 25. It is difficult to doubt that Merya would act differently towards the Slavonic settlers crowding into the country.

49) P. SUKHOV, Slavyanskoe gorodishche IX-X st. v yuzhnom Beloz'er'e, *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* VI, 1941, p. 89.

50) A. NASONOV, "Russkaya zemlya" i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, 1951, p. 176.

51) E. GORYUNOVA, *Etnicheskaya istoriya*, p. 183.

52) M. RABINOVICH, Ob etnicheskom sostave pervonachal'nogo naseleniya Moskvyy, *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1962 (2), p. 60.

the subject find no support or are, in fact, denied by reports in sources relating to the discussed period.

On the other hand, there is one fact which requires to be put in evidence: the name of Merya continues to appear in historical sources up to the second half of the 13th century.⁵³⁾ Approximately from that time onwards the population of the Upper Volga region will be commonly known, and for ever, as - "Rus'ian". Starting from the assumption that the early Rus' were Slavs, and the territory in question became Rus'ian and therefore Slavonic, it is further accepted that the country had been infiltrated by a Slavonic population, since the Merya lived there previously. The conclusion is logical, but the assumption is false.

Here arises a question of a more general nature: does the loss of an ancient tribal name, and the acceptance of the Rus'ian one, automatically lead to presuppose also the loss of ethnical distinction among the native population in result of alien elements infiltrating into the land? The fact of the disappearance of Merya's name is usually treated in complete detachment from the general situation then prevailing in Eastern Europe. The ancient tribal names of many peoples vanish from the pages of sources during the 12th cent.,⁵⁴⁾ and those peoples are henceforth designated by the common name of "Rus'ian". The Finnish Merya is not, therefore, an exception in this general process. The problem should be thus seen against a wider background, and its elucidation looked for in the meaning of the term "Rus'" and in the changes it underwent through the ages.

This term, in its earliest phase (9-10th cent.) had an ethnic meaning, it referred to Norse Varangians. Later, when their conquests in the east had spread over vast territories, both Slavonic (on the lake Ilmen' and along the Dnieper), and Finno-Ugrian (along the Volga), and when those conquests had to be retained and organized, the name of Rus' became identified with the State ruled by the Rurikides supported by their Varangian warriors. In 988 Vladimir the Great accepted baptism from Byzantium. This was a crucial moment in the history of Eastern Europe. The new faith was to unite and bind perpetually together the victorious conquerors and the vanquished masses. In this situation, the term "Rus'" gradually lost its previous ethnical sense, acquiring an ever more pronounced supra-tribal, State character, and with the acceptance of baptism, above all a religious one. The role of Varangian warriors is now taken over by hosts of priests, ever more numerous with the passage of time, by missionaries preaching the new faith with great zeal among the multi-tribal, pagan population of Eastern Europe. These hosts were to become the very mainstay of the reigning dynasty. Every one of their successes was at the time a success for the State, since the State automatically proceeded to subject to itself the freshly converted peoples. Thus, the acceptance of baptism created the indissoluble union of State and Church and the supra-national State-Church concept of Rus'.

The idea of a so-called "Rus'ian nation" was not an original achievement of the Rurikides. It came to Eastern Europe from Byzantium, brought over together with the Faith. In the present understanding of

53) For the last time (under the name of "Merovia") - in the report of the Hungarian missionary, Julianus (1237-1238), mentioned above.

54) N. BARSOV, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, 1885, pp. 79-80, 92-93; H. PASZKIEWICZ, *The Making*, p. 197.

the word, a Byzantine nation never really existed. There was only a conglomeration of peoples, in the ethnical sense, conquered by the Empire, incorporated into a State organization, and bound together by common religion. Dawkins thinks that "membership of the Church was [in Byzantium] a mark of nationality".⁵⁵⁾ Baynes rightly states: "Though it may sound a paradox, the assertion that the early Rus'ian State owed its very existence to Constantinople would hardly be an exaggeration".⁵⁶⁾

With religion was connected the language of liturgy and so, in consequence, that of the State, namely Greek, which on the surface gave the Eastern Empire a Greek appearance. Closely connected with religion was also the ruling power in the State. As defender and propagator of the Faith, the Emperor stood extremely high in Church hierarchy, receiving almost divine worship.

All those aspects and traditions were now being brought over by Vladimir from Constantinople to Kiev. Aware of the Imperial aspirations to rule over the world, he was keen, however, to preserve his own particular identity. This explains why the Slavonic language was introduced into the liturgy of the Rus'ian church and, in consequence, into the whole political and cultural life of the State. Here Vladimir took advantage of a lucky opportunity provided by Slavonic Rite of Cyril and Methodius which, appearing in the second half of the 9th century and radiating from Moravia to other countries, reached the Dnieper region before Vladimir's time.

The Slavonic liturgical language, destined to play in Eastern Europe a role similar to that of Greek in Byzantium, brought the Rus'ian State of the Varangian Rurikides enormous advantages: 1) it was understood by many conquered tribes, thus giving hope of their swift conversion, and 2) it was used not only in speech, but — what is far more important — also in writing, and so had the necessary qualification for becoming an international language. And in fact, it did to some extent assume in the East the role fulfilled by Latin in the West.

Christianity, sponsored by Constantinople, had its main centre in Kiev. There, in the capital of the Rus'ian State, the Metropolitan See of the Eastern Church had been established, referred to as "Rus'ian" in the sources (hence the commonly used term "Rus'ian Christianity"). The new faith was spreading at first mainly among Slavs. This was due both to geographical reasons and the liturgical language. Soon the tribal names of these peoples, such as: Polyanians, Derevlans, Dregovichians etc., disappear, and they start to be called in the sources "Rus'ian" (that is orthodox). With the passage of time, other non-Slavonic ethnical units became converted, first individual groups and later whole tribes. When the sources testify that until the 13th cent. the population on the upper Volga was known as Merya, while from that time on it is called "Rus'ian", this only means that in the 12-13th cent., the christianization of Merya had taken place. The phenomenon of ancient tribal names shed and

55) R. DAWKINS, *The Greek Language in the Byzantine Period*, in N. BAYNES and H. MOSS, *Byzantium. An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, 1948, p. 256 (reprint 1953).

56) N. BAYNES, *The Byzantine Empire*, 1925, p. 232. "Christianity was introduced into Russia as a system already formed: the Russian Church was thus a copy of the Byzantine Church, its whole internal and external ecclesiastical life was moulded from Constantinople. Thus was determined the character of its dogma, its worship, its discipline: thence it drew its constitution, and its law", *ibidem*, p. 233. Diehl, Goetz, Grégoire, Honigmann, Orgels, etc. express similar opinions.

forgotten is common in Eastern Europe, and has no connection whatsoever with a process of colonization, or a change in the ethnical character of the population.

Well known facts support this observation. At the turn of the 11-12th cent. a shift occurred in the centre of gravity of the Rus'ian State, moving from Kiev to the north-east, into territories between the rivers Volga and Oka. A branch of the Rurikides, descending from Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1125), started upon an ambitious venture of building up a mighty Rus'ian centre on the upper Volga. One must admit, they achieved this aim in great measure. Yurii (George) Dolgoruky (d. 1157) and his sons, Andrei Bogolyubsky (d. 1174) and Vsevolod III (d. 1212), became the protagonists of momentous events in the 12th cent. Describing at length the activity of those princes, the sources praise their success in war, their organizing talents and their intensive christianizing action, with churches built, influx of clergy, and so on. In consequence of this action Merya is converted, and in the 13th cent. its new Rus'ian name becomes fixed for ever.

The problem of the introduction of the Slavonic language into the Upper Volga region links up with the conversion of the Merians. The Rurikides' attitude towards Slavs was exclusively directed towards the interests of State. At any rate, no Slavonic sentiment is apparent in their activity. The Slavonic policy of Yurii Dolgoruky's descendants, initiated in the 12th cent., definitely followed two divergent lines. On the one hand, simultaneously with the Faith, the Rurikides were spreading the Slavonic language preserved in the liturgy, a language adopted by their State, and which they themselves had spoken for a long time. On the other, by striving to establish on the Upper Volga the strongest political power in Eastern Europe, which in the 14th and 15th centuries did, in fact, take shape as Muscovy, those princes tried by every possible means to undermine the ancient splendour of Kiev, recognized as an inevitable rival to their ambitious plans.⁵⁷⁾

The political designs of the Volga Rurikides, realized with great energy and consistency, were to bring tremendous advantages in future centuries. In the first place they decided the fate of the local Finnish population. With the loss of its tribal independence and the acceptance of baptism, Merya gradually abandoned its native speech and adopted the Slavonic language.

Such developments were common in Eastern Europe, although the process was slow. It would be spread over several generations. There must have been intermediate periods when the population was bi-lingual,

57) As an example of this policy may serve the events of 1169. The possession of the Kiev throne was not the only issue (it was constantly fought for by individual Rurikides) something much greater was involved: the utter destruction of Kiev, the extermination of its inhabitants so completely as to make the city for ever unable to play its former role in the East of Europe. The chronicler describes the behaviour of Bogolyubsky's troops, enumerates in detail the churches and monasteries which were looted, and then adds: "No mercy was shown to anybody, nor any effort at rescue made from any quarter while the churches were burning, and Christians were either slaughtered or shackled. Wives were led into captivity and violently separated from their husbands. Children wept bitterly seeing their mothers [thus treated]. A great amount of wealth was carried off, and the churches were stripped of their pictures, the holy crosses, and their vestments and bells... And there was in Kiev among the whole population sobbing and depression and inconsolable sadness and unceasing tears". *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* I, p. 354; II p. 545. This was the greatest destruction ever suffered by Kiev in history, before the Tartar invasion in 1240.

using both the speech of their fathers and the new one brought from outside.

The process of change of language developing among the Merians cannot be fixed in time with complete precision. It started sometime in the 12th cent. and was probably completed before the 16th. Most of the writings which reached us from this period come from the pen of clerics, in whose interest it was to obliterate all vestiges of pagan traditions among the masses (and the old language was part of such traditions) rather than to preserve them. Moreover, a practical factor should be considered: the impossibility to state what language was spoken by the population of small settlements, scattered among the vast forests and marshes of the country. As a matter of fact, few have shown any interest in this question.

The State created by the Volga Rurikides did not limit itself to the domination over Merya and the conversion of its population. Merian territory formed but the starting point for further conquests and further missionary efforts directed towards other peoples of the north-east. Since this large scale military and Church expansion developed in later times from which, quite understandably, more source-material has been preserved, and since its course was more or less similar over all territories, one can obtain by analogy certain data concerning the christianization of Merya, and - still more important, concerning the loss of its native language.

A wealth of material relating to the problem here considered is contained in the work of Herberstein who in 1517 and 1526 was twice sent by the Habsburgs as envoy to Moscow. Before quoting his account, one should point out that 16th - cent. writers were already in the habit of calling the Slavonic language "Rus'ian", since it was the language of the Rus'ian Church and the Rus'ian State.

To the north of the Upper Volga, in the region of Beloozero dwelt a Finno-Ugrian tribe named Ves', related to the Merians. Herberstein notes that the inhabitants of this land have their own language, although now (in the 16th cent.) almost all of them speak Rus'ian (*Huius loci indigenae proprium habent idioma: quamvis nunc ferme omnes Ruthenice loquantur*).⁵⁸⁾ He makes a similar remark concerning the population in the region of Ustyug (to the north-east of Beloozero): it has its own idiom, but more often speaks Rus'ian.⁵⁹⁾ According to Herberstein, the Samoyad', settled in the far North along the White Sea, also have their own language. On the other hand, the reports of the English travellers (1556) state that some of the Samoyad' "can speak the Russe tongue to be understood".⁶⁰⁾ This indicates that a part of the population, in particular those converted to Christianity, could although with difficulty understand and use Slavonic. The same authors relate that the peoples in the far North affirmed "that they believe in the Russes God".⁶¹⁾

58) S. HERBERSTEIN, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, 1556, p. 77. The best analysis of the text in E. ZAMYSLOVSKY, *Gerbershtein i ego istoriko-geograficheskie izvestiya o Rossii*, 1884.

59) "*Idioma quoque proprium, quamvis Ruthenico magis utuntur*", *Ibidem*, p. 80.

60) R. HAKLUYT, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation...* II, 1903, p. 349.

61) R. HAKLUYT, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

We now approach the essence of the problem. Herberstein states that: "All the peoples, using the Slavonic language and following the rite and faith of Christ according to the Greek manner, and who are called in the language of the country the Rus', and in Latin the Rutheni, have multiplied so exceedingly that they have either driven out all the tribes living among them or have forced them to adopt their way of life, so that they are now all called Rutheni as their generic name..." (*... populi omnes qui lingua Slavonica utuntur, ritum ac fidem Christi Graecorum more sequuntur, gentiliter Russi, Latine Rhuteni appellati, ad tantam multitudinem excreverunt, ut omnes intermedias gentes aut expulerint, aut in suum vivendi morem pertraxerint: adeo ut omnes nunc uno et communi vocabulo Rhuteni dicantur*).⁶²⁾

The author precisely defines in the above passage the meaning of the term "the Rus'" as signifying members of the Greek faith acquainted with the Slavonic language - hence, the faithful of the Rus'ian Church. Attention must be drawn to the phrase: "All the peoples, using the Slavonic language" for it indicates that Herberstein was not writing of Slavs (it would have been superfluous to stress that the Slavs speak Slavonic) but of non-Slavonic converted peoples.⁶³⁾ The knowledge of a Slavonic language amongst non-Slavs is not linked by Herberstein with Slavonic colonization of non-Slavonic lands. He tells us nothing of such colonization though he scrupulously examined the past of Eastern Europe. He evidently connects this knowledge with the Greek (Rus'ian) faith, that is to say, with the spread of Christianity.

The Polish writer Matthew of Miechovia, in his *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517), states that in Muscovy, in all her provinces and principalities, there is one language and one speech, namely: Rus'ian or Slavonic. "Thus, even the Vogulians and the inhabitants of the Vyatka [river region] are of the Rus' and speak Rus'ian, and profess one faith and religion according to the Greek model". (*Accipiat... in Moskovia unam linguam et unum sermonem fore, scilicet Rutenicum seu Slavonicum in omnibus satrapiis et principatibus, sicque etiam Ohulci et qui in Viatka degunt Ruteni sunt et Rutenicum loquuntur, unamque sectam et religionem instar Graecorum tenent*).⁶⁴⁾

The Vogulians, settled between the Urals and the river Ob', were an Ugrian tribe. The region of the river Vyatka, a right-bank tributary of the Kama, was inhabited by Ugrian and Finno-Ugrian peoples (the Votyaks, the Permians and the Cheremissians). Matthew of Miechovia considers these areas to be Rus'ian. He, just as Herberstein, justifies the application of the name Rus'ian to the far north-eastern lands not by reason of any Slavonic colonization (both authors say nothing of this) but by reason of the population's Greek (Rus'ian) faith whose development and significance he unequivocally stresses.

62) S. HERBERSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

63) I advance another proof in favour of this observation. It concerns not the northern lands but the Black Sea region, the Caucasus, where the Cherkassians lived, certainly not Slavs. Herberstein (*op. cit.*, p. 101) relates that this mountainous people accepted Greek (Rus'ian) Christianity and owing to this fact spoke Slavonic (*... "Circassi seu Ciki... montium asperitate freti, nec Turcis, nec Tartaris parent. Eos tamen Christianos esse, suis legibus vivere, in ritu et caeremonijs cum Graecis convenire, lingua Slavonica [qua utuntur] sacra peragere, Rutheni testantur"*).

64) S. ANNINSKY, *Matvei Mekhovskii. Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiyakh*, 1936, p. 192.

Matthew of Miechovia provides his report with a very characteristic comment. He emphasizes that, at his time, many northern peoples were still pagan and preserved their native languages (*Aliae vero regiones praeexpressae in infidelitate et idolatria persistunt..., habent propria linguagia et idiomata*).⁶⁵⁾ In other words, he indirectly suggests that the conversion of a tribe caused the decay of its vernacular.

The picture reconstructed on the basis of the sources written in the 16th century are supported by writers of later times. Tatishchev (1686-1750) states that many East-European peoples, after conquest by Muscovy and conversion by the Rus'ian Church, forgot (lost) their native languages and regarded themselves as Slavs (*svoi prezhnii [yazyki] zabyli i pochitayutsya za slavyan*).⁶⁶⁾ Not as Slavs, says Boltin, correcting Tatishchev, but as Rus'ians.

Boltin (1735-1792) likewise links the spread of Christianity with the far-reaching transformation which took place in the north-eastern territories during several centuries. He states that the converted peoples would lose their vernacular and adopt Slavonic and — characteristically — would begin to be embraced by the generic appellation of "the Rus'". Commenting on various peoples, this is what Boltin writes: "The Zyryanians live on the river Vychehda [a tributary of the Northern Dvina]... After they were baptized by Stephen of Perm',⁶⁷⁾ they abandoned their vernacular and became Rus'. Only in the north a few of them remained pagan; these preserved their old language (*Zyranya zhivut po reke Vychehde... Po kreshchenii ikh Stefanom Permskim yazyk svoi ostavili i v Ruskikh prevratilisya: k severu tokmo ostalos' neskol'ko v yazychestve, kotorye drevnei yazyk svoi sokhranili*).⁶⁸⁾ The same is said by Boltin of many other tribes.

Only a true knowledge of the situation created in the North-East during the 15th and 16th centuries and later, can lead to a full understanding of the fate of Merya. There is nothing unusual in the fact that its name vanished from the pages of later sources and that its people lost their native tongue. Such facts are constantly repeated all over the vast area in question. The difference is only in time. Merya became "Rus'ian" earlier than other nations, because in that land the missionary activity of the clergy started earlier than elsewhere, and thus the ruthless pressure of the State was also sooner felt.

Boltin, speaking of the Zyryanians, and not only of them, adds a characteristic observation: only those groups in tribal units that remained pagan preserved their national speech. The majority of tribes mentioned earlier exist until today, though in a vestigial form. They were able to survive through the ages for various reasons. Above all, however,

65) S. ANNINSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

66) V. TATISHCHEV, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya s samykh drevneishikh vremen I*, 1768, p. 497.

67) Stephen of Perm' began his missionary activities among the Zyryanians and Permlians in about 1379. He was consecrated first Bishop of Perm' in 1383.

68) I. BOLTIN, *Primechaniya na istoriyu drevniya i nyneshniya Rossii G. Leklerka I*, 1788, pp. 48-49.

because the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, involved in so many ventures of conquest at once, at times lacked the ability and power to bring both conquest and conversion everywhere to final completion.

As regards lands vital to the State it was a different matter. Here military and missionary action obtained full results. In the first place among such lands was Merya as the territorial base of the State, and also some other Finno-Ugrian tribal lands, for example, that of the Muroma from the Lower Oka. Muscovy's main outlet on the middle Volga followed the river Oka. Boltin, mentioning various tribes partly converted and partly remaining pagan has this to say about the Muroma: "They all turned into Rus'ians" (*Vse prevratilisya v Ruskikh*).⁶⁹ Without any doubt this can be applied also to the Merya: they all became Rus'. The names of both those tribes disappear from the sources which indicates that their fate was similar. This does not mean, however, that both peoples had ceased to exist.

To conquer a number of tribes is obviously easier than to retain them in permanent subjection, especially in view of general resistance. Lasting success could only be secured by an ideological bond linking the victors with the vanquished. This all important task of extending the name of Rus' to the whole group of ethnically diverse tribes fell upon the Orthodox Church. It was this Church that evolved and fixed the idea of the "Rus'ian land" in the widest possible dimensions, embracing vast territories inhabited by believers in the same common Faith. This universal notion of the "Rus'ian land" appears constantly in the literary monuments of the discussed period. At the beginning of the 12th century, abbot Danilo went to the Holy Land and left a description of his journey. "A noteworthy feature of Danilo — writes Likhachev — is the absence of any kind of narrow, local tendencies. Wherever he was, he felt himself to be a representative of the Rus'ian land as one entity".⁷⁰ A similar absence of regional particularism appears in the Kiev *Paterikon*, in the "Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'ian Land" (13th cent.), in Nikitin's description of his journey (1466-1472), etc.

Adrianova-Peretts states that Nikitin, during his sojourn in foreign countries, thought much about his native Rus'ian land and conceived it exclusively in the sense of a whole, though he was personally connected only with Tver'.⁷¹ Other scholars are even more precise. Lur'e emphasizes that Nikitin "inseparably linked the concept of his native country with religion" (*...nerazryvno svyazyvaya ponyatiya rodina i religiya*).⁷² Cherepnin states that "to Afanasii Nikitin the notion of "Rus'ian" is connected with the notion of a Christian, and the idea of "Rus'ian land" - with the idea of Christian Faith" (*Ponyatie "russkii"*

69) I. BOLTIN, *Primechaniya*, p. 46.

70) D. LIKHACHEV, *Natsional'noe samosoznanie drevnei Rusi*, 1945, p. 48. Similarly - V. YANIN, *Mezhduknazyazheskie otnosheniya v epokhu Monomakha i "Khozhdenie igumena Daniila"*, *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury* 16, 1960, p. 113.

71) V. ADRIANOVA-PERETTS, Afanasii Nikitin - puteshestvennik, pisatel', in *Khozhenie za tri morya Afanasiya Nikitina, 1466-1472*, 2nd ed., 1958, p. 125.

72) Ya. LUR'E, Afanasii Nikitin i nekotorye voprosy russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli XV v., in *Khozhenie*, p. 127.

dlya Afanasiya Nikitina svyazano s ponyatiem "khristianin", predstavlenie o Russkoi zemle - s predstavleniem o khristianskoi vere).⁷³⁾

The analysis of sources from the period under discussion allows us to define the content of the notion "Rus'ian nation". This "nation" was composed of peoples of various descent: 1) linked together by a common "Rus'ian Faith", 2) using the Slavonic language (Herberstein: *qui lingua Slavonica utuntur*) and 3) subjugated and controlled by one, ruthless and consistent in its action, State authority.

Muscovy became a Rus'ian country but had never been Slavonic.

There is no doubt that Moscow played a capital role in the shaping and development of the Rus'ian nation. She assumed the gigantic task of the so-called "assembling of Rus'" (*sobiranie Rusi*), the unification, under her rule, of ethnically diverse East-European orthodox faithful. Strictly speaking this design was not new. It existed from the very beginning, from the moment of accepting baptism, and had been actively realized first by the Kiev rulers and later by their successors from the Upper Volga. However, both the former and the latter lacked the necessary strength to give the scheme such huge dimensions as those with which it became invested from the middle of the 15th century.

The novelty then was in the scale of the task undertaken, in the tenacity and persistency in action against great odds, in the strength of character and the ambitions of such outstanding figures of that period as Ivan III (1462-1505), Vasilii III (1505-1533), or Ivan IV (1533-1584).

Every one of them, Grand Duke or (later) Tsar "of all Rus'" (*vseya Rusi*), ruling from the heights of Moscow's Kremlin, was to be the sovereign lord and master of all orthodox East-European (and Asiatic) peoples already converted, or to be converted in the future. And since the spreading of Faith by its very nature admitted no limits, the scheme, in fact, also had none, it embraced the world. Seen in this light, the situation gave birth to the idea of the "third Rome", Moscow, destined to take over from Latin Rome and Greek Constantinople the right to rule over the world. The fall of Byzantium (Constantinople taken by the Turks in 1453) had undoubtedly greatly contributed to raise Moscow's authority as heir to the Eastern Empire's traditions. Aware of the advantages to be gained from the newly created situation which provided an ideological basis for their political aims, Ivan III and his successors proceeded to launch a dashing campaign of conquest in every direction, in great measure crowned with success. The remarkable growth of the "Rus'ian nation" in the 15th and 16th centuries resulted from those conquests.

As regards Muscovy's expansion, especially in the East, on the European and Asiatic side of the Ural, the sources refer ever more often in the course of time to a Rus'ian population as it makes its appearance on those conquered territories. Historians, who identify the Rus' with Slavs, regard this as evidence of the Slavonic energy in colonizing those vast, distant lands.

In the history of the alleged colonization of various regions by Slavs, two stages at least can be distinguished: first, an inflow of Slavonic settlers deep into the Merian territory, bringing a fundamental

73) L. CHEREPNIN, *Istoricheskie usloviya formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti do kontsa XV v., in Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii*, 1958, p. 103.

change in the ethnical character of that country, and turning it from Finnish into Slavonic in the 12th-13th cent., at the latest. And a second stage: the infiltration of Slavs into the northern, eastern and south-eastern territories as they were being conquered by Muscovy, starting approximately in the 13th century and continued through the ages. Although this new population was unable to bring about the complete Slavonization of such immense lands, it remained, however, an important factor in binding the newly acquired territories to the Moscow metropolis.

Here a question arises which remains unanswered to this day: where had those Slavs who appear in the second stage of colonization come from? Certainly not from Merya, since the evidence to support its Slavonic character is lacking. Even following the argumentation of those who accept the colonization thesis, it would be necessary to conclude that the population of the area in question was, at best, a mixture of ethnical elements: Finnish Merya, Eastern Balts, Slavs (mainly Krivichians) and Norse Varangians. That such "Slavs" should have undertaken to colonize on a grand scale the territorial conquests of Muscovy in the 15th-16th cent., that they should have retained their Slavonic identity and not become dissolved in the mass of foreign-speaking natives - is hard to believe.

Modern authors decidedly identify the Russians with the Slavs, but the 18th century writers, not to mention earlier ones, do not share such an opinion. These earlier authors had personally witnessed the actual power of Moscow (and Russia) in action, they drew their information not from books only but from life itself, and thus their reports have often the value of sources. Of this, there is plenty of evidence.

For instance, modern authors are apt to elaborate widely upon the existence of three East-Slavonic or Rus'ian nations, and on linguistic grounds are ready to accept Muscovites, Ukrainians and White Rus'ians as descending from the same ethnical stock. Not so the 18th century Boltin who, when analysing the process of the Slavonic language filtering through to non-Slavonic peoples (in connection with their conquest and christianization), shows a deeper insight into the problem and makes the following accurate remark: "Similarity of language does not make nations uni-tribal" (i.e. of the same descent). *Skhodstvo yazyka edinoplemennymi narody ne delaet.*⁷⁴⁾

Boltin who enjoys great authority among Soviet historians,⁷⁵⁾ also

74) I. BOLTIN, *Primechaniya* II, p. 51.

75) Boltin "by reason of his philosophical thought and his scientific method rightly marks the beginnings of a new epoch, of the new Russian historical science", N. RUBINSHTEIN, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, 1941, p. 149; "He [Boltin] has set himself the task of 'defending truth and fatherland'; moreover, ardent patriotic sentiment is combined in Boltin with a perfect knowledge of Russian history", M. TIKHOMIROV, M. ALPATOV, A. SIDOROV, *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR* I, 1955, p. 211; "Boltin is an educated, well-read and thinking man - one of the most eminent representatives of the historiography written by noblemen in the second half of the 18th century". The object of Boltin's work "is primarily to establish the truth of historical fact", L. CHEREPNIN, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX veka*, 1957, pp. 236, 246. Similarly - A. Nikolaeva, *Voprosy istochnikovedeniya i arkheografii v trudakh I.N. Boltina, Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik* II (1958) 1960, pp. 161-186, and many others.

differs, from modern literature on the subject, in his opinion on the ethnical character of the Russians. He questions their Slavonic descent, regarding the admixture of a Slavonic element in the Russian nation as having been insignificant - "and hardly a single drop of Slavonic blood remains in our (Russian) veins" (*i edva li ostalas' v zhilakh nashikh odna kaplya krovi Slavyanskiya*).⁷⁶⁾

The question of this symbolic "drop" should be treated with unbiased moderation. On the one hand, it certainly was not insignificant, on the other - it should not be magnified to exaggerated proportions. The fact remains, that Muscovy's drive to the West, towards Slavonic lands, did not start on a big scale until the second half of the 15th century (although the political activity of the Muscovite clergy was very marked in those regions much earlier). This expansion consisted mainly of conquests which brought only ruin to the local population.⁷⁷⁾ In the State of Muscovy the Slavonic element was mostly reduced to a passive role, either as war captives taken away from their homeland, or, if allowed to remain in their territory, as people terrorized by cruel methods of government. This element did not and could not have any significant influence on the character of Muscovy as a State, on its ideological image and its political aims. The State itself was already shaped before it had absorbed the Slavonic element, and had also enough power to wipe out, at least to a certain extent, the feeling of ethnical separateness in those Slavs. The process of history did not lead to the Slavonization of Muscovy but, on the contrary, was directed to turn Slavs - into Muscovites.

The ethnical differences between the Russians and the Slavs form a key problem of the whole East-European history.

76) I. BOLTIN, *Kriticheskie primechaniya na I tom Istorii Shcherbatova*, 1793, p. 41.

77) The history of Great Novgorod in the 15th and 16th centuries gives a glaring example of this fact.

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THE VINLAND MAP

Introduction

"This book burst upon the world like rockets in the air on the eve of Columbus day, 1965". These words of an American scholar, Einar Haugen,¹⁾ express the impression made by the publication of *The Vinland Map and Tartar Relation*²⁾ with which we are here concerned. It is in no way surprising. Every educated person knows that the discovery of America was one of the greatest events in history, that credit for it goes to Christopher Columbus, and that it took place in 1492.³⁾ Until 1965 this view was commonly accepted. In that year, however, the Yale University published a Map which, apparently, left little doubt that around 1440, i.e. half a century before the discovery of the "new world", the existence of Vinland — later known as North America — had been already a recognized fact in Basle.

The publication of the Vinland Map shattered the patriotic feelings of Italians⁴⁾ who claimed Columbus as their hero. On the other hand, it flattered the pride of Scandinavians since it confirmed the little known if undeniable fact that America had been discovered by Vikings five centuries before Columbus.⁵⁾ No wonder that controversy raged

1) E. HAUGEN, *Speculum*, 770.

2) The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation by R.A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter for the Yale University Library with a Foreword by Alexander O. Viator, New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1965, 66. XII, 291, illustr.

3) It is still the "number 1 even almost without exception in America", while the birth of Christ is in fourteenth place (Religion and Culture in Present-Day America. Roman Catholicism and the American Way of Life. Edited by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame Indiana 1965, 5.

4) A. FANFANI, *The Vinland map*, 3-8; C. COLLIER, Who discovered America, 31-41. - "In Spain the monarchist newspaper A.B.C. accused Yale University of exhuming a very old disreputable legend to take away the merit of Spain's heroic exploit". "The myth of the Vikings deserves to have been included in the book of wonders, the editor snapped" (M. WARDELL, *The Atlantic Advocate*, 56, 4, Dec. 1965, 16).

5) In an address delivered at the Leifr Eiriksson Festival in Winnipeg on October 21, 1966 Professor Haraldur Bessason, head of the Department of Icelandic Studies at the University of Manitoba expressed the hope "that the Vinland map will bear up under scholarly scrutiny so that it will be found acceptable as a connecting link between Leifr Eiriksson and Christopher Columbus" (*Icel. Canad.*, XXV, 2, 13, 16).

throughout America. The Italian Historical Institute promised to launch a "scholarly vendetta" against Yale University, while the chairman of the Institute, John La Corte, was uttering such threats as "we are going to put Yale University against the wall", "we are going to give Yale something to think about".

To give the discovery further impact the Map was carried around abroad and displayed to the world. It was on view in London, Copenhagen, Oslo and Reykjavik. As strictly guarded as Crown Jewels it even received the attention of the Diplomatic Corps.⁶⁾ No other document of this kind, neither the Gutenberg Bible,⁷⁾ nor the newly discovered Qumran Scrolls,⁸⁾ had ever enjoyed such honours as this "scrap of parchment" veiled in mystery as to its origins and allegedly purchased for a fabulous sum.⁹⁾ In the general commotion nobody seemed to notice that together with the Map two other manuscripts had come to light: the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais and the hitherto completely unknown *Tartar Relation*. The critics remained silent on their subject.

After five years, when the sensation created by the Map had subsided, time became ripe for learned investigation. Cartographers needed this respite to cool down in order to start with calm on a task requiring not only intellectual effort, but also thorough knowledge of several disciplines. English scholars already had the opportunity to get acquainted with the Map when it was on show at the British Museum and to compare it with other such relics of the 15th century.¹⁰⁾ This, obviously, was insufficient to form a judgement as to the authenticity of the Map. Now, its main supporter, R.A. Skelton, presented a paper on the subject at a session of the Society of Antiquaries, which took place on February 24th 1966, with the London University paleographer, F.W. Warmald in the Chair. Here, the first disturbing objections were raised in regard to the authenticity of the Map.¹¹⁾ Meanwhile, *The Sunday Times* Insight Team, having acquired new, unpublished documents relating to the Map, brought forward arguments against its authenticity with reference to the opinion of E.G.R. Taylor, "possibly the world's most distinguished authority on medieval cartography", who declared "that the map is a clever modern fake".¹²⁾ After this initial clash of experts, hardly promising for the Map, a session of the Royal Geographical Society took place

6) *Aftenposten*, nr. 90, Oslo 22 II 1967.

7) Up to 1963 - "the most important cartographical treasure ever received by Yale was the recently discovered map of Henricus Martellus Germanus (A.O. Viator, A Pre-Columbian map of the world, circa 1489, *J.M.* XVII, 1963, 95-6). Yale librarian James Tanis called the Vinland Map - "the most exciting single acquisition of the Yale Library in modern times, exceeding in significance even Yale's Gutenberg Bible and its Psalm Book" (*Time*, October 15, 1965, 67).

8) Although they "have been used foolishly to attack Christianity" (J. Murphy O'CONNOR editor), *Paul and Qumran*, Geoffrey Chapman 1968. - *T.L.S.* nr. 3486, 19 XII 1968, 1438.

9) "...In the neighborhood of \$ 1.000.000 (*Time*, Atl. Edition, 15 Oct. 1965), and M.A. Musmanno, 12: "...In the region of £. 100.000 (*Sunday Times*, March 6, 1966, 13). - But L. Witten declared to have bought the map for \$ 3.500 (D.B. Quinn, *Saga Book*, 66).

10) From 20 I - 17 II 1967 (*Geogr. Journal*, 133, 2, 1967, 265-6).

11) 24 II 1966 (*Antiquaries Journal*, XLVI, 392, 11).

12) *Sunday Times*, nr. 7450, March 6, 1966, 13.

on 21/22 September 1967. Several papers were presented relating to early maps as historical evidence. As yet these papers have not been published, but it is possible to assume that some at least raised the problem of the Vinland Map, more suitable than any other mappa mundi for a methodical inquiry into the use of old maps in historical research.¹³⁾

The discovery of the Map also aroused, and understandably so, much interest among American scholars. On 14-15 November 1966 they forgathered in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington to express their opinions on the Map. We lack detailed information about American participants, but we know that among European scholars A. Cortesão of Coimbra University, Gwyn Jones from the University of Wales (Cardiff), Ib Rønne Kejlbø of the Royal Library in Copenhagen and R.A. Skelton himself took part in the meeting.¹⁴⁾ The publication of papers presented by this distinguished team, where one would like to have seen included the Italian G. Caraci and the Spaniard Carlos Sanz, is being arranged by Wilcomb E. Washburn.

As in the history of civilizations, so also in historical science, revolutions may occur. They may be triggered off by the discovery of an important document, the publication of some thoroughly original work, or the refutation of an accepted myth. If this is so we are faced here with a revolution, and a triple one at that. It has already cost some ill-feeling and a great deal of money, releasing floods of writing which only now, after four years, begin to subside.¹⁵⁾ The bibliography included at the end of the present work gives some idea of the scope of critical writings relating to the *Vinland Map and Tartar Relation*, though not of their character. This, however, is another issue. Our concern is with the Map's authenticity. The present essay is bound to follow the general lines of investigation adopted by the critics. Its main object will be to sum up the present state of knowledge about the Map and to attempt to throw some light on its origin. Far be it from the intention of the present writer is to give lessons on cartography to the former superintendent of the Map Room in the British Museum and "the leading map authority in the world today". It must be, however, stated that the problem of the authenticity of any old map does not rely solely on cartographic evidence but on the evidence of history and "of several branches of scientific learning". All the ancient masters of cartography were historians and already Strabo claimed that *in historicis quae Geographiae praecipua lux*.¹⁶⁾ The Vinland Map must also be dealt with in its historical context and with the help of Vinland studies.

"Without the Icelandic sagas, linguistics and history would have had nothing to labor with. Without humanistic treatises, natural science could not have been brought to bear on the problem in the first place and

13) *Geogr. Journal*, 135, 1, 1969, 17, and 133, 4, 1967, 555-6.

14) Ib Rønne KEJLBØ, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 104-124.

15) Enough to say that we have already a new text of the Tartar Relation (Alf ÖNNERFORS), and another one is in preparation by Marian PLEZIA (*Acta Pol. Hist.*, XXII, 18, note 1).

16) A. DAVIES, *Geography*, 260; François de DAINVILLE, S.J., *La géographie des humanistes*, Paris 1940, 53.

could scarcely have interpreted the evidence under any circumstances. The historical disciplines organized the problem of Vinland. In their wake, physical and biological science has provided invaluable clues and checks".¹⁷⁾

The problem then, in our case is the problem of method proper to all the applicable sciences and their relation to history, and of all of them to cartography. We would stress again that it is not the Editors' knowledge but their method we are prepared to challenge. Studying their book it is difficult to avoid the impression that they started the investigation with the preconceived idea that the Vinland Map is a genuine specimen of old cartography and that *per fas et nefas* they tried to prove its authenticity.

In the belief of the present writer the Map is not what the Editors and the majority of critics are taking it to be, namely an authentic piece of cartography dating from the mid-fifteenth century. Neither is it, however, what its greatest opponent G. Caraci, took it for: *Il falso del secolo*.¹⁸⁾

What is it then? It is an authentic map but with a quite different historical context than the Council of Basle with which our Editors have seen it connected.

I. THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

1. *The Origins of the Manuscripts*

It has always been a requirement of scholarship for the editors of new sources to describe the history of manuscripts from their origins until publication. Unfortunately, this requirement has not been fulfilled in our case.¹⁹⁾ We cannot therefore do much more than quote from the Editors' work some information which is not, in fact, essential, and stops where the real history of any manuscript begins. We are told that Th. Marston, Curator of Medieval and Renaissance Literature in the Yale University Library, was asked to inspect a volume including an unknown map and an equally unknown History of the Tartars. About the origins of the volume we know only that it was acquired by the antiquarian bookseller, L. Witten, of New Haven, from "a private collection in Europe" in October 1957. In April the following year the same Th. Marston discovered another manuscript including a

17) E. WAHLGREN, *Fact and Fancy*, 27.

18) A *tertium non datur* is also evident from R.A. SKELTON's reply to E.G.R. TAYLOR's critical remarks about the Map: "...if it can be shown to contain elements, or incorporate information, of a later date than the fifteenth century, it must be condemned as a forgery, albeit one of a perfection and accomplishment not conceivable before the twentieth century..." (*Journal Inst. Navig.*, 19, 271-4).

19) D.B. QUINN, *Saga-Book*, 66-7; M.A. MUSMANNO asked L. Witten about "source for the map", but "he had been silent as a sphinx" (Columbus was First, 20). Even R.A. SKELTON had to admit, that - "The resulting want of information on provenance and history is no less to be regretted" (*Jour. Soc. Archivists*, III, 5 1967, 224, note 8).

part of the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais — this he also acquired. From whom we still do not know — or at least we do not know anything reliable. It was only in November 1966, at the conference in the Smithsonian Institution that Witten replied to the questions which the critics had been asking ever since the publication of the work.²⁰⁾

Three points in his explanation are worth remembering:

1) All the manuscripts came from one unidentified source, where they had been for the last sixty years.

2) The Map was inspected by representatives of the British Museum who rejected it as "not being sufficiently authenticated".

3) The missing parts of the *Speculum* have not yet been found.²¹⁾

The concealment of the origins of the manuscripts, apart from raising suspicions as to their authenticity, has made the task of scholarly inquiry much more difficult. Thus, at the moment we must content ourselves with the knowledge that we are dealing with three historical sources in two volumes:

A. A volume in modern binding including:

a) A map on parchment with a note *Delineatio 1 ps 2 ps 3 ps speculi*.

(Abbrev.: Map, VM).

b) An account dealing with the Tartars starting with the words - *Incipit hystoria Tartarorum*, and ending with the words - *Explicit vita et historia Tartarorum*.

(Abbrev.: Relation, TR).

B. A volume in ancient binding containing a part of the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, and consisting of 239 sheets of parchment and paper. Our editors decided not to publish the *Speculum* since its preserved part seemed to have nothing in common either with the *Map* or the *Relation*. Thus the publication which interests us here brings only what is contained in the title, namely the *Vinland Map and The Tartar Relation*.

All three sources, however, though apparently unrelated to each other, had once formed a single codex which only by the middle of the XIXth century became split into two separately bound volumes. For this, the following may serve as evidence:

1) The same shape of both paper and parchment in the manuscripts.

2) The areas covered with writing on the pages are of the same size in the *Speculum* and the *Relation*.

3) The handwriting of the manuscripts and on the Map is the same.

4) The quality of paper and parchment used for the manuscripts is identical.

5) The worm-holes on the Map correspond to those on the initial pages of the *Speculum*, the holes on the final pages of the *Speculum* correspond to those on the initial pages of the *Relation*.

20) Ib R. KEJLBØ, *Vinlandskortet*, 104-7; D.B. QUINN, *The Vinland Map*. 66-7.

21) Recently there emerged in London (Sotheby & Co.) a copy of the *Speculum Historiale* [Paris, c. 1370] - "with over 700 miniatures, written for Charles V and later in the library of Jean Duc de Berry (*T.L. Suppl.*, nr. 3483, 28 XI 1968).

In conclusion, one may assume that the *Map*, the *Speculum* and the *Relation*, and in that order, had once formed a single codex and were bound together into one volume before being damaged by worms.

When was this codex written and composed? Probably around 1440, somewhere in the Upper Rhineland. Here is the evidence to support this assumption:

1) The handwriting, known as "Oberrheinische Bastarda", dating from 1440.

2) The type of binding pointing to the same period.

3) The paper on which both the *Relation* and the *Speculum* are written is of a kind specific to the Rhineland and comes from Mühle zu Allen Winden (Klein Basel) circa 1433.

All circumstances here enumerated point to Basle as the place of origin of the manuscripts.²²⁾

2. The Yale Publication

The Yale publication of *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation* was at first favourably received by scholars at large. If this initial enthusiasm is not shared by all today there is, however, little doubt that the publication itself constitutes a major event in historical studies of the last thirty years. Strangely enough the English overlooked the manuscripts allowing them to pass onto the American market always hungry for antiquities. Nevertheless, Yale University scholars proved only too eager to profit from the knowledge and experience of British Museum experts. It is also obvious that although editorial work was divided among several authors, *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation* remains essentially an English achievement, and if the stamp of anybody's learning marks especially the publication it is that of Raleigh A. Skelton.²³⁾ To him and to G.D. Painter, editor and commentator of the *Tartar Relation*, is due every acknowledgement still extended to both authors from the point of view of historical studies.

3. The Critics

Both authors, however, as well as their work have not been spared by the critics. At this point we may only mention that they have dealt with the whole matter in a curious way, restricting themselves to an

22) We know now that - "Since Mr. Skelton wrote, the endpapers of the *Speculum* binding have been lifted and examined. The pastedown between endpapers and boards is a discarded vellum sheet, which had been used for a rough draft of a document concerning the business of the Council of Basel (J.H. PARRY, *Perspectives*, 430).

23) On the other hand it must be stressed that the paleographical inquiry into the *mss* was in the hands of Yale experts, primarily Thomas E. Marston. Although the three authors were "in regular communication on specific issues", they "have prepared their respective sections independently of one another". The best proof is that G.D. Painter was able to present the "personal and sometimes hazardous views put forward" in his interpretation (*The VM & TR*, VI, 243).

examination of the Map and some of its legends, almost ignoring the *Relation* and, naturally enough, leaving out the *Speculum*. By this approach to the discovered sources and their publication the critic's attention became wholly concentrated on the question of the Map's authenticity seen as the unique problem. In result, we are given an incomplete, one-sided picture of the publication, and an even more distorted one as regards the fact of the discovery of the sources and its importance to historical studies.

Thus, the present deliberations must, per force, start with a presentation of the controversy raised by the problem of the Map's authenticity. It should be stressed, however, that proving it to be a fake does not preclude the authenticity of the two other sources connected with it to form once a single codex. On the other hand, such unification of the sources, if it did take place, suggests some purpose in the mind of the person responsible. To discover what this purpose was is a problem in itself.

II. THE VINLAND MAP

The Problem of Authenticity

There are two ways in which the authenticity of a manuscript can be established: 1. A physical examination including paleography, which involves an analysis of: a. Paper, b. Parchment, c. Ink, d. Binding, e. Traces of damage, f. Handwriting, and 2. Internal analysis of the manuscripts.

1. *Paleography*

As far as the physical examination of the manuscripts in question is concerned, one of the editors, A. Vietor reassured scholars that:

"All tests that would not involve damage or destruction of the manuscripts have been applied. The scripts and physical nature of the material used (vellum, paper, and ink) have been examined minutely".²⁴⁾

Unfortunately, the editors have not fulfilled this task in such a way that paleographers could accept their result without reservations.

a. Let us start with the paper. The editors were fully aware that it is impossible to decide whether a manuscript is authentic or not without having previously established the age of the paper. This gives us a *terminus a quo* of the manuscript's origin just as the age of ink provides the *terminus post quem* determining the date of its actual writing. The age of the paper can be established by examining the watermark.

²⁴⁾ A. VIETOR, *The VM & TR*, VI; R.A. SKELTON, *Journ. Inst. Navig.*, 19, 2, 271-4; Th. E. MARSTON, *The Cartographer*, 1-5.

Scholars have by now at least two fundamental works to guide them in this respect. One is *Les Filigranes* by C.M. Briquet (1907),²⁵ the other *Die Wasserzeichen* by Piccard (1966).²⁶ Allan Stevenson, called in for an expert examination, based himself on the first of these works. After thorough scrutiny of the watermarks in the *Speculum* and the *Tartar Relation* he came to the conclusion that:

"...the manuscript was begun, probably, not long after the paper was manufactured or at least supplied; and that the paper dates from about 1440".²⁷

This statement was challenged by the Swede, Salomon Kraft.²⁸ In his opinion watermarks in general do not provide sufficiently reliable grounds for determining the age of a manuscript. In this particular case the watermark, representing the head of an ox, was — even according to C.M. Briquet — one of the most common in the West and continued to be in use from 1350 up to 1650. As evidence S. Kraft pointed to specimens of paper with such a watermark originating from northern Europe and dated 1496, others from Danzig (1450, 1470 and 1471), and yet another from Tallin (Reval) from 1481. Moreover, he dismisses as insubstantial the method of using the watermark of the *Speculum* and the *Tartar Relation* as basis for the dating of the Vinland Map since being drawn on vellum it does not itself possess a watermark.

S. Kraft's argument did not convince Ann L. Hyldgaard-Jensen. She had the advantage over her compatriot in that she could by that time consult Piccard's *Wasserzeichen*. Having examined 109 watermarks representing the head of an ox she came across an identical one in Piccard's collection (No 605) and compared it with the results of A. Stevenson. She was then able to establish that the paper bearing such a watermark was used in the office of the Town Hall in Heilbronn up to the years 1437-38, which led her to the conclusion that the paper used for the *Speculum* and the *Tartar Relation* must be of approximately the same date. The result arrived at by the Swedish author differs therefore merely by 2-3 years from that suggested by A. Stevenson, who — on the basis of C.M. Briquet's book, dated the paper of the manuscripts at about 1440. In addition, she referred to material in the Archives in Stuttgart, where Dr. Max Miller confirmed her results. We can then accept without reservation that *Speculum* and the *Tartar Relation* originated — as the English expert put it cautiously — "not far from 1440".²⁹

25) C.M. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. Avec 39 figures dans le texte en 16, 112 facsimilés de filigranes. Deuxième édition. Vol. I-IV, Leipzig 1923.

26) G. PICCARD, *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*. Findbuch II, 1. Veröffentl. d. Staatl. Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart 1966. - On the difference of the method between both authors see G. PICCARD's paper in *Archiv. Ztschrift*, 52, 1952, 65-81.

27) A. STEVENSON, *The VM & TR*, 9-10; *Beta-Radiography*, 62.

28) S. KRAFT's scepticism is shared by B. HEDBERG (*Hist. Tidskrift*, 330).

29) A. STEVENSON, *The VM & TR*, 10. - The author is then right in claiming that "the near-miracle of radiography" is providing us with "admirable evidence to use in dating" the paper of the *Speculum* and the *Relation* but he is wrong in assuming that "radiographs and archival research together serve to push the date of the Vinland Map slightly backwards in time" (*Beta-Radiography*, 60, 62).

Unfortunately, this date can have no bearing as regards the Map which is drawn not on paper but on vellum. Not without reason M. Musmanno warns us that:

"It must be also borne in mind, that the Vinland Map itself is parchment, not paper, and that any connection that can be proven between the two works on the basis of paper has no bearing on the claims to legitimacy of the map".³⁰⁾

b. The Parchment. Owing to the lack of such identifying devices as watermarks, it has been impossible to establish the age of the parchment. There was the possibility of applying a chemical test, but the editors decided against it as it would necessitate the sacrifice of a section of the manuscript and might not, in any case, bring the expected results. Their conviction that the parchment of all manuscripts is the same, was challenged by David B. Quinn who had the opportunity of examining them on the spot. In his view the parchment used for the Map "shows it to be strikingly different in appearance from the parchment leaves" in the *Speculum* and the *Relation*.³¹⁾ This is a very serious argument against the authenticity of the Map, although not the most serious. For even if there was a possibility to prove the identity of parchment used for all three manuscripts, it would not necessarily follow that the handwriting is everywhere the same. As one of the critics pointed out, the draftsman of the Map could have used any of the loose leaves of parchment at any time after the other two manuscripts had been written, although not before their binding into one codex.³²⁾

c. The Ink. there still remained recourse to a third method: a chemical test of the ink. The editors again failed to carry out this test on the excuse that this "would require the scraping away of the amount of writing necessary to produce enough material to work on", and also since the results achieved by this method would be "in any case doubtful".³³⁾

This judgment, which remains beyond the competence of a historian, did not satisfy M.H. Jackson, G. Crone, Mrs. E.M.J. Campbell³⁴⁾ and even less such an expert judge as M. Musmanno, who stated:

"When an attempt is made to determine or testify as to the age of written instruments without knowing the circumstances of the writing or the composition of the ink, the probability of reaching an accurate opinion

30) M.A. MUSMANNO, *Columbus Was First*, 53.

31) D.B. QUINN, *Saga Book*, 71. The author contends, that "the map had, comparatively recently, been subjected to heavy cleaning" (*Ibidem* 72).

32) A. DAVIES, *Geography*, 262.

33) Th. E. MARSTON, *The VM & TR*, 11. - It must be, however, stressed, that according to M.A. MUSMANNO, "overenthusiastic Greenland and diffident Vinland were added subsequent to the creation of the rest of the map" (*Columbus*, 38). - Likewise Salvador de MADARIAGA contends: "*Per me la mappa del 1440 è un falso... il falsario abbia lavorato su una carta in cui non apparivano affatto le coste del Vinland; e che dopo aver studiato attentamente le componenti chimiche dell'inchiostro, abbia aggiunto il profilo delle coste nordamericane...*" (*L'Europeo*, 40). This most important argument can be decided only by a chemical test of the ink, irrespective of the age of parchment.

34) G.R. CRONE, *Encounter*, 76; E.M.J. CAMPBELL, *Scot. Geogr. Magazine*, 143, and *Cartogr. Journal*, 45.

of the age of writing is very remote in the face of the possibilities of modern chemistry" (27).

Since the editors failed to carry out such an important test of the Map's authenticity as the one which would establish the age of the ink, we are still left with three doubts:

1) Whether the ink of the manuscripts is of the same age as the paper and the parchment,

2) Whether the same ink was used for the manuscripts in each case,

3) Whether the same ink was used for the delineation of the Map and its legends.

d. The Binding. As has been already mentioned, all three Yale manuscripts were originally bound together in one *codex*. When this *codex* was divided, the original cover was used as binding for the *Speculum*. The editors have established that the binding is "decidedly Germanic" and originates from some time between 1440-1450. The age of the binding, however, does not necessarily decide the age of the manuscripts nor is it valid argument in favour of their authenticity. Using the covers of old manuscripts for binding was a common library practice and could have taken place at any time after the original *codex* had been split up.³⁵⁾

e. Damage by worms. One of the arguments for the authenticity of the Map was — in the opinion of its editors — the fact that all manuscripts belonged physically to the same *codex*. The final proof of this was the worming as the worm-holes of the Vinland Map "do precisely match those at the beginning of *Speculum*, and the worming in TR precisely matches that in the final leaves of *Speculum*".³⁶⁾

The point in question is again the date of worming as on this depends the *terminus ante quem* of the binding and *eo ipso* the *terminus ante quem* of the Map. We must accept that first the manuscripts were gathered, then they were bound and only when they were bound the worming had taken place. Unfortunately, there is no way of establishing the date of worming. Furthermore, the whole argument of the editors concerning the matching of the worm-holes was challenged by M. Musmanno who examined the manuscripts and who felt by no means convinced by the explanations from A. Vietor himself. These are his conclusions:

"...even accepting for the sake of the argument that the Yale has proven a physical association between map and *Speculum*, and one between *Speculum* and *Tartar Relation*, there is nothing to put the three together at the same time".³⁷⁾

If this conclusion of M. Musmanno is correct, then the whole theory about the *codex* can be called in question.

35) Thus for example the famous Lorsch Gospels were bound in Aachen c. 810 and split in the eighteenth century. Of the covers one is now in the Victoria Albert Museum in London, the other in the Museo Sacro in the Vatican (*The Lorsch Gospels*. A complete facsimile with an introduction by Wolfgang BRUNFELS, New York-London 1967).

36) Th. E. MARSTON, *The VM & TR*, 5.

37) The author pointed that there are circa 17 "wormholes in the front cover, about 24 in the back cover. But not one of these holes penetrates through either cover to penetrate the front or rear of the manuscript", so the question arises - "How did the four worms that ate their way through the Vinland Map get into it" (Columbus, 43-4).

f. The Handwriting. Any medievalist knows that paleography is one of the most reliable methods of establishing the age and the origin of a document. Providing, however, that access is possible to the original manuscript or its perfect facsimile. What is the situation in our case? The editors have produced a facsimile of the *Relation* which allows a paleographical analysis of that source, but of that one only. No critic can accept Th. Marston's opinion that "the briefest appraisal of the *Speculum* fragment and TR are sufficient to demonstrate that they are both the work of a single scribe". To decide this one would have to examine the complete manuscript of the *Speculum* and not merely one page of it. Again, it is impossible to agree with that author's opinion that the *Tartar Relation* was written "in extreme haste" while the *Speculum* represents "a well written manuscript". The comparison of both writings provides a decisive proof against this.³⁸⁾ That is not all: even if we do agree that the *Speculum* and the *Relation* are manuscripts of the same scribe, two further questions still remain to be answered:

1) Is the handwriting of the Map the same as that of the two other manuscripts?

2) Is the handwriting of the delineation of the Map and that of its place-names and the legends the same?

To decide this presents, as Th. Marston himself admits:

"...a special problem, since the handwriting of its legends is often so small and so condensed that one does not immediately see that the hand is identical to that of *Speculum* and TR" (8).³⁹⁾

The editors have published the facsimiles of some legends, but these do not lend themselves to a paleographical analysis since they are too small and indeed hardly legible. After R.A. Skelton's presentation of the problems involved in the reading of these (in his paper read on 24 February 1966) the scholars of the London Society of Antiquaries did not hide their doubts concerning the paleography of the manuscripts; these require, in their view, a further paleographical analysis.⁴⁰⁾

Conclusions. The physical analysis of the manuscripts is a *sine qua non* which alone would make the establishment of their authenticity possible. Hitherto, examinations of the Yale codices have enabled scholars to establish only that:

1) The paper of the *Speculum* and of the *Relation* is the same and that these were written about 1440.

2) There is no proof that the parchment used for the Map is the same as that which we find in the *Speculum* and the *Relation*.

3) We do not have any certainty as to whether the handwriting of the manuscripts comes from one and the same scribe.

4) We do not know the age of the ink used for the manuscripts.

5) We have no certainty that the ink used for the delineation of the Map and that used for the writing of its legends is the same.

38) Th. E. MARSTON, *The VM & TR*, 6. - There is a page from the *Speculum*, pl. III.

39) Th. E. MARSTON, *The VM & TR*, 8, and *The Cartographer*, 1-5. There are paleographical examples of the longer legends, pl. IV.

40) *The Antiquaries Journal*, 411.

6) Finally, we do not know at what time the manuscripts were bound in a single *codex*.

It is very significant that the three authors who have had the opportunity to examine the manuscripts expressed serious doubts as to the results of the paleographical analysis.⁴¹⁾ In consequence of this, scholars must persist in demanding what one of them postulated: "a re-examination of the script of the documents in question by an international team of paleographers".⁴²⁾

2. Internal analysis

The theoretical proof of the authenticity of the Map can be provided by an analysis of its contents i.e. a cartographical analysis and a critical study of its legends. Such an analysis requires that both cartographical and historical methods should be employed and therefore it necessitates a definition of the relationship between cartography and history. This is how R.A. Skelton defined it in one of his works:

"...some problems of the literary student or the historian may, indeed, must, be solved by the consideration of the construction and characteristic of a book as an physical or tangible object. We may see a similar relationship between the analysis of form and that of content in extracting the testimony of an earlier map. As bibliography to literary criticism, or as diplomatic to the interpretation of medieval documents, so is the technical analysis of early maps to the studies which they serve. This analysis like the parallel process of an analytical bibliography, must be applied in a historical context".⁴³⁾

Bearing in mind all the difficulties entailed in the task of finding a bridge between cartography with all its auxiliary disciplines (to mention only astronomy, climatology and even botany) on the one hand, and history with its subject matter and its method strictly defined on the other, one must agree with the above statement that it is the historical context which decides the age and *eo ipso* the authenticity of a document. Let us from this point of view look at the Map with the eye of a cartographer.

According to R.A. Skelton the Vinland Map is not an original but a copy; furthermore, it is a copy of a prototype (02) compiled from the following sources:

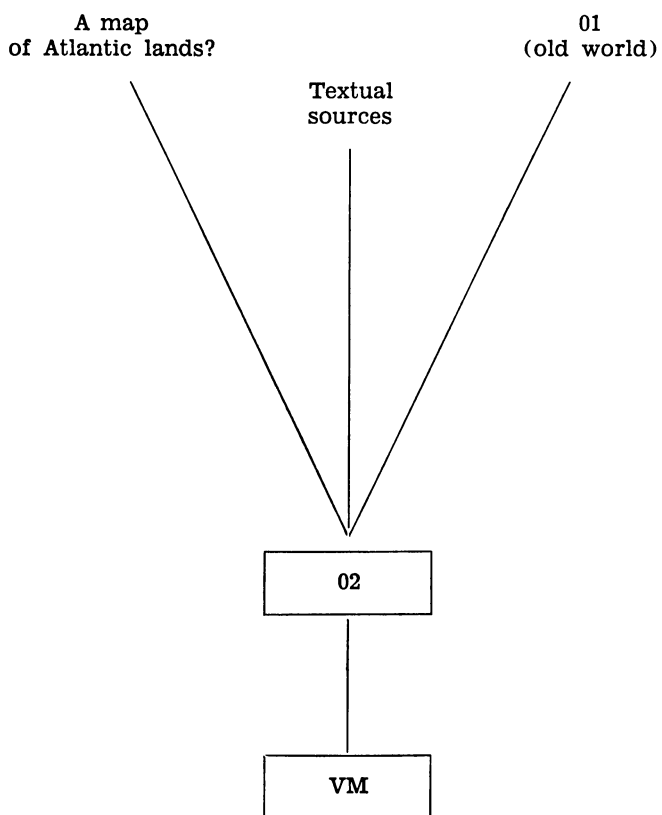
a) A map of the "Old World" as seen on the map of Andrea Bianco (01).⁴⁴⁾

41) Beside M.A. MUSMANNO, the manuscripts had been investigated by D.B. QUINN, and by E.M.J. CAMPBELL.

42) E.M.J. CAMPBELL, *Scot. Geogr. Mag.*, LXXXIII, 143; D.M. WILSON, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, III, XXX, 162-3.

43) R.A. SKELTON, *Looking at an early map*. Annual Public Lecture in Books and Bibliography given at the University of Kansas in October 1962. University of Kansas Library Series, No 17, Lawrence, Kansas 1965, 1-2, quoting F. Bowers, *The Bibliographical Way*, Lawrence 1959.

44) The VM & TR, plate VI. The map was published by O. Peschel, *Der Atlas des Andrea Bianco vom Jahre 1436*, Venedig 1869.



Sources of the Vinland Map reconstructed
by R.A. Skelton
(p. 142).

b) A map of the Atlantic lands of Icelandic origin of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

c) Literary sources such as sagas.

d) The *Tartar Relation*.⁴⁵⁾

The first of these assumptions has been accepted by scholars without reserve. However, the Vinland Map presents some new details in relation to the "Old World" and it is precisely those that are of crucial importance for the dispute on the authenticity of the Map. Dealing with R.A. Skelton's theory concerning the origin of the Vinland Map the following considerations should be borne in mind:

1) The geographical novelties are to be found in the western and eastern part of the Map and must be, therefore, treated separately.

2) The examination of the legends must be subordinated to the cartographical analysis.

3) As regards the sagas, their place is in the analysis of the legends concerning the Atlantic part of the New World.

4) The *Tartar Relation*, on the other hand, can be dealt with only in connection with the Asiatic part of the "Old World".

Let us now consider the Atlantic part of the "New World":

Vinlanda Insula. This is the same island as that known from Icelandic sagas and the chronicle of Adam of Bremen. It therefore represents a land on the American continent, but which one? There are too many theories to mention and some are not serious enough to be considered.⁴⁶⁾ Generally speaking, it is accepted that Helluland represents Baffin Island, Markland — Labrador, and Vinland — Newfoundland. Helge Ingstad's excavations had raised high hopes. Now the Norwegian scholar has finished at last her spade and research work and we can accept the proposed identity of archeological sites excavated at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland with the Viking settlements of the sagas.⁴⁷⁾ As for R.A. Skelton, who at the time of his writing could know about Ingstad's research only from the press, he restricted himself in 1965 to the statement that the Vinland Map "produces very little of geographical detail noted in the narrative of the Norse voyages".⁴⁸⁾ So the question arises: was there any cartographical model for the Map? Here we arrive at the very core of Skelton's theory and to the most controversial part of the dispute about the authenticity of the Map. In his view the outline of the *Vinland Insula*

45) See the diagram on p. 141, and pp. 142 & 232-3, where the theory of "a graphic source" is expounded. That it was a Scandinavian, and very probably an Iclander, who first reduced these materials to cartographic shape seems to us indisputable" (*Geogr. Mag.*, XXXVIII, 662, 668); see also G.D. PAINTER, *The VM & TR*, 251-4.

46) J. POHL listed about 50 theories concerning the situation of Vinland (*Amer. Scand. Review*, LIV, 1, 1966, 25-9).

47) H. INGSTAD, Westward to Vinland. *The Discovery of Pre-Columbian Norse Housesites in North America*. Translated from the Norwegian by Erik Friis. Jonathan Cape, London 1969. The origins of H. Ingstad's discoveries are still questioned by A. DAVIES (*Geography*, 51, 259). In the opinion of C.O. SAUER, L'Anse-aux-Meadows is a pre-Viking Irish settlement (Northern Mists, University of California Press 1969).

48) *The VM & TR*, 220-1, 220, note 256, 240.

"...owes its ultimate, if not immediate, origin to a graphic reconstruction of the geography of the voyages, compiled from the saga accounts or from hearsay, and generalized in transmission".⁴⁹⁾

The author has in mind a 'prototype' of the Map which could have been compiled only by someone who had access to the old Nordic sources, that is someone from Iceland. To quote him again:

"The map nonetheless reflects the strong probability that in medieval Iceland the historical recollection of the Norse discovery of America was sustained by graphic as well as written memorials which have not survived" (227).⁵⁰⁾

The search for the prototype of the Vinland Map made the author examine the oldest maps of Scandinavia.⁵¹⁾ He distinguished two types among them: 1. Claudius Clavus's type representing Greenland as a peninsula and 2. The Icelandic type. Among the latter two maps in particular deserve attention: *Siurdi Stephanii terrarum hyperborearum delineatio Anno 1570*,⁵²⁾ and the one by H.P. Resen, entitled *Indicatio Gronlandię & vicinarum regionum... ex antiqua quadam mappa rudi modo delineata, ante aliquot centenos annos, ab Islandis, quibus tunc erat ista terra notissima*. The first shows Helleland Markland and *Promontorium Winlandiae*, the other one, as we can see, refers to "a certain roughly designed old map of Greenland and the neighbouring lands" (1605). What is the relationship between these maps and the Vinland Map?

As there seems to be some similarity between Resen's map and the Vinland Map, one may raise the question whether the *antiqua quadam mappa*, which Resen referred to, does not derive from the same source as the alleged Icelandic prototype of the Vinland Map? R.A. Skelton rejects this hypothesis. In his view, the two maps originated independently of each other, even if inspired by the same source, which might have been the Flatey-Book, i.e. the saga of Eric the Red and the Graenlendinga Saga. He does not rule out, however, the possibility that, apart from those literary sources, the medieval records of Iceland could have once contained maps of indigenous authorship "which are now lost".

Ib Rönne Kejlbo differs from the editors of the Map in two respects: 1. He does not attach any importance to Sigurd Stefansson's and H.P. Resen's maps, as the first originated from the inspiration of the Nordic sources without any cartographical design, and the second is — roughly speaking — a mere copy of the first with the only difference that Resen included in it the information supplied by the Danish expedition to Greenland in 1605. The supposition that this map is based on another one "a few centuries" older is misleading: it was a common

49) The VM & TR, 217; *Geogr. Magazine*, XXXVIII, 662, 668.

50) "Beyond this point in speculation we cannot go" (The VM & TR, 217-8).

51) The maps are known from several publications. R.A. Skelton gives excellent reproductions (tab. XVII, XVIII, XIX). Sigurd Stefansson's map was reproduced by Peter K. Weyl to illustrate "The Vikings' conception of the northern ocean", but strangely enough the author ignored the Vinland Map (*Oceanography. An Introduction to the Marine Environment*, N. York 1970, 32-3). As to the discussion of the problem of the relationship between the maps see R.A. SKELTON, The VM & TR, 192-5, 200-8; G. CARACI, La Vinland Map, 594-610; Ib Rönne KEJLBO, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 113-15.

52) The correct date is 1590, see Ib Rönne KEJLBO: *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 113, and *Kulturgeografi*, 205.

practice among medieval scholars to refer to their source as much older than it actually was and this practice was not altogether abandoned by the seventeenth century. Worse still, it seems that H.P. Resen was guided by political motives in making this map, wanting to justify on its grounds Denmark's claims to Greenland and Danish sovereignty over its territorial waters. In this he followed the general feeling of anxiety among Danes resulting from numerous foreign ventures in the direction of the north Atlantic and English attempts to penetrate into the White Sea in order to trade with Muscovy. This the Danish Crown could not allow as detrimental to revenues from Danish customs in Oeresund. Therefore Resen's map and its allegedly centuries older prototype should be regarded with scepticism. In the entire theory of Skelton and Painter, concludes Ib Rønne Kejlbo, he finds nothing to convince him of the existence of some Nordic map which had served as a model to Stefansson and Resen.

2. On the other hand, a quarter of century prior to the Vinland Map there existed another map which reveals some knowledge of the Atlantic in northern Europe. This map was compiled by Claudius Clavus in 1430. The author, of whom we know very little, is regarded, apart from Olaus Magnus, as the greatest of the Scandinavian cartographers. Born on the island of Fyen in 1388, he lived in Denmark until 1424 when he went to Rome. Here, about 1430, he wrote two descriptions of the North, which differed cartographically from the ideas about the northern Atlantic commonly held in southern Europe. It remains controversial whether he brought with him from Denmark a map of *Ultima Thule*, or whether he only learnt cartography in Rome, but it is generally accepted that he had never been to Iceland and that he was influenced in his geographical concepts by the *mappa mundi* in the Medici Atlas of 1351.

There are two maps compiled on the basis of Clavus' description. The first of these and the older one, was attached to a manuscript of Cardinal Fillastre, including Ptolemy's map and it was only discovered in 1835 in Nancy. The other one was reconstructed by Axel A. Björnbo and C. Petersen on the basis of Clavus' text which is to be found in two codices at the University Library in Vienna. These two authors also produced a monograph which sparked off a controversy about Claudius Clavus' place in European cartography.⁵³⁾ This controversy, initiated by Fridtjof Nansen,⁵⁴⁾ was revived after the American publication of the Vinland Map in view of the differences in approach to the subject of R.A. Skelton, E. Haugen, Ib R. Kejlbo and Finn Gad. The point in question is whether Claudius Clavus' works were the basis of the Vinland Map or not. R.A. Skelton asserted that:

"We cannot dismiss quite so lightly the possibility that there may be a link of some kind, perhaps in a common source, between Clavus' lost second Map (the counter part of the Vienna manuscript of his descriptive text) and the Vinland Map; and although such a connection, however weak, seems to us unlikely, it deserves mention for further investigation by any student who may think the exercise profitable" (191).

53) Fyenboen Claudius Claussön Swart (Claudius Clavus) Nordens ældste Kartograf. En monografi af A.A. Björnbo og Carl S. Petersen. Det Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter, 6 R. Hist. og filos. Af d. VI, 2. København 1904. German edition, Innsbruck 1909.

54) F. NANSEN, *In Northern Mists*, II, London 1911, 255-6, 265-76 (German and American editions in the same year).

This remark does not encourage "the exercise" in search of the cartographical sources of the Map, especially in view of the author's final conclusion:

"...if Clavus or Donnus Nicolaus had access to a map of Greenland related to the prototype of the representation in the Vinland Map, this must have suffered a good deal of degradation before being incorporated into the Clavus derivatives of the A-type" (191).

Let us now turn from R.A. Skelton's "speculative line of thought" to the argument of his opponent. Ib Rønne Kejlbo is of the opinion that the Vinland Map could have been compiled on the basis of one of Claudius Clavus' maps. This novel idea, which undermines R.A. Skelton's theory about the existence of an Icelandic prototype of the Map, did not meet with the approval of E. Haugen who branded Clavus as "the Danish adventurer and manifest liar".⁵⁵⁾ To this verdict certainly not even F. Nansen would have given his *placet* and Ib Rønne Kejlbo justly points to the fact that we do not have any original text by Clavus, all we have to go on are the descriptions which were utilized by cartographers.⁵⁶⁾ It is quite possible, therefore, that Claudius was aware of Vinland's existence and passed on his knowledge to contemporary cartographers, but as his picture of the northern Atlantic would have disturbed the accepted Ptolemaic vision of the "Old World", they chose not to make use of it.⁵⁷⁾

As for Greenland, the Vienna text contains one significant piece of information:

*Gronlandie Insule chersonesus dependet a terra inaccessibili a parte septentrionis uel ignota propter glaciem.*⁵⁸⁾

How are we to understand this contradictory statement? Was Greenland an island or a peninsula? R.A. Skelton asserts:

"We may translate the first three words as the peninsula, or [so-called] island of Greenland".⁵⁹⁾

This translation can hardly be deduced from the Latin text nor does it correspond fully to F. Nansen's text:

"The peninsula of the island of Greenland stretches down from land on the north which is inaccessible or unknown on account of ice" (270).

Following F. Nansen in the appraisal of Claudius Clavus R.A. Skelton accuses the Danish geographer of having introduced into "southern

55) E. HAUGEN, *Arctic*, 19, 4, 1966, 290.

56) The discussion between F. Nansen and A.A. Björnbo was not completed to the death of the Danish cartographer (A.A. Björnbo, *Cartographia Groenlandica (Meddel. om Grönland*, nr. 48, København 1912, p. XI, preface).

57) Ib Rønne KEJLBO, *Geogr. Tidsskrift*, 235.

58) A.A. BJÖRNBO, *Der Däne Claudius Clavus*, 144; R.A. SKELTON, *The VM & TR*, 176, note 130; Ib R. KEJLBO, *Kulturgeografi*, 215.

59) F. NANSEN, *In Northern Mists*, II, 270. - Unfortunately, I had no access to F. Nansen's Norwegian text; the English version is not at variance with Ib Rønne Kejlbo's text which follows.

cartography the delineation of Greenland lying to the west of Ireland and forming a peninsula connected on the north to lands round the Pole" (176). Unfortunately, the sixteenth century cartographers adopted this picture and it survived for a long time in the cartography of the northern Atlantic.

Ib Rønne Kejlbø translates Clavus' text as follows:

"Øen Grönland halvö strækker sig ned fra et nord utilgaengeligt eller paa grund af is ukendt land".⁶⁰⁾

The author suggests that Claudius Clavus, in contrast to the representation of Scandinavia commonly upheld in the sixteenth century, suspected that Greenland was an island and in any case was not convinced that it was connected with Asia. For this reason his description should not be ruled out as a possible source for the Vinland Map.

There emerges another problem in the form of the existence of a new *Mappa antiqua*, a problem to which — since it remained unknown to the editors and the critics of the Vinland Map — we must devote some attention.⁶¹⁾ The present writer owes his information about the map, and a photo-copy of it, to the courtesy of Dr. Géza Szepessy of the Military Museum in Budapest. The map, which I propose to call the "Szepessy Map" was discovered by a teacher, now dead, in the city of Esztergom (Gran) which, up to the time of the Tartar invasion, was the capital of Hungary. The discovery was quite accidental. The teacher was ordered by Soviet authorities to remove papers left in the old quarters of the German Army, and among those papers he found the old map in question. Dr. G. Szepessy acquired it in 1954 and is at present working on its publication. Anticipating the results of his research, we can already state that this map presents a cartographical puzzle.

1. The map, entitled *Mappa Antiqua*, bears an inscription: *Directorum Principum Territori GEOGRAPHICA Descriptio Mare Anno 1599. Tyrnavia. S.S. Iesu. Vniversitas Hvngarvs*. The map was then drawn in Trnava, the residence of the Hungarian metropolitan from 1543 when Esztergom was occupied by the Turks. The inscription S.S. *Iesu* suggests some connection with the Jesuit establishment in that town.

There is very little doubt that the "Szepessy Map" bears some relation to that of Sigurd Stefansson. As the latter originated in 1590, the Hungarian map would therefore be only nine years younger than the Danish one. It remains something of a mystery how a copy of a map compiled in Denmark could have reached Hungary in such a short time and why the Hungarian Jesuits could have been interested in such an exotic map.

60) Ib Rønne KEJLBØ, *Kulturgeografi*, 215.

"...it is not impossible that at the time of the preparation of the Vinland Map about 1440 Clavus might have extended his geographical knowledge of the northern regions to include Vinland. It is likely — it must be admitted — that Clavus might have had the possibility to obtain information either from the sagas or from Vatican collections... the source of the Vinland Map searched by Skelton might be due to Clavus" (*Geogr. Tidsskrift*, 236).

61) The map was studied on the spot by Helge Ingstad and then with the help of experts - Professor Knut Bergsland (Hungarian runes) and A. Van Loey (linguistics). See Vesterveg, 88-9, and Westward to Vinland, 85-6. There is a good reproduction of the "Hungarian map" (Plate 5, p. 32). Another reproduction is given by J.Kr. TORNØE, *Columbus in the Arctic? and the Vinland Literature*, Oslo 1965, 122.

2. The title *Mappa Antiqua* can be seen on Resens' map: *antiqua quadam mappa* and so the question arises whether the compiler of the Hungarian map had access to Resen's map, or whether they had used a common prototype.

3. On the Hungarian map Greenland is represented as an island. This is a novelty in regard to both Danish and sixteenth century cartography, where Greenland is represented as a peninsula. Again we must ask how it was possible to correct the geography of the far North in Hungary, a country which never even had trade relations with Scandinavia.

There has been already an attempt to clarify this mystery. A Norwegian scholar⁶²⁾ has expressed the opinion that news about the Norse expeditions and discoveries might have reached Hungary with the crusaders who, under the command of Sigurd Jerusalem-farer, returned to Norway via Hungary in 1111. According to the same author, another source of information might have been the court of the Norman kings in Sicily, where "the famous atlas of the world known as the Book of Roger" was compiled and drawn between 1145-1154.⁶³⁾

This argument can hardly be accepted as plausible.⁶⁴⁾ It does not seem very likely that the Norwegian crusaders had much knowledge of the geography of Greenland, and it is even more unlikely that such knowledge would have been preserved in Sicily, far less in Hungary, before the year 1599. So the "Szepessy Map" remains a mystery.

2. Gronenlanda. To explain the modern delineation of Greenland in the Vinland Map presents even greater difficulties. These stem from the fact that: a) The sagas could not have provided sufficient information to enable the cartographers to delineate the island's shores. b) The geographical outline is so accurate that it seems impossible it were drawn without a survey which most certainly would have demanded a circumnavigation of the island. c) Even assuming that the Greenlanders did circumnavigate the island, the information acquired in this way would not be sufficient to draw a map of modern outline.

To appreciate these difficulties, it is essential to know the history of the island, which for its livelihood depended largely on two sets of circumstances: on the climate and on the maintenance of relations with Europe.⁶⁵⁾

62) J.Kr. TORNØE, *Addendum to Columbus in the Arctic*, Oslo 1967, 120-1 (A reprint from *Columbus in the Arctic?* 94-131).

63) K. BUCZEK, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century. Monografie z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki*, XXIV, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1966, 21-2. The Arab geographer did not differ from the other geographers in his information about Central and East Europe and "Remaining unknown and inaccessible to the scientist of Europe, his atlas had no influence whatever on the further progress of European cartography" (p. 22).

64) Idrisi had access to Roger's collections but Ptolemy's "Geography" was not among them and information about Scandinavia was poor (L. BAGROW, *Italiens insatser inom skandinavisk kartografi*, *Ymer*, 66, 1946, 191-2). His texts were first accessible in a translation in 1619 in Rome in a "much abridged form and the translator did not even know the author's name (Nafis AHMAD, *Muslim Contribution to Geography*, Lahore 1947, 39), and published in extenso as late as 1926 (K. MILLER, *Mappae Arabicae*, I, Stuttgart 1926). See also O.O. TUULIO-TALLGREN, *Du nouveau sur Idrisi (Studia Orientalia Fennica*, VI, 1936).

65) There is no need to quote the abundant literature. The best introduction to the problem is to be found in the work of G. JONES, *The Norse Atlantic Saga. The Norse Voyages of Discovery and Settlement to Iceland, Greenland, America*, London 1964.

Greenland was discovered in 986 A.D., converted to Christianity in 1000 and colonized soon afterwards. Its economy was based on fishing and cattle-breeding. The sagas and excavations have given some evidence that in the first climatic phase which lasted approximately until the end of the twelfth century, there were three centres in Greenland — Oesterbygd in the south, Vesterbygd in the west, and a smaller settlement between them. These settlements consisted of 274 holdings, a cathedral and a seat of the bishop in Gardar, two monasteries and twelve churches with a total of about 3000 people. This "golden age" of Greenland came to an end in the following century as a result of climatic deterioration. There followed a second climatic phase which lasted throughout the thirteenth century. This phase was marked by the thrust of polar ice which brought with it, apart from a general cooling of the climate, the threat of the island becoming blocked by ice. A further effect was the deterioration of conditions for navigation and the pressures from the indigenous population — the skraelings — from the North. The third phase, which covers the period up to the end of the fifteenth century, brought a further deterioration of climate and a continuous struggle with the natives. It was a struggle for survival. Cut off from the world, abandoned by the Church, forgotten by Norway, the Greenlanders succumbed eventually to the asperity of the climate and the pressure of the skraelings.⁶⁶)

Several theories exist regarding the decline of Greenland but this seems to be the most convincing one. The question is: how such an exceptional document as a map could have been produced in conditions which almost excluded the development of a higher and literate civilization?

R.A. Skelton's argument, in the chapter dealing with the mapping of Greenland, is the least convincing in his whole book. One is left wondering how the author, having at his disposal, as he himself admits, merely "fragmentary and intermittent... scraps of evidence" could have arrived at the conclusion that the Greenlanders and Icelanders explored Greenland "at least up to 75° N" and even "almost 78° N" with the result that they were able to record it cartographically. Another scholar, Ronald Morcken, arrived at the same conclusion by applying a more scientific method. It is not, however, the cartography of the island south of 75° that presents a problem here, but the delineation of the shore north of 75° which is no less accurate and so even more difficult to explain. Here our author is left with the question:

"...are we to think that the cartographer, having come to the limit of his authentic information, perhaps in about 75° N, has speculatively completed the design by adding a theoretical north coast? We have found such a process apparently at work elsewhere in the Vinland Map (in the design of the Great Sea of Tartars)" (195).

⁶⁶) The problem attracted many historians but it remains nevertheless "one of the unsolved mysteries of history" (G. JONES, *The Norse Atlantic Saga*, 55). J. MELGAARD, *Nordboerne i Grønland. En vikingbygdshistorie*, København 1965, 91-8, and H. INGSTAD, *Land Under the Pole Star: a voyage to the Norse settlements of Greenland and the saga of the people that vanished*. Translated from the Norwegian by N. Walford, New York 1966, 381, maps (Rev. by E. WAHLGREN in *Scand. Studies*, 39, 2, 1967, 182-5).

Unfortunately, we feel rather sceptical about the creative imagination of our cartographer. The final conclusion of R.A. Skelton is that in circumnavigating the island the Greenlanders were able, by the end of the thirteenth century, to acquire "the material for drawing a recognizable map, had they desired to do so".⁶⁷⁾ The crux of the matter is not whether they wanted to do so, but whether they could. To accept that this was possible would mean that they were far more advanced in geography than the Icelanders and Norwegians, who had not learnt by this time to master the cartography of their own country, and even more so than European geographers who also developed modern methods of cartography only in the sixteenth century.⁶⁸⁾ Having read the chapter about the cartography of Greenland in Skelton's book, one is left with a feeling of intellectual disappointment and the suspicion that rigorous scientific method has been sacrificed on this point in order to maintain the theory of a Nordic prototype of the Vinland Map.

We cannot, however, entirely dismiss R.A. Skelton's theory. The Vinland Map is not a myth, it is a cartographical document and it has to be explained in some way. Even if we agree with the Danish critic in denying it any value as a source, and accept that the only reliable information with which it supplies us is "that the Norse tradition about Greenland, Vinland and Bishop Eirik had somehow and some time in the 15th century found its way to Germany in a very limited version",⁶⁹⁾ we are still left with two questions: 1. In which European milieu could this map have originated? 2. How could the Norse tradition have found its way from *Ultima Thule* to Central Europe or still farther to the South?

As we have already mentioned, the editors came to the conclusion that the Vinland Map most likely originated in Basle; some critics suggested Florence, still others Rome. Which one of these places seems to be the most plausible?

As regards Basle, quite apart from the fact that the city was the seat of an ecumenical Council⁷⁰⁾ within eight years of the hypothetical date of origin of the Map, it was also a meeting place of scholars and

67) Winding up his conclusions concerning the Norse voyages and their effect on the discoveries, and quoting F. NANSEN (*In Northern Mists*, II, 38), R.A. Skelton writes: "For the first time explorers had set out with conscious purpose from the known world, over the surrounding seas, and had found land on the other side. By their voyages they taught the sailors of Europe the possibility of traversing the ocean". "Of this initiative the Vinland Map is a memorial" (239). All depends on "The Meaning of 'Discovery' in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (W.E. WASHBURN, *Amer. Hist. Review*, LXVIII, 1, 1962, 1-12, with a bibliography.

68) Here we can adduce Fra Mauro's legend concerning the Baltic Sea in his map of the world (1459): *Per questo mar non se navega cum carta ni bossola ma cum scandaio* (sc. *scandaglio* - lead for sounding in the sea), see K. KRETSCHMER, *Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Hildesheim, sec. Edition 1962, 198). - The best proof of the ignorance of south-European cartographers is their confusion about the location of Iceland: "...to most of those early cartographers there was an island called Iceland lying somewhere in the North, but exactly where they did not know, and the problem was to find some fairly plausible place for it on their maps" (H. Hermannsson, *The Cartography of Iceland, Islandica*, vol. XXL, Ithaca, N. York 1931, 3).

69) F. GAD, *Vinlandskortet*, 88, 90.

70) One of the pilgrims' way led from northern Europe towards Rome via Basle (D.B. DURAND, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden 1952, 252, 266-8, pl. XXIII).

churchmen from all Christian countries.⁷¹⁾ The strongest argument for Basle must be, in the editors' opinion, the origin of the paper used for the *Speculum* and the *Tartar Relation*. We have already pointed out how inadequate the basis of this argument is.

Florence has its most devoted supporter in Th. E. Goldstein.⁷²⁾ This author is not particularly concerned with the importance of the Map for the history of discoveries; in his opinion it should be studied "from the more comprehensive viewpoint of the pertinent criteria in the history of science". The Vinland Map is the first modern map of the globe "demonstrating the navigability of the Ocean as a potential waterway linking the two ends of the habitable world". Its importance lies in the fact that it raises "the Oceanic parts of the earth to the level of equal importance with the traditional sphere of the 'habitable land'", and by doing so it caused, in relation to the cosmography of the Middle Ages, a revolution in geographical thinking.⁷³⁾ This revolution might well have taken place at the Council of Florence in the years 1438-1440.

"The Council of Florence... was not only the occasion for a highly noteworthy exchange of geographic theories and facts, it was also the stage where the explicit new global concept, which the Vinland Map reflects, was evolved through a series of searching debates, which came to play a fundamental role in the rise of modern geography".

What made it possible for the concept to be formulated and accepted was the meeting "between a group of geographically minded Florentines headed by Paolo Toscanelli" and the Greek scholar Gemistos Plethon who introduced into the geographical thinking of the West two leading geographical concepts of the ancient world — the geography of Ptolemy and that of Strabo.⁷⁴⁾ In short:

"...the Vinland Map is the earliest known cartographic representation of the new concept of the earth, made at the time when the concept was developed through critical debate".

The Map was drawn in Florence, possibly under the direct influence of Toscanelli or even commissioned by him or one of his collaborators.

71) All the routes from Scandinavia led to Mainz along the Rhine and from Mainz to Basle (K. KAALUND, *En islandsk vejviser for pilgrimme fra 12. aarhundrede* (*Aarb. Nord. Oldk.*, III, 3, 1913, 53-55; F.P. MAGOUN Jr., *The Rome of two northern pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and abbot Nicolás of Munkathverá* (*Harvard Theol. Review*, XXXIII, 1940, 267-89).

72) Th.E. GOLDSTEIN, *Conceptual Patterns*, 321-3; same: *Geography in the Fifteenth Century Florence (Merchants and Scholars)*. Minneapolis 1965, 9-32, 19; *Florentine Humanism and the Vision of the New World* (*Actas Congr. Int. Hist. Desc.*, IV, 195, Lisboa 1961. - See also: R. ALMAGIA, *Il primato di Firenze negli studi geografici durante i secoli XV e XVI* (*Atti Soc. Ital. Progr. Scienze*, XVIII, 1929, I, 60-80, and A. VACALOPOULOS, *The exodus of scholars from Byzantium in the fifteenth century* (*Cahiers Hist. Mondiale*, X, 3, 1967, 468-9).

73) See R.A. SKELTON, *Journal Soc. Arch.*, III, 221-9.

74) "Yet, curiously, there is little record of the relations that the Florentine humanists must have had during the months that the Council sat in Florence, with the Greek counterparts... Pier Candido Decembrio in a letter 1439 implies that Greeks while in Florence willingly copied manuscripts... he also laments that almost the only books brought by the Greeks had been ecclesiastical" (J. GILL, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge U.P. 1955, 188). As to the problem of the Union see: O. HALECKI, *Diplomatie pontificale et activité missionnaire en Asie aux XIII-XV s.* (*Comité Int. Sciences. Hist.*, XIII Congr. Vienne, Rapports II, 1965, 16-21).

As far as Rome is concerned, E. Haugen and O. Ore brought forward at the conference in the Smithsonian Institution a hypothesis that the knowledge of Greenland contained in the Map could have been derived from the now lost description of 1121 by Bishop Eirik.⁷⁵⁾

If it is a matter of choice between Florence and Basle, we feel more inclined towards the Basle hypothesis. It is obvious that the Map could not have been drawn without some dependence on Scandinavian sources and these were without any doubt more accessible in Basle than south of the Alps. This brings us back to the second question, namely by what route this knowledge about *Ultima Thule* could have reached Basle and southern Europe.

As far as Iceland is concerned, the manuscripts of such old Nordic sources as have survived prove that, in spite of their actually being stored in Copenhagen,⁷⁶⁾ the far away island constituted one big *scriptorium* and that information about Thule could well have derived *ex antiquitatibus Islandicis*. The question is how much the Icelanders knew about the geography of the northern Atlantic in the 11th and 12th centuries. To get an answer we have only to look into the guide-book to the Holy Land prepared by Nicholas Bergson, abbot of the Therva Benedictine monastery. There we read that Vinland is situated to the south of Greenland and, "as some think stretches right down to Africa".⁷⁷⁾ Well, all we can say is that even Adam of Bremen had a better knowledge of the "northern islands" than his reverend brother in Iceland!

Among the places where knowledge about Thule penetrated was the city of Bergen.⁷⁸⁾ As the capital of the kingdom, the largest town in Norway, the episcopal seat and a centre of culture, Bergen had extensive relations as far as Greenland and Novogrod before the time when it became dominated by the Hanseatic League.⁷⁹⁾ It is through Hanse that knowledge about northern Europe reached the West, even though it seems unlikely that it could have spread far beyond the Alps. Furthermore, it was the Hanseatic merchants who provided Western Europe with rare and unusual goods from Greenland such as white bears, falcons, and furs which were always in demand.⁸⁰⁾

If we go one step further, these goods were likely also to have gone through Bristol. This city was an emporium for England and the

75) Th.E. GOLDSTEIN, *Conceptual Patterns*, 324, note 10. - E. Haugen's theory will be discussed in one of the following chapters.

76) Islandske haandskrifter og dansk kultur. Udstilling paa Statens Museum for Kunst. Ed. by Erik Dal. København 1965. The Royal Library in Copenhagen has c. 1150 manuscripts, 59 on parchment.

77) B. THORSTEINSSON, Some observations on the discoveries and cultural history of the Norsemen (*Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, XVI, 2-3, 1963-4, 74); H. INGSTAD, *Westward to Vinland*, 31.

78) B. BERULFSEN, *Kulturtradisjon fra en storhetstid*, Oslo 1948, 46-61. The Bishop of Bergen Hakon was appointed in 1337 - "collector generalis in regno Noruegie omnium ad cameram domini nostri summi pontificis spectantium" (Dipl. Norv., VII, 143).

79) J. SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge i det 16. aarhundrede* (Det Norske Vidensk. Academie i Oslo, 1941, 360. - J. GADE, *Hanseatic Control of Norwegian Commerce during the Later Middle Ages*, London 1951, 8, 31, 18.

80) T.J. OLESON, Polar bears in the middle ages (*Canad. Hist. Review*, XXXI, 1950, 47-55).

centre of trade with Flanders, Portugal and Italy. The Bristol merchants ventured a long way toward Greenland, and, as is now accepted, almost to the very shores of Vinland.⁸¹⁾ They in their turn would have accumulated some knowledge about the economic situation and the sailing conditions in this part of the Atlantic and imparted it to the Portuguese and Italian merchants. To sum up:

The only place in northern Europe in which the Christian tradition and Nordic culture were preserved, and knowledge of the history of the north-Atlantic part of Europe accumulated, was Iceland, and the main intermediaries in passing it to western Europe were the sailors of Bristol, the city of Bergen and the Hanseatic towns.

There existed, however, one more link between northern and western Europe due to the fact that there was one more institution maintaining relations with Scandinavian countries. This institution was the papacy.

After 1000 A.D., when Iceland and Greenland had been converted and Denmark received its Church organization, these far away countries were drawn into the Roman sphere of influence. Right from the beginning, however, in the "first missionary stage" which continued up to mid twelfth-century, Rome had to rely in its dealings with northern Europe on the intermediary of the metropolis of Hamburg-Bremen. In such matters we must be aware that the ambitions of metropolitans and their missionary achievements are quite different problems. These ambitions reached their height at the time of the archbishop Adalbert (1043-72) and are well documented in the work of Adam of Bremen (1066-81).⁸²⁾ The learned canon informs us that he had two sources for his *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. One of these was the information gathered during his stay at the court of the Danish king, Sven Estridsen (1066-67), the other one consisted of the reports of natives and missionaries who had been sent by the archbishop to the Atlantic islands. This is what we learn from Adam about the archbishop:

"...parvula Brema, ex illius virtute instar Romae divulgata, ab omnibus terrarum partibus devote peteretur, maxime ab omnibus aquilonis populis. Inter quos extremi venerunt Islani, Gronlani et Orchadum legati, petentes, ut predicatorum illuc dirigeret; quod et fecit" (III, c. 23).

If we are to believe Adam's report, the archbishop decided to spend the last part of his life:

"ut circuiens latitudinem septentrionis, hoc est Daniam, Suediam et Normanniam pertransiens, inde ad Orchadas extremam orbis patriam Island posset attingere. Illi enim suo tempore et suo labore conversi sunt ad fidem christianam" (III, c. 70).

This is a very important piece of information. It testifies that already in the second part of the eleventh century news from Greenland and Iceland could reach Hamburg-Bremen directly. Moreover, we know that the metropolitans of Hamburg did not recognize the newly erected metropolis of Lund (1106) and that they upheld their claims to

81) J.A. WILLIAMSON, *The Cabot Voyages and the Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, Cambridge 1962. *Hakl. Soc.* II, CXX, 79.

82) The best work on this subject is: A.A. BJÖRNBO, *Adam af Bremen Nordens-opfattelse* (Aarb. Nord. Oldk. og Historie, II, 24, 1909, 12-244).

supremacy over all Scandinavia right up to 1151, when these claims were once again recognized by Innocent II.⁸³⁾

Owing to the missionary efforts and the ecclesiastical ambitions of Hamburg-Bremen, the Baltic metropolis became a centre of knowledge about Northern Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the best proof of its septentrional outlook can be found in the remarkable *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. We can trust its author because he was a contemporary witness, a member of the Bremen chapter and a man who did not share the ambitions of his master. For the purpose of our investigation it is important to know whether Adam's *Gesta* penetrated further into Europe and whether the author of the legends in the Vinland Map could have had access to this work. Judging from the number of manuscripts which have been preserved and the dates both of the first and later printings of the *Gesta*, the work of Adam did not rank amongst the most popular chronicles in the West.⁸⁴⁾ Nevertheless, the dispute over such an important matter as the question of metropolitan boundaries and rights could only have been solved by Rome, and Rome could not have been informed about Church affairs in this part of Europe from anywhere else but Hamburg-Bremen.⁸⁵⁾

The time came when Rome was able to obtain a more detailed and firsthand picture of matters relating to the Church in the far North. This became possible owing to the legation of Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, later Pope Hadrian IV (1154-1159), who visited Scandinavia in the years 1152-53.⁸⁶⁾ From this time on the newly established metropolis of Nidaros was to become the source of information for Rome. The evidence for this is clearly seen in the activities of the papal collectors, who from now on are to settle the fiscal affairs of the Curia with regard to the Atlantic islands either through Nidaros or through the Bishop of Bergen.⁸⁷⁾

Relations between the Papacy and the Scandinavian Church must have left their trace in the documents of the Curia. The Vatican Archives were investigated by Norwegian and other scholars and the results

83) *Adami Gesta*, III, c. 33. - H. FUHRMANN, *Provincia constat duodecim episcopatibus. Zum Patriarchatsplan Erzbischof Adalberts von Hamburg-Bremen. Studia Gratiana* 11, 1967, 389-404 (Collect. S. Kuttner).

84) A. POTTHAST, *Bibliotheca Hist. Medii Aevi*, I, Berlin 1896, 10-11. The fact was recognized by R.A. Skelton, *The VM & TR*, 233.

85) On the other hand the organization of a separate Danish Church province independent of Hamburg had an unfavorable effect on cultural relations between Denmark and Hamburg (P. LEHMANN, *Skandinaviens Anteil an der lateinischen Literatur u. Wissenschaft des Mittelalters* 1. Stück (*Sitzb. Bayer. Ak. Wiss. - Phil. Hist. Abt.*, 1936, 4, 2, p. 10-11).

86) A.O. JOHNSEN, *Studier vedrørende Kardinal Nicolaus Brekespear legasjon til Norden*, Oslo 1945, X, 438; on pp. 2-38 a short account of Church conditions in northern Europe up to the twelfth century.

87) The accounts were published by P.A. MUNCH, *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskaps-og Dagböger 1282-1334*, Christiania 1864: "*Decima episcopatus Grenelladensis... in dentibus de roardo quam decimam recepi Bergis*" (25). - In 1413 there was a *preceptor in provincia Lubicense ac regni Dacie, Suecie ac Norvegie* (G.C. MARRI, *I documenti commerciali del fondo diplomatico Medic. nell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze (1230-1342). Regesti. - Bibl. Arch. Stor. Ital.*, III, nr. 26, p. 27, Firenze 1951) a proof that the way from Scandinavia to Rome was leading through Lübeck.

were published. They were rather disappointing.⁸⁸⁾ We must not, however, forget that while all ecclesiastical appointments were recorded in the Curia, not all the nominees reached their dioceses and there was nobody to report to Rome on Church matters in Greenland.

In view of the scarcity of the Vatican documents, the Icelandic sources became even more significant. Both the Roman and old Nordic sources give a relatively detailed account of Church affairs in Scandinavia, in contrast to the geographical information which is extremely poor.

The editors of the *Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation* made no thorough study of these sources, nor did they make use of the extensive knowledge about Church affairs in Scandinavia accumulated since the time of K. Maurer. Thus this part of R.A. Skelton's historical research also requires a new and critical examination by experts in Scandinavian Church history. Whatever results such an investigation may bring, one thing is certain: there were two ideas current about the geography of Greenland in Scandinavia and these ideas reached Europe in two ways. One is derived from sailors from Iceland and Greenland, who did not, however, circumnavigate Greenland and who, therefore, were not able to describe its northern shore. This picture might well have reached Portugal and Italy via Bristol before it was put down on paper by Claudius Clavus. It represented Greenland as a peninsula disappearing in the north amidst ice. Such a picture corresponded to the scope of knowledge about Greenland up to the fifteenth century. How widespread this picture was, even as late as the mid-sixteenth century, may be testified by the fact that at that time the Danish court considered the possibility of an invasion of Greenland on the part of Muscovy on the assumption that both countries were connected by land. On the other hand, it was feared that if Greenland was recognized as being part of the 'New World' the supremacy of the Danish king might be threatened there by the Spaniards and the Portuguese.⁸⁹⁾

The other picture came from Church authorities who — according to medieval cosmography — believed all the lands in the Atlantic to be islands. For the churchmen in Scandinavia, therefore, both Greenland and Vinland were islands. This picture was passed on to Rome and this is why it is to be found in the papal documents.⁹⁰⁾

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that if the compiler of the Vinland Map used any prototype at all, it was a Roman prototype, and that Rome was the place of origin of the Map, since it was only there that a picture of Greenland as portrayed in the Vinland Map could have existed.

88) Romerske Oldbreve: Dipl. Norv., XVII (1-2), Christiania 1907-1913 (1061-1531). W. Holtzmann discovered in the British Museum a letter of Pope Alexander III to the archbishop of Nidaros (*D. Archiv f. Gesch. d. M.A.*, 1938, 383, and *Nachr. Akad. Wissensch. Göttingen*, Phil. Hist. Kl, 1945, 15-36. The text was also published by J.Kr. Törnøe, Columbus in the Arctic, 44, and used by P.G. Foote, *Saga-Book*, 84, note 6. We only know too well how the Vatican Archives have been destroyed more than once.

89) L. Bøhé, Aktstykker til Oplysning om Grönlands Besejling 1521-1607 (*Danske Magazin*, ser. V, vol. VI, 1909, 303-8; S. SVENSSON, Kristian den Andres planer paa en arktisk ekspedition och deras förutsättningar) *Lunds Universitets Aarskrift*, N.F. Avd. 1, 54, nr. 5, Lund 1960, 174-8).

90) As late as 1519 we can read that Vincentius Pedersen Kampe was appointed Bishop of Gardar *que est in insula Gronlandia sub metropoli Nidrociensi* (*Acta Pontif. Danica*, VI, 1915, 246-7).

As for R.A. Skelton, he acknowledges that the Map originated as a result of "an exchange of ideas" between Portugal, Madeira and Bristol, this on the assumption that Bristol had trade relations with Iceland and that it was through Bristol that knowledge about Greenland reached the West. His final verdict runs as follows:

"Iceland was the repository of the knowledge about Greenland and lands further west preserved both in folk memory or orally and in the written literature of the sagas and annals; and among the documentary records we may now count a map or maps, no longer extant except in a derivative represented by the western part of the Vinland Map" (p. 235).

Although we share the author's conviction that the tradition about the voyages of Vikings to Vinland and about life in Greenland was preserved in Iceland, we cannot accept his view that these lands had then the necessary conditions for a document such as the Vinland Map, to be compiled.

3. The critics of R.A. Skelton's theory.

During the whole controversy about the Vinland Map, R.A. Skelton's theory met with the most serious criticism. It may be advisable, therefore, to assess this criticism separately, and independently of the discussion about the legends which present a problem of their own.

The first constructive criticism came from cartographers. I shall sum up their opinions, trying to avoid repetition and emphasizing only those arguments which make an original contribution to the discussion.

At the head of the list is Ib Rønne Kejlbo, curator of the map section of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. We know this scholar from the preceding chapter as a vindicator of Claudius Clavus' place in European cartography. Like Finn Gad, author of a recently published *History of Greenland*, whom we shall meet in the following chapter, Ib Rønne Kejlbo, rejects R.A. Skelton's theory about the Icelandic prototype and contends that Clavus' maps could have served as cartographical source for the Vinland Map. Neither author, however, questions directly the authenticity of the Map.

Among the geographers who regard the Map as a fake E.G.R. Taylor should be singled out a recognized authority on ancient cartography. Her argument goes as follows:

1. Maps of elliptical shape were virtually unknown before 1450; therefore the Vinland Map must have been drawn after 1440.

2. The position of the islands of Shetland, Faeroe and Iceland in relation to each other — as represented on the Map — directly corresponds to their positions in Mercator's map of 1569.

3. The assertion that the model for both the maker of the Vinland Map and that of A. Bianco was an earlier map, does not stand up to scrutiny.

4. In the representation of the western shores of Africa the Vinland Map goes beyond the sphere explored by the Portuguese before 1450.

5. The most intriguing feature of the Map is its representation of Greenland "which is complete and drawn in modern style".⁹¹⁾

As is evident from this, E.G.R. Taylor was much more concerned about the 'Old World' as it is represented in the Map. G.R. Crone, on the other hand, was more interested in the novelties. Rejecting the theory of "prototypes", he points to the fact that the southern shore of Africa on the Map corresponds to the folding on that of Bianco (fig. 1 and 2) which seems to indicate that the copy was made after the folding became permanently fixed, that is about 50 years later, around 1486. Not attaching much importance to written sources, G.R. Crone looks for evidence against the authenticity of the Map in the "cartographical evolution in the North Atlantic, and particularly its islands".

It is well known that medieval cartographers were extremely conservative and made no changes on the maps until forced to do so by correcting obvious anachronisms. In such a case they used to place the old tracings somewhere near the margins of the map, before finally removing them completely. Of this the islands of Antillia, Istillanda and Fixlanda as in the well known map of La Cosa of 1500, are a good example, except that in that year the position of Iceland had been definitely determined. What happened to the other islands? ⁹²⁾

In the so-called *Tabula regionum septentrionalium* in the Zamoyski codex of 1467, we find the island of *Islanda* with three rivers marked on it, and east of it two smaller islands: *Ferenis* - (or Faeroe Island) and *Femo*. Now, if we remove the circle of small islands around the isle *Islanda*, we shall obtain the outline of Vinland (map 4a), and if we draw a line around the Faeroes group (map 4c) we shall get an outline very similar to that seen in the Zamoyski codex. That this outline can be found even later is proved in the map of Stobnica of 1512 (map 4b).

G.R. Crone argues that once *Islanda* had been correctly mapped, and the old shape of Iceland with Faeroes had to be somehow disposed of, these were simply shifted westwards, to the edge of the map. It was then, and possibly even later that the cartographer, familiar with the Scandinavian discoveries, came to the conclusion that the smaller island represented Greenland and the bigger one Vinland and moved them both to the fringes of the Map.

The author asks whether the Map really was "an integral part of the whole collection" or whether it was not rather a "modern construction not made with a view to profit, but for the purpose of asserting the priority of Norse discovery and expansion into North America".

The answer to this question came from A. Davies. In his opinion the Map is a fake. The author cannot imagine that such a "gem" could have remained hidden from cartographers for five centuries. As to the paleographical evidence he expressed the following objection:

1. Accepting the parchment used for the Map as belonging to the *codex*, he nevertheless asks - how can one tell with certainty that these two leaves of parchment did not serve simply as protection for the manuscript of *Speculum*? If so used they could have been written on at any time before 1957.

91) R.A. SKELTON's reply in *Journal Inst. Navig.*, 19, 271-4.

92) Recently V.H. CASSIDY dealt "with islands that possess 'fortunate characteristics' that in ancient and medieval times were thought to dot the Atlantic Ocean" (*Terrae Incognitae*, I, 1960, 40-57, noted in *Current Geogr. Public.*, 32, 7, 1969, 283).

2. Since the editors are not agreed upon the question whether the handwriting of the Map is "identical" or merely "similar" to that of the other manuscripts, this requires to be established beyond doubt.

3. The ink of the Map and of the manuscripts appears to be different, and unless the contrary is proved the authenticity of the Map cannot be established.

The question remains — who could have forget the Map, and what was the reason for doing so? Throughout the nineteenth century people were searching for a map older than the oldest one hitherto known, which was the map of the world by Juan de la Cosa of 1500. The appearance of such a map could be particularly welcome at the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, when the exhibition in Chicago was being organized. It could be useful "for the purpose of asserting the priority of Norse discovery and expansion into North America". The map was "found", as there was an "expert" at hand to provide it. He must have had access to the Map of Andrea Bianco and to the *Tartar Relation* and then on the basis of these two sources and with the help of a modern map, he made "a rough draft" of the Vinland Map. He had the parchment and to forge the handwriting was not all that difficult. The eye of a real expert, however, could detect at once the modern outline of Greenland. The forgery was discovered, the Map was put away into a private collection, where it remained until 1957. The rest is known, and it would be futile to ask the question why it was only revealed in that particular year.

J. K. Wright, the former President of the American Geographical Society, did not put the matter so categorically. He is the only one amongst the critics who attached more importance to the *Tartar Relation* than to the Vinland Map. As for the Map, he is — like others — struck by the modern outlines of Greenland:

"So I am not altogether convinced by the arguments concerning Greenland and its exploration in medieval times that my friend Mr. Skelton presents so ingeniously, if tentatively and cautiously, on the basis of the contemplation of the Map".

Lastly, another American, Melvin H. Jackson, brings forward the argument that in order to delineate so accurately the shores of Greenland:

"...it would have been necessary for the explorers and voyagers to have employed not only an azimuth instrument and applied corrections and variations, but they would have also needed to establish a series of astronomical fixes, however limited in number, to have so clearly delineated the island of Greenland".

The author denies that either the Greenlanders or the Scandinavians could have possessed this knowledge as their only contribution to cartography is such "a primitive work" as Clavus' map.

Because of its novelties with regard to the north-eastern corner of the world, it was to be expected that the Vinland Map would not escape the attention of Soviet cartographers. Indeed, four of them became interested in the Map; they all considered it — to use the words of one of them, Vladimir Nevsky — "to be clever, a rather too clever fake".

Three original remarks of this geographer from Leningrad University deserve attention, as made by no other critic:

1. Both Arabic geographical sources and the Vinland Map show "a corner" of Africa drawn in, and turned towards the Indian Ocean.

2. The Arabs believed that the Niger was an arm of the White Nile and this is how it is represented on the Vinland Map.

3. Knowing that the Varangians from North Russia reached the Greek settlements in the south, "the Arabs visualized a long strait connecting the Baltic and the Black Seas". This is what we see on the Vinland Map.

The two other Soviet geographers, namely Valeri Afanasyev and Michael Belov, do not contribute in any substantial way to the argument. M.A. Kogan, on the other hand, following the Vinland problem as it developed as a result of H. Ingstad's excavations, took part in the discussion on four occasions.

In the opinion of M.A. Kogan, the compiler of the Vinland Map had traced the outlines of Greenland, as known at the beginning of the present century, onto an ancient, very roughly drawn map of the world. This would be sufficient reason to dismiss the Map as a fake. There are, moreover, further arguments against the authenticity of the Vinland Map. M.A. Kogan observed that in the very north-east corner of Asia appears a "peninsula remarkably similar to Chuchotka" (Chukotsky Poluostrov) and wonders who in fifteenth century Europe could possibly have known about the existence of this peninsula? Just above the Sea of Okhotsk we read on the map: *Terre non satis perscrutata posite sunt inter boreales glacies ab iisdem abdite*. Thus M.A. Kogan asks: Can we have any doubts that such a legend was only conceivable after the Russian discoveries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? In the fifteenth century the east and north-east fringes of Asia were not only insufficiently but completely unknown. This statement is based on the undoubtedly correct interpretation of the expression *non satis perscrutata*, that is: lands already explored — in this case by whom? — but not sufficiently so.

Apart from A. Davies, the Russian cartographer goes further than anyone else in his condemnation of the Map as a fake, except that he uses different arguments. To make his arguments acceptable, however, he should have justified them in terms of the cartography of that particular part of northern Eurasia. Unfortunately, M.A. Kogan has, as yet, failed to do this, and neither the editors nor the critics have even touched upon this question. Despite this, one thing now is certain; it is not enough to point to Greenland as the only anachronism of the Map, since the same seems to be true as regards the Asiatic 'New World'.

The list of critics, who are not convinced by R.A. Skelton's argument, also includes Davis B. Quinn. The opinion of this author is important, as he had examined the manuscripts before their publication and he also had opportunity to examine them on the spot. At first sight he argued for the authenticity of the Map; later he seemed to feel more doubtful. In fact, he did not accept without reservations any of the arguments in favour of the Map's authenticity, and he decidedly rejected the argument about the parchment being allegedly the same in the case of all three documents.

We can agree with him that:

"The work of English palaeographers, who have seen the documents and the techniques of the British Museum laboratory may well carry us far beyond our present knowledge, but it remains a little unfortunate that they were not fully exploited at an earlier stage".

If the publication of the Vinland Map was intended to "dethrone" Columbus, the editors could not but expect a response from the Italians. Three Italian scholars became interested in the Map — *questo magnifico esempio di manipolazione*. They did not however confine themselves to mere verbal gymnastics: each of them devoted a full study to the Vinland Map. In the first place we must mention, the doyen of Italian geographers — Giuseppe Caraci. He had already been involved in a controversy about Columbus in 1928, when attempts were made, by Sofus Larsen, to discredit him as the discoverer of America. This time, he officially pronounced his verdict on the Map: "*il falso del secolo*", in the presence of many foreign scholars at the Congress of the Italian Geographers in Rome, in 1967. Already a year before, he had published a detailed study on the Vinland Map in which he opposed the hypotheses which R.A. Skelton had formulated and presented in his lecture at the University of Minnesota in 1964,⁹³⁾ i.e. before the existence of the Vinland Map was known.⁹⁴⁾

Since it is impossible to go here into a detailed analysis of his argument, we shall confine ourselves to state the position of Professor Caraci. Like most of the Map's critics he rejects the possibility of the existence of such a civilization in Scandinavia which would make the indigenous origin of a map possible. Using the same arguments against the Map as most of the critics, he goes further than others in placing the Map against the background of discoveries in general. He shows how misleading it is to put in the same category the Viking "discoveries" and those of Columbus:

"Non possiamo, vogliam dire, non deplorare il ricorrente tentativo di porre su di uno stesso piano la diaspora vichinga e l'impresa colombiana. Questa ormai abusata confusione, in cui è caduto purtroppo anche il bestseller di Yale, ritorna con monotona insistenza soprattutto nella stampa straniera pur di intonazione non giornalistica... anche perché, oltr'Alpe, si continua per lo più a non tener conto dei risultati cui su questo tema sono giunti i nostri studiosi, in particolar modo nell'ultimo cinquantennio" (212).

Amintore Fanfani, professor at the University of Rome, denied that the Vinland Map had any originality at all, and defended Columbus, by saying that he could not have known the Map, and even if he had known it this would only have amounted to be one proof more "that he was no lucky adventurer but the painstaking student of the experience of his elders in the field of his own endeavours". Like G. Caraci, he also attempted to find a place for the Map in general history. There is no place for it, he concluded, just as there is no place for the Vikings:

"The beginning of what may be called the American phase of world history... was not the short- or long-term result of the Viking voyages but the almost immediate consequence of the voyages and explorations of Columbus".

93) R.A. SKELTON, *The European Image*, 3-27.

94) G. CARACI, *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, VII, 1930. - One year before the Yale publication G. Caraci extolled Columbus: "*L'idea della grande impresa non ha vita se non dal pensiero e dalla fede del navigatore*" (*Viaggi ed esplorazioni fino alla scoperta dell'America*, in *Nuove Questioni di Storia Medioevale*, Milano 1964, 456).

The publication of the Vinland Map on the eve of Columbus Day was felt as an insult by Americans of Italian extraction. Michael M. Musmanno may be regarded as their spokesman.

We propose to omit part II of his book entitled *The Norse Saga*, for his lack of knowledge on the subject might have led him to express views upon the sagas not acceptable even to their most fervent critics. Nevertheless, we must take into account his opinion as to the results of the examination of the manuscripts of New Haven which he carried out personally:

"My judicial experience, he says, leads me to conclude that no court in a civilized country would accept as genuine the Vinland Map on the basis of the shaky, internally inconsistent proofs offered by the authors of the Vinland Map" (26).

As has been mentioned, the author examined the worming of the manuscripts and came to rather alarming conclusions. In spite of this, and taking into account all our own reservations, including also the handwriting, we cannot agree with him that "as historical document, the map offered by Yale could hardly be less trustworthy if it plainly showed Disneyland".

One more critic judged the Map from a similar position to that of G. Caraci, although he attaches to it a different importance. This is Carlos Sanz, professor of geography in the University of Madrid. He is also the author of many studies on the great discoveries and it was he who completed the work of H. Harrisse: *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*.⁹⁵⁾ His comments on the Vinland Map were not only published in *Publicación de la Real Sociedad Geográfica*, but the author also voiced them on the radio, no doubt as a reply to the Map being published *con indudable sensacionalismo* by Yale University. It so happened that at the same time an exhibition of Sanz's works was being organized in Buenos Aires sponsored by the Ministry of Education. These works were all intended to prove that the discovery of America was what Lopez de Gomara considered it to be: "*La mayor cosa después de la creación del mundo, sacando la encarnación y muerte del que crio*".

On this biblical quotation, Carlos Sanz builds his argument about the importance of the geographical discoveries.

They are but stages of the historical process which started with the Old Testament and continues as geographical discoveries promote the process of the evangelization of mankind. The sole aim of this process is "*la unión geográfica, física y espiritual de todas las gentes*" and so the Vinland Map is of no importance for this process. It is either a fake or, even if it is genuine, it has nothing to do with the discovery of America which was "*un don de Dios*" and as such put an obligation on the discoverers, scholars and rulers alike; it is, however, alien to modern historiography, and particularly to those 'Americanists' who are hostile to Columbus.

95) *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. A Description of Works relating to America. Published between the years 1492 and 1551. Edición preparada por Carlos Sanz Lopez, Madrid 1958. Últimas Adiciones, I-II, Madrid 1960.

Carlos Sanz is most indignant about their methods of research:

"...el americanismo es un pecado, porque non concibo el DESCUBRIMIENTO de Américas sino en función de la universalidad y de la unidad de todos los hombres".

Finally, we must mention those scholars who, denying the sagas any value as historical sources, question something which has been long accepted as a historical fact — the very existence of Vinland.

One of them is T. Luca de Tena who regards sagas to be legends of the same kind and reliability as *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* or the voyages of Jean de Mandeville. Thus, the countries mentioned in them, and Vinland in the first place, are in the opinion of this author mere figments of the imagination similar to the islands in these fantastic stories. The only way to advance, argues Luca de Tena, is by means of archeological excavations, not by the publication of *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*.

Two other opponents of the Map, John Hugh and Laureta L. Hill take the accounts relating to Vinland for "*les additions épisodiques aux sagas*" and in the discovery of America they see "*un thème allégorique ou mystique*" representing "*la vérité allégorique des Pères de l'Église*".

When we read this argument we wonder what effect the results of a hundred years of Nordic studies have had on modern scholarship and how it may be possible for them to remain entirely ignored by the critical "Moyen Age".

It is true that similar views on the sagas were expressed by Fridtjof Nansen, but it was seventy years ago and they were instantly refuted by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. There is today no expert in Scandinavian literature who would subscribe to the opinion of the critics just mentioned and of M. Musmanno as well. The existence of Vinland, whatever part of the American continent it might represent is a historical reality, irrespective of the authenticity of the Vinland Map and its importance for the history of discoveries.

Criticized so severely by some, the Vinland Map has, however, its advocates. It must be stressed that these are in a minority and there are no cartographers or historians among them. Their defence is limited to the support of R.A. Skelton's theory claiming the existence in Scandinavia of a geographical culture and nautical science which made the compilation of such a cartographical record possible.

Among the advocates is K. Gleditsch from the Norwegian Institute of Geographical Surveys. He also accepts the existence of a "cartographical source" for the Vinland Map "whether this source was a chart of some kind or a written source made by the Greenlanders or the navigators visiting Greenland".

A similar stand is taken by Farley Mowat. He refuses to accept the view that the Norwegians did not know the nautical maps, arguing that "to any seamen this seems like a ridiculous statement".

"In my opinion the 'island' of Vinland Map is a vestige of a sailing chart, produced by the Greenland or the Iceland Norse circa A.D. 1100-1200, which found its way to Basle where it was incorporated into the Tartar Relation Map".

One would like to ask the author two questions: How did the seamen from Greenland know that Vinland was "an island"? and was there any means of establishing this fact other than by circumnavigating America?

The most fervent 'advocate' of the authenticity of the Map is a Norwegian captain, J. Kr. Tornøe. In the second edition of his work, first published in 1965 — *Columbus in the Arctic* — he brought forward the following arguments in support of the Map's authenticity:

1. As known from the sagas, the farmers in Greenland used to build long boats made of wood which could only be obtained from the southern part of Greenland, where it had drifted from the polar shores of Russia. These boats enabled them to circumnavigate the island.

2. Both Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1141) and Einar Gunnarson (c. 1250) assert that there is no land north of Greenland, that this land "lies on the outermost edge of the earth toward the north" and that "there is no land in the home-circle beyond Greenland, only the great ocean that runs around the earth". The conclusion would be that the Greenlanders might have circumnavigated the island and obtained the relevant geographical information.⁹⁶⁾ It is therefore quite possible that, owing to the relations between Greenland and the European continent, and with Rome in particular, some geographer in Europe could have drawn the Map, which is "a genuine product of the time at which it is supposed to have been produced", namely around 1440 (*Addendum*, 107-8).

In contrast to those works, which either do not contribute anything new to the discussion on the authenticity of the Vinland Map, or are not sufficiently substantiated, the study of Roald Morcken, a Norwegian, stands out by its exemplary methodical approach.⁹⁷⁾

The author attempts to prove that it was not the Portuguese but the Norwegians who already in the thirteenth century were navigating "according to the same scientific principles which are used by all navigators today", and most probably Bergen was the first city in Europe whose latitude (or altitude) was "measured by means of the quadrant". This seems to prove the existence of conditions in which a map could have been drawn, according to the principles of the current cartography in the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. R. Morcken arrived at these conclusions by examining the system of measuring distances by sea — as documented by the old Norse sources — and by calculating these in nautical miles. Comparing these distances between places, as indicated in the old Norse sources, with those presented by Adam of Bremen, given in days with distances calculated in miles, R. Morcken found that the differences were surprisingly small and amount to only between 1% and 4%. In this way he was able to establish that the settlement Hunenrioth on the western shores of the island, known from the chronicles, was situated 1404 nautical miles from Cap Farwell, the furthest southern cape, i.e. exactly 77 degrees latitude, while hitherto it had been maintained that the Greenlanders did not penetrate beyond 70 degrees latitude.

Whilst fully appreciating the method, we should not, nevertheless,

96) J.Kr. TORNØE, *Columbus in the Arctic*, 108.

97) R. MORCKEN, Den nautiska mil gjennom tusen aar. Sagatidens distanstabeller fra vestkysten av Grönland til Hvitehavet (*Bergens Sjøfarts museums aarshefte*, 1964).

overestimate its relevance to the most controversial problem, namely the dispute whether it was possible or not for the Greenlanders to circumnavigate the island. Even if we accept that they were able to get as far as 77° latitude, it is still a long way to Cap Morris Jesup, i.e. the most northern promontory 83° 89' which was discovered by Peary in 1892 and investigated by the Danes in 1906-8. The cartography of this part of the island progressed slowly and in stages.⁹⁸⁾ It is only gradually that the expeditions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have provided new data for the maps of this region, and not until the Danish expedition of 1919-20 could Lauge Koch make a series of maps of regions "up till then entirely or partly unknown". It is only the great Danish expedition of 1921-23 which "completed the solution of the great task, viz. the making of an essentially correct picture of Greenland".⁹⁹⁾

Conclusions: At the core of R.A. Skelton's theory lies the assumption that there existed a Nordic 'prototype' of the Map, which reached southern Europe together with information derived from Scandinavian sources, and that the Vinland Map is therefore an achievement of cartographical knowledge as it developed in Europe in the fifteenth century. It is a map that was compiled on the basis of the old Nordic sources. Neither of these assumptions can stand up to criticism.

We must stress two points:

1. The American edition concentrates, at least in so far as cartographical analysis is concerned, on the Atlantic section of the Map, an emphasis which resulted in the general acceptance of referring to it as the Vinland Map.

2. The extent to which the Nordic theory influenced R.A. Skelton's interpretation is seen from the fact that he accepted his findings about the cartography of Greenland as a sufficient proof of the Map's authenticity:

"By its delineation of Greenland, casting a solitary shaft of light through the darkness of five centuries, the map makes its strongest delineation of Vinland, which most clearly seems to lift the map out of its period and might suggest — were the converging evidence to the contrary less strong — the work of a counterfeiter" (197, 239).

We can only wish this were so.

Now we proceed to the Asiatic "New World" which in the cartographical vision of the critics occupied only a remote place. This involves a study of at least a part of the legends.

98) L. BOBÉ, *Greenland*, vol. I, Copenhagen-London 1928, 66-8. - At the last Italian Geographical Congress in 1967 L. Candida pointed out that hundred years ago there was "*l'incertezza ancora vigente*" as to the geographical conditions between Greenland and the lands on the other side of the Baffin Bay and "*l'ignoranza del littorale settentrionale dell'isola*" (*Il XX Congr. Geogr. Ital.* Roma 1967. *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, IX, vol. VII, 206-7).

99) F.H. TRAP, *The Cartography of Greenland* (*Greenland*, vol. I, 173) where the papers of M. VAHL and C. WANDEL on the same subject. There is a short article by P.R. DAWES based on "nine historical records and associated relics on the rarely visited northern coast of Greenland", concerning the exploration of the last hundred years. "All the records recovered refer to journeys carried out by sledge parties which, in part, were travelling in unknown terrain" (*Arctic*, 20, 1967, 203-12, with references). As to climatic changes which should have facilitated the circumnavigation of Greenland in the XI-XIIth centuries (The VM & TR, 187-9), see L. KOCZY, *Die Vinlandkarte*, 5-8.

III. THE LEGENDS.

1. *Introduction.*

One of the characteristic features of the Vinland Map is its nomenclature including the legends. Two questions arise in this connection. How do the place-names in the Map relate: 1. to those in Bianco's map and 2. to those in the *Tartar Relation*?

1. With regard to Bianco's map R.A. Skelton points out:

"It seems to be an inescapable inference that the author of the Vinland map (or of its immediate original) employed no eclectic method of selection and compilation from a variety of sources, but was content to draw on a single map — which must have been very like Bianco's — for the majority of the names, as well as the outlines, in Europe, Africa, and part of Asia" (141).

There are, however, such anomalies as Apusia, Maori, aben, Rex Marr, Bela... rex and others. R.A. Skelton asserts that the responsibility for these rests with the draftsman of the Map, who either lacked the knowledge to correct his own errors in copying, or omitted a line containing the second part of a divided word.

"These instances suggest that the draftsman of the Vinland Map, as we have it, may not have been its compiler, but that the map may have been copied from an immediate original or preliminary draft (having the same content) by a clerk or scribe who was no geographer and did not have access to the compilation materials" (141).

He concludes that:

"...some other names (if they were not in 0 1)" i.e. the Bianco-type original which has not survived, "and all the legends (which can hardly have been in 0 1) must be attributed to the compiler of the map, i.e. the author of 0 2" (141).

2. In order to establish the relationship between the nomenclature of the Vinland Map and that of the *Tartar Relation*, we have to distinguish between the geographical names and the legends. G.D. Painter is of the opinion that:

"Several of the longer legends in VM are adapted bodily from passages in TR, and phrases from TR appear in nearly all the remainder"

and also that:

"the compiler shows a strikingly unscientific disregard for TR as an objective source of information, with an equally curious borrowing of the phraseology of TR as a source of verbal expression" (244).

Is this really so?

Let us examine the number and the character of the names in the Vinland Map. By comparing these with Bianco's map and with the *Tartar Relation*, we can establish that of the total number of 67 geographical names and legends in the Vinland Map:

30 are to be found only in Bianco's map,

9 are to be found in the *Tartar Relation*,

3 are common to the Map, the *Relation* and Bianco,
28 are peculiar to the Vinland Map.

This comparison suggests that:

1. As far as the names are concerned the VM is more independent in relation to Bianco's map, than could be deduced from a cartographical dependence of the two sources.

2. As regards the names alone the dependence of the VM on the TR is slight.

3. The number of names common to all three sources is very small and amounts only to 3 out of 67.

From this analysis we can see that the sphere in which innovations occur is not the "Old World" but the "New World", represented in the Atlantic and Asiatic part of the Map.

This leads us to a critical assessment of the historical method used by both the editors of *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, but particularly by G.D. Painter. He starts from the assumption that "in the compiler's treatment of the Old World his activities can be detected with some certainty", since his relationship to his two chief sources, i.e. *Tartar Relation* and his map model is quite clear from the Map. But:

"For the New World portions of the Vinland Map we possess neither the cartographic nor the textual sources used by the compiler, except insofar as they are revealed in the Vinland Map itself; but here the attitudes disclosed by his handling of the Old World may help us to deduce the extent of his intervention and to assess the authenticity and the significance of the remainder" (243).

We cannot agree with this for two reasons: firstly, the names in the Map have not yet been worked out, as is indicated by the paleographical abbreviations still left unsolved by R.A. Skelton, secondly, we cannot accept the historical interpretation of some of the legends.

There are eight of these, one referring to the "Old World" (30) and seven to the "New World", namely two in the Atlantic part of the Map (66, 67), and five in the Asiatic part of it (39, 11, 53, 56, 36). For a start the very distribution of the legends suggests that the draftsman of the Map was more interested in the Asiatic than in the Atlantic area of the New World. Another significant point is that in four longer legends a religious element comes into play. The "Old World", nevertheless, does present problems with regard to some of the names and the location of geographical objects.

2. *The Old World.*

Let us examine the editors' assumptions concerning the Map's origin. They believe to have provided proof that the Vinland Map originated at a Council which was a meeting place of scholars from the whole Christian world; that it was executed in Basle, the city which is located on the borderline between northern and southern Europe; finally, that it was drafted about 1440, that is to say at the time when hundreds of youths

from Scandinavia, Poland and Germany were streaming towards the Italian universities along the pilgrims' way to Rome. We may add that just at this time the first cartographical centre north of the Alps was being formed at Vienna University.¹⁰⁰⁾ If all this were so, then one could assume, that the knowledge about Central Europe had been fairly widespread, and one would expect that this knowledge was common amongst the members of the Council and would also find reflection in the geographical concepts of the Map's draftsman. Unfortunately this is not the case.

1. Scandinavia is marked on the Map with three names: *Rex Norricorum*, *Dacia* and *Rex Suedorum*. From these names one might conclude that about 1440 Norway and Sweden were monarchies, but Denmark did not have a king. In fact, about this time Eric VII *rex Dacie, cuius regni non est finis*, well known in the West due to his long travels in Europe and his relations with the Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, was still reigning in that country.¹⁰¹⁾ In 1434 a royal delegation appeared in Basle and the Bishop of Vexo, *ambaziator regis Dacie Norwegie Swecie* was arguing that Eric, as a descendent of the king of the Goths, had right "to the first place and honour amongst all the other kings".¹⁰²⁾ The dethronement of the king and the ascendancy of his nephew, the Palatine Neuburg (1441-3), and in Sweden of Charles VII (1439, 1442), do not justify the omission of the name of Erik in the Map, especially as he kept his royal titles up to 1459.

Let us assume for the sake of argument that the draftsman of the Map was not very well acquainted with political matters, but what about his knowledge of geography? The kingdom of Sweden is located on the Map south of the Baltic and east of the Vistula, yet the Swedes did not occupy this territory before the seventeenth century, when they invaded the part of Prussia west of the Vistula.¹⁰³⁾

2. Buyslavia. This must be Wrocław — Breslau;¹⁰⁴⁾ but this form of its name is not encountered in the Latin and German sources.¹⁰⁵⁾ The very fact of putting this name on the Map suggests that the maker of the Map may have been a Franciscan, as only a member of this order would have taken notice of the town from which Carpini set off for Mongolia, accompanied by a Polish Benedictine.

100) D.B. DURAND, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus*, 29, 286-7.

101) According to G. Storm, Claudius Clavus met Eirik in Venice in August 1424 and compiled his map *precibus regis Danorum impulsus* (Den danske geograf Claudius Clavus eller Nicolaus Niger (*Ymer* 11, 1891, III-IV, 18).

102) *Concilium Basiliense*. Studien und Quellen z. Gesch. d. Konzils von Basel, vol. V: *Tagebücher und Akten*, Basel 1904, IV, 95, 108.

103) But in the Tales of Mandeville there is the - *regnum Hungarie, quod conterminum est terre Polonie, Panonie et Swessie* (The Bodley Version of Mandeville's Travels. Edited by M.C. Seymour. *Early English Text Society* 253, O.U. Press 1963, 4). This version was made at some time after 1390 and before 1450, p. XII.

104) Not Bratislava the capital of Slovakia (The VM & TR, 129).

105) S. ROSPOND, Dawny Wrocław i jego okolica w świetle nazewnictwa (*Sobótka*, XXVI, 1, 1970, 9-32. - *Codex Dipl. Silesiae*, II, 1959, index 355. - *Monum. Pol. Hist.*, V, 165-7, 170, IV, 2 (1453), 201 (1463): *Vratizlav*, *Vratizlavia*, *Wratislaui*; *Breslaw*, *Preslaw*, *Breszlaw* (IV, 509, 43).

3. Apusia. This name, located in upper Austria or even in the Tyrol, is used to denote Prussia.¹⁰⁶⁾ We would like to ask again: How can we imagine that someone in Basle could have placed Prussia not on the Baltic shore but on the border of Helvetia? The conclusion is that, either the compiler of the Map or its draftsman was completely ignorant of the political and geographical situation in Central Europe,¹⁰⁷⁾ or the country in question is not Prussia. It is difficult to think which other country this might be, even if we were to accept that its name is corrupted.

4. There are some more inaccuracies in the Map which seem to indicate that its compiler or draftsman is not very reliable. For example, the Isle of Wight instead of being placed south of the coast of England is situated far to the east of it; Rome is located on the Map above Sardinia and Corsica; the outline of the Scandinavian peninsula is very inaccurate as compared to that of Iceland and Greenland. Finally, as noticed by E. Taylor, Crete and the Aegean Sea are also very inaccurately drawn in the Map, and the Sea of Marmora is entirely missing. All this is very puzzling in an allegedly fifteenth century map since by that time there were numerous portolanos of the Mediterranean Sea available.

How are we to explain these intriguing errors on the part of the compiler of the Map? The only explanation is that, being primarily concerned with the New World, he treated the Old World very superficially. It is in his picture of the "New World" that the compiler is independent and original. This "New World" was *extra Ptolomaeum* and as such stretched beyond the confines of the "Old World". To gain room for the "New World" the compiler was forced to replace the old round *orbis terrarum* by an oval one: this, however, was only introduced into cartography after the great discoveries,¹⁰⁸⁾ when the political geography of Central Europe had also changed.

For these reasons, we must emphatically reject both the way of using the sources ascribed by G.D. Painter to the compiler, and the methods by which he proposes to examine the legends and cartographical details of the Map. The author assumes that examining the way in which the compiler treated the "Old World" may help us to establish what in his picture of the "New World" belongs to the sphere of his own geographical conceptions and can be rejected "as being merely arbitrary figments of his mind", and what should be considered as an authentic residuum and accepted as "the pre-existing cartographic or historical tradition, which constitute the chief significance of the Vinland Map" (243).

106) Ever since the Council of Constance Poland and the Order were in a state of war with which all the European courts were concerned. During the Council, in 1413, the representative of the Order, Peter of Orneta (Wormditt) "drew a map from memory to explain to the Pope the whereabouts of the diocese of Dorpat (Tartu) and the position of the lands of the Teutonic Knights (Curland, Livonia, Estonia), the Pope having been told that the diocese of Dorpat was in Sweden (K. BUCZEK, *The History of Polish Cartography*, 26, note 77).

107) It may be noted in this connection that preparing his well known map Nicholas of Cusa was assisted by a Pole, probably the Polish historian Jan Długosz, who met the Cardinal in Rome in 1449 or 1450. There were certainly no difficulties in acquiring information about the Teutonic Order during the Council of Basle (K. BUCZEK, *The History of Polish Cartography*, 26-7).

108) E.G.R. TAYLOR, *Journal Inst. Navig.*, 124-5.

This line of argument is faulty since it is based on the assumption that the compiler had no cartographical sources at his disposal designing the Asiatic part of the Map. Such an assumption would be right if the editors had proved the authenticity of the Map as a produce of 1440, but this is not the case. If, on the other hand, we accept that the Map is a post-Renaissance creation then we must also accept that the compiler had access to many sources and used them to suit his missionary vision.

G.D. Painter tries to justify his method saying that:

"In the presence of a document as unexpected, complex, and problematic as the Vinland Map, it has seemed allowable and even useful to explore certain possibilities up to the utmost limits permitted by the evidence" (243).

How slender this "evidence" is, we shall see in one of the following chapters, in the discussion concerning the "*noua terra*".

3. *Vinland Insula*.

It is quite understandable that if the history of the Far East is even today rather alien to western scholars, it must have been much more so in the thirteenth century. Thus, there have not been many scholars prepared to undertake the examination of this part of the Map or the *Tartar Relation*. The Atlantic legends of the Vinland Map were quite a different case; there is a considerable and reliable amount of knowledge available to deal with these. It is not surprising, therefore, that a good part of the argument, in this case particularly that of R.A. Skelton, became a target for a well-informed critic. Let us then examine the two Atlantic legends of Vinland and their exegesis.

The first and shorter reads:

Vinlanda Insula a Byarno reperta et leipho socijs (leg. 66).

The other and longer one, informs us:

Volente Deo post longum iter ab insula Gronelanda per meridiem ad reliquas extremas partes occidentalis oceani maris iter facientes ad austrum inter glacies byarnus et leiphus erissonius socij terram nouam uberrimam videlicet viniiferam inuenerunt quam Vinilandam (or Vimlandam) insulam appellauerunt" (leg. 67).

We must draw the attention of the reader to the fact that this is the only case in which geographical names, i.e. *Vinland* and *Gronelanda*, are to be found in the actual text of the legends which are appropriately placed above the two islands in the Map. This is indirect evidence that Greenland was placed in the Map at the same time as the legend and not afterwards, even though it might have been put there before that time.¹⁰⁹⁾ Thus, we must either consider both the outline of Greenland

¹⁰⁹⁾ F. GAD expressed the opinion that the compiler of the Map wrote first *Vinlanda Insula* and later added *a Byarno reperta*, and that having written the longer legend, he added further *et leipho socijs* (Vinlandskortet, 65).

and Vinland in the Map and the legend as fakes, or we must accept both as authentic.

The legends contain two pieces of information: the discovery of Vinland as a joint achievement of Bjarni Herjolfsson and Leif Eiriksson and the journey of Bishop Henricus-Eirik to Vinland in 1117.

The first of these contradicts the only two sources known hitherto: one, the Graenlendinga Saga which informs us that America was discovered about 986 A.D. by Bjarni Herjolfsson and that Leif Eiriksson stimulated by this voyage went in a ship bought from Bjarni to Vinland about 1001 A.D. (ch. 2-3) the other one, the Eirik's Saga, ascribes the discovery exclusively to Leif in 1000 A.D. (ch. 5).

Which of these two sources are we to believe?¹¹⁰⁾ It seems that the more reliable is that which is older and thus closer to tradition.

Experts in old Icelandic literature have established that Graenlendinga Saga is the older, as it originated in the second half of the twelfth century, and therefore represents the tradition in the straight line and in the third generation after the events. On the other hand, the Eirik's Saga originated only about 1260 A.D., it is moreover influenced by the new Christian hagiography which, in attempting to present King Olaf Tryggvason as an apostle of Scandinavia, ascribed to him the conversion of Greenland through Leif Eiriksson (ch. 5).

The legends about Vinland should be examined in the light of investigations on the two sagas. Irrespective of the results achieved by the ever growing studies in this field we may ask how the compiler of the Map could have given a different version of the discovery of Vinland from the tradition preserved in the two sagas.

R.A. Skelton and G.D. Painter are trying to save the legends by admitting the existence of an "oral or written tradition otherwise lost" (223). On the other hand, R.A. Skelton remarks that the Graenlendinga Saga "while it does not again refer to Bjarni Herjolfsson after telling of the sale of his ship to Leif, contains no word to preclude the supposition that he could have gone with the expedition to Vinland" with Leif 223).¹¹¹⁾ This interpretation of chapter 2 of the Graenlendinga Saga goes too far since the Saga relates clearly a single expedition by Leif Eiriksson and has no mention of Bjarni.¹¹²⁾

No less positive are the two legends in their statement of a joint voyage of Bjarni and Leif to Vinland. The shorter is using the expression *reperita* — "had been found", referring to the *Vinland Insula*, the longer one uses the word *inuenerunt* — "they have found", referring undoubtedly to a joint (*sociis*) discovery of Vinland. It is evident that both legends speak about one event, completed once, for the first time, and performed together by both Vikings at the same time.

110) The best introduction into the problem is to be found in the following publications: *The Vinland Sagas. The Norse Discovery of America. Graenlendinga Saga and Eirik's Saga*. Translated with Introduction by Magnus MAGNUSSON and Hermann PALSSON, Penguin Books Ltd. 1966, 25-35, and E. WAHLGREN, *Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas*, with a Selected Bibliography (*Old Norse Literature and Mythology. A Symposium*. Edited by Edgar C. Polomé, The University of Texas Press, Austin & London 1969, 19-72, bibl. 73-80).

111) G.D. PAINTER accepts this view of a joint voyage of Bjarni and Leif: "...it may conceivably have been alleged in some lost saga, or even have occurred in historical fact" (The VM & TR, 255).

112) So also Finn GAD who rejects a third joint voyage of Bjarni and Leif to Vinland (Vinlandskortet, 65).

From all this the only conclusion is that the author of the legends and the compiler of the Map did not have access to the Nordic tradition as preserved in the two sagas, and learnt it only indirectly from a different source.¹¹³⁾

Generally speaking, both legends do not add anything new to our knowledge about the discovery of America by the Vikings in 986-1002, as known from the sagas, on the contrary, they introduce even more confusion.

4. Bishop Eirik.

What is, or at least appears to be, a new piece of information is a report on Bishop Eirik's voyage to Vinland in 1117. It read as follows:

Henricus Gronelande regionumque finitimarum sedis apostolicae episcopus legatus in hac terra spaciosa vero et opulentissima in posterimo anno patris sanctissimi nostri Pascali accessit in nomine dei omnipotentis longo tempore mansit estiuo et brumali postea versus Gronelandam redit ad orientem hiemalem deinde humillima obediencia superiori voluntati processit (leg. 67, part II).

The information contained in this legend is either unknown to the sparse Icelandic sources or at odds with them. No wonder then that this part of the longer legend presented the greatest difficulty of all to the editors, and provoked a penetrating critique on the part of P.G. Foote, Finn Gad and E. Haugen. Let us consider their points of controversy.

Henricus. The name in this form is puzzling, as the name in question is *Ericus* — Eirik.¹¹⁴⁾ It is difficult to tell where the source of this mistake lies, as no Scandinavian writer would confuse these two names which are popular in the North. Further, the form of the name *leiphus erissonius* indicates that the author of the legend did not see in the form Eiriksson a patronymic form, which again is hardly conceivable for a writer from Scandinavia who would have translated the form Eiriksson into Latin as *Eirici* or *Erici filius*, not *Erissonius*. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the author did not come from Scandinavia and did not know Nordic languages. *Gronelanda*.¹¹⁵⁾ This form is unusual, since in medieval Scandinavia the form ending in — *landia* was in common

113) From which we do not know. Excluded are the *Antiquitates Americanae* for reasons which we will adduce later.

114) F. GAD, *Vinlandskortet*, 66 & 69. From this change *Erik-Henricus* the author concludes that the compiler was a German.

115) It is to be regretted that R.A. SKELTON had not produced a philologically irreproachable text of the legends concerning Bishop Eirik. Finn GAD had corrected Gronelande: Gronenlande, gronelandam: gronenlandam, and maybe Gronenlanda, pointing out that the form Gronenlande is exceptional as compared with those in use: Gronland, Gronelandia, Groenelande, Gronlondie, Gronelant, Grenelandia - but not *gronenlanda*. The same author reads *erissonis* for *erisonius*, and *Vimlandam* for *Vinilandam* (*Vinlandskortet*, 61). It may be noted that the names of *Gronelanda* and *Vinilanda* are the only ones in the whole nomenclature in the Map which have been corrected by the draftsman. If we accept the spelling *Vimlandam*, then we must also accept that the compiler missed the sense of *wine-vinum* in the name (61). If so then we must exclude any influence of Adam of Bremen on the compiler, because Adam was aware of the etymology of the name Vinland: "...Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum optimum ferentes" (*Descr. Ins. Aquilonis*, c. 38).

use. The author is consistent here and he uses this form in names such as *Isolanda*, *Ierlanda*, in the Map.

Byarno. The name Bjarni would become in Scandinavia *Biarno* not *Byarnus*, as the latter spelling is extremely rare and is restricted only to foreign names.

If, following Finn Gad, we were to read *gronenlandam* instead of *gronelandam*, *Gronenlande* instead of *Gronelande*, we would come to the conclusion that the author was not proficient in Scandinavian languages, nor very knowledgeable about their spelling. We would have to agree with P.G. Foote's opinion that "these name-forms reinforce the impression of distance between the entries on the map and any ultimate northern source".¹¹⁶⁾ How in this case are we to accept the view that the compiler of the Map had such detailed information that he was able to reproduce the geography of this part of the Atlantic?

The legend informs us that Bishop Eirik went to Vinland *in postremo anno* of the pontificate of Paschalis II, i.e. in 1117. As this Pope died in January 1118, the legend contradicts several Icelandic annals which quote the year 1121 as the year of Eirik's mission to Vinland.

What presents great difficulty, however, is that Eirik (Henricus) is referred to in the text as *Gronelande regionumque finitimarum sedis apostolicae episcopus legatus*. This title is so unusual both in its style and in its content that it has confused the editors and divided the critics. As this refers to an important event in the history of the Church, and therefore in universal history, we must devote some attention to Bishop Eirik.

P.G. Foote agrees with the editors that Eirik (Henricus) was *Sedis apostolicae... legatus* but rejects their view that Greenland "constituted the fixed diocese of Bishop Eirikr".¹¹⁷⁾ He blames R.A. Skelton in that instead of relying on standard editions of the Icelandic annals¹¹⁸⁾ he used their translation by A.M. Reeves and the popular *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* of P.B. Gams. This author, however, —

"offers nothing that does not come to him from the known Icelandic sources through the medium of modern historians, and there is no question of his having seen some otherwise unknown papal document." (82).

Worse still, R.A. Skelton is relying on Luka Jelič, whose information about Bishop Eirik has proven to be untrustworthy, as his report about the tribute paid by Greenland to Rome.¹¹⁹⁾

116) P.G. FOOTE, *Saga-Book*, 75.

117) P.G. FOOTE, *Saga-Book*, 75.

118) The Icelandic annals have been published in *Grönlands Historiske Mindesmaerker*, III, København 1845, 6-7, and then by G. STORM, *Islandske annaler indtil 1578*, Christiania 1888. - As far as P. Pius Bonifacius GAMS OSB is concerned, he has given names of bishops for Gardar in the XVth century and in 1520 but it is doubtful if they ever reached Greenland (*Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro Apostolo*, Ratisbonae 1873, 334). - We know a nominee for Gardar in 1519 (*Acta Pontif. Danica*, VI, 246-7) who certainly did not reach his seat in Greenland. On the other hand the *Liber censuum* of 1192 comprehends the bishoprics of Denmark and Sweden but not those of Iceland and Greenland (A.O. JOHNSEN, *Studier*, 251, 327-8).

119) Already G. STORM warned scholars against L. Jelič's misrepresentation of Bishop Eirik's mission in Vinland (Nye efterretninger om det gamle Grönland. *Hist. Tidsskrift*, III, 2, 1892, 392-408), so also J. FISCHER (*The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America with special Relation to their early cartographical Representation*, London 1903, 41-55).

Finn Gad has little confidence in the compiler of the Map and its editors. He accuses them:

1. Of translating the phrase *superiori voluntati* as if it were *superiorum voluntati*, i.e. as "superiors" (*scil.* Rome), when the phrase implies "a superior will" (*scil.* the Will of God).¹²⁰⁾

2. Also of inaccuracy in the translation of the following passage:

Henricus Gronelande regionumque finitimarum sedis apostolicae episcopus legatus in hac terra spaciosa vero et opulentissima in postremo anno patris sanctissimi nostri Pascali accessit". as

"Eric (Henricus), legate of the Apostolic See and bishop of Greenland and the neighbouring regions, arrived in this truly vast and very rich land".

This translation is incorrect since a) it would only be acceptable if the text read *in hanc terram accessit* and b) it divides the words *episcopus legatus* in the translation by "and", which is not included in the Latin text. Eirik (Henricus) was simply *Gronelande regionumque finitimarum episcopus* to whom the compiler ascribed another title *legatus in hac terra... opulentissima*. As for the title *sedis apostolicae legatus* it was the title of Giovanni de Plano Carpini, and we meet with it in the TR (§ 1, p. 55). Since Carpini himself used the title *Sedis Apostolicae nuntius ad Tartaros et ad nationes alias orientis*, the change of *nuntius* for *legatus* must have been an arbitrary decision of the compiler. Thus, there is every reason to assume that the title *legatus* ascribed to Henricus may also have been introduced by the compiler.

Finn Gad has a different explanation for the title *sedis apostolicae episcopus*. In his view this title is an anachronism. In the older sources, i.e. in the Icelandic annals, Eirik is referred to simply as *Eiríkr byskup*, or *Graenlendinga byskup*, or *byskup af Graenlandi*. His successors bore the title of *dei gratia episcopus Gardensis*, or *medh gudz nadh biskop i Grönlande*, and so it was up to 1400. It is only in 1411 that we meet with the title *dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus Gardensis*, and Bertollus *eadem gratia Episcopus Gardensis* was still in use in 1420.

From this it is evident that the title *apostolice sedis episcopus* is one dating from the 15th century and was wrongly ascribed by the author of the legend to Bishop Eirik. It was, in short, an anachronism. All that this grand title amounts to is that he was a bishop without a See (F. Gad), or "amissionary bishop" (P.G. Foote).

It is difficult to find a way out of this censure on the conclusions reached by R.A. Skelton:

"If the evidence of the legend in the map be credited, the bishop not only reached Vinland but also stayed there at least a year and returned safely with geographical information about the country, which he may have brought to Europe and from which the details given in the map legend were perhaps extracted. Here, then, we seem to have the latest information on Vinland which, so far as our knowledge goes, could have been derived from observation; if so, it was transmitted to Iceland within the age of written records, and perhaps to Europe. The bearing of these circumstances upon the compilation and preservation of the Vinland Map is evident, although (in the absence of collateral evidence) not precisely definable" (226).

¹²⁰⁾ All critics dealing with this legend translate, however, this phrase like L. Groulx: *en très humble obéissance à ses supérieurs*" (*Revue Hist. Amer. Française*, XIX, 3, 1965, 483).

This story of Bishop Eirik and his part in the origin of the Vinland Map was reduced to modest proportions by P.G. Foote, who concluded his appraisal of the Vinland Map and the *Tartar Relation* with the following remark:

"There is very little we can feel we have learnt for certain from the legends on the Vinland Map... The novelties in the legend about Bishop Eirikr are not sufficient to show that his voyage played any part in providing the geographical knowledge on which the Vinland Map is ultimately based; neither can we believe that the contents of the legend are derived from a non-Icelandic tradition or source of antiquity or authority" (83).

The blame rests, however, not only on the sources.

"The inadequacies of Mr Skelton and Mr Painter in the bits concerning these brief legends may perhaps be partly due to the absurd secrecy that was imposed on them while they made their investigations. Yet it cannot be said either that they show much awareness of the possibility that their work might have been much improved if they had consulted Icelandic and Scandinavian philologists and historians, or if, better still, they had insisted from the start on the inclusion of such a scholar in the editorial panel" (84).

On the other hand, it must be said that R.A. Skelton has at least one supporter — Professor Einar Haugen of Harvard University. This scholar accepts the legends in full. Eirik was a Papal legate and as such had the same mission to fulfil in the north-west of the world as Carpini in the east. Both missions belong to the history of Papal politics, both are meant "for the greater glory of God". Like Giovanni de Plano Carpini, Eirik had to return to Rome after completing his mission in order to present its results to the Pope. A written report by Eirik, similar to that of Carpini, must have been preserved and may have included a map as well. The only place where both sources could have been preserved would be the Vatican archives, and their author could have been either Henricus (Eirik) himself, or one of his retinue. We have to accept the possibility that "Eric dictated to a Papal scribe, who set it forth in Latin prose; or, that Eric had with him a map drawn on the spot and a written account which he had composed in Greenland". These sources could have been accessible to the compiler of the Vinland Map when he attended the Council in Basle, and on the basis of these he could have compiled the legend about Eirik. This interpretation is based on the assumption that there existed in Greenland a tradition "which did not come to Iceland or by way of Iceland", and which in this case remained entirely unaffected by the Icelandic accounts as we have them.¹²¹⁾

We may finally note that into the story of Bishop Eirik's mission in Vinland J. Kr. Tornøe introduces Gudrid, the wife of Thorfinn Karlsefni, who in accord with the Graenlendinga Saga was with her husband in Vinland c. 1010 and after his death "went abroad on a

121) E. HAUGEN, *Arctic*, 287-95; *Speculum*, 770-4; Th. VILMUNDARSON believes also in the existence of a "report, now lost, about the Vinland expedition of Erik Gnipson" (*Amer. Scand. Review*, LIV, 24). - H. INGSTAD's view that Eirik the Red "no doubt had sketch maps to show them" in Iceland (*Land Under the Pole Star*, London 1966, 16) was rejected by A.D. in *Geography*, 52, 1967, 98.

pilgrimage to Rome" (ch. 9). Following E. Kvaalen, J. Kr. Tornøe accepts that Gudrid —

"went to the Pope to tell him about the new land. King Sigurd most likely strengthened the expedition of Bishop Eirik Gnipson with the Pope's message to Vinland. This shows the broad front upon which the Norse kings operated at that time".¹²²⁾

G.D. Painter considers that Eirik as a papal legate "undertook for reasons both religious and commercial the conversion of the fur trading Skraelings", and A. Davis goes as far as to suggest that there were in Vinland "trading posts" to facilitate commercial exchange with the natives and that "Bishop Erik visited and stayed with such a trading settlement".¹²³⁾ As also in G.D. Painter's view Eirik "may have wished to supervise on the spot the collection of tithes in 'this most wealthy country'", we must stress that even at times of prosperity Greenland could have paid to Rome only 4-5 tons of walrus tusk.¹²⁴⁾ This is a considerable amount, but we know of the complaint of the metropolitan of Nidaros to Pope Martin IV — *quod Gronlandie decima non percipitur nisi in bovinis et focarum coriis ac dentibus et funibus balenarum, que... vix ad competens pretium vendi possunt*.¹²⁵⁾

We can then doubt if Bishop Eirik was sent from Rome to Vinland for fiscal reasons, the more so, since the Curia was fully aware of the difficulties of communication of Greenland, let alone Vinland, with the rest of the world.¹²⁶⁾ We must avoid the exaggeration committed by Luca Jelič and other zealots in the story of Bishop Eirik's evangelical activities in these *partes infidelium*.

We can be sure that historians will rack their brains as regards the interpretation of the Atlantic legends because the information they give is at odds with long established facts. Now, would the difficulties not disappear if we accept that the compiler of the Vinland Map was not concerned with the discoveries and cartography but with the history of a mission? It can be seen that for him it was of no significance who discovered the *novam terram* and even how this discovery was brought about. In his belief the discovery was performed *volente Deo* and conceived as a preparatory work for the mission of Bishop Eirik.

In this case, however, we must rule out the possibility that the compiler of the Map had access to Eirik's Saga because it is difficult to imagine that, had he known it, he would have passed over in silence the conversion of Greenland by Leif. This fact is related only in this

122) J.Kr. TORNØE, *Addendum to Columbus*, 120. note 1.

123) A. DAVIES, *Geography*, 51, 261.

124) P.A. MUNCH, *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs - og Dagböger*, 25-9.

125) *Diplom. Norveg.*, I, nr. 66. See H. INGSTAD, *Landet Under Polarstjernen*, København 1960, 229.

126) In 1276 Pope John XXI permitted the archbishop of Nidaros to collect the tithes for the Holy Land by someone from Gardar — *cum Gardensis diocesis... a metropolitana ecclesia adeo sit remota quod de ipsa ecclesia illuc propter maris impedimenta uix infra quinquennium ire quis ualeat et redire ad ecclesiam supradictam...* (*Dipl. Norveg.*, VI, nr. 36). In another letter we can read: *... quod insula in qua civitas Gardensis consistit, propter malitiam maris Oceani, infra quod ipsa consistit, raro navigio visitatur...* (*Dipl. Norveg.*, I, nr. 66, a. 1279).

saga and is unknown to Graenlendinga Saga. On the other side of the question then, it is impossible to find a way from the legends on the Map to the Graenlendinga Saga which is explicit in the statement about two expeditions to Vinland and not a joint one by Bjarni and Leif. Rejecting then R.A. Skelton's interpretation of chapter 3 of the Graenlendinga Saga, we would accept his suggestion that "...either in the mind of the cartographer or in that of the author of his immediate or remoter source, the voyages of Bjarni and of Leif, recorded in the Flatey Book as distinct, may have been confused and merged into one" (223).

Thus, in conclusion, the question of a "lost saga" as the source of Atlantic legends, as well as the channel of their transmission from Scandinavia to the South, must remain open. We must, however, keep in mind that this problem would present one appearance if posed against the Council of Basle when our compiler was allegedly poring over the Map, and quite another in the XVIIIth century when, owing to Thormod Torfaeus' *Historia Vinlandiae* (1705)¹²⁷⁾ and *Groenlandia Antiqua* (1706),¹²⁸⁾ the West could have been acquainted with information on Thule. Even so, it was only after K.C. Rafn's publication of the *Antiquitates Americanae* (1837) that the question of Vinland became known to the world at large and could have been studied by west-European scholars.¹²⁹⁾ It remains to establish — although it seems rather doubtful — if our compiler had access to these Danish publications. There was, however, Adam of Bremen. His *Descriptio Insularum aquilonis* was first published in Copenhagen in 1579 and then in Leiden 1595, Frankfurt 1609, 1630, Helmstad 1670 and Hamburg 1706.¹³⁰⁾ We may suppose that it is this work which might have reached the Vatican and the convents in Central and Southern Europe rather than the works of the Danish *antiquarius*. Even so, this would not help us to unravel "Eirik's unique and amazing legateship" to Vinland.¹³¹⁾

Let us return to the legend 67.

127) THORMOD TORFAEUS. *Historia Vinlandiae antiqua seu partis Americae septentrionalis ex antiquitatibus Islandicis in lucem producta*. Hauniae 1705.

128) *Gronlandia antiqua seu veteris Gronlandiae descriptio ex antiquis memoriis, praecipue Islandicis collecta*, Hauniae 1706 and 1715. See Arne Magússon. *Brevveksling med Torfaeus* (Thormadur Torfason). Udg. af Kr. Kaalund, Köbenhavn 1916 (*Norsk Hist. Tidsskrift*, 5 R. 3 Bd. 573-6). With a short biography.

129) *Antiquitates Americanae sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum ante-Columbianarum in America*. Hafniae 1873. Introductio C.C. Rafn. - On the success of this publication in America see J.C.H.R. STEENSTRUP, *Dansk Biogr. Lexikon*, XIII, 1899, 352. - In the *Prefatio* we read: *Torfaei autem commentatio, quae sola ex antiquioribus rem justa diligentia tractavit, quaeque, quippe Latino sermone conscripta, adiri maxime ab exteris poterit, longo jam tempore, vel in Septentrione nostro, inter rarissimos libros fuit, nedum ut unquam, parvissimis exemptis exemplaribus extra eundem dimanaverit...* We know on the other hand that studies on the sagas in Scandinavia began in the early seventeenth century (Th.M. ANDERSSON, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga-Origins. A historical survey*, Yale U.P. 1964, 1-3).

130) A. POTTHAST, *Bibl. Hist. M. Aevi*, I, 1896, 10-11.

131) In any case the compiler of the Vinland Map could have used neither Torfaeus' nor Rafn's work; both were aware of the discrepancy between the Eirik's Saga and the Graenlendinga Saga. See *Antiquitates Americanae*, Praef. XII. Since for other reasons we exclude the dependence of our compiler on Adam's *Gesta* the question of the sources for the legends 66 & 67 remains open.

Here the discussion was concentrated not only on the mission of Bishop Eirik in Vinland but also on his later story. All depends here on the interpretation of the statement of the legend:

Henricus... versus gronelandam redit ad orientem hiemalem deinde humillima obediencia superiori voluntati processit.

R.A. Skelton has translated this phrase verbally:

"Eirik... later returned northeastward toward Greenland and then proceeded (i.e. home to Europe?) in most humble obedience to the will of his superiors".

What have the critics to say about this translation?

a) The Latin text is clumsy grammatically and ambiguous in sense because we do not know if *redit* is to be connected with *versus gronelandam* or with *ad orientem hiemalem*. Now, will the text not gain sense if we divide the whole phrase into two sentences and connect them by and — "et"?:

— *Henricus... versus gronelandam redit* — (et)

— *ad orientem hiemalem... processit?*

Two critics, V. Slessarev - P. Sublett¹³²⁾ and Finn Gad¹³³⁾ had given the Latin text just this meaning.

b) The same authors and two others, namely Alf Önnersfors¹³⁴⁾ and P.G. Foote have proved that R.A. Skelton's translation "northeastward" for *ad orientem hiemalem* is wrong; it should be "southeastward" — "and that poses a pretty problem too".¹³⁵⁾

c) There is a disagreement among the critics as to the interpretation of *superiori voluntati*. To P.G. Foote, V. Slessarev - P. Sublett it means "to the will of his superiors", to Finn Gad it means "to the will of God" (*Guds vilje*).

Scholars will be at pains to give the proper sense to this part of legend 67, but we feel to be nearest the truth following V. Slessarev and P. Sublett's translation:

"...and later (Bishop Eirik) returned toward Greenland and then proceeded southeastward".

Where? It can be only Europe, but not Scandinavia. If *superiori voluntati* means "superiors" then Eirik was only a missionary and he was on his way to Rome.

This is one end to Bishop Eirik's story. Another end is provided by such skeptics as Fridtjof Nansen,¹³⁶⁾ who, distrusting the sagas and having at their disposal only the Icelandic annals with the short and vague notice: *1121 Eiríkr byskup upsi leitadi Vinlands* — "Bishop Eirik Upsi of Greenland went in search of Vinland" doubt even his stay in Vinland, to say nothing of his return to Rome.

132) *Terrae Incognitae*, I, 66.

133) F. GAD, *Vinlandskortet*, 67.

134) ALF ÖNNERSFORS, *Hystoria Tartarorum*, p. 9, note 48, p. 5, note 52: "Wo die Sonne im Winter aufgeht" - i.e. "Südosten".

135) P.G. FOOTE, *On the Vinlands Legends*, 76.

136) F. NANSEN, *In Northern Mists*, II, 29-30.

At this stage of investigation it seems allowable to accept that Bishop Eirik was in Vinland as missionary bishop (P.G. Foote and Finn Gad) and that he returned or went to Rome (E. Haugen, R.A. Skelton, G.D. Painter) but here we must stop. Not only the fantastic story of the conversion of Vinland introduced to literature by Luca Jelič should be forgotten, but also the hypotheses of a map brought by Eirik from Thule or prepared in Rome must be dropped. Furthermore, it is not in the Royal Library in Copenhagen with its immense treasures of old-Icelandic literature, but rather in the Vatican Archives that we must look for new sources to explain "Bishop Eirik's amazing legateship".

Thus far we have dealt with the Atlantic legends of the Vinland Map. Let us now turn to its opposite corner, no less worked over by the editors and yet completely ignored by critics.

IV. THE ASIATIC 'NEW WORLD'.

Cartographical consideration.

Having taken the Vinland Map out of the cartographical context of the XVth century, at least with regard to its Atlantic part, let us examine the Asiatic part of the 'New World'. What is immediately noticeable is the number of legends and names, and also what has been acknowledged by R.A. Skelton as "the most radical change in the representation of the tripartite world". In his view a prototype for this region cannot be wholly excluded, but it seems that the compiler adopted it "to admit a new geographical concept which, significantly enough, can be considered a gloss on the *Tartar Relation* (119). This concept is the *Magnum mare Tartarorum* with the three large islands "wich appear to derive from the cartographer's interpretation of passages in C. de Bridia's text" (120).

Comparing the outlines of East Asia on the map of Bianco and the Vinland Map, R.A. Skelton believes to have discovered "some evident correspondence with Bianco's design":

"The outer coasts of the three large islands (*Insule Sub aquilone* and *Postreme Insule*) plainly repeat the outline and orientation of sections of Bianco's coast; the channel dividing the mainland from the first, or most northerly, of these islands is laid down in the position of the semicircular bay in Bianco; and the strait between the second and third islands coincides with the deep gulf in the east of Bianco's map. The inner or western coasts of the three islands and the eastern coast of the mainland, fringing the Sea of the Tartars, have no counterpart in any known cartographic document, but are drawn with elaborate detail of capes and bays. Considering that this sea represents (so far as we know) the cartographer's interpretation of a textual source, it may be suspected that the outline of its shores was seen by him in his mind's eye and not in any map" (120).

Instead of arguing with the author we invite the reader to compare the outline of East Asia on the Vinland Map with that on Bianco's

world map. It must be admitted that there appears to be no similarity at all between them.

This is, however, not the only problem. The real problem lies in the numerous legends and names. We will now go on to attempt an explanation of the differences between the two maps examining the following legends:

1. Postreme insule (leg. 58). 2. Magnum mare Tartarorum (leg. 55). 3. Terre non satis perscrutatae (leg. 53). 4. mare Oceanum Orientale (leg. 54.) 5. Insule Sub aquilone zamogedorum (leg. 57). 6. A separate issue altogether is the hydrography of the Vinland Map, or the "Oxus Problem".

1. *Postreme Insule.*

In view of all the alleged similarities, R.A. Skelton could not have overlooked "the larger Japanese islands, whose outline indeed the delineation in the Vinland Map strongly recalls" (152).

He had to admit that there is no counterpart for this delineation "in any known cartographic document" (120). It might then seem, that, being aware of the similarity of *Postreme Insule* to the modern outline of the Japanese archipelago, he would have assumed that we are dealing here with the Japanese islands and hence that he might discuss the origins of the Map on the basis of this assumption. Instead, he brings forward the hypothesis that there was a Chinese map of the world — which had been copied by Carpini in Karakorum — and that this map was allegedly found among Carpini's papers. Finally, he claims that such a map was drawn for C. de Bridia "in the course of conversation by Benedict the Pole" (135). Being aware that this argument is not likely to convince anyone, he has to admit in the end that:

"The three islands depicted in the Vinland Map owe their design to the cartographer's fancy, rather than to any graphic representation transmitted to him from (ultimately) a member of the Carpini mission" (153, 248).

This line of argument is hardly likely to lead us to an explanation of the origins of the Map. To accept such a stand would mean to assume that a cartographer — of whom R.A. Skelton himself does not have a very high opinion — living around 1440 in Basle and having at his disposal only "textual sources" (primarily the *Tartar Relation*), "names from the Carpini stock" and the hypothetical prototype of the Old World, could conceivably have had the imagination to reproduce geographical data which were only to be established cartographically a few centuries later. We know already that the same cartographer having reached 75° N on the western coast of Greenland had "speculatively completed the design by adding a theoretical north coast", one which was again strikingly similar to the real outline of the island. No sensible critic would accept such a hypothesis. As in the former case so also here, R.A. Skelton's theory of an alleged prototype as a source for the source picture of the Old World, and the accompanying assumption of the

influence of Carpini's Relation on the draft of *Postreme Insule*, has to be emphatically rejected.

There is, of course, another possibility. This is that the Vinland Map originated only when the Japanese archipelago was sufficiently known for the cartographers to represent it correctly in maps in an outline similar to that which we see in the Vinland Map. We shall therefore try to establish when this could have taken place.¹³⁷⁾

The first mention of Japan, under the name of *Cipangu* is recorded by Marco Polo, who located it about 1500 miles off the Asiatic coast (1298).¹³⁸⁾ This is how Japan is represented in the Catalan Atlas (1375), the Borgia Map in the Velletri Museum (1452, Genoese World Map (1457) and Germanus' map of 1489-92 but "none of these, as it happened, delineated or specifically named Japan". The first time where it appears is in the map of Fra Mauro of 1459, and in Behaim's globe of 1492.

Marco Polo's mistake misled Columbus,¹³⁹⁾ who, having calculated that *Cipangu* lies only 2400 miles west of the Canary Islands, was convinced that Hispaniola, the island discovered by him was not "an outlying island of the New World, but Polo's island of Cipangu". After that, Japan became "a shuttlecock of the cartographers". And so, Nicolo Caneiro Januensis in his map placed it correctly — about 650 miles off the coast of Asia (1507), while G.M. Contarini situated it in the middle of the ocean and M. Waldseemüller, following Behaim (1507) located it somewhere half way between Asia and America. J. Ruysch (1507) followed Marco Polo; in the Lenox Globe Japan is to be found close to the South American coast, in the Venetian edition of Ptolemy's map (1511) Bernardus Sylvanus shifted it back to the vicinity of Asia.

The makers of the great portolanos, A. Cantino (1502), Juan de la Cosa (1502) and Diego Ribero (1529), do not get the position of Japan correctly, and in Mercator's map of 1538 it is still represented as a small island half way between Asia and America. This was the situation up to 1542, when the Portuguese arrived in Japan. Evidence of the state of knowledge about Japan at this time is the fact that in the same year —

"the very year that Japan was entered by a European, the mapmaker Caspar Volpel drew North America and Asia as identical and wrote on the island Haiti: '*Zipangu nunc Hispaniola*'".¹⁴⁰⁾

Even though Japan became famous from the time when Xavier began his missionary work there (1549), nobody knew the exact position of the

137) A. KAMMERER, La découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des Portugais, *T'oung Pao*. Suppl. au vol. XXXIX, Leiden 1944. - H. NAKAMURA, East Asia in Old Maps. Tokyo 1964. South China in the Sixteenth Century. Edited by C.R. BOXER (*Hakl. Soc.*, Ser II, 1953).

138) L.C. WROTH, The Early Cartography of the Pacific (*The Papers of the Bibliographical Soc. of America*, vol. 38, N. York 1944, 201-7, 118-9, ill.). Standard work, with XXII plates.

139) G.H.T. KIMBLE, Geography, 145; G. CARACI called it "*Felice errore...*" (*Viaggi ed esplorazioni fino alla scoperta dell'America*, in *Nuove Questioni di Storia Medioevale*, Milano 1964, 446).

140) W.E. WASHBURN, The Intellectual Assumptions and Consequences of Geographical Exploration in the Pacific (*The Pacific Basin*, 322): same - Japan on early European maps (*Pacific Hist. Review*, 21, 1952, 221-36).

island until 1590.¹⁴¹⁾ It was only in that year that Peter Planicius and the maker of the Wright-Molyneux map in R. Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600) defined its position correctly in the ocean. Since both works were popular, "after their publication there was no real excuse for extensive error in the location by cartographers of the Japanese islands".¹⁴²⁾

In the light of these facts what is one to think about the Vinland Map? Two conclusions are possible:

1. It is, as R.A. Skelton contends, the fruit of its compiler's imagination, with regard to the eastern coast of Asia. In this case if the compiler of the Map knew anything about Japan, he knew only about this one *island* of Cipangu and he would have represented it as such in the Vinland Map.

2. The Map could only have originated at the earliest in the second part of the sixteenth century, when, after the discoveries in the Far East, cartographers were able to acquire information about the Japanese archipelago.

The first of these hypotheses cannot be defended. It is enough to look at Martellus' *Insularium Illustratum* of 1489-90 in which we find *CIPANGV Insvla... magna ualde*¹⁴³⁾ and at the delineation of Japan in Stobnica's map of 1512¹⁴⁴⁾ realize that even these sources of the age of early discoveries are closer to Marco Polo's Cipangu than to the three islands on the Vinland Map.

There is still the second possibility, namely, the existence of a prototype of the Vinland Map among the maps after 1524. Three publications may be helpful here — the collective study *The Pacific Basin*,¹⁴⁵⁾ the work of Hiroshima Nakamura (1968), and above all Armando Cortesão's *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*.¹⁴⁶⁾ It is above all the latter's 49 outlines of Japan, beginning with Behaim's globe (1492) and ending with the map of João Teixeira Albernaz (1649), which provide us with a "cartographical context" in which to look for the prototype of Japan as represented in the Vinland Map. We must stress three points about the information supplied by these scholars:

1. Until 1542 Japan was conceived by western geographers as one single island. All the information concerning it was based on more

141) M. SCHWIND, *Das Japanische Inselreich*, Berlin 1967, 21-2; Carlos SANZ, *Primitivas relaciones de España con el Japón*, Madrid 1966 (*Sep. Bol. R. Soc. Geogr.*, T.C., II, 3, 5); W.E. WASHBURN, Japan, 221-36; before 1513 the Far East "ne pouvait être représenté sur les planisphère et portolans que par des tracés de fantaisie, tirés les uns de la géographie périmée de Ptolomée... les autres des données tirées de Marco Polo..." (A. KAMMERER, *La découverte*, 181).

142) L.C. WROTH, *Early Cartography of the Pacific*, 207.

143) A. CORTESÃO, Japan, 170.

144) A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, *Facsimile Atlas*, tab. XXXIV.

145) *The Pacific Basin. A History of Geographical Exploration*. Ed. by H.R. FRIIS, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Spec. Public.* No 38, N. York 1967, XI-457. - *Maps of Japan Made by the Portuguese Before the Closure of Japan*. By H. NAKAMURA. I-III. Tokyo 1966-8. Reviewed by J.B. HARLEY in *Geogr. Journal*, 135, 1969, 306-7. - L.C. WROTH, pl. I, IV, XXI-XV, XX & XXII.

146) Vol. V, Lisboa 1960, appendix Japan, 170-78. M. RAMMING, *The Evolution of Cartography in Japan (Imago Mundi*, II, 1946).

or less vague reports gathered by Rodrigues from some oriental pilot during his voyages in the Far East.

2. As a result of the discoveries in the Far East in the years 1542-1549,¹⁴⁷⁾ the picture of Japan as an island was gradually replaced by that of an archipelago of various kinds:

Type I - which emerged after 1550, representing "a double string of small islands", among them for the first time Japan (fig. 10-11, 25).

Type II - appeared in the first half of the 16th century, taking the form of an archipelago of 3-4 larger and a number of smaller islands (fig. 19, 21-24, 26-8, 33-4, 39).

Type III - we can find in M. Ricci's map of 1602 (fig. 40). It represents 4 major islands and several minor ones in the southern part of the archipelago.

Type IV - this type is represented by the map of João Teixeira Albernaz of 1649 (fig. 50).

Type IV differs from that of M. Ricci¹⁴⁸⁾ only in so far as it gives "the latitudes of the archipelago correctly". It was finally accepted in the mid-seventeenth century, "did not improve before the nineteenth century, and not seldom changed for the worse".

These data collected by A. Cortesão lead to the conclusion that: first of all, there did not exist in European cartography, before 1542, a map of Eastern Asia in which we would find a prototype of the Japan we find in the Vinland Map. Secondly, although it was only after hundred years of cartographical works, 1542-1649, that Japan could have been represented on the maps, this could only have been possible as a result of the discoveries in the Far East, reports of missionaries and only due to "a more intimate interrelation between East and West than ever imagined".

How then can the editors of the Vinland Map try to convince us that an obscure cleric, living in Basle about 1440, who had to rely on Marco Polo's report and "his mind's eye", could draw an outline of Japan such as was worked out only in the nineteenth century. Is this credible?

Let us then return to a consideration of the problem presented by *Postreme Insule*. In an attempt to identify these islands we must assume that an island placed south of the name *Postreme Insule* is Honshu, two others are Shikoku and Kyushu, and in the north there is the island of Hokkaido or Yezo. How are we to explain, however,

147) G. KISH, *Imago Mundi*, VI, 39-47; François de DAINVILLE, *La géographie des humanistes*, ch. IV, II, esp. 122-31. - The influence of the "lettres indiennes" on the cartography of the humanists is a well known fact but there was a warning by the well informed traveller Nicolas Sanson (1600-1667) against their reliability, since the Jesuits "differ so much and most often contradict each other in the Description and in the Relation of the same things...". The author had difficulties while choosing maps for his atlas of China (B. SZCZEŚNIAK, *The Seventeenth Century Maps of China*) *Im. Mundi*, XIII, 1956, 136. On the influence of Nicolas Sanson on cartography see *A History of Cartography* ed. R.V. TOOLEY, Ch. BRICKER, G.R. CRONE, London 1969, 82-3.

148) H. WALLIS, *The influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography* (*Imago Mundi*, XIX, 1965, 38-44); J.F. BADDELEY, *Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-Maps, 1584-1608* (*Geogr. Journal*, 50, 1917, 256-69) B. SZCZEŚNIAK, *Matteo Ricci's Map of China* (*Imago Mundi*, XI, 1954, 127-36).

an island north of Yezo, which so closely resembles Sakhalin? To assume that it is Sakhalin is to put the Vinland Map in the cartographical context of the nineteenth century. That this is so, is clear from the history of Sakhalin well known from works of western and Japanese scholars:

The first European who visited Yezo was a Jesuit, Girolamo de Angelis (1618) and it was he who also compiled the first map of Japan.¹⁴⁹⁾ Later, in 1643 the western part of this island was explored by Maerten Gerritszoon Vries, who greatly influenced the cartography of the northern Pacific. As for the Japanese, this island was nothing more than "a territory bordering on their own homeland, and they did not appear to be interested in its exploration as a problem of world geography".¹⁵⁰⁾ The Europeans were unable to explore the northern islands of the archipelago since for two centuries, from 1636-1854, Japan was closed to foreigners.¹⁵¹⁾ Therefore, it is not surprising that geographers ascribed the name *Jesso* or *Jezo-Yezo* indiscriminately to an island, to the peninsula of Kamchatka, to the mainland north of Kamchatka... to an east running coast, which existed only in the confusion of their thoughts.¹⁵²⁾ This is clearly seen from the map of Ph. Strahlenberg who wrote as late as 1730:

"Now the Peninsula *Jedso*, or the country call'd *Kamtschatki*, is upon the same continent with Siberia of which neither the Japanese and Chinese, nor we Europeans, have heretofore had any true Information".¹⁵³⁾

He obtained such an opinion from a Japanese, who was brought from Kamchatka to Moscow by the Cossack Vladimir Atlassow and whom Ph. Strahlenberg had opportunity to interview in Siberia, in Tobolsk. This is good evidence that not even in Russia was there much knowledge about Sakhalin in the mid-eighteenth century.

The Japanese distinguished between Yezo the island (*Jeso Gasima*) and the peninsula of Kamchatka (*Oku Jeso* or *Upper Jeso*), but their knowledge could not have been passed on to western cartographers.¹⁵⁴⁾ It was only the progress of the Russians, who appeared in Nemuro on the eastern shore of Jesso in 1792,¹⁵⁵⁾ in addition to the attempts to

149) "...one of the most important maps of Yezo and Japan..." (Chohei Kudo, A summary of my studies of Girolamo de Angelis' Yezo Map, *Imago Mundi*, X, 1953, 81); see also J.F. SCHÜTTE S.J., Mapa of Japan by Father Girolamo de Angelis (*Imago Mundi*, IX, 1952, 73-8), and Kay KITAGAWA, The Map of Hokkaido of G. de Angelis, ca. 1621 (*Imago Mundi*, VII, 1950, 110-114).

150) N. MUROGA, Geographical Exploration, *The Pacific Basin*, 97, 99.

151) Shintaro AYUSAWA, The Types of world map made in Japan's age of national isolation (*Imago Mundi*, X, 1953, 123).

152) L.C. WROTH, *Early Cartography*, 221, 207.

153) Ph.J. STRAHLENBERG, *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, London 1728, 30-3, 54-5. On his map we can see *Kamtszatka* alias *Jedso*.

154) L.C. WROTH, *Early Cartography*, 221, 207; H. NAKAMURA, The Japanese portolanos of Portuguese origin of the XVI and XVII centuries (*Imago Mundi*, XVIII, 1964, 23, fig. 3).

155) As an illustration to Russian expansion in the east the most helpful work is A.F. CHEW, *An Atlas of Russian History. Eleven Centuries of Changing Borders*, New-Haven-London, Yale U.P. 1967, p. 36, map 12.

penetrate it on the part of the English led by William R. Broughton in 1796 and 1797, which provoked the Japanese into invading the island and so starting its exploration.¹⁵⁶⁾

A similar situation arose with regard to Sakhalin. Threatened by the Russians, the Japanese organized an expedition to this island in 1808-9 and at last it was established that Sakhalin is an island and not a peninsula.¹⁵⁷⁾ Unfortunately, this discovery also did not become known in the West immediately. It only became known in Europe when in 1832 Philipp Franz von Siebold brought to Europe "a very accurate map of Sakhalin Island and the lower Amur region on the scale 1:36000 prepared by Mamiya Rinzo". This has given the strait between Sakhalin and the mainland the name of Strait of Mamiya — "Tatar Strait" — after its discoverer, even though the northern shores of Sakhalin had been circumnavigated and explored earlier by the Russian captain Kruzenshtern. After this time, but only then, did the West have a picture of a geographical outline which was more or less accurate.¹⁵⁸⁾

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is:

1. That the Vinland Map could not have been compiled before the cartographical picture of the Japanese archipelago, as consisting of five islands was established.

2. This only took place in the nineteenth century.

It was only then and not before, when the western shores of America were already discovered, that cartographers in the West could have imagined with regard to the Far East that the Japanese islands were *Postreme Insule*, and that behind these islands — *noua terra in extremis mundi partibus sit posita nec ultima terra nisi solummodo mare oceanum inuenitur*" (leg. 56).

2. *Magnum mare Tartarorum.*

In the opinion of R.A. Skelton, the compiler of the Map deduced this name not from a "cartographic precedent" but from written sources. He claims that both the description of Carpini and the *Tartar Relation* suggest that Mongolia "lying in that part of the world which is thought to be most northerly" was surrounded by an ocean from north and east and that "it was in this quarter that, in the tradition of the later Greek

156) N. MUROGA, *Geographical Exploration*, 101.

157) Although Russians and Japanese visited Okhotsk and the Amur region after 1787 there was no certainty whether Sakhalin is an island or a peninsula. "In 1801 the official Nakamura Tomozumi explored Sakhalin and represented it in his map as a separate island, but as his contemporaries would not accept this, he pasted the strait over with a strip of paper" (sic) and his map "was considered by Japanese public opinion as a product of the imagination". Still as late as 1854 Kudo Tochei represented Sakhalin as connected with the mainland by a neaping isthmus" (L. BAGROW, A few remarks on maps of the Amur, the Tartar Strait and Sakhalin, *Imago Mundi*, XII, 1955, 133-4).

158) W.E. WASHBURN, *Japan on early maps*, 236; N. MUROGA, *Geogr. Exploration*, 103; L. BREITFUSS, *Early maps*, 87.

geographers, Isidore and the mapmakers who followed him placed the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea, as a gulf of the outer ocean" (131).¹⁵⁹⁾

This view was upheld by Benedict the Pole, but not supported by either Carpini, or C. de Bridia. R.A. Skelton argues that if Benedict could have made such a mistake, it might have been made also by the compiler of the Vinland Map. The compiler was confused about the *magnum mare* — the name used to denote the Black Sea which — in turn, he did not distinguish from the Caspian Sea, and made it into a gulf of the ocean leading into *Magnum mare Tartarorum* (120, 151, 136).

This argument is based on the assumption that "doubtless with this image in his mind's eye that Friar Benedict, or the scribe who wrote down his account conjecturally identified the 'sea' (in the Karakhitai country), along the southern shore of which he and Carpini rode in June 1246, as the Caspian", and consequently as a gulf of the ocean (151). In fact, as R.A. Skelton himself realized, the text of Benedict's voyage in Wyngaert's edition emphasizes that the missionaries:

"Post Turkyam intraverunt terram que vocatur Karakytai... in qua inveniunt mare a sinistris quod credimus esse Caspium mare. Post hanc terram intraverunt terram Naymanorum... Post hanc intraverunt terram Thartarorum" (136).¹⁶⁰⁾

As we can see it was not Benedict the Pole who is to be blamed for this identification, but his listeners and those among them who have written down his account. The expression *credimus* is the best proof that they believed in this identification but that they were not sure whether it was correct. And yet, on this identification, is based R.A. Skelton's interpretation of the name *Magnum mare Tartarorum*.

His argument did not wholly convince G.D. Painter. This author leads us to the most abstruse and baffling problem in the whole discussion about the Vinland Map, to the *dicta terra* in the *Tartar Relation*, which our compiler has changed in *noua terra* (leg. 55).

As G.D. Painter's exegesis gives us an idea of his method, and method is our foremost concern, we consider it advisable to quote his argument in full. Accepting R.A. Skelton's view on the cartographical similarity between the VM and Bianco's world map the author argues that:

"These features are also found in non-Bianco maps, such as Vesconte, the Borgia map, and the Estense Catalan map; and in these one or the other is represented as enclosed along the base by mountain ranges or rivers, which it would not be difficult to misinterpret as straits of the sea. If we imagine a model in which this error has occurred, and an evolution in which the resulting straits have been widened, then the configuration found in VM would be fully accounted for. If indeed, as elsewhere, the compiler here drew in accordance with his model, then his tendency to caption his map through adaptation or distortion of TR would come into play. The words "*dicta terra*" were altered to "*noua terra*" to fit the islands; from "*nec ultima terra*" came the name "*Postreme*

159) The problem of the Caspian Sea as a gulf of the Northern Ocean will be discussed in part 6: "The Oxus Problem".

160) This *quod credimus* could not escape the attention of R.A. SKELTON: "...the use of the first person and present tense (*quod credimus*...) in this and other passages suggests glosses or interpretations by the scribe who wrote down his words, and not perhaps by Benedict himself" (136). Certainly so!

Insule"; and the northernmost island was naturally called "*Insule* (sic) *sub aquilone zamogedorum*", because in the caption on the friars' journey he had already used the Samoyeds from TR as an emblem of the Far North. In naming the sea enclosed by the islands TR could give no help, and "*Magnum mare Tartarorum*" is apparently the only name in all VM which the compiler has entirely invented. But he had to describe a sea adjacent to the country of the Tartars and surrounded by land; and the term "*Mare magnum*", which was regularly used of both the Mediterranean and the Black Sea as meaning a large, land-locked sea, was ready to hand. It seems possible, therefore, that this mayor and surprising peculiarity of VM — the three islands, the enclosed sea, and the consequent curtailment of eastern Asia — was not a figment of the compiler, but was already present or adumbrated in his model" (250).

Reading these lines we feel an intellectual malaise, because it is difficult to follow the author's line of argument. If anywhere it is here that G.D. Painter needs indulgence on the part of the critique for his "personal and sometimes hazardous views" (250).

From what both the authors had to say it follows that the geography of the Asiatic "New World" in the Vinland Map is founded on its compiler's conjectures. In this case we would like to know — since the name *Magnum mare Tartarorum* appears here for the first and only time, and the Map remained unknown until 1958, how one accounts for the fact that this name is to be found in the work of subsequent cartographers. It appears in John Speed's map of 1627 as the *Tartarian Frozen Sea*,¹⁶¹ it was known to H. Hondius in 1636 as *Mare Congelatum Tartaricum*,¹⁶² J. Blaeu in 1664 used it twice, first as *Oceanus Tartaricus*, secondly as *Tartaricum Mare*,¹⁶³ it is also to be found in Pierre van der AA in his *La Galerie agréable du monde* of 1729, where it appears as *Oceanus Tartaricus*.¹⁶⁴

The conclusion to be drawn from this is: either the seventeenth century cartographers took the name *Mare Tartaricum* from the Vinland Map — a possibility excluded by the editors themselves, — or, this name was in use in the sixteenth century and later, in which case the name is derived at the earliest from Renaissance cartography. This, therefore, is its earliest historical context, not the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁵

One can only marvel at the way in which G.D. Painter deals, with one stroke of the pen, with the greatest innovation of the Map, precisely

161) John SPEED, *A prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, TOT, III, 6, Amsterdam 1966, 39, 27.

162) MERCATOR-HONDIUS-JANSSONIUS, II, *Tartaria*, 413.

163) Le Grand Atlas Amsterdam 1663, ed. TOT 1967: *Mare Tartaricum* (L'Hyparcétique, map); *Oceanus Tartaricus* (Nova... tabula).

164) Also Pascal ROIZ: *Oçano Tartario* (Port. Mon. Cart., V, pl. 534, a. 1633); *Oceano Tartarico* (Ibidem, pl. 574, a. 1706); *Oceano Tartario* (Ibidem, pl. 535, II chart D., ca 1630). On the map of the Belgian Jesuit A. Thomas of 1690 there is the *Mare Tartaricum* (A. FLORENSKY, *Im. Mundi*, VIII, 1951, 104). On the "Nieuwe Lantkaarte" of Nicolas Witsen of 1687 there is the *Mare Tartaricum olim Mare Glaciale* (J. KEUNING, *Im. Mundi*, XI, 1954, map). Finally on the *Carte Universelle* of Jean Guérard (1634) — we can see the *Ocean Tartarique* (Hist. Univ. des Explorations ed. L. — H. Parias, III, Paris 1958, pl. IV, p. 24).

165) Even as late as 1699 there is on a map in A. Brand's *Relation du Voyage de Evert Isbrand: Tartaria Magna, Mare Tartaricum, Oceanus Orientalis* (J. KEUNING, Nicolas Witsen as cartographer, *Imago Mundi*, XI, 1954, map).

this Asiatic "*noua terra*". It is difficult to understand why he did not devote more attention to the fact that in the Atlantic sphere of the Map there is also a "*terra nova*", one which in this instance refers without doubt to *Vinland* or to America.

It must be acknowledged that although the majority of the critics failed to take notice of this fact, at least two authors were aware of the problem. One of these was an anonymous contributor to the *Times Literary Supplement* who, after having studied legend 56, wrote the following:

"This legend on the Map is taken from TR except that the compiler of the map has substituted "*nova terra*" for "*dicta terra*". This substitution is perhaps the most puzzling thing in this handsome book".¹⁶⁶⁾

The other was Vsevolod Slessarew, Professor at the University of Cincinnati.¹⁶⁷⁾ He reminds us that the name "*nova terra*" appears in the Map twice and expresses a doubt as to whether the change from *dicta terra* to *nova terra* — "was due to a mistake or a conscious correction" and he concludes that:

"certainly the concept of *terra nova* and the implied sphericity of the world are worth a thorough textual and cartographic exploration".

It is a pity that the author did not pursue this line of argument.

3. *Terre non satis perscrutatae.*

That this name refers to the north, strictly speaking to the north-eastern part of Asia, is clear not only from the phrase "*inter boreales glacies*", but also from its position on the Map.

After the exploration of the Pacific it was a long time before this area of the Far East was discovered.¹⁶⁸⁾ This is clear from the following maps: Waldseemüller (1507, 1516), Ruysch (1508), Lenox (1510-12) and Stobnica (1512). In the later maps the northern region of the Pacific was incorporated with Asia, even though there were no cartographical grounds for this until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This assertion is confirmed by the following maps: Schöner (1522, 1523), Gastaldi (1546, 1548, 1562), Fr. Bassus Mediolanensis (1570), and others. In a third category of maps, America and Asia are divided by a narrow,

166) *Times Lit. Supplement*, 25 Nov. 1965, nr. 3326, p. 1076.

167) V. SLESSAREV, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 649-51; G.R. CRONE, *History Today*, 361-2.

168) The history of the exploration and development of cartography of the north-eastern part of Asia and the corresponding part of America in the years 1667-1821 has been graphically represented by L. Breiffuss (Early maps of North-Eastern Asia and of the lands around the North Pacific, *Imago Mundi*, III, 1939, 87-99), and discussed by D.M. LEBEDEV and V.J. GREKOV (*The Pacific Basin*, 170-200). Indispensable is the work of F.A. GOLDER, *The Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 164-1850*, Cleveland 1914, and his *Bering's Voyages, I-II, Amer. Geogr. Soc. Res. Series*, nr. 1, N. York 1922, reedited 1969. - I had no access to: A.V. YEFIMOV, *Atlas of Geographical Discoveries in Siberia and North-West America XVII-XVIII Centuries*, Moscow 1964, noted in *Hans. Blätter*, 84, 1966, 235.

unnamed strait, or by a strait called *Streto di Anian* (Gastaldi, 1562, and Zaltieri, 1566). This practice continued until 1754 when Comte de Redern called this strait the *Bering Strait*.

The best proof of how little the western cartographers knew about north Asia and the northern seas is the Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius Atlas of 1636 which includes a description of *Tartaria*.¹⁶⁹⁾ It is represented as having China on its eastern border, India to the south, and, in the west, "the Caspian and Polonian Sea" — "the rest bordering upon Moscovia and on North with the Frozen Ocean, where it is unknown, uninhabited & unmanured..." (413). We can see from this that even to the best cartographers of the mid-seventeenth century, the polar regions of Asia were not only *terre non satis perscrutatae*, they were completely unknown lands.¹⁷⁰⁾

The northern part of the Asiatic continent was explored by the Russians as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1639-1648 they explored the coastline of the Sea of Okhotsk from the Amur river to its most northerly point. At the same time F. Alexeyev and S. Dezhnev, starting from the river Kolima reached the mouth of the river Anadir. It took a further fifty years to explore north-eastern Asia. This took place in 1697 when V. Atlassov travelling from Anadir reached Kamchatka. The first drafts of Sketches of Siberia compiled by P. Godunov and U.S. Remezov¹⁷¹⁾ appeared between 1667-1696 and soon became known in the west.

"Despite the inevitable defects of these early maps, Russian information, including the cartographic representation of northeastern Asia and of its coast along the Pacific Ocean, exerted great influence upon the maps compiled by outstanding cartographers of western Europe. Examples are the maps of Nicolas C. Witsen (1691), Philip J.T. von Strahlenberg (1730), and Goman (1725)".¹⁷²⁾

Precise knowledge of north-eastern Asia dates only from the explorations sponsored by Peter the Great (1725-1743). It was only then established that Kamchatka is a peninsula (1730). Owing to the work of Russian geographers a first map of it was compiled, the whole of the eastern shore of Asia from the Arctic Ocean to the Sea of Japan was explored, the western coast of America was discovered, and the Kuril Islands and part of Japan were first mapped.¹⁷³⁾ Only after this, namely after the voyages of V. Bering (1728, 1738-43) and J. Cook (1768-1780) it becomes true that "the limits of Asia and America in the northern part

169) MERCATOR-HONDIUS-JANSSONIUS, Atlas 1636, TOT, 2, 1968, 413.

170) John Dee desiring to see a reformed map of the Arctic regions of Asia was exclaiming: "You will take up your hands and bless you to see that monstrous mis-haping and misplacing of the north-east borders of Asia hitherto by the best Geographers to be published" E.G. R. TAYLOR, John Dee and the map of North-East Asia (*Imago Mundi*, XII, 1955, 105).

171) L.A. GOLDENBERG, Semyon Ulyanovich Remezov (*Actes XIe Cong. Int. Hist. des Sciences Varsovie*, 1965, vol. IV, 217-20).

172) D.M. LEBEDEV-V.J. GREKOV, Explorations, 175.

173) On the role of the Jesuits who were looking for a shorter way to China via Russia see L. BAGROW, Sparwenfeld's map of Siberia (*Imago Mundi*, IV, 1947, 65-70).

of the Pacific Ocean may be said to have been definitely established". Of particular importance was the compilation of the map of north-eastern Asia by P.A. Chaplin in 1729. This map was published in France (1735 and 1737) together with a report of V. Bering's voyages, copies of which have been found in the archives of Sweden, France, Denmark and England.

"The influence of this map can be seen on many of the general maps of the time, including some maps in the *Academy Atlas* of 1745, which was very popular in Russia and abroad and at that time was considered to be one of the greatest achievements in cartography".¹⁷⁴⁾

To conclude, we can say that, for the cartographers of the fifteenth century the countries of north-eastern Asia were *terre incognite* behind which lay *mare glaciale* or, as on the Vinland Map — the *frigida pars*, which were only gradually opened up and explored during the seventeenth century. As late as 1730, when describing north-eastern Asia Ph. Strahlenberg, who was very proud of his knowledge of Siberia, and certainly knew a great deal about it, wrote that it could not be circumnavigated — "by Reason of the fix'd Mountains of Ice, as the Islands of the same, which are continually driving, and stops passage". He did not therefore have a thorough knowledge of "these peoples who inhabit the utmost Parts of the North-East towards the Promontory of Tabyn, many of whom are yet unknown".¹⁷⁵⁾ Once again it is as if we were reading *terre non satis perscrutata*...¹⁷⁶⁾ This could be written by someone living in Russia at the beginning of the eighteenth century and knowing Siberia from the reports of eye-witnesses, but not by a cleric living in western Europe in the fifteenth century. At that time all that was known about this part of the world was derived from Pliny, Strabo and Marco Polo, who had never even visited that part of the world.

For this reason we should search for the geographical and historical context of the north-eastern part of the Vinland Map not in the fifteenth, but in the eighteenth century. It must not be forgotten that just as in the West the secret of the route to China was guarded for obvious reasons, so, and even more so, was the case in Russia.¹⁷⁷⁾ Thus, it does not follow, that information available in Russia would immediately reach the West and swiftly influence western cartography.

174) D.M. LEBEDEV-V.J. GREKOV, *Geographical Explorations*, 178-80. - L. BAGROW, *Sparwenfeld*, 65.

175) Ph.J. STRAHLENBERG, *Hist. Geogr. Description*, Introduction. See also L. BAGROW, *A few remarks, Imago Mundi*, XII, 1955, 129.

176) See the critique of M.A. Kogan in the preceding chapter. Even on the map of the Jesuit A. Thomas (1690), based on materials furnished by Nik. Spathary-Milesku, the Moscow representative in China, we can read on the most north-eastern part of Siberia: *Hoc totum spatium lustrarunt Moschi sed non ad usque finem*, and on the most eastern part of the Chukotskiy Poluostrov he noted: *Hac ungula an adiaceat Americae Septentrionali an detur adhuc fretum Anian incertum est...* (A. FLOROVSKY, *Maps of the Siberian Route of the Belgian Jesuit, A. Thomas (1690), Imago Mundi*, VIII, map on p. 104, and L. BAGROW, *Imago Mundi*, IV, 68).

177) *Nolunt Mosci Sibirenses iter notum facere exteris* (G. DAVID, *Status Modernus Magnae Russiae*, fol. 42 b, quoted by A. FLOROVSKY, *Maps of the Siberian Route*, 107). Rome was interested in the route across Siberia because it was "shorter and more convenient than the sea route around Africa" (*Ibidem*, 105).

4. *Mare Oceanum Orientale.*

The last innovation in the Asiatic part of the Map is the *mare Oceanum Orientale*. Proof of the extent to which the editors ignored this name, although it occurs in two legends (39 and 54), is that it was not included in the index. R.A. Skelton himself dismissed it by saying: "This phrase does not occur in the text of TR, only the northern ocean *mare oceanum aquilonis* being named" (136). The question arises, where did the compiler take the name from, and why did he put it on the Map?

The correct way in answering this question is to give the etymology of the two names separately. It is known that the first name was used to denote a river which was believed to flow round the world as it was known to the ancients. This image passed on into the Christian era and survived until the thirteenth century. In the maps of that time we find the world represented as a circle with, written around the circumference, *Refusio oceani*, *mare oceanum* or *mare exterius* and similar names. This picture was still retained at the time of Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420) and was not changed even after the voyages of Marco Polo, since his geographical descriptions did not immediately find their way into medieval cartography. It was only with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope (1487-88), and particularly with the landing of Vasco da Gama in India in 1498, that the Ptolemaic picture of this part of the world was changed by the discovery of a new ocean — the Indian Ocean. Henceforth this ocean appears in maps as *Oceanus Indicus Orientalis*, *Mare Indico*, *Indicum hoc pelagus*, to denote the sea dividing Africa from Asia.¹⁷⁸⁾

With the discovery that America was a continent defining the western border of the Atlantic Ocean, and that behind this continent another sea existed, the turn came for a third ocean. This discovery was introduced into cartography by M. Waldseemüller in 1507 and it is on the well known map of John of Stobnica (1512) that both oceans divided by the continent discovered by Columbus can be seen.¹⁷⁹⁾

This new ocean had to be named. Since the Atlantic already had the name *Oceanus occidentalis* the new ocean east of Asia could only be named *orientalis*. This is seen in the Venetian edition of Ptolemy of 1511 where in the east one can see the *Orientalis Oceanvs*, and in the west the *Oceanvs Occidentalis*, and in the south the *Oceanvs Meridionalis*.¹⁸⁰⁾ By 1528 these two names for the oceans became established.

Evidence for this is to be found in the *Libro di Benedetto Bordone... de tutte l'Isule del mondo* in which the names *Mare Occidentale*, *Mare Indico* and *Mare Orientale* are used as names for three oceans and these oceans are correctly located between the continents.¹⁸¹⁾

178) Claud. Ptol. *Geographia*, Venice 1511, TOT 1969, V, 1: *Orientalis Oceanvs*, *Oceanvs Meridionalis*, *Oceanvs Occidentalis*; Ptol. Strassb. 1513, TOT 1966, IV, p. XXI, tab. IV Africa; Dec. Asiae Tab.; Tab. Mod. Indiae.

179) A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Facsimile Atlas, tab. XXXIV.

180) Claud. Ptol. *Geographia*, Venice 1511, TOT 1969, V, 1.

181) Benedetto Bordone, Venice 1528, TOT 1966, III, 1; Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum O.T. 1570*: Asiae Tab. 4-5 - *Oceanus Atlanticus*; Asiae Nova Descriptio 3-4 - *Oceanus Eous sive Orientalis*; 48-50 - *Oceanus Orientalis*. A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Facs. Atlas, tabulae: XXXI-II, XXXVIIIa, XLI-XLIV, XLVI-XLIX. - On N. Witsen's "Nieuwe Lantkarte" is the *Oceanus Orientalis* above the Amur mouths (J. KEUNING, *Imago Mundi*, XI, map).

We will now examine the names in the Vinland Map in the light of these names and the oceanographic concepts. There are quite a number of them:

1. In the west there is twice written *Mare Oceanum* (legend 60). This is the Atlantic and the names are so located that they do not raise any doubts.

2. The name *Mare Indicum* also appears twice: once, south of *Terra Indica* which corresponds to *India media* in Bianco's map; the second time, very close to the African coast, thus, far from India. This is the Indian Ocean which in the view of the compiler of the Map, divides Africa from India.

3. *Mare Oceanum Orientale*. Where did the author find this name and why did he introduced it into the Vinland Map?

In order to answer the first question one has to examine when the name *Mare Oceanum Orientale* appeared for the first time, and in what context. On Behaim's globe of 1492 we find next to the islands which are located above *Cipangu Insula*, i.e. Japan, the name *Oceanus Orientis Indies Cathai*.¹⁸²⁾ This name, however, is not used to denote the Indian Ocean, as on the globe this is marked twice: once as *Mare Indicum* and once as *Oceanus Indicus Orientalis*. It cannot indicate the Pacific Ocean since Behaim did not know of its existence. The location of this *Oceanus Orientis*, however, roughly corresponds to the location of the *mare Oceanum Orientale* in the Vinland Map which is also marked above Japan.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that we must either accept the dependence of the compiler of the Vinland Map on Behaim — in which case the legend could not have been written before 1492 — or we must acknowledge that the name draws on the new cartographical concepts of the sixteenth century; in this case it would have originated even later, namely, after the name *Oceanus Orientalis* had become established, i.e. after 1511.¹⁸³⁾

Summing up — We may conclude from what has been said, that in the light of these oceanographic names the Vinland Map corresponds more closely to the cartography of the Renaissance, than to the cosmography of the fifteenth century. The old ocean surrounding the known world was replaced by three oceans which emerged after the circumnavigation of Africa, the discovery of America, and Magellan's voyage across the Pacific — 1487-1521. These three oceans are to be found in the nomenclature of the Vinland Map and in its legends, and they are placed according to the concepts of the post-Renaissance cartography.

There is no need to look for the oceans in the North and in the South. They do not exist in the Map because they did not enter into the missionary vision of its compiler. Two names — *frigida pars* in the North and *Sinus Ethiopicus* in the South are the best proof that the oceans in these parts of the world were of no value to the compiler of the Map.

182) A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Facsimile Atlas, 72; R.A. SKELTON, Pacific Basin, 45-6, map.

183) We have the name in Leonardo da Vinci's mappamundi 1514: *Oceanus Indicus Meridionalis* (A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Facsimile Atlas, fig. 45, p. 77); on a mappemonde of the mid-sixteenth century: *Oceanus Orientalis Indicus*, and *Oceanus Occidentalis* (ibidem, fig. 48, p. 81); in the map of Glareanus before 1520: *Oceanus Indicus Orientalis*, and *Oceanus Occidentalis* (A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Periplus, Stockholm 1897, p. 185, map 91). - *Japponia Oceani Orientalis insula permagna* (G. KISH, *Imago Mundi*, VI, 1950, fig. 7, p. 47). - J. BLAEU *has la mer Oriental du Catay, Tartaria*, vol. XI, TOT, 243-4.

5. *Insulae sub Aquilone Zamogedorum.*

This name is particularly difficult to explain for three reasons:

1. The medieval cartographers and authors give no information about the coast of north-eastern Asia. The following sources indicate islands in this region but these are difficult to identify: Petrus Vesconte (c. 1321), the Catalan-Este Map (c. 1450), Giovanni Leardo (c. 1452-3). The cartographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate an island — *TAZATA INSULA a Plinio hic uspiam ponitur*. This became established owing to Mercator (1569 and 1595) and under this name it was known to Blaeu (1663) and Hondius (1631).¹⁸⁴⁾

Which island in the northern Arctic Ocean could Pliny have had in mind? How did the later authors arrive at two or three other islands, while Bianco has only one? Ph. Strahlenberg tried to prove "that by Tazata or Tasata is to be understood Nova Zemola, which formerly was called so from the river Taas..."¹⁸⁵⁾ However, to accept this one would have to prove first, that Pliny knew about the river Taas, which is very doubtful.

What interests us at this point is, that the compiler of the Vinland Map speaks about *insule* and not of *insula*. What grounds could he have for this? Well, it should be noted that Ortelius, in his *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, shows the island Tazata east of the river Ob, whilst in his *Tartariae sive Magni Chami Regnum* we find that:

"Oceanus Scythicus dulcis est Plinio auctore, qui multas in eo insulas esse dicit, ut etiam M. Paul: Venetus: sed neuter neque situm neque numerum tradit" (pp. 47-8).

Could we not, therefore, assume that the compiler of the Vinland Map followed Ortelius or some map derived from his work?

2. The second difficulty lies in the inability to reconcile the information from the *Tartar Relation* concerning the direction and scope of Genghis Khan's invasions of people living along the Arctic coast, including the *Samoyedi*, with the actual position of the latter in the far eastern corner of Asia.

The *Tartar Relation* informs us that after the expedition of 1236-42 the Tartars were returning *ad terras proprias et in reditu ceperunt ab aquilone... maiorem Hungariam que est contigua mari oceano ab aquilone... venerunt ad eos qui vocantur Ucorcolon* (§ 20-21, p. 75).

Since the compiler of the Map places the *Samoyedi sub aquilone* on the eastern shore of Asia, this would indicate that the Tartars in their expeditions went from the Volga river region and the Urals as far as the Pacific and, what is more, along the shore of the Arctic Ocean, returning from there *ad terras proprias* or *in Comaniam*, i.e. on the Black Sea (c. 15). It is impossible to accept such a wide area of Genghis Khan's expeditions, and thus there must be some error in the sources.

Without going into the chronology of these expeditions we would like to suggest an alternative explanation. Since *Tatartata fluvius* on the

184) J. BLAEU, *Le Grand Atlas ou Cosmographie Blaviane*, Amsterdam 1663. TOT 1968, map: *Tartaria sive Magni Chami Imperium*, 243-4 - *Tazata insula hic uspiam a Plinio ponitur*.

185) Ph.J. STRAHLENBERG, *Histor. Geogr. Description*, 114.

Vinland Map is, in our opinion, the river Ob, with its numerous islands — of which more will be said later — and this river on the Map is shown as having its mouth in north-eastern Asia, the compiler of the Map was in consequence obliged to transfer there the Samoyedi, although the true homeland of this people is situated closer to the Urals.

This explanation is not satisfactory since, first, the name *Insule sub Aquilone Zamogedorum* is to be found east, not north of the *Mare Magnum Orientale*, and secondly, it is not situated at the mouth of *Tatartata fluvius*; it also refers to one island, not to a group of islands, for such do not appear at all. It is indeed difficult to reconcile the names given in this corner of the Vinland Map with the *Tartar Relation*.

3. A further difficulty is that the Samoyedi appear once more in an equally intriguing connection. The legend 39, placed above legend 40: *Imperium Tartarorum* reads:

Montes inferiores abrupti. In hanc terram primi fratres nostri ordinis iter faciendo ad tartaros mongalos samogedos [et] indos transiuerunt nobiscum per obedientiam... Innocentio... Pont. max... usque ad mare oceanum orientale (133).

R.A. Skelton's comment on this legend is:

"The legend which follows, summarizing the journey of the Carpini mission, appears to be abstracted from TR, in which the names of the four peoples mentioned all occur" (133).

The crux of the matter lies in the connection between these peoples. Now, though we can establish a link between the thirteenth century missions and the Tartars, Mongols and later India, we cannot do this in the case of the Samoyedi, since the sources do not mention the conversion of this people at all. To be fair, there is not complete agreement between the writers on the subject. Like Carpini (c. 15), they represent the people of Samoyedi as a semi-barbarous tribe *qui tantum de venationibus viuunt, et tabernacula vestesque tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum*.¹⁸⁶⁾ The same is said of them as late as 1792 by Sergey Pleschéév who, in his *Survey of the Russian Empire*, observes: "They lead a wandering life... they are all idolators, governed by Shamans" — "They dwell in huts, live on reindeer flesh, but chiefly on salmon".¹⁸⁷⁾ This is how Giles Fletcher, after his stay in Moscow in 1588-89, commented on them: "They live in a manner a wild and savage life... Their leader or director in every company is their *pop* or priest".¹⁸⁸⁾

From this latter comment one can deduce that the people of Samoyedi were converted to the orthodox faith; the same conclusion has been reached by H. Paszkiewicz.¹⁸⁹⁾ If we accept this suggestion, however, we contradict legend 39 which refers to the sending of missions to the people

186) *Samogedi id est se mutuo edentes* (A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Facsimile Atlas, fig. 60, p. 95; A. JENKINSON, *Early Voyages*, I, 105, note on p. 36.

187) S. PLESCHÉEV, *Survey of the Russian Empire*. Transl. by J. Smirnov, London 1792, 64, 90.

188) G. FLETCHER, *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, publ. 1591, 1643, 1657, in Moscow 1589, 202-3. So also A. JENKINSON, *Early Voyages*, I, 105, CLIX, note on p. 36. A. PLATONOVICH ENGELHARDT, *A Russian Province of the North*, Westminster 1899, 272-98.

189) H. PASZKIEWICZ, *The Origin of Russia*, London 1954, 276.

of Samoyedi, not from Moscow, but from Rome. It is hard to believe that this mission could have been confused with the mission of a Dominican Julian, who in 1237 was sent to the Bashkirs, that is to the Hungarians beyond the Volga, in order to discover the truth about the alleged Tartar invasion of the West.¹⁹⁰⁾

I suggest the following explanation for the inclusion of the Samoyedi in the legend 39: the compiler of the Vinland Map, in presenting an ecumenical vision of the Roman Church in the East, South and West, did not have anything to substantiate it as regards the North, since he knew nothing of the conversion of peoples around the Arctic Ocean. To fill this gap he found a solution by introducing there the people of Samoyedi, who lived *sub aquilone*.

6. The Oxus Problem.

The Vinland Map provided an opportunity for re-examination of what was known half a century ago as the "Oxus Problem", a problem which today should no longer exist.¹⁹¹⁾ How did this problem originate?

The reason lies in the fact that the picture of south-central Asia, as it was known between the fifth and eighteenth centuries, did not correspond to the reality in terms of its hydrography. This hydrography was made up of lakes and rivers which, going from west to east, included the great lakes of Baikal and Balkash (with which we are not concerned) and further the Aral Sea, the Caspian Sea and, in Europe, the Black Sea.

In ancient and medieval times only two of these were known: the Black Sea (undoubtedly identified in spite of many names) and one other, about which there is no certainty as to whether it was the Caspian or the Aral Sea. One of these two was thus missing. Which it was can only be established through an examination of the river systems.

With regard to the Caspian Sea, three rivers flow into it from the north: the Volga, the Jaick (Ural) and the Emba. There are no rivers from the south. The Aral Sea has two rivers flowing into it: the Amu Darya (Oxus) from the south, the Sir Darya (Jaxartes) from the south-east. There are no rivers from the north. Since only one sea was known in this region of Asia, the two were often confused, with the result that all the rivers mentioned above were represented as flowing into one sea which looks from the north like the Caspian Sea, and from the south like the Aral Sea. Where does this mistake stem from?

190) His story is very well known: D. SINOR, *Les relations entre les Mongols et l'Europe jusqu'à la mort d'Arghoun et de Bela IV (Cahiers Hist. Mond., III, 1956-7, 42 with references)*; B. ALTANER, *Die Dominikaner-missionen des 13. Jahrhunderts, Breslauer Studien zur Hist. Theologie*, III, 1924, 152-5.

191) A. HERRMANN, *Gibt es noch ein Oxusproblem? (Peterm. Mitt., 76, 1930, 286-8)*; J. JUNGE, *Saka-Studien, Der Ferne Osten im Weltbilde der Antike (Klio. Beiheft XLI, N.F. Heft 28, 1939, 13-22)*; Fundamental for the "Oxusproblem" is A. HERRMANN, *Die alte Verbindung zwischen dem Oxus und dem Kaspischen Meer (Peterm. Mitt., 59, 2 1913, 70-75, map)*.

a. The ancients, both Herodotus and Strabo, already knew about the Araxes/Oxus as a river with many mouths, but the former believed that they flowed into a marsh, whilst the latter assumed that they went into the Arctic Ocean. Both agreed, however, that one of the mouths of this river flowed into the Caspian Sea and this mouth was known to ancient and medieval writers. The Oxus/Amu Darya therefore had two mouths, one in the north and the other in the west in the Caspian Sea.

Only by accepting this picture of the hydrography can we understand why the writers after Strabo did not know about the Aral Sea.¹⁹²⁾ Only this also explains why the Jaxartes was believed to flow into the Caspian Sea instead of into the Aral Sea. Since there was no doubt about the Volga river, and the Black Sea was too well known to be confused, an incorrect picture of the hydrography of this part of Eurasia was already established in ancient times. This included the idea of the Caspian Sea as the sea into which the Volga-Rha flowed from the north and the Oxus and the Jaxartes from the south.

This picture of the one sea situated to the east of the Black Sea, survived until the eighteenth century when these regions began to be explored by the Russians. We know of an expedition by Prince A. Beckovitch who, setting off from Astrakhan and relying on information given by the Uzbeks, searched in vain for an affluent of the Oxus from its mouth to its source (1714). Undeterred by this, he set off again with his army in 1717 to the place from which the Oxus was to be diverted to the west. The aim was to block the route of the river towards the Aral Sea and redirect it towards the Caspian. This expedition ended in the death of its leader and the defeat of his army at Chiva. How vital the problem of the Oxus was in Russia at this time is indicated by the fact that in the same year, 1717, Peter the Great in the presence of scholars from the Academy in Paris marked the old route of the Oxus on a map which is still preserved.¹⁹³⁾

All those efforts were not in vain. After the explorations of the Russian cartographers, and particularly the geologists, the Oxus problem was finally elucidated and the existence of several mouths of the river in the Caspian Sea in two periods of time, before the fifth century B.C. and between 1221 and 1575, recognized.¹⁹⁴⁾

b. There is another equally erroneous geographical concept which one has to bear in mind when discussing R.A. Skelton's theory about the origins of the Vinland Map, and indeed in the context of its examination in general. This concerns the question whether, in the minds of the ancient and medieval writers, the Caspian Sea was an inland sea or a

192) Instead of adducing the well known texts of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo and others we would rather repeat the warning of E.H. BUNBURY in his admirable *History of Ancient Geography*: "Nothing but the unwillingness of modern writers to admit that the ancients were unacquainted with so important a feature in the geography of Central Asia as the Sea of Aral could have led them to suppose it represented by the *Oxiana Palus* of Ptolemy..." vol. II, London 1879, 641).

193) A.S. DONELLY, *The Russian Conquest of Baskiria 1552-1740*. New Haven and London 1968, 39-41; S. BECKER, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia, Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*, Harvard U.P. 1968, 416 pp.

194) E. BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, London 1910, I, 22 note 35.

bay of the ocean. The first of these views is represented in Herodotus who claimed:

"The Caspian Sea is a part by itself and does not mingle with the other sea, for all that sea which the Greeks navigate, and the sea which is outside the Pillars of Hercules and is called the Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are in fact all one".¹⁹⁵⁾

This view disappeared for some time and only reappeared with Ptolemy.¹⁹⁶⁾ After that time it does not feature in medieval cosmography at all since the work of Ptolemy was inaccessible until 1478. Western cosmographers had a quite different view of the Caspian Sea, inherited from the ancient Greeks. It was the picture of the Caspian Sea as a bay of the Northern Ocean. It probably originated with Patrocles, Greek Governor of the eastern part of Alexander's Hellas (285-280). According to him the Oxus and Jaxartes flowed into the Caspian Sea, which was part of the northern Ocean and stretched to India.¹⁹⁷⁾ This concept was popularized by Strabo (63 B.C. - 19 A.D.): "The Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea is the gulf which bears in from the Ocean towards the south". E.H. Bunbury says about him: "So clearly indeed was this idea fixed in his mind that he describes the sea and the nations on its banks as they would present themselves to a person sailing in from the north".¹⁹⁸⁾

The Roman writers, namely Pliny and Pomponius Mela, and even more so their followers, were not in the position to change this view of the Caspian Sea and its basin. We have to acknowledge, however, that at least Pliny had some doubts about it when he wrote: *Mare Caspium ut angusto, ita longo etiam freto primum terras quasi fluvius irrumpit*.¹⁹⁹⁾ The Christian writers inherited this view of the Caspian Sea as a gulf of the Northern Ocean, as is seen in the works of Orosius, Cosmas the Monk²⁰⁰⁾ and Isidor of Seville. It was only refuted by William Rubruck who, in 1253, undertook a journey *ad partes orientales* on the orders of the French king. This is how he describes his great discovery:

"At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga... issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or sea, which of late they call the Hircan Sea... Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian sea... A man may trauel round about it in foure moneth. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe

195) Herodotus, I, 203. - E.H. WARMINGTON, *Greek Geography*, London & Toronto 1934, 111, 224; H. BERGER, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Leipzig 1903, 56-7.

196) Graphic representation by A. LIBAULT, *Histoire de la Cartographie*, Paris (1959), 9-20.

197) J. OLIVER THOMSON, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge U.P. 1948, 127; E.H. BUNBURY, *Ancient Geography*, I, 152; H. WOOD, *The Shores of the Lake of Aral*, London 1876, 140-5.

198) E.H. BUNBURY *Ancient Geography*, II, 283.

199) E.H. BUNBURY *Ancient Geography*, II, 363.

200) *Christiana Topographia*, II, 138, c. 545 (ed. Hakl. Soc. XCVIII, London 1897, VII, 138); *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Transl. and edited by Colonel Henry Yule, London 1866: "...and the fourth gulf enters from the north side of the earth further to the east, and is called the Caspian or Hircanian Sea" (vol. p. CLXVII, note IX).

comming for of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all sides with lande".²⁰¹⁾

Here we meet for the first time with the correct picture of the Caspian Sea as well as the river Volga. The Aral Sea, however, still remained unknown to W. Rubruck as it had to his predecessor Carpini.

c. The spread of Islam, the disappearance of the Roman provinces around the Black Sea, and the general weakening of the links between China and the West, did not help the spread of knowledge about the Caspian Sea. This is revealed in the works of fifteenth and sixteenth century cartographers who, even though they abandoned the view of the Caspian Sea as a gulf of the Northern Ocean, did not know about the existence of the Aral Sea; worse still, they added their own misconceptions to those already in existence. What is most strange is that this old and erroneous picture of Oxonia did not change even after the first journey for three centuries of a European to the Caspian Sea and from there to Persia. This journey was made by A. Jenkinson, the first Englishman to sail across the Caspian Sea and the first European to reach Bokhara since the Polo brothers (25 December 1558).²⁰²⁾ It is worth listening to what this ambassador of Elizabeth I to the court of Ivan the Terrible had to say about his journeys to the east of the Caspian Sea.²⁰³⁾

Reaching Astrakhan, A. Jenkinson sailed across the Caspian Sea to the Cape Tiuk Karagan, discovering on the way the rivers Jaick/Ural and the Emba. On leaving the sea he undertook a journey by caravan; he remarks: "we came into the gulphe of the Caspian Sea again" (1558).²⁰⁴⁾ This "again" proves that here we are confronted with an obvious error.²⁰⁵⁾ This "Caspian gulf" is simply Lake Sari-Kamish,²⁰⁶⁾ near the river Oxus, and there has been no doubt about this at least since 1886, for in that year the Hakluyt Society published Jenkinson's *Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*. This mistake generated others, as it can be seen from his statement:

"Note that in times past there did fal into this gulfe ye great riuier *Oxus*, which hath his springs in the mountaines of Paraponisus in India, and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another riuier called *Ardocke*, which runneth towards the North and consummeth himself in the ground passing vnder ground about 1.000 miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake *Kithay*".²⁰⁷⁾

201) *Libellus historicus: Joannis de Plano Carpini*. The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis. Ed. C.R. BEAZLEY, London 1903, 164, 170, 215.

202) J.A. WILLIAMSON, *The Ocean in English History*, Oxford 1941, 64-5. - E.G.R. TAYLOR, *Tudor Geography 1485-1583*, London 1930, 23, 30, 98, 103. - Same: John Dee and the Map of North-East Asia (*Imago Mundi*, XII, 1955, 103-6); M.B. GRAHAM MORTON, *The Jenkinson Story*, Glasgow 1962, 39-53, 62-85, map).

203) *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* by Anthony Jenkinson and other Englishmen (Hankl. Soc. LXXII-LXXVII, 1886).

204) *Early Voyages and Travels*, I, 67.

205) This error had long ago been noted and explained by A. HERRMANN, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 59, 2, 74-5, see map 14.

206) *Early Voyages and Travels*, Introduction vol. I, 68, note 1, p. XVIII, XX.

207) *Early Voyages and Travels*, vol. I, 68.

What strikes us as something completely new is the mention of the river "Ardocke" and the "lake of Kithay". If Jenkinson was not altogether mistaken, then according to a modern map the river by which he sailed out of Lake Sari Kamish was the old course of the Oxus, known as Kunia Darya, or the Caspian branch of the river Amu Darya, whilst the river Ardock, which he crossed, was the Taldyk or Talryk or the Aral branch of the same Amu Darya.

What are we, however, to make of his information that the Ardock flows a thousand miles to the north going underground for 500 miles?²⁰⁸⁾ What are we to conclude about the Lake Kithay since, considering the length of Ardock/Oxus, it cannot in any case be the Aral Sea? Apparently we have here a series of mistakes which Jenkinson himself was unable to unravel. Proof of this is to be found in his *Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio* of 1561. One glance at this map reveals that it does not correspond to the description of his journey to Russia and Persia in 1558.²⁰⁹⁾

The Oxus/Amu Darya, which he called in the map the river *Ougus*, is shown as flowing into a bay of the Caspian Sea, while the river Ardock appears as effluent from a very small lake. This completely contradicts the hydrography which he gives in his account of 1558.

There is an even greater discrepancy in the case of the Lake Kithay. This lake is in fact situated a great distance from Ardock and Oxus and the only river which flows into this lake is not the Ardock/Oxus but Jaxartes or Sir Darya.

The greatest mistake of all, however, is to show the river Ob as emerging from Lake Kithay and we can say this irrespective of the source from which Jenkinson derived this information.²¹⁰⁾

One can only wonder how the editors of his *Voyages*, while careful to point out the mistakes in his map, could nevertheless come to the conclusion that "on the whole, his map may be considered an original production far in advance of any that had up to that time appeared".²¹¹⁾

One can only regret the influence that Jenkinson's map was to have on later cartographers, including the greatest among them, namely,

208) "The 26. day of Nouember, wee departed from the town of *Vrgence* and hauing trauailed by the riuer *Osus* 100. mile we passed another great riuer called *Ardocke* ...This riuer *Ardocke* is great and very swift, falling out of the foresaid *Oxus*, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing vnder the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of *Kitay*, as I haue before declared..." (vol. I, 74). "These passages of Jenkinson's narrative have excited the most learned criticism from his time almost to the present day; hardly a geographer of eminence but has not tried to explain them" (vol. I, CXVI). "Purchas, the successor of Hakluyt, treats his remarks as a joke..." (Ibidem).

209) *Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio*, as Appendix to vol. I.

210) The editors try to explain this error pointing out to the fact that Wied, Gastaldo, and Herberstein place its sources in the *Kitaysko lacus* (Aral Sea), Jenkinson also makes it flow out of this lake, and leads his miraculous Ardok into it" (Vol. I. CXXVIII). But Jenkinson's map is against them.

211) Introduction, vol. I, CXLVIII. - The editors are pointing out that Jenkinson had neither during the first nor during the second travel (1561-2), sailed around the southern part of the Caspian Sea, "his map, therefore, published in 1561, and based only on his own observations made during his first voyage, gives a widely different idea of the extent and configuration of its coasts to their delineation on modern maps" (Introduction, vol. I, XVI).

Ortelius (1570), Blaeu (1663) and Hondius (1631).²¹²⁾ None of these knew of the Aral Sea and all show the Lake Kithay with the river Ob flowing out of it. It was only with the Russian expeditions in the eighteenth century that new knowledge about the Transcaspian area emerged. This is shown in the work of Philip Strahlenberg, namely in his map *Tartaria Magna*.²¹³⁾ There the Lake Kithay disappears, the Ob is shown in its correct position, as are the Volga, Jaick and Emba. The greatest novelty in this map, however, is the Aral Lake. It is too small in comparison to the Caspian Sea, it is incorrectly located and its outline does not correspond fully to reality, but the Caspian Sea is correctly aligned on the north-south Axis. On the other hand, here also the hydrography of the rivers flowing into the Aral Sea is not quite correct. The Amu Darya is still shown as the main branch of the Chesel-Darya which flows into the Caspian Sea and is joined to the Aral Sea by what appears to be three canals. The map shows also a hitherto unknown and unnamed connection between the Amu Darya and the Sir Darya.

Overall, this map comes much closer to the correct outlines of the Transcaspian area than all previous maps from Herodotus and Strabo to Ortelius, Mercator and Hondius.²¹⁴⁾

d. We have now to deal with the last problem: What is the relation between the hydrography, as it appears in the cartography from the fifth century B.C. to the eighteenth century, and Bianco's map and the Vinland Map, and how the editors of the Map explain the differences between them.

Let us begin with the rivers in the European section of the Vinland Map. In this section the Map shows five rivers, while Bianco shows in the west the Tanai, flowing from the country near *rosia* and proceeding correctly to the Sea of Azov. In the west Bianco also shows another river, undoubtedly the Danube, which flows into the Black Sea. His hydrography is therefore correct.

The Vinland Map shows two rivers in this area: one flowing from the *Rusij*; from the legend relating to the *Rusij* and from the name *Tanais* placed above it we could assume that it is the Don. Unfortunately, it does not flow into the Sea of Azov but directly into the Black Sea, and it enters it from the west. There is another river in the Vinland

212) *Early Explorations and Travels*, Introduction, vol. I, CXVII-CXVIII.

213) *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia, But more particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary*. By Mr. Philip John von STRAHLENBERG, London 1738. About the map he noted: "I could not bring the tenth of my Materials, into so narrow a Compass. But it is the Accuracy of a Map, which must make it valuable" (Preface, p. VIII).

214) Ph. Strahlenberg was undoubtedly aware of his responsibility for presenting to the world the geography of the Transoxonian part of Asia in a quite new light. In the Introduction to his work he declared: "I must not forget to mention with Respect to the Caspian Sea, that I have not only diligently consulted all the new Maps of it, and carefully perus'd the Relations communicated to me by Mr. Fabricius, who had been, with the Character of a public Minister, several times in Persia, and had procur'd very exact Intelligence of this Sea; but I have also got Informations myself, from those Persons, who were some Years ago, in Person, in the unfortunate Expedition of Alexander Beckewitz, on the East Side of the Caspian Sea, and afterwards return'd out of their captivity, from Turcomannia, and the Usbeck Tartary, to Russia; among whom were some Swedes and Germans, who gave me the best Account of it; and according to all these Relations, after having compar'd them together, I have plac'd the Caspian Sea, in this Map, and design'd it with all the Particularities they have remark'd" (c. XXXIII, p. 17, see p. 28).

Map which, if the model for the Map was Bianco's work, can only be the Danube. This river, however, in the Vinland Map, flows, together with the Tanais from the *Rusij* and goes not into the Black Sea but into the Aegean.

R.A. Skelton gives a different interpretation of these rivers. In his view, the river flowing out of *Rusij* is not the Tanais-Don but the Danube, a branch of which flows into the Aegean Sea. He adds:

"The lower course of the Danube is correctly drawn as falling into the Black Sea; but the copyist or compiler appears to have erroneously identified it with the Don (which debouches in the Sea of Azov), for the name *Tanais* is boldly written just above the river, with a legend about the Russians" (117, 129).

One can hardly agree with this interpretation because it is difficult to accept that the compiler of the Vinland Map, whoever he was, could have confused the Tanais-Don, a river known to all cartographers as marking the border between Europe and Asia, with the Danube, equally well known since ancient times. It would have been easier to confuse the Tanais with the Volga since the latter was unknown in the west, although neither Carpini nor Wilhelm Rubruck had made this mistake.²¹⁵ If we agree with R.A. Skelton that the hydrography of the Vinland Map represents at this point "a farrago which is in marked contrast with the relatively correct river pattern drawn in Central Europe by Bianco" (117), we must ask at the same time how the compiler of the Vinland Map, who, according to the editors lived close to the sources of the Danube, could have made so many mistakes? Why did the compiler of the Map, who followed his prototype closely with regard to western Europe, abandon his model at this point?

e. The hydrography of the Asiatic part of the Map presents an even greater difficulty. In this area Bianco represents a river flowing into the Caspian Sea from the north. Undoubtedly this is the Volga with its tributary Kama. In contrast to this we have in the Vinland Map an unnamed river which joins two seas together. One of them is the Polar Sea and here, at the mouth of the river, is the name *Tatartata fluvius* (legend 51).

The name *Tatartata* is unknown both to sources and maps. We may agree that this can be "a misreading of TR" but this is as far as we can go in agreement with the author, as his other explanation are not convincing.

Legend 11 says of this river:

"Rusij habent imperium contiguum ex parte orientis mogalorum tartarorum m.kan ex parte boreali habent mare frigidum et magnum flumen quod medium montium insularumque transit inter glacies borealis oceani progrediens".

215) R.A. SKELTON can point here to the expression of Benedict the Pole: "the great river Ethil, which the Russians call Volga and which is believed to be the Tanais" (The VM & TR, 130).

This is R.A. Skelton's comment on this passage:

"The account of the 'great river', which has no exact textual counterpart in TR, recalls that of the Tanais (Don)... as the 'eastern boundary of Russia, and takes its rise in the Maeotide fens, which extend to the ocean in the north. The river flows southward forming a great sea... before it reaches the Sea of Pontus. While the members of the Carpini mission, unaware of the existence of the Caspian (in its true position), supposed the Volga to flow into the Black Sea, Rubruck description of the course of the Don seems to contain the elements of the representation of the great river (*Tatartata fluvius*) in VM, extending from the Caspian to the northern ocean" (129).

Since at the end of this comment our author adds: "No direct debt of VM to Rubruck need however be inferred" we may ask why was it at all necessary to refer us to a chronicler who undoubtedly knew very well when he was speaking about the Don and when about the Volga, and whose information about the Volga cannot refer to the *magnum flumen* in legend 11, nor to *Tatartata fluvius* in legend 51. As if forgetting this argument, R.A. Skelton at a different point, in his comment on legend 51, says:

"The course of the river of the Tartars (sc. *Tatartata fluvius*) as depicted in VM, recalls Rubruck's statement... that the *Etilia* (i.e. Volga) flowed from Bulgaria Major, on the Middle Volga southward, "emptying into a certain lake or sea... called Sea of Sirsan".

Sirsan is, of course, a corrupted form of *Mare Hyrcanum* or the Caspian Sea (p. 135, legend 51).

This complicated interpretation does not result in the establishment of the only fact of real importance, namely, whether *magnum flumen* (leg. 11) and *Tatartata fluvius* (leg. 51) are the same river, and which of the rivers known to thirteenth century chroniclers it is.

To establish this requires an analysis of the relations of Carpini, Rubruck, Benedict the Pole and C. de Bridia on the one side, and of both legends on the other.

Legend 11 states three things:

1. Mongolia and the land of the Tartars constitute the eastern border of Russia - Rusij.

2. The northern border is formed by the *mare frigidum*, or the Northern Ocean.

3. The *magnum flumen* flows through the middle of the land of the Tartars *inter glacies borealis oceani*.

R.A. Skelton's comment on this legend reads: "This legend is based in general on the text of TR §§ 2.3". Now, this is a misunderstanding since the *Tartar Relation* does not mention *Rusij* at all. The crux of the matter lies in the meaning this term held for the compiler of the Map for the chroniclers. R.A. Skelton takes it to mean the Russians or Russia, or simply, according to the commonly used name — the later Muscovy. This *Russia-Rusij* could not have been known either to Carpini or to C. de Bridia simply because there was no Russia in 1247. What they knew was a "*Russiam*" which had Kiev as its capital and a population known as *Rutheni* (TR § 24.4,20). G.D. Painter's translation of *dominus Michael de maioribus Russiae ducibus* as "Michael, one of the Grand Dukes of

Russia" is a misunderstanding which both authors would have avoided if they had consulted H. Paszkiewicz's studies on this subject.²¹⁶⁾ All this indicates that both Carpini and C. de Bridia had in mind the *Kievan Russia* while the compiler of the Vinland Map in legend 11 is speaking about *Russia* as stretching to the Arctic Ocean. One must bear this in mind when considering the term *magnum flumen* from legend 11. Such a river occurs in the *Tartar Relation*:

Ipsi autem appelabant se Tartaros a fluvio magno et impetuoso qui transit terram eorum et dicitur Tatar (§ 3, p. 57).

The river which occurs in the *Tartar Relation* can only be the *Tartartata fluvius*, whose name the compiler of the Map placed at the mouth of *fluvii magni* and opposite the legend 53: *Terre non satis perscrutate posite sunt inter boreales glacies ab iisdem abdite*. Thus — *magnum flumen* (leg. 11), — *Tartartata fluvius* (leg. 51) — and *fluvium magnum et impetuosum* from Bridia — Carpini's account (§ 3) are the same river, but this is not the Volga and even less so the Don-Tanais. Which river is it then? It can only be that river which *medium montium insularumque transit inter glacies borealis oceani progrediens* (leg 11), or some north-Asiatic river in Siberia. Which one?

We have three to choose from: the Ob, the Yenisei, and the Lena.

The last two are out of the question because before the Russians could have reached these rivers they would have first to cross the Ob. As for the Ob, the Russians reached its mouths at the end of the sixteenth century. Obdar, or the area on both sides of these mouths, figures in the titles of Ivan the Terrible in 1567.²¹⁷⁾ Then in 1581 Yermak the Cossack reached the Irtish, the main tributary of the Ob, and founded at Sibir a new empire for the Tsar. The river Ob attracted the attention of the English and Steven Burrough was the first Englishman who attempted to find its mouth from the sea (1566). At the same time the English were searching for the route to Kithay-China via the Volga, through Persia and by the sea-route round Siberia. One of the results of these attempts was the already mentioned work of A. Jenkinson *Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio*.

How alien these countries were to the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth I in 1562 is shown by Jenkinson's map. It was Jenkinson who first

216) The author distinguished - "Rus'" from "Russia" (hence the adjective: "Rus'ian" instead of "Russian" (Mare Russiae, *Antemurale*, IX, 1965, 133, note 1). "The sense of this distinction appears in some languages. In Ukrainian there is *Rus'* with the derived adjective *rus'kii*, and *Rosiya* - *rosiis'kii*. The same differentiation exists in Polish, of *Rus'* and *ruski*, from *Rosja* and *rosyjski*. Contrary to this, in the chief languages of Western Europe — English, French and German — there exists only the name: *Russia*, *Russie* and *Russland*. It designates indiscriminately the Kievan State from the 10th to the 13th century, the Grand Duchy of Moscow from the 14th to the 17th century, the Empire of Peter the Great and of his successors from the 18th to the 20th century, as well as the Soviet State. This had led to many misconceptions in historical literature and to a great confusion of ideas" (*The Making of the Russian Nation*, London 1963, 15).

217) In The Privileges granted to the English merchants of that company - 22 9 1567: "We, great lord by the Grace of God... of all Russia, Vollodimar Mosco ...Emperor, and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land... Bellozer, Vdar, Obdar, Condine and lord of many other lands and of all the North Partes..." (*Early Voyages and Travels*, II, 228-30). A. Jenkinson called Ivan "Emperor of Muscouia" (*Ibidem*, 236).

showed the Sir Darya as flowing not into the Aral Sea but into the non-existent *Kitaya lacus*. It was also Jenkinson who showed the Ob as flowing out of this lake into *mare Septentrionale*. This geographical conception of the east, in which a link between the Caspian/Aral Seas and the Arctic Ocean began to emerge, was adopted by such influential cartographers of the sixteenth century as Ortelius, Mercator, John Balgrave and Hondius.

The ignorance of these European cartographers with regard to *Tartaria* is revealed by the way in which they dealt with Jenkinson's map.²¹⁸⁾ Ortelius produced it (fol. 46) as an illustration to the chapter about Muscovy, whilst his map accompanying the chapter *Tartaria siue Magni Chami Imperium* (fol. 47) shows both rivers, the Amu Darya and Sir Darya, flowing into the Caspian/Aral Sea. Lake Kitay is also featured with the river Ob flowing out of it, but without the Sir Darya doing so. A similar hydrography is shown in the introductory map *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.²¹⁹⁾

As for Mercator, he adopts the Lake Kitay with the river Ob flowing out of it and introduces a river *Sur flu(vius)* flowing into it. This cartographer has, however, one innovation which was unknown to Ortelius and Hondius²²⁰⁾ and which contains an important piece of information about the hydrography of this area. At the mouth of the river Ob, Mercator shows 11 or 12 islands and a legend to which we attach a particular importance:

*Per hunc sinum mare Caspium erumpere crediderunt veteres diuersi.*²²¹⁾

It is clear from this statement that:

1. In Mercator's view, what was referred to in the old maps as Caspian 'kolpos' or 'sinus', is the Ob — not the Volga.
2. One glance at the maps of Jenkinson, Ortelius, Mercator and Hondius, makes one realize that the Ob best suits the expression *magnum flumen*, even when compared with the Volga.
3. The Ob is really flowing into *medium insularum... inter glacies borealis oceani* (leg. 11).

218) We are told of the most eminent of them: "Mercator's chart was suitable for the western thrust of European civilization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but presented a completely inadequate concept of the polar region" (L.M. GOULD, *The Polar Regions in their Relation to Human Affairs. Brown Mem. Lectures. Ser. IV. The Amer. Geogr. Society, N. York 1958, 8).*

219) TOT Edition 1964.

220) The Description of Tartaria or the Empire of the Grand Cham in Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius Atlas or a *Geographicke Description of the World*, Amsterdam 1636 (TOT, IV, 3, Amsterdam 1968, vol. II 413-4). Map TARTARIA. In the corner: *Jodocus Hondius lectori salutem. In hac Tartariae descriptione omnem adhibuimus diligentiam ut regiones nuper ab Anglis vel a Belgis aliisve detectae suo quaque loco haberentur, quamvis mihi ipsi non satisfecerim, quis enim vastum illud et incognitum regnum vere describet? at ut possimus dum ut volumus non licet. usque dum melius quoddam...*"

221) A.E. NORDENSKIÖLD, Facsimile Atlas, fig. 60, p. 95. - The isles can be seen on his world map published by E.G.R. TAYLOR, John Dee and the Map of North-East Asia (*Imago Mundi* XII, 104-5).

The conclusion from this is that: a) the *fluvijs magnus et impetuosus* which the Tartars described to John de Plano Carpini (§ 3, p. 57), b) the *Tatartata fluvijs* in the Vinland Map (leg. 51) and c) *magnum flumen* of the legend 11 — are the same river, the Ob. The compiler of the Map deduced it from the *Tartar Relation*, and above all from the cartography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly from Mercator's map and the maps deriving from it. This is understandable, when one considers the view of E.G.R. Taylor that "all the discussions after 1569 are influenced by Mercator's great map, and that in Ortelius' *Theatrum* of 1570".²²²⁾ Thus the hydrography of the north-eastern sector of Asia in the Vinland Map has nothing in common with Bianco's prototype, or with any other map which could have served as a model for both of these.

g. Further evidence for this is provided by two other Asiatic rivers, — the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Both of them were well known from the maps of Herodotus to Strahlenberg. Here, however, we are concerned only with how these two rivers figure in the hydrography of Bianco's map and of the Vinland Map.

Bianco's map shows four rivers which flow from *paradiso terrestre* to the west.²²³⁾ Of these four rivers, two turn to the south, and we are not concerned with them here. Of the remaining two, one, namely the Jaxartes, runs to the north and flows into the Caspian Sea not far from the mouth of the Volga; the other, namely the Oxus, flows from the south into the same sea almost opposite the first.

The Vinland Map does not show an "earthly paradise", it shows only two rivers, both of them flowing into the Caspian Sea — the Jaxartes from the east, the Oxus from the south — both of them opposite the Volga. If we add to these hydrographical differences the fact that also the outlines of the Caspian Sea in both maps are different, then we have a number of contradictions which exclude the possibility of a close cartographic relation between Bianco's map and the Vinland Map.

How does R.A. Skelton account for this contradiction?

As for *paradiso terrestre*, he says:

"Whatever view we may have formed of our mapmaker's independence of judgment in the parts of his work so far analysed, it is a striking fact — and one which perhaps does credit to this realism — that, in order to admit into his drawing of the Far East a representation derived from a new source under his hand, he has gone so far as to jettison the Earthly Paradise from the design" (120).

In a note he adds: "This innovation would be even more remarkable if the cartographer was a religious". Certainly so, and all we know suggests that the compiler of the Map was indeed a religious, and we recognize that he must have overcome some religious scruples to discard the idea of the Earthly Paradise. The time came, however, when faith

222) E.G.R. TAYLOR, *Tudor Geography 1485-1583*, London 1930, 102.

223) These are: the Euphrat, Tigris, Gehon, Phison (Lars Ivar RINGBOM, *Graltempel und Paradies (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, del 73, Stockholm 1951; same *Das Irdische Paradies*, 251-65, 259, 266-7. - A. GABRIEL, *Marco Polo in Persien*, Wien 1963, 92.

in the Earthly Paradise had to be replaced by knowledge. The earliest in which this could have taken place was after the arrival of missionaries in Cathay and their attempts at a cartography of China and the Far East in general. This was achieved when M. Ricci completed his great map of China (1602) and when this and similar maps became available in the west. The need then arose either to place the paradise in some other continent, or to abandon it altogether. The compiler of the Vinland Map chose the second issue — he excluded the paradise from his cosmology. It was not therefore "realism", even if it was an innovation. It was simply better knowledge than that possessed by any cleric in Basle about 1440.

The same can be said about legend 30 which concerns Prester John. His realm was placed sometimes in Asia, sometimes in Africa.²²⁴⁾ The compiler of the Vinland Map, in contrast to Carpini and C. de Bridia,²²⁵⁾ places it in Africa, G. D. Painter, on this account, accuses the compiler of showing "a strikingly unscientific disregard for TR as an objective source of information" (243-5, 131). The compiler of the Map disregarded all information about Prester John's kingdom in Asia, because only Africa, as an unexplored and unknown continent, remained, after the discovery of China in the sixteenth century, as a possibility for its location.²²⁶⁾

Returning to the question of the rivers, R.A. Skelton notices that they had disappeared from the Vinland Map, for it contains only "two truncated rivers entering the Caspian from the east and south respectively" (121). He sees the reasons for these changes in the Vinland Map in "its author's modification of his prototype... in the east by the interpolation of the Sea of the Tartars" which in turn "has effected the distribution of place-names in the Vinland Map and its delineation of the hydrography" (121).

224) R.A. SKELTON gives a list of works on this subject, the best among them is: Sir E. Denison Ross, *Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia (Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages)*. Edited by A.P. Newton, London 1926, 174-94). See also G.H.T. KIMBLE, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, London 1938, 128-35, and L. OLSCHKI, *Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes (Hist. Ztschr., 144, 1931, 1-14)*.

225) The VM & TR, § 17, p. 69.

226) Legend 30 and § 17 of the *Tartar Relation* require further investigation. Meanwhile it will suffice to say that there were diplomatic missions to Ethiopia in 1487 and 1520 and with this year the question of the Ethiopian Prester John "was settled once and for all". However, although by the middle of the sixteenth century such men as Alvarez and Almeida had written "more about Abyssinia and its history than was known of almost any Asiatic country at the period", "the lack of recognition that their labours received still left Western Europe in ignorance of the facts, and it was not until the visit of the British traveller Bruce in the eighteenth century that the curtain was fully lifted from Prester John's Ethiopian kingdom" (E.D. Ross, *Prester John*, 194). As an example of the confusion about the mythical ruler we can adduce Ph.J. Strahlenberg who corrected many errors and criticized even the famous Nicolaus Witsen, and who after his return from Tartary wrote: "I have taken the Kingdoms of Thibet and Tanguth, where Dalai Lama, or Prester John, has his Residence" (*Hist. Geogr. Description*, 11-13). - On the return from the court of the Great Khan (1322-4) Odorico of Pordenone came to Tozan "which he referred to as the capital of the 'Empire of Prester John'. J. MacGREGOR says that the "imaginative Franciscan was perhaps the last European chronicler to have placed the lands of Prester John in Asia". "A Treatise written by the Italian Giovanni da Carignano makes an imaginative case for Prester John being an Abyssinian, and thereafter the search for this Christian king's traces seems to centre on that ancient Christian nation in Africa" (*Tibet. A. Chronicle of Exploration*, London 1970, 19).

We reject this interpretation, just as we rejected his explanations concerning *Magnum mare Tartarorum*, and any dependence of the Vinland Map on a prototype with regard to its hydrography. We would like to draw the author's attention to the outline of the Caspian Sea and both rivers in maps of Ortelius, Mercator and Hondius and we recommend the reader to compare these with their counterparts in the Vinland Map. The similarity is so striking that it compels us to seek a model for the hydrography of the Caspian Sea and its drainage area in the Vinland Map among the works of the above mentioned cartographers and other similar works. The discrepancy between these works and Bianco's map is as great as their similarity to the outlines of the Aral/Caspian Sea and the two rivers which flow into it on the Vinland Map.

With this I close my remarks about the Oxus problem. It will cease to be a problem if we accept that its true context is that of Renaissance cartography, and that it is the earliest time at which the Vinland Map could have originated.

General remarks.

A critical analysis of the legends and nomenclature in Asia brought us to the conclusion that the cartography of this part of the Map was not an invention of the compiler of the Map, as is claimed by R.A. Skelton, but represents a cartographical description based upon knowledge of a much later date than the fifteenth century. This knowledge, with regard to the Asiatic part of the 'New World', is so original and new, even in comparison with the Atlantic part of the Map, that the "Vinland Map" could equally well be named "Cipangu Map" or "Japan Map". As far as I know Armando Cortesão was the first to think of such a title.²²⁷⁾

²²⁷⁾ "...det ældste kort med gengivelse af Japan" (Ib. R. KEJLBO, *Vinlandskortet*, 122). "If the map is genuine, if it was indeed drawn in its entirety around 1440, it seems to me that it should have been proclaimed as the Greenland Map, not the Vinland Map" (M.A. MUSMANNO, *Columbus was first*, 36).

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

We have presented here R.A. Skelton's theory about the origin of the Vinland Map, we have discussed the views of both the supporters and the opponents of the Map's authenticity. What are our general conclusions?

David B. Quinn has asserted that the final verdict about the Map will depend on two factors: first, whether the view that there existed in the North "a moderately advanced school of navigational techniques and cartography" is defensible, and secondly, whether the technical arguments in favour of the Map's authenticity are valid.

1. With regard to the first, there has been so far only one author, R. Morcken, who had afforded proofs that there had existed, in Norway, a nautical culture which could have made possible such a cartographical document as our Map. From this assertion there is, however, a long way to the conclusion, that a cartographical "prototype" of the Vinland Map could have originated in Greenland or Iceland. The problem is not only Vinland and Greenland, but also the as yet unsolved problem of the Asiatic part of the Map.

2. Even less satisfactory are the "technical" arguments which have been put forward with regard to the physical state of the Yale manuscripts. At the moment the whole of the paleographical data, except that concerning the paper, is invalid.

3. As for the "internal evidence" we cannot today accept the position taken by Arthur Davies who, accepting the paleographical evidence as valid, posed the question: "...how these cartographical conclusions can be reconciled with the paleographical evidence".

There is, in fact, no need to reconcile the contradictions as there are none between cartographical and paleographical analyses. So long as scientific evidence in favour of the Map's authenticity is not available, we cannot consider the Vinland Map to be actually that what its editors make it out to be — "the oldest surviving map of the American lands". On the other hand it is neither that, what G. Caraci declared as: *Il falso del secolo*. What then does the Map represent? The present writer will try at another place to prove that the Vinland Map belongs to the history of modern missions and can be regarded as a monument "*de propaganda fide*".

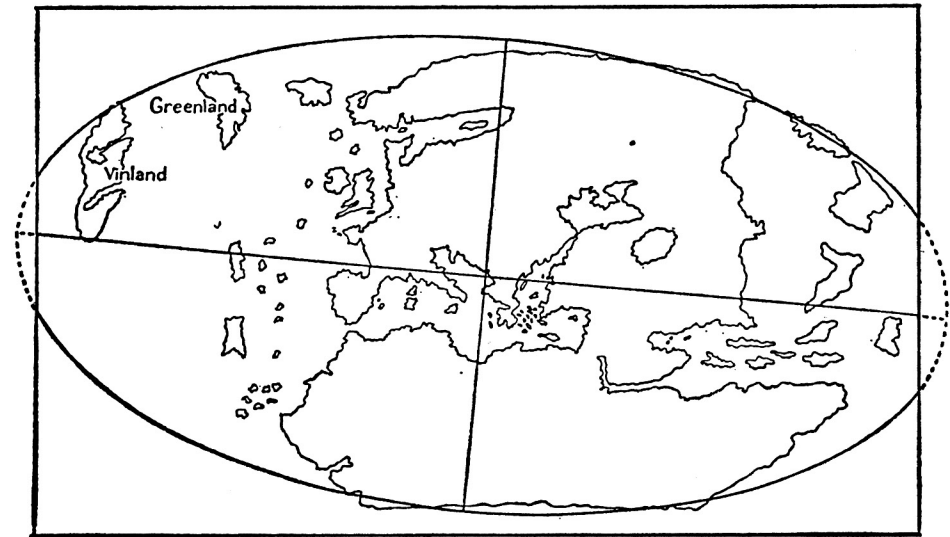


Fig. 1. Outline of the Vinland Map within an ellipse.

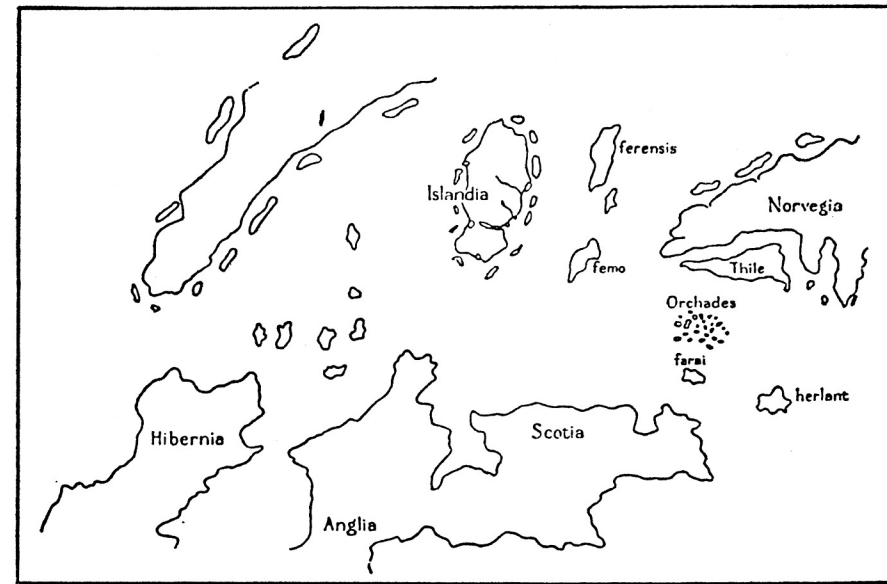


Fig. 3. Outline of portion of 'Tabula regionum septentrionalium', c. 1460 (Nordenskiöld, Plate XXX).

Fig. 2. The Bianco Map, 1436, with an indication of the differences on the Vinland Map.

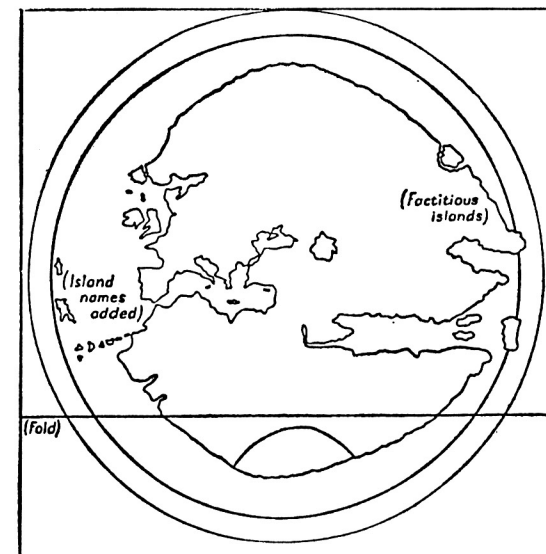


Fig. 4. (a) Outline of Islandia on Fig. 3, with ring of islands omitted, and Greenland and Vinland from the Vinland Map.
(b) Unnamed island in North Atlantic on Stobnicza world map, 1512 (Nordenskiöld, Plate XXXIV).
(c) The Faeroes group drawn as a single island, from a modern map.

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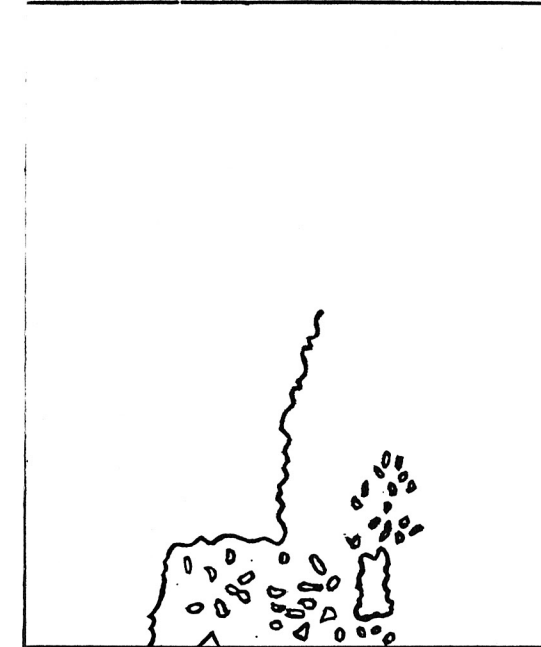
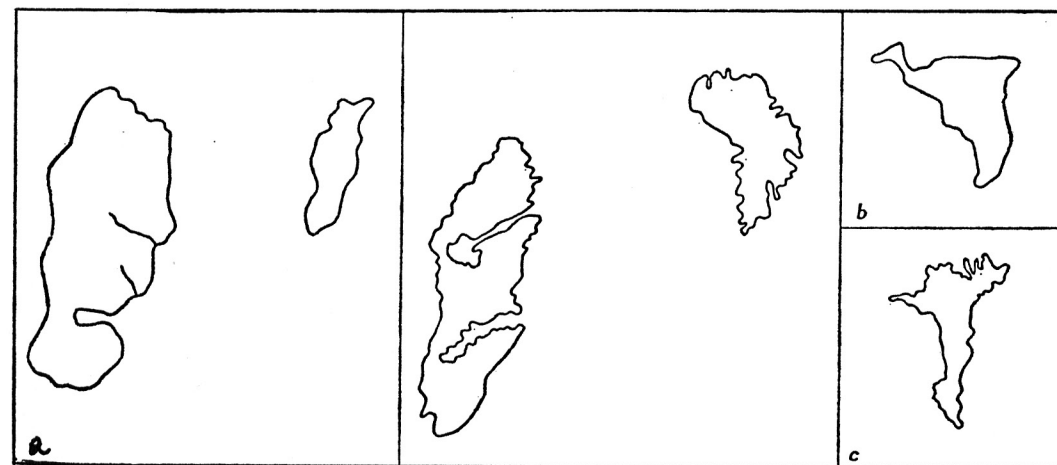


Fig. 5 a. Martin Behaim, 1492.

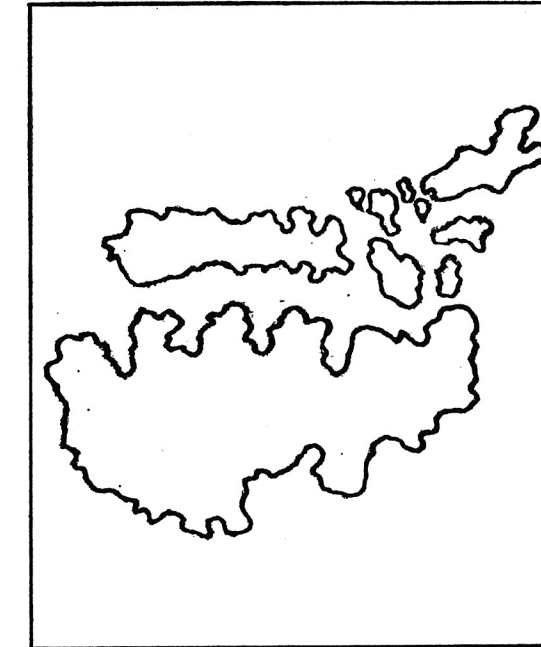


Fig. 5 b. Abraham Ortelius, 1570.

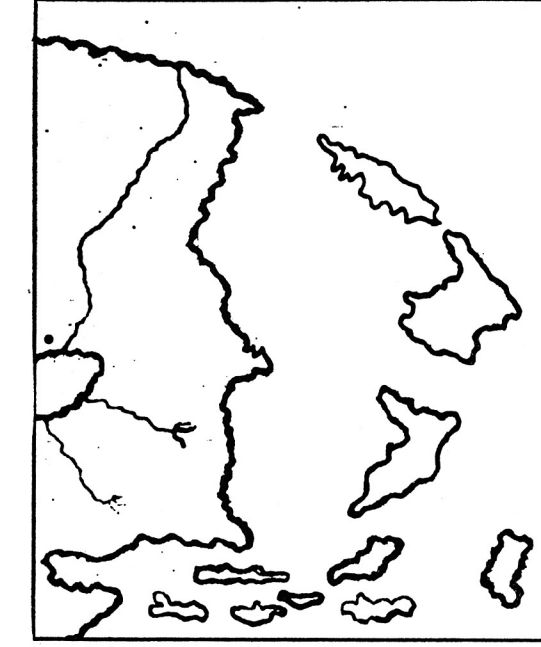


Fig. 5 e. The Vinland Map.



Fig. 5 f. Modern Map.

Fig. 5 c. Matteo Ricci, S.J. 1602.



Fig. 5 d. João Teixeira Albernaz I, 1649.

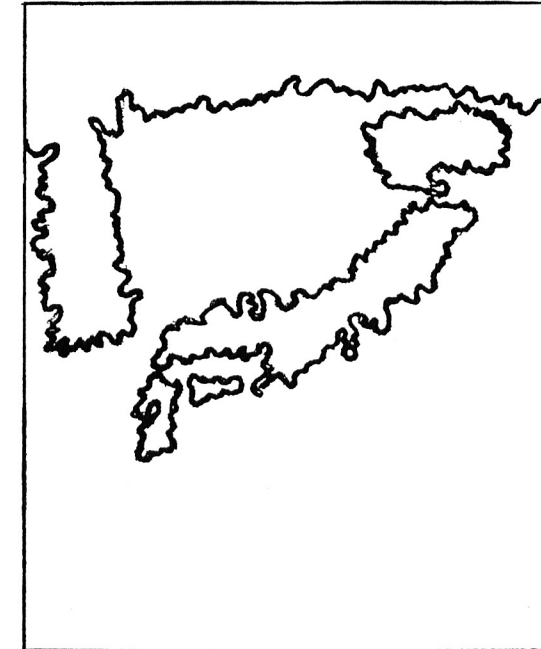


Fig. 5.
Outline of Japan on World Maps.

Fig. 5 a, 5 c & 5 d: Reprod. from *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* por Armando Cortesão e Avelino Teixeira da Mota. Vol. V, Lisboa 1960. Japan pp. 170-175, tabulae 176-177, fig. 3, 40 & 50.

Fig. 5 b: Reprod. from Abraham Ortelius *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp 1570. Map: *Tartariae sive Magni Chami Regni typus*. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, ser. I, vol. III, pp. 47-8. Amsterdam 1964.

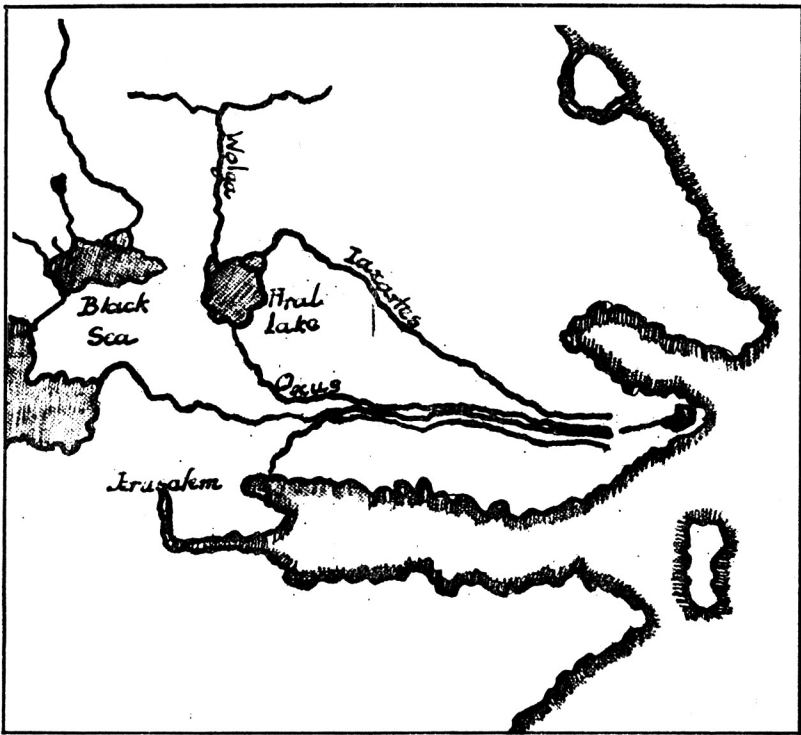


Fig. 6 a.



Fig. 6 b.

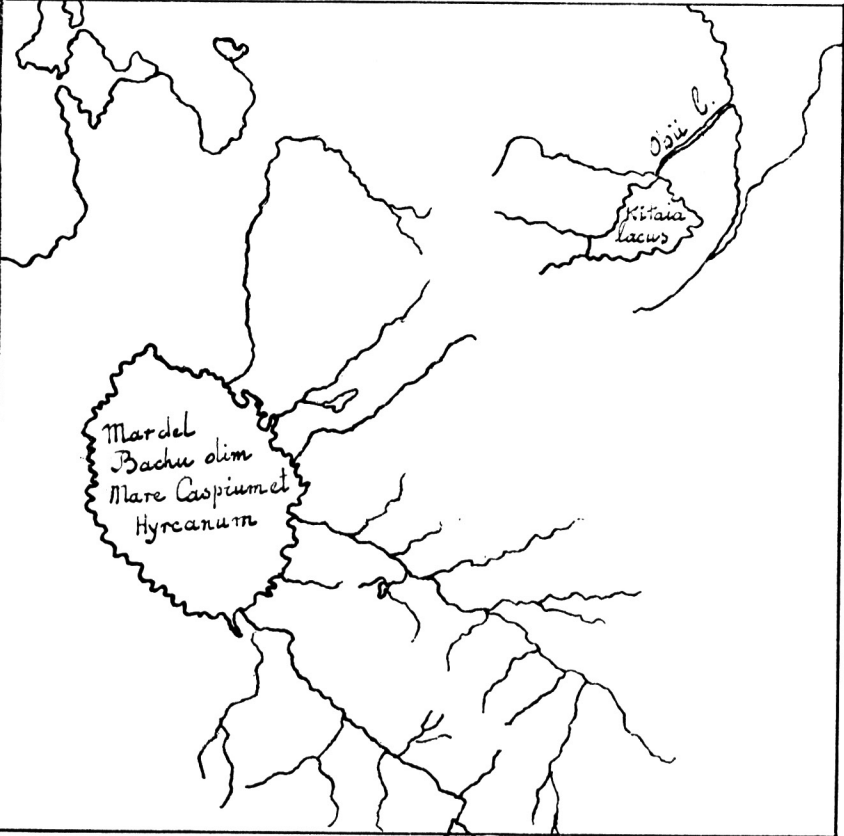


Fig. 6 c.



Fig. 6 d.

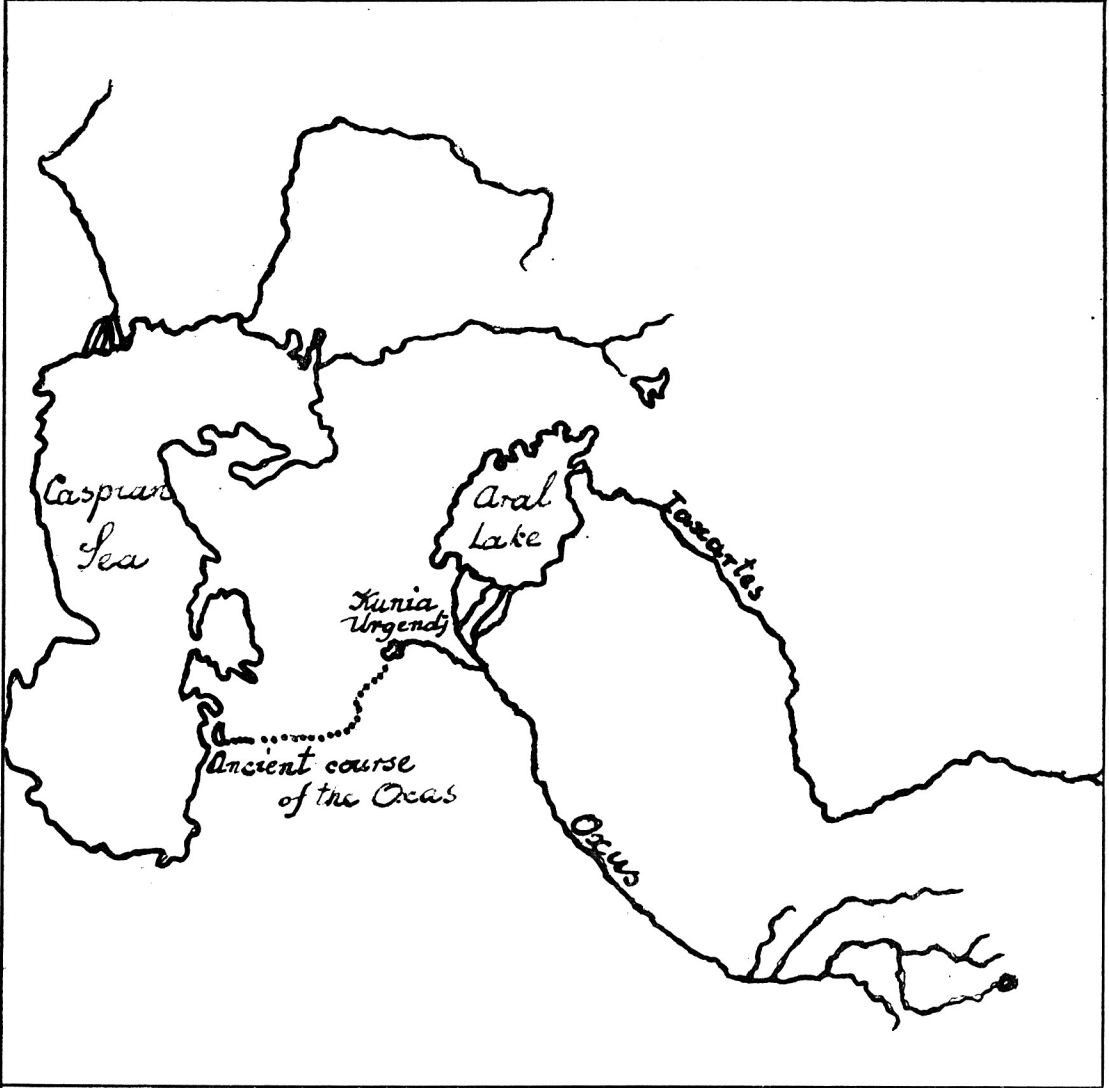


Fig. 6 e.

Fig. 6.
The Oxus Problem.

The Aral (Caspian) Sea, the Amu-Daria (Oxus), an the Syr-Daria (Iaxartes) on the World Maps.

6 a. World Map in the Atlas of Andrea Bianco, 1436.
Der Atlas des Andrea Bianco vom Jahre 1436 in zehn Tafeln.
Vollständig hrsg. M. Münster und mit einem Vorwort versehen
von O. Peschel, Venedig 1869.

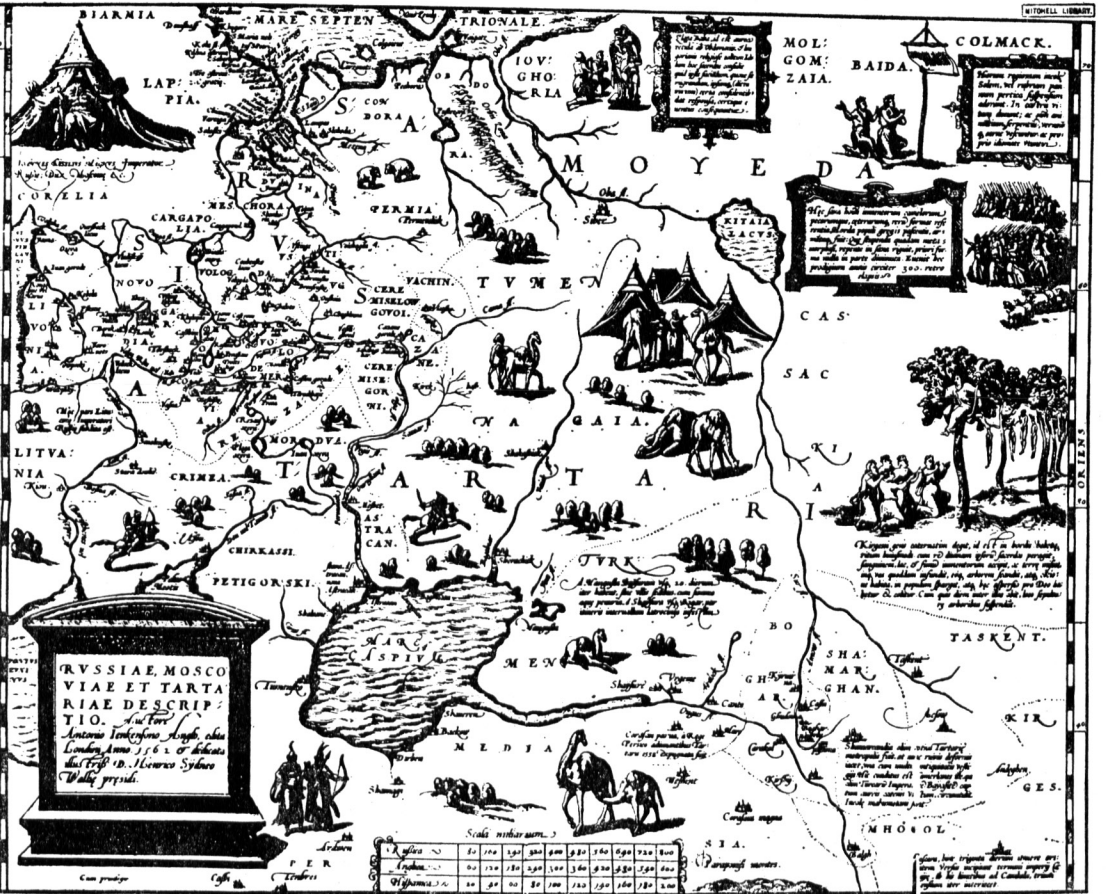
6 b. Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp 1570: Asiae Nova Descriptio, 3-4, 47-8.
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, ser. I, vol. III, Amsterdam 1964.

6 c. Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius, 1636.
Asia recens summa cura delineata. Auctore Henr. Hondio 1631.
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, ser. 4, vol. 3, Amsterdam 1968, vol. 2,
map 401-2.

6 d. William Blaeu, 1663.
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, vol. XI, 1, Amsterdam 1968: Asia
noviter delineata Auctore Guiljelmo Blaeuw.
Tartaria sive Magni Chami Imperium.

6 e. Modern Map.

Fig. 7. A. Jenkinson, Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio, 1562.
Repr. by Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp 1570.



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I would like to express my very sincere gratitude to these authors and institutions who were kind enough to send me their publications (their names are marked by an asterisk). I am particularly indebted to the Yale University Press and the American Geographical Society for allowing me to use copyright material from their publications. Finally, I wish to thank the Glasgow University Library staff for their efficient and valuable services.

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SZCZEPAN K. ZIMMER
(LOS ANGELES)

CRACOW'S FIRST PRINTING PRESS

The earliest information available concerning incunabula printed in Cracow dates from the year 1795. Michael Denis, a renowned bibliographer and director of the Imperial Library in Vienna (The K.K. Hofbibliothek) reports: "Already in the years 1470-74 some travelling printer produced in Cracow a printed copy of the 'Explanatio in Psalterium' by Cardinal John de Turrecremata, as can be indicated by the words — Cracis Impressa".¹⁾

Two years later Denis gave the first description of this print which he had obtained in the interim from Henry Godfried Bretschneider, a librarian of the Lwów Academy: "The introduction ends on the first page of the second leaf. The last page has 29 lines and the notation: 'Johannis de turre cremata Cardinalis sancti Sixti vulgariter nuncupati explanatio in psalterium finit. Cracis impressa'. Thus in Cracow about 1470-73, gothic type, majuscule, which was heavy and resembled that of Gunther Zainer of Augsburg".²⁾

From this description two important facts are revealed. The first is implied by two words of the Colophon³⁾ — namely "Cracis impressa", establishing Cracow as the place of the print. The second is disclosed by Denis' studies and determines the date of the first print, the years 1470-74. Attention was also focused on the character of the type.

The latter remark characterizing the type as being similar to that of Zainer, defined by Haebler as form M-15⁴⁾ gave rise to unexpected polemics regarding the printer. Georg Wilhelm Zapf was the first to submit a hypothesis regarding the identity of the printer. Under the influence of Denis and another famous bibliographer, Georg Wilhelm

1) Michael DENIS (1729-1800): *Einleitung in die Bücherkunde*. Wien 1795, 2nd ed. v. I, p. 126: "schon zwischen den Jahren 1470-74 ein reisender Drucker des Card. Joh. de Turrecremata Explanatio in Psalterium laut der Unterschrift Cracis impressa zu Krakau ausgefertigt hat".

2) Michael DENIS: *Lesefrüchte* Wien 1797, v. II, p. 24-25. "Prefatio finit cum folii 2 pag. 1. Folium ultimum versum habet lineas 29 et dein: 'Johannis de turre cremata Cardinalis sancti Sixti vulgariter nuncupati explanatio in psalterium finit. Cracis impressa'. Ergo Cracoviae circa 1470-73. 'Char' goth. major, crassus qui Güntheri Zainer Augustini videtur".

3) Colophon, an inscription at the close of a book, used especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, indicating the title, author and information about the publication and printing of the book.

4) Konrad HAEBLER: Halle a/S 1905-10, *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke*, compiled 101 forms of the Capital M To facilitate the identification of incunabula.

Panzer, who firmly confirmed Denis' statement,⁵⁾ Zapf was led to believe that the first Cracow printer was Gunther Zainer, Gutenberg's pupil, who fled from Mainz following a civil war in 1462 between the Archbishop Dietrich of Isenburg and Adolph Prince of Nassau. He settled in Cracow and about 1465 printed the work of Cardinal Turrecremata — *Explanatio in Psalterium* with the type that was characteristic of his later prints in Augsburg.⁶⁾

Some German scholars were deeply fascinated by the similarity of the type and readily accepted Zapf's theory. Additional support was gained from the lack of knowledge of Zainer's whereabouts between 1462 and 1468 during which time he settled permanently in Augsburg. Additional confirmation was found in Panzer's studies ascertaining that the Colophon in one of the prints of John Haller, pioneer of Polish printing in the early XVI century, used the same form of the name of Cracow as the printer of Turrecremata "Cracco in the printing house of the famous John Haller".⁷⁾

Acceptance of the Zapf theory leads to an interesting conclusion: — a) Poland was one of the oldest centers of European printing. The fact that Zainer printed in 1465 in Cracow proves that the then Polish capital took sixth place after Mainz (1445), Bamberg (1457), Strasbourg (1458), Coln (1465) in Germany, and Subiaco in Italy (1462), among some 300 locations in which there were approximately 1500 printing establishments between 1445-1500. b) It was in Cracow, the capital of Poland, that Günther Zainer, known in the history of printing for his illustrated books, and one of the leading printers of the world, became master printer and printed his first book.

The majority of German scholars were, however, alarmed and immediately turned an about-face when it became evident that the acceptance of Zapf's theory gave Poland a favorable position in the history of world printing. Many articles appeared which aimed to set aside the implications of Zapf's theory. They stressed that: 1) the date of 1465 was too early for printing in Cracow; 2) Günther Zainer had never been in Poland; and 3) Turrecremata's *Explanatio in Psalterium* was not printed in Cracow because Cracis could not be identified with the name of the city of Cracow.

The first statement is without sound foundation, as there were no obstacles to the establishment of a printing press in 1465 in Cracow, the capital of one of the most powerful countries in Europe in those times, as well as a famous University center.

The second statement shows arbitrary inaccuracy. There is no evidence to support or deny the presence of Zainer in Cracow. Neither is there any testimony to prove that Zainer was Gutenberg's pupil or that he was a refugee from Mainz in 1462 due to a war which, according to all evidence, never took place. The only substantiated fact is that

5) Georg Wilhelm PANZER: *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD.* v. IX, p. 230 (1801) and v. XI, p. 319 (1803): "Cracoviae circa 1470-73 characteribus maioribus crasso qui Güntheri Zainer videtur".

6) Georg Wilhelm ZAPF: *Über eine alte und höchst seltene Ausgabe von Johannis de Turrecremata Explanatio in Psalterium.* Nurnberg 1803.

7) Georg Wilhelm PANZER: *op. cit.* vol VI. (1798) p. 481 /277, "Cracco in aedibus famati viri dni. Jo. Haller".

Zainer became a citizen of Strassburg in 1463 and there he apprenticed in the art of printing. There was nothing however, which stood in the way of his visiting Poland, especially Cracow in 1465, and printing a few books. To that city, thousands of Germans came each year, some in the pursuit of a livelihood, others for business purposes, and many for an education at the famous Cracow University.

The third statement is preposterous. With maniacal persistence, some scholars maintained that Cracis may mean Graz in Styria, or Greiz in Thuringia, or Crécy-en-Ponthieu in Picardy, or Grez in the Netherlands, but never Cracow, in spite of arguments afforded by Denis and Panzer. They did not want to accept additional proof to the effect that all humanistic scholars used the name Cracis to denote the city of Cracow. Neither did they intend to draw conclusions from the fact that the above-mentioned locations did not have printing shops during this time period, but that there was no doubt of one existing in Cracow between 1470-76. The whole spirit and a priori assumptions of these learned articles reflects the following conclusions: a) no printing shop existed during this time in Cracow; b) no printing of the *Turrecremata Explanatio* in *Psalterium* was done in Poland.

In turn, Polish scholars became interested in the matter. Being under the spell of Zapf's theory which was so favorable to Poland, they saw in Günther Zainer the printer of *Turrecremata* and basically accepted the year 1465 as the date of printing, fluctuating the date several years earlier or later.⁸⁾ However, conclusive evidence has been documented meantime, the work of Jerzy S. Bandtkie deserving special attention.⁹⁾ His findings enabled Karol Estreicher to examine and reappraise the problem. This young Polish scholar, who with the passing of years obtained the honor of being named the founder of Polish bibliography, published in 1867 a dissertation entitled "*Günther Zainer and Światopełk Fiol*" which became the basic source of knowledge on Polish incunabula. Analyzing all former theories, Estreicher singled out the following main issues: "1) Was the above mentioned book printed in Poland? 2) Does the word Cracis mean Cracow? 3) Does the date 1465 and even more so the years 1462 to 1468 seem probable, or rather should we accept the date of 1474, as given by Michael Denis? 4) and, finally, is Günther Zainer the printer as alleged?"¹⁰⁾

Penetrating research by Estreicher led this scholar to believe that Denis' statement was correct. He affirmed by way of conclusion: "I dismiss the date 1465, exclude Zainer, and state that the *Turrecremata* was printed by an unknown printer in Cracow... Being obliged to establish a date which would be nearest to the truth, I accept the year 1474 or 1475".¹¹⁾

He held the date 1465 to be unacceptable since the first print of this book appeared as late as 1470 in Rome at Ulrich Hahn. Zainer could not have printed the Cracow edition, because he never printed

8) Michał WISZNIEWSKI (1794-1865): *Historia literatury polskiej*. (History of Polish Literature) 1841. vol. III p. 80.

9) Jerzy Samuel BANDTKIE (1768-1835): *Historia drukarni w Królestwie Polskim*. (History of printing shops in the Polish Kingdom). Kraków 1926. vol. I p. 1 and 140-146.

10) Karol ESTREICHER (1827-1908): *Günther Zainer i Światopełk Fiol* (in *Biblioteka Warszawska*) 1867, p. 168.

11) Karol ESTREICHER: *op. cit.* p. 189.

Turrecremata's "Explanatio in Psalterium". There is no mention made of such a work in all known lists of his prints; moreover, in 1465 Zainer was in Strasbourg where he only apprenticed in printing.

According to Estreicher, the existence of a printing shop in Cracow can be substantiated by the Colophon which mentions Cracow. He also ascertained that the bulk of this print was to be found in Poland as is evidenced by the following notation: "Twenty-five copies are in Poland or originate from Poland. Only two copies of unknown provenience were found abroad — one copy was described by Zapf in Augsburg and the second copy bought for 880 Polish zlotys for the Munich Library... This leads to the unquestionable conclusion that this work was printed in Poland or for the needs of the Polish clergy".¹²⁾

As to the date of printing, Estreicher accepted the year 1474 as the beginning date of Cracow printing, just as did Denis. Substantiation was found in a notation made by the rubricator on two copies of Turrecremata. Joachim Lelewel was the first to cite this notation remarking that it was accomplished in red.¹³⁾ Later the same notation was cited by Teodor Wierzbowski in a slightly changed form.¹⁴⁾

Despite certain differences in the text, the same date, i.e. the year 1476, appears in both copies confirming the fact that the rubricator completed his work in the same year. The printing must have been produced a year or two earlier because the rubricator needed a lot of time to do his art work. This is explained thoroughly by Estreicher: "The color of the dye, the contents of the signature and the location of the signature in the end of the book most likely denote the date of final completion; only then, that is, when all the printing was completed, did the monk Andrew Crucifer, miniaturist and rubricator, paint the initials as well as the rubrics in red. This was the normal procedure for this time period. Since copying of manuscripts ceased to be the privilege and source of income of monasteries, the monks were engaged to complete prints by painting the initials and titles. It was an honorable, although laborious and time consuming occupation, especially when the letters were artistic and multi-colored. In order to perpetuate their work, the monks would indicate the date of completion".¹⁵⁾

Since some scholars doubted whether the date could be attributed to the rubricators and expressed the opinion that this was the date of purchase of the book, Estreicher explained that the notations regarding purchases were made in black ink with the price paid for the books and the word "purchased" stressed. They were usually placed on the inner side of the cover or on the pages preceding the text. Crucifers note uses the word "comparata"; it means to prepare, furnish, or get ready.

12) Karol ESTREICHER: *op. cit.* p. 169.

13) Joachim LELEWEL (1786-1861): *Bibliograficznych ksiąg dwoje*. (Bibliographical two volumes) 1823. v. I p. 38: "A. 1476. per fratrem Andream Cruciferum Monasterii Myechoviensis Ord. sancti sepulcri dominici Jerosolimitani degentis tunc temporis in Przeworsko sub regula S. Augustini condam Cantoris Chori ej. Monasterii Myechoviensis".

14) Teodor WIERZBOWSKI (1853-1923): *Bibliographia Polonica XV ac XVI ss.* Varsoviae 1891, v. II, nr. 803: "Et comparata per fratrem Andream Cruciferum Monasterij Myechoviensis Ordinis Sacrosancti Sepulcri dominici Jerosolimitani degentis tunc temporis in Przeworsko sub regula sancti Augustini condam cantoris chori eiusdem Monasterij Myechoviensis anno domini MCCCCLXXVI".

15) Karol ESTREICHER: *op. cit.* p. 175.

On the other hand, since what is questioned is the date and the year 1476, as indicated in the book, showing that the printing could not have been done later than that and most probably was done earlier, it seems pointless to argue whether the date denotes the purchase of the book or its rubrication: "In summing up I am led to believe that the mentioned print of *Turrecremata* was accomplished in Cracow after the year 1472, and before 1476; therefore Zapf's and Bandtkie's conclusions are incorrect; that the establishment of that date by our literary historians has no substantial foundation; and that the notation by Michael Denis, pointing to the date 1474 as the publishing date of this book, appears to be most exact".¹⁶⁾

Mentioned above are all the data so far known regarding the place and time of printing of *Turrecremata's Explanatio in Psalterium*. However, the question as to who the printer was, continued to stir the interest of scholars and a new person had to be found to fill the vacuum.

In 1910, Bolesław Ulanowski disclosed in the *Acta Officialia* of the Bishop's Court in Cracow under the date of February 7, 1476, a notation regarding a suit for alimony of "Marta from Czarna Wieś versus Caspar of Bavaria, printer presently residing in Cracow". This information was revealed for the first time by a Scandinavian scholar Isak Collijn, world famous expert in incunabula, who stated that the problem of the identity of the printer of *Turrecremata* in Cracow was thus finally solved.¹⁷⁾

Collijn identified the printer of *Turrecremata* as Caspar Hochfeder, a well-known German itinerant printer, on the basis of the following facts: 1) The Court notation describes the occupation of the defendant as being unreservedly impressor librorum-printer; 2) According to the history of incunabula there have existed only two printers under the name of Caspar, i.e. Caspar Elyan of Wrocław and Caspar Hochfeder of Bavaria; 3) The first resided in Wrocław, had a printing shop, and was a priest: "Caspar Elyan who was active in Wrocław in 1475 could not be taken into consideration on account of the date. His first dated work "Statuta Synodalia Vratislaviensia", was printed October 9, 1475. He was at the time a succentor in the Holy Cross Church in Breslau and two years later a canon of the Cathedral Church. One can thus assume that he was a Silesian by birth and his presence in Wrocław may be traced and confirmed to the year 1482".¹⁸⁾

16) Karol ESTREICHER: *op. cit.* p. 176.

17) Isak COLLIJN: *Der Drucker des Turrecremata in Krakau Caspar Hochfeder.* (in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*). v. 29, p. 159-161. 1212: "Als ich i. J. 1910 in Krakau verweilte, hatte Herr Prof. B. Ulanowski, der hochverdiene Generalsekretär der Krakauer Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Güte mich auf ein Dokument aufmerksam zu machen, das die Frage nach dem Drucker des *Turrecremata* endgültig löst. Im 2. Bande (1474-81) der *Acta Officialia* des Bischöflichen Konsistorialarchivs in Krakau findet sich nämlich S. 352, bei dem Jahre 1476 'die Mercurij vii februarij post festum sancte Dorothee' ein Aktenstück, betreffend einen Alimentations-prozess zwischen 'Caspar de Bavaria impressor librorum, nunc Cracovie morans et Martha mulier de Nygra villa'. Es unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel, dass dieser Caspar de Bavaria mit dem Drucker des *Turrecremata* identisch ist". p. 161.

18) Isak COLLIJN: *op. cit.* p. 161: "Caspar Elyan, der in Breslau um 1475 tätig war, kann trotz dieses Datum nicht in Betracht kommen. Sein erstes datiertes Werk, *Statuta synodalia Vratislaviensia*, ist am 9. October 1475 gedruckt. Er war damals Succentor an der Kreuzkirche zu Breslau, zwei Jahre später wurde er Domherr an der Kathedraalkirche ebendasselbst, so dass man wohl annehmen darf, dass er ein eingeborener Schlesier war; in Breslau kann er bis zum Jahre 1482 nachgewiesen werden". p. 161.

Caspar de Bavaria thus must be and could only be Caspar Hochfeder because he was closely linked with the city of Cracow, both in his love affairs and professionally. It is generally known that after his numerous adventures he, as an older man, came back to Cracow to take charge of a printing shop that belonged to Jan Haller in the years 1502-1505. He remained there till 1509. "Caspar de Bavaria was certainly not a priest and according to the date of the suit, lived in Cracow at the time when the first Breslau prints appeared. The identity of Caspar Hochfeder with the printer of Turrecremata can be further corroborated by the fact that Hochfeder actually, although much later, printed in Cracow again. The years 1502-1505 show the printing of books for Jan Haller with the name Caspar Hochfeder in the Colophon... During his first residence in Cracow Caspar must have been a reasonably young man; consequently there is nothing more natural than that he revisited the place where he started his printing practices and where he was familiar with conditions".¹⁹⁾

Collijn's statements appear to be well founded and the coincidence of the dates is particularly striking. Since the suit took place in 1476 and Hochfeder was sentenced to pay alimony to Marta, Hochfeder therefore must already have been in Poland in 1474. The latter date's establishment as the date of printing of the Turrecremata would appear to document beyond any doubt that the printer was Caspar de Bavaria as mentioned in the *Acta Advocatalia*. Collijn thought that Caspar de Bavaria was Caspar Hochfeder, who returned twenty-five years later to his youthful haunts. Muszkowski is of a different opinion, namely that the sins of the past would rather keep him away: "There could be some doubt whether he would desire indeed to return to the place where he might be pursued by the woman whose heart he had broken by his infidelity and where the constant danger of financial obligation would exist".²⁰⁾

Whether the memories of one's youthful affairs are pleasant or not is an individual choice and seems irrelevant to the problem — *de gustibus non est disputandum*. The question, however, is as to whether Caspar de Bavaria and Caspar Hochfeder are the same person. That the printer of the Turrecremata was Caspar there is no doubt, but whether this Caspar was Hochfeder still remains to be proved despite the fascinating arguments by Collijn. During this period, the authority of Collijn was so great that his theory was readily accepted by the majority of scholars, among them the German authority on incunabula, E. Voullième who states: "Caspar Hochfeder of Heiligbrunn is likely to be the printer

19) Isak COLLIJN: *op. cit.* p. 161: "Caspar de Bavaria war sicher kein Geistlicher und wohnte, nach seinem Prozesse zu urteilen, in Krakau zu der Zeit, wo die ersten Breslauer Drucke erschienen. Für die Identität Caspar Hochfeder's mit dem Drucker des Turrecremata spricht dagegen ganz besonders der Umstand, dass Hochfeder tatsächlich, obwohl viel später, in Krakau gedruckt hat. In den Jahren 1502-1505 finden sich hier Bücher, zum Teil für Johan Haller gedruckt, die den Namen des Caspar Hochfeder im Kolophon tragen... Bei seinem ersten Besuche in Krakau muss er also ein verhältnismässig junger Mann gewesen sein; nichts ist natürlicher, als dass er den Ort, wo er zuerst seinen Beruf ausgeübt hatte und wo er die Verhältnisse gut kannte, später wieder aufsuchte". p. 161.

20) Jan MUSZKOWSKI: *op. cit.* p. 35. *Początki drukarstwa w Krakowie. Stan badań i problematyka aktualna*. (The beginning of printing in Cracow. State of research and today problems) in *Prace Polonistyczne* 1951. seria VIII. p. 35.

Caspar de Bavaria, who in the middle 70's printed in Cracow with a type strikingly similar to the type 2 of Günther Zainer"²¹⁾

Within the twenty five years that followed Collijn's theory (1912), Hochfeder was considered as the unquestionable printer not only of Turrecremata but of all Cracow prints dating from 1473-1476 that were later discovered. The theory was supported by the great Polish scholar, Jan Ptaśnik, who found in the *Acta Advocatalia Cracoviensia* under the date of July 12, 1477, a second notation about Caspar the printer. He believed that the latter was Hochfeder.²²⁾

The statement to the effect that Hochfeder was the first printer in Poland was again confirmed in 1926 by Konrad Hoebler who, in his book "German Incunabula", discussed the characteristic type of Günther Zainer of Augsburg, copied by many: "But the Cracow printer of the Turrecremata, who is believed to be Caspar Hochfeder, used this type almost unaltered, though more condensed"²³⁾ Hoebler also gave a very good portrayal of this notable printer of Polish and German incunabula:

"In Caspar Hochfeder the passion for travelling which was peculiar to the German-master-printers was very strongly developed. He must have learned the art of printing rather early and very likely with Guenther Zainer in Augsburg, if as is generally believed, he is identical with the printer "Caspar de Bavaria" who in the seventies can be traced in the records of Cracow, where in 1474 he printed a Turrecremata with types that were very similar to Zainer's. He then disappears for a long time and appears again in 1491 in Nürnberg. In this place he owned a well equipped press that still existed in 1498. But his types are all of popular designs and have no original characteristics. The text type (type 1) is an Italianate type in the Basle style which may too have been copied from Koberger, whereas the heading type is of the "Pfauenfeder" style extensively used in Germany. Hochfeder's other types also, not only in Nürnberg, but also in Metz where he had settled in 1499, show the same character. But he did not stay long in Metz either and in 1502 he once more went to Cracow and from there came back to Metz about 1509, where he died in 1517".²⁴⁾

This evidence appears too simple for scholars, Polish especially. Therefore, a new hypothesis was propounded about the first printer and a new name was submitted. In 1933 Józef Seruga found in the municipal records of the city of Cracow five notations dated March 10, 12, and April 15, June 22 and July 21, 1477, with reference to a person whose name was established as Caspar Straube from Dresden or from Leipzig, that is from Saxony, and whose occupation was described as — Drucker.²⁵⁾ Assuming that Drucker meant printer, Seruga asserted on the basis of merely one notation that Straube was the printer of

21) Ernst H. VOULLIÈME: *Die deutschen Drucker des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 1922, 2nd ed. p. 130: "Kaspar Hochfeder aus Heiligbrunn ist wahrscheinlich der Drucker Caspar de Bavaria, der um die Mitte der siebziger Jahre mit einer der Günther Zainerschen Type 2 ausserordentlich ähnlichen Schrift in Krakau gearbeitet hat".

22) Joannes PTAŚNIK: "*Cracovia Impressorum XV et XVI SS*". (in *Monumenta Poloniae Typographica XV et XVI Saeculorum*, v. I, Leopoli: Sumptibus Institutii Ossoliniani, 1922) Source Material, p. 4, citing *Acta Officialatus Consistorii Cracoviensis*, Vol. XI. p. 352.

23) Konrad HOEBLER: *German Incunabula*, Trans. André Barbey (Munich: Weiss & Co., Antiquariat, 1927), p. 15.

24) Konrad HOEBLER: *op. cit.* p. 45.

25) Józef SERUGA: *Jan Haller, wydawca i drukarz krakowski (1467-1525)*, (Jan Haller. Cracow publisher and printer (1467-1525). Cracow, 1933. p. 86-89. "Caspar Straube von Dresden, Casper Drucker, Caspar Strawbe von Leypczke, Casper Straube".

and 1473 and were printed by Johannes Schuessler of Augsburg who came only second to Zainer in typographical mastery. It is known, on the other hand, that there was one or possibly two prints which came from the same printing shop and bore no date of publication. The undated edition must have been printed before May 6, 1472, since it reveals certain passages of the text to be misplaced, whereas in the dated editions, this was duly corrected. In describing the dated edition of 1472 (Hain 15696), the Catalogue of the British Museum states: "The misplacement of parts of Psalm 118 in Psalms 112 and 119 in the undated edition (1 B 5623) is here corrected".³²⁾

The Cracow printer used one of the undated editions as a pattern. Kamińska, by comparing different printings, arrived at the following conclusions: a) The 1470 edition by Hahn in Rome and all others based on it can be dismissed as having different titles and different contents of the foreword. Hahn's print is entitled "Expositio in Psalterium", and the foreword addressed to Pope Pius II begins: "Beatissimo patri et clementissimo domino..." Schuessler's editions are entitled: "Explanatio in Psalterium" and the first words of the preface are: "Ad sanctissimum ac beatissimum dominum..."; b) comparison of the text reveals that Hahn's is correct, whereas the first print of Turrecremata by Schuessler shows misplacements which were corrected in the dated edition of 1472 and 1473.

The Cracow print of Turrecremata has the same title and preface as Schuessler's print and includes the same misplacements as are characteristic of the first undated edition. Kamińska's precise analysis revealed other identical errors in both the Schuessler and Cracow editions. The errors in the latter editions, however, were far more numerous as a result of several reprints. Finally Kamińska reached the following conclusion: "The Cracow print of Turrecremata was based directly on the defective edition printed for the first time in Augsburg before 1472 by Johann Schuessler subsequent to the first correct Roman edition of 1470".³³⁾

IV. Kamińska's studies have contributed to the solution of still another problem, namely, the existence of the two variant texts of the *Explanatio*, as edited in Cracow. Bandtkie was the first to notice that there are differences between certain copies and tended to believe that two editions might have existed. Such an opinion was, however, disproved by Estreicher who correctly recognized two variants of the same edition: "Presumably there was no second edition, but missing sheets could have been reprinted".³⁴⁾

Discussion as to whether the texts were two separate editions or two variants of the same edition lasted for many years. It was further discussed which one of the two variants, variant A or variant B, was first printed and when; the paper used in printing the variants was closely analyzed; comparisons were made with other prints of this printing shop; and contemporary bindings were studied. Opinions were

32) *Catalogue of books printed in the XV century now in the British Museum. Part. II, 1912, p. 329.*

33) Anna LEWICKA-KAMIŃSKA: *op. cit.* p. 247.

34) Karol ESTREICHER: *op. cit.* p. 36.

voiced by Polkowski³⁵⁾ and Różycki³⁶⁾ whose contributions are highly valuable; Piekarski³⁷⁾ laid stress on the basic aspects of the problem and Kocowski³⁸⁾ exposed its ambiguity. Anna Lewicka-Kamińska compiled and summed up the whole problem: "Comparison of the two variants of the Cracow edition with that of Augsburg guarantees the following conclusions: the Cracow printer made the first print A on the basis of the Augsburg Turrecremata; later on, he reprinted quires 7-13 and combined them with the initial quires 1-6 and final quires 14-15 of print A, thus producing print variant B. Impressing variant B, the printer followed rather the lines of print variant A as used in his own work shop than that of the Augsburg edition. Proof of this is the mechanical omission in variant B of the whole 10th line, which was on page 73 recto of variant A. The text of the 10th line which in variant A consisted of a whole line, in the Augsburg edition is made up of only part of line eleven on page 66 recto. In this case such a mechanical error seems hardly probable".³⁹⁾ It was thus established beyond doubt that variant A was printed first and variant B later. The date affirmed for variant A by Kamińska was the year 1472-1474 and for variant B - 1475-1476.⁴⁰⁾

V. Wide research has finally made it possible to single out prints produced in the first Polish print shop as well as their chronological order. The disproportionate number of scholarly works dealing with the different prints is striking. Scholars dwelled upon the print of Turrecremata repeatedly, disregarding all other prints that could furnish equally valuable information on the printer and the printing shop. Bronisław Kocowski's "Silesian copies of Turrecremata's *Explanatio in Psalterium* and Platea's *Opus Restitutionum* in the Light of Comparative Studies" is a unique work in the way of comparative studies; in that it points out the value and necessity of a deeper and more profound investigation of all prints. Decades were spent in an attempt to discover the date when the printing shop was established. However, it was during this same time that the answer was hanging in a gold frame on the wall of the Jagellonian Library unnoticed by its many patrons.

Let us now devote some space to other prints produced by the Cracow printer. The first print was most likely not Turrecremata's *Explanatio in Psalterium*, but the Almanach of 1474 which, if actually printed in another year, was at least prepared in 1473 for print while the print itself was done in early 1474. The Almanach was discovered

35) Ignacy POLKOWSKI: "Jeszcze o dziele Jana Turrecrematy *Explanatio in Psalterium* jako o pierwszym druku krakowskim". (More about the work of Johannis de Turrecremata's *Explanatio in Psalterium* as the first Cracow print) in *Przegląd Bibliograficzno-Archeologiczny*. v. III. 1882. p. 250.

36) Karol RÓŻYCKI: *Die Inkunabeln des Druckers des Turrecremata in Krakau*, München. 1911.

37) Kazimierz PIEKARSKI: *W sprawie dwu wydań krakowskich Turrecrematy*. (On two Cracow editions of Turrecremata). *Exlibris*. 1920. v. III.

38) Bronisław KOCOWSKI: "Śląskie egzemplarze Turrecrematy '*Explanatio in Psalterium*' i Plateanusa '*Opus restitutionum*' w świetle badań porównawczych" (Silesian copies of Turrecremata's '*Explanatio in Psalterium*' and Platea's '*Opus restitutionum*' in the light of comparative studies) in *Roczniki Biblioteczne* vol. V. 1961. pp. 211-230.

39) Anna LEWICKA-KAMIŃSKA: *op. cit.* p. 239.

40) Anna LEWICKA-KAMIŃSKA: *op. cit.* p. 239.

pages look normal; for instance on leaf 23 recto, 116 recto; others are more or less worn out — leaf 1 recto, 3 recto, as one can see from the attached photographs. The ratio in the whole book is about 50/50.

If the imprints display some deficiencies due to worn out type, the setting remains as the best of all prints — straight edge lines, even spaces for capitals, distances between chapters, lines etc. The setting is superior to that in Platea variant B print which is supposed to be the best of all prints of the first Cracow printing shop. This acknowledges the fact that the printer acquired an improved skill through experience as is revealed by the technical advancements made in his last work.

The rubricator attempted to do his best and did not spare the red ink with a specific shade, but the initials, except for a few (leaf 3 recto, 116 recto), are less elaborate than Crucifer's in Platea's work.

The binding is not contemporary. Edges of leaves are covered with gold paint, but are poorly executed because very often this gold paint is spread over the pages. Water spots are also visible. Despite its deficiencies, the copy of Augustinus Aurelius in the British Museum is indeed impressionable. Nevertheless, the entire print should not be considered less than mediocre.

In 1880 Polkowski announced his discovery of another print in the Cracow Archdiocese Library produced with the same type as the *Explanatio* and the *Opuscula*; this was Franciscus de Platea's "*Opus restitutionum, usurarum et excommunicationum*". The print fails to bear any indication as to the location of its printing but nevertheless displays the date 1475, and the printer's device showing monograms I.H.C. and M., which is Jesus Christ and Mary placed on shields hanging on a broken branch.⁴⁸⁾

Although Polkowski, Różycki and others wrote papers on the newly discovered Cracow incunabulum, their work could hardly be regarded as a contribution to the subject, at least not until Birkenmayer proved by his meticulous comparative studies on the prints of the *Opus restitutionum*, that the direct master copy for the Cracow edition of the Platea was the edition printed in Venice, in 1472, by Bartolomeo of Cremona.⁴⁹⁾

The most valuable findings are, however, those of Piekarski and Kocowski, who based their study mainly on the paper used by the Cracow printer. It seems that the printer used twenty-two varieties of paper from which twenty-one were used in printing Platea's *Opus restitutionum*. Kocowski's conclusion is that the printer must have been in financial difficulties and bought paper as was needed and consumed the remnants. Studying the Wrocław copy of Platea's work thoroughly, Kocowski revealed that the print had also two variants. "None of the scholars have so far supposed that the Platea had also two variants; however, there is no doubt that the Wrocław copy is a variant both of the text as well as of the print. Thus it contains an additional text... and a different typographical layout of the end. The whole print contains 216 leaves, of which leaves 154 and 216 were blank. Actually, the last

48) Ignacy POLKOWSKI: *op. cit.*

49) A. BIRKENMAYER: "*Rodowód krakowskiego Plateana*. in *Studia nad książką poświęconą pamięci K. Piekarskiego*. (Genealogy of Cracow Platean. Studies on the book commemorating K. Piekarski.) *Książka w dawnej kulturze Polskiej* (The book in past Polish culture) Wrocław 1951, p. 211-221.

printed leaf is 215 recto and on it under the 18th line of the text appears in the center of the 19th line the word . FINIS . bounded by two dots".⁵⁰⁾

In the Wrocław copy, the word FINIS is followed by the date "Anno Nativitatis Domi Jesu. MCCCCLXXV". Under the date appears the printer's device and under it are two verses:

"Nemo velim damnet (Finis ē) Si pssa nō apta,
Character primus in arte pote Stoqz legi".⁵¹⁾

This is variant A of the print, characterized by an uneven imprint due to press failure. The printer, being aware of the shortcoming, ceased printing, repaired the press and resumed printing. He then placed the date after the word "Finis" and ended it with a printer's device. The variant B thus produced was placed for sale on the foreign market. The best sheets were taken out of the first variant and the explanation offered in the Wrocław edition were encircled. The printer placed the first variant A on the market in his own country. There exist some copies of variant A which lack any explanation of the inferior print.

The corrected copies of Platea were affirmed by Piekarski to be typographically the best.⁵²⁾ In 1478 two such copies were sent by the monks of the St. Bernard order in Cracow to their brother monasteries in Olomouc and Nysa. The binding of the Olomouc copy had as a lining the manuscripts of calendars from the years 1477 and 1478. Kocowski states: "If they belong to the St. Bernard monks of Cracow, this would be irrefutable proof, and a missing link in our chain of discussion that the monks were engaged in the oldest printing enterprise in Cracow".⁵³⁾

In reference to all the above discussions, emphasis should be placed upon more thorough studies of the *Opus Restitutionum*, *Usurarum et Excommunicationum* as the best typographical print of the first Cracow printing shop. Upon closer inspection of Platea's book in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, it appears that this incunabulum deserves more attention.

The Huntington catalogue description of the books is as follows: Cracow-Printer of Turrecremata (Caspar Hochfeder) - [Inc. ≠ 5066] 1475, Platea, Franciscus de, *Opus restitutionum, usurarum et excommunicationum*.

[216] 1. 2° (30½ cm) Pigskin over wooden boards

Cop. - Reich. 4763; BMC 3:807

Only dated book of 1st Cracow press.

Signatures a-b¹², c-v¹⁰, x-¹² = 216 leaves.

(154, blank and genuine; 216, blank and lacking)

Ms: 130 leaves of temporary ms. in double columns, theological treatises in several hands, bound in at end.

Stamp: Bundesdenkmalamt, Wien.

From Rosenbach, June 1925.

The binding must be of later production, not contemporary to the print. It fails to contain or reveal any content of special interest. Platea's book is bound together with 130 leaves of contemporary manuscripts as a pamphlet volume but without any title or table of

50) Bronisław Kocowski: *op. cit.* p. 226.

51) Bronisław Kocowski: *op. cit.* p. 226.

52) Kazimierz Piekarski: *op. cit.* p. 24.

53) Bronisław Kocowski: *op. cit.* p. 228.

by Augustine. Only a limited number of copies of each of these incunabula were found outside of the Polish historical boundaries.

Recent statistics on the holdings of incunabula from the first Cracow printing shop reveal 69 copies of which Polish libraries have 50 copies and foreign libraries 19; World War II losses were 17 copies. U.S.A. libraries have 2 copies: Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Platea, Franciscus de - *Opus restitutionum, usurarum et ex-communicationum*; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York - *Augustinus Aurelius, Opuscula*.

In order to give a complete picture of the first Polish prints, it is worthwhile mentioning a seemingly well grounded theory to the effect that Polish incunabula were printed under the auspices of the church. Karol Estreicher was the first to reflect: "Just as the monastery in Augsburg was involved in Schuessler's and Zainer's printings, so the most learned Order of Miechovit in Poland, which brought forth numerous copyists up to the time of the invention of printing, could be instrumental in importing a printer that would save them hardship in copying the works of Turrecremata, St. Augustine, and others for educational or clerical purposes. Crucifer could perform the rubrication as well as participate in the task of printing the book. There was nothing extraordinary in such participation of the clergy in printing activities. Many incunabula exist in which clergymen are signed as printers, just as they put their names as copyists in the past year".⁵⁴⁾

K. Różycki draws attention to notations in the copies of Platea (similar ones were found in copies of Turrecremata) which clearly indicate that the St. Bernard order at Stradom, Cracow, gave away these incunabula to other St. Bernard monasteries in Poland and abroad. He concludes that the brothers of the St. Bernard order in Cracow could be the initiators of the Cracow prints as well as their financial sponsors; moreover, the printing shop itself could be within the precincts of the monastery.⁵⁵⁾

Collijn advocates the same opinion: "Undoubtedly the most interesting are two notations inserted by the author in the copies of Platea to be found now in Olomouc and Nyssa, 'Hunc librum miserunt patres Cracovienses ex singulari caritate pro loco Olomucensi' and res. 'pro loco Nyssensi' (the book is donated by the Cracow Fathers with all their affection to the monastery of Olomouc and, respectively, to the monastery of Nyssa), both grants having occurred in the year 1478. This writer agrees with the author in regard to the identification of the Cracow Fathers with the Cracow Order of St. Benedict, leading one to suppose that in this monastery the first Polish printing shop was installed, with the help and under the management of a professional printer".⁵⁶⁾

54) Karol ESTREICHER: *op. cit.* p. 189-190.

55) K. RÓŻYCKI: *op. cit.* p. 46.

56) Isaak COLLIJNG "Interessant sind zweifellos die beiden vom Verf. angeführten Eintragungen in den Exemplaren von Platea, die sich in Olmütz und Neisse befinden, wo es heisst: Hunc librum miserunt patres Cracovienses ex singulari caritate pro loco Olomucensi und res. pro loco Nyssensi, beide im Jahre 1478. Ich bin auch der Meinung, dass der Verf. (asser) diese patres Cracovienses ganz richtig mit den Krakauer Benediktinern identifiziert hat und dass in ihrem Kloster die erste polnische Presse installiert sein konnte, jedoch mit Hilfe und unter Leitung eines Berufsdruckers" *op. cit.* p. 160.

Różycki's and Collijn's theories are very close and indicate the association of Polish incunabula with the Church. Moreover, these theories would to a great extent explain the lack of information or notations in the *Acta Municipalia* about printing shops, printers etc... If the latter were under the protection of the monasteries and therefore bound by Church jurisdiction, then the city authorities would have but very little to do with them, criminal cases excepted. The existence of a Cracow printer came to light unexpectedly therefore, as his name is found to appear in court files reporting alimony claims before the civil court.

The theory of Church protectorate over printing is also substantiated by the fact that this printing shop worked only and exclusively for the needs of the Church. Turrecremata's *Opus Restitutum* deals with Canon Law. Calendars were in those days compiled mostly for Church purposes indicating holydays and Saints' days with special emphasis placed on their regional character. In the Cracow calendar of 1474 mention is made for the first time of the names of Polish Saints, such as Saint Stanislaus and Saint Hedwig. There are no traces of any small prints, let alone lay books, and especially text books which would undoubtedly have been printed had the printing shop been a private enterprise owned by laymen.

Estreicher assumes that such prints were produced but they deteriorated and were destroyed from excessive use. This is his wishful thinking. No such theory can be accepted until evidence of their existence is obtained. As it is, the theory that the printing shop was under the auspices of the Church seems most likely to be true, although it too remains a hypothesis due to the lack of 100% evidence.

The theory gains additional support from Crucifer's notations which reveal such other characteristic aspects of the print as the performance of the rubrication by the monks. There is no doubt, however, that in Cracow there were lay rubricators that would have asserted their guild right to do the work had the printing shop been in the hands of laymen. It is noteworthy that Straube was a cleric, a fact which, though discarded by Polish scholars, is strongly underscored by expert Father Lenhart.

The institution of clerics was described by Lenhart as follows: "In the shops of our earliest fellow-printers, priests, monks, and clerics were employed. The clerics were married men in minor orders, who wore the tonsure and the cassock like priests and enjoyed legal exemptions and immunities also like priests. They could not be drafted for military service nor could they be arrested by the civil police. They were exempt from certain taxes".⁵⁷⁾

Straube as a cleric could be the manager of the printing shop which worked under the auspices and protection of the Church and where another Caspar worked as a printer in the establishment. Civil acts reveal little information on it and only when the alimony case is brought to court does the name of the printer come to light. It is characteristic that the case was held in the Bishop's court.

The problem of the relationship between the first printing shop and the Church needs thorough study. This would probably provide answers to many enigmatic questions and unveil several puzzles. Since the Church

57) John M. LENHART, R.O.F.M.: *op. cit.* p. VIII.

a marriage between Johan and Catherine,⁷⁾ sister of Sigismund Augustus, which took place in Wilno in October 1562 and was accompanied by certain political arrangements. The Duke lent 120.000 talers to his Polish brother-in-law and received as security seven Livonian castles.⁸⁾ Soon, however, Johan found it difficult to reconcile an independent Livonian policy with his duties as a Swedish duke, and in result had to spend the years 1563 to 1567 as his brother's prisoner in the castle of Gripsholm, accompanied by his faithful wife. Thus Poland and Sweden became enemies in the Nordic war which followed in 1563.

Although Denmark tended to cooperate with Muscovy and even concluded an important treaty with that country in 1562, Poland and Denmark succeeded in agreeing about the Livonian question in 1563 and both countries — together with the Hanseatic city of Lubeck — became allies in the war against Sweden.

Such is the historical background of the strange affair here to be treated, the romance between Jan Baptist Tęczyński, Count of Tęczyn,⁹⁾ scion of a most noble house of Poland, and the Princess Cecilia of Sweden,¹⁰⁾ daughter of Gustav Vasa¹¹⁾ the great founder of Sweden's new dynasty, and sister of Erik XIV (as well as the later Swedish Kings Johan III¹²⁾ and Carl IX¹³⁾). The romantic story had no happy ending. While crossing the Baltic in the autumn of 1563 from Poland to Sweden, Tęczyński was captured by the Danish navy and taken to Copenhagen, where he died soon afterwards.

The young man's sad fate made a deep impression on the minds of his contemporaries in Poland. We have several proofs to this fact, first and foremost a poem by the greatest Polish poet of the 16th century, Jan Kochanowski,¹⁴⁾ entitled "In memory of the most virtuous Jan Baptist, Count of Tęczyn etc.",¹⁵⁾ as well as a short elegy by the same author.¹⁶⁾ Kochanowski's poem contains much information and is an important source. The affair was recalled again some twenty years later by Bartosz Paprocki,¹⁷⁾ the author of a fundamental work

7) Catharina Jagellonica (1526-1583), sister of Sigismund Augustus, married to Johan (III) in 1562.

8) S. ARNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-176.

9) Jan Baptist Count of Tęczyn (c. 1540-1563), son of Stanisław palatine of Cracow ("wojewoda" i.e. chief of a province), (dead 1561), starost (i.e. captain) of Lublin and Urzędów from 1561, palatine of Bełz from 1563.

10) Cecilia (1540-1627) daughter of Gustav Vasa, married Margrave Christopher of Baden-Rodemachern in 1564.

11) Gustav Vasa (1496-1560), King of Sweden from 1523.

12) See n. 5.

13) Carl IX (1550-1611) Duke of Södermanland etc., 1560, regent of Sweden from 1594, King of Sweden from 1604.

14) Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) leading Polish poet of the 16th century.

15) *Pamiętka wszystkimi cnotami hojnie obdarzonemu Janowi Baptyście, hrabi na Tęczynie* etc., separately edited without author or year, reedited by K. BADECKI *Pamiętnik Literacki* VI, Lwów 1907, pp. 229-245, and dated for typographical reasons to about 1564. Here the text is quoted as it appears in J. KOCHANOWSKI *Dzieła Polskie*, III, Warszawa 1955, pp. 127-139 (Badecki's revised edition is unfortunately not available in Copenhagen).

16) *Nagrobek Tęczyńskiemu. Stara skarga a próżna...*, *Dzieła Polskie*, III, p. 43.

17) Bartosz Paprocki (1540-1614), Polish heraldist and historian.

on Polish nobility.¹⁸⁾ Kochanowski's poem was reprinted, and Paprocki added some further historical information, obtained without doubt from one of the participants of the expedition, the namesake and relative of Jan Baptist, another Jan Tęczyński,¹⁹⁾ who probably also had inspired Kochanowski. Yet another participant, the poet Erasmus Otwinowski,²⁰⁾ who was secretary to Tęczyński, also revealed some details later on.²¹⁾ It is worth mentioning that Martin and Joachim Bielski²²⁾ wrote about the affair in their *Kronika Polska* (1597),²³⁾ and it was again mentioned by Martin Kromer in his "A true story of the sad adventures of the Finnish Duke Johan".²⁴⁾

To the written sources we should add contemporary iconographical sources, such as the strange memorial in the parish church of Kraśnik (near Lublin) and a medal with the portraits of Tęczyński and Cecilia.

In more recent times the affair was often mentioned by Polish and Swedish historians and much unknown material has been revealed. Most important in this respect among writers of the early 19th century is J. M. Ossoliński,²⁵⁾ who gives an account of the whole affair.²⁶⁾ It was again brought to light by M. Sokołowski in connection with a description of the church in Kraśnik.²⁷⁾ At the same time M. Gumowski drew attention to the medal,²⁸⁾ and A. Kłodziński wrote the history of the Tęczyński family.²⁹⁾ Later on St. Kot wrote a study on E. Otwinowski where he gave the most up to date account of the affair,³⁰⁾ to which

18) Bartosz PAPROCKI, *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*, Kraków 1584, reedited by K. J. TUROWSKI, Kraków 1884. Only the latter edition has been accessible. The poem is printed pp. 73-79, the episode is mentioned p. 73 and pp. 88-89.

19) Jan Tęczyński (dead 1593) son of Andrzej, castellan of Cracow (dead 1562), known as "starost of Rohatyń" from 1563, castellan of Wojnicz from 1571. He was first cousin of Stanisław, father of Jan Baptist.

20) Erasmus Otwinowski (1526-1614), Polish Protestant writer.

21) Erasmus OTWINOWSKI, *Heroes Christiani*, edited in Andreae WENGERSCHII *Libri Quatuor: Slavoniae Reformatio*, Amsterdam 1679, p. 532.

22) Martin Bielski (1495-1575), Polish writer and historian, father of Joachim Bielski (c. 1550-1599).

23) M. BIELSKI, *Kronika Polska*, ed. Joachim BIELSKI, Kraków 1597, p. 611, reedited by K. J. TUROWSKI, 1856, p. 1143.

24) Martin KROMER (1512-1589), Polish diplomatist and historian, *Historia prawdziwa o przygodzie żalosnej Księżniczki Finlandzkiego Jana i Królowny Katarzyny*, 1. edit., Kraków 1570, 2. edit. Kraków 1571, most recent edition by A. KRAUSHAR in *Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich*, 20, Kraków 1892. Kromer's authorship is demonstrated by St. BODNIAK, *Pamiętnik Literacki*, XXVIII, Lwów 1931, pp. 77-87. The Tęczyński affair is mentioned on p. 20 in the 1892 edition.

25) J. M. OSSOLIŃSKI (1748-1826), Polish literary historian and the founder of the national institution the "Ossolineum".

26) J. M. OSSOLIŃSKI, *Nieszczęśliwe zaloty Jana Chrzcziciela Tenczyńskiego z Cecylią królową Szwedzką*, *Czasopism Naukowy Księgozbioru Publicznego imienia Ossolińskich*, 2. II., Lwów 1829, pp. 30-49.

27) M. SOKOŁOWSKI in *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, IX, Kraków 1913, especially column 192-204.

28) M. GUMOWSKI, *ibid.*, column 261-263.

29) A. KŁODZIŃSKI, *ibid.*, 237-259.

30) St. Kot in *Reformacja w Polsce*, VI, 1934 (Warszawa 1935), especially pp. 6-11; this article is extensively quoted by K. LEPSZY, *Dzieje Floty Polskiej*, Gdańsk-Bydgoszcz-Szczecin 1947, p. 76 seq.

the present author is much indebted. As Kot duly acknowledges, part of the material used in his article was found by St. Bodniak in Rigsarkivet (the Public Record Office) in Copenhagen.

Among recent Swedish writers the most important are F. Ödberg and S. Arnell. F. Ödberg wrote the biography of princess Cecilia Vasa.³¹⁾ S. Arnell was the first to use the Tęczyński archives in Rigsarkivet³²⁾ and later on edited a part of them.³³⁾ Alfred Jensen wrote an essay on the Tęczyński-Cecilia romance, his main source being the novel by J. U. Niemcewicz,³⁴⁾ the unhistorical character of which he fully recognized.³⁵⁾ Other Scandinavian contributions are sketches by J. J. Mikkola and Z. Łakociński, as well as by the present writer.³⁶⁾

As it is planned to have all the Tęczyński archives from Rigsarkivet edited and published in one of the future volumes of *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*, an account of the Tęczyński romantic story was regarded as indicated. The present work answers this suggestion, and is based on the known sources, both written and iconographical. In an appendix a few traces which remain in the Polish literary tradition are also mentioned.

* * *

The Tęczyński's were active on the Swedish scene from the very moment when Poland came into contact with Sweden on the Livonian question. When Sigismund Augustus started negotiations with Sweden late in 1560, Stanisław of Tęczyn³⁷⁾ already had a messenger in Sweden.³⁸⁾ This opened an opportunity welcomed by Duke Johan and, as the old Tęczyński died shortly afterwards, it was his young son, Jan Baptist, who conveyed to the King of Poland the Duke's proposal of marrying the Polish princess Katharina. Tęczyński arrived in July 1561 as Polish envoy to discuss this project, and at the same time he himself made a proposal of marriage to the sister of Erik and Johan, Cecilia.³⁹⁾ We know that Tęczyński courted Cecilia with serenades and music and that the governors of Stockholm were reprimanded by the King for having chased the Polish musicians away. Tęczyński seems to have made an impression on Cecilia, but the official reply to his proposal was for the time being non-committal.⁴⁰⁾

31) F. ÖDBERG, *Cecilia Vasa*, Stockholm 1896. The most recent work about the princess is the article by G. LANDBERG in *Svensk biografisk Lexikon*, VII, Stockholm 1927, pp. 719-726.

32) See n. 3.

33) I. ANDERSSON and S. ARNELL, *Handlingar rör. Sveriges Utrikespolitik 1561-1566, Historiska Handlingar*, 33, 1, Stockholm 1946, pp. 19-20, 55-58, 61-63, 71-73, 76-80, 87-100, 104-105.

34) J. U. NIEMCEWICZ (1757-1841), Polish politician and man of letters, *vide* n. 140.

35) Alfred JENSEN, *Svenska bilder i polska vitterheten*, Stockholm 1904, pp. 21-43.

36) J. J. MIKKOLA in *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 1935, Helsinki, pp. 130-156; Z. ŁAKOCIŃSKI in *Svio-Polonica*, III, 1941, Stockholm 1942, pp. 46-55; J. STEEN-JENSEN in *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1969 (in the press).

37) Stanisław Tęczyński (dead 1561), son of Jan palatine of Sandomierz; castellan of Łwów 1551-53, starost of Lublin and Betz from 1553, palatine of Sandomierz 1554-55, palatine of Kraków from 1556.

38) S. ARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

39) S. ARNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-203.

40) F. ÖDBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 28 seq.

In the autumn of 1561 the Livonian Order surrendered at last to Poland which had now concrete interests to defend in Livonia. Tęczyński was again sent to Sweden. Sigismund Augustus had accepted the marriage of Katharina to Johan, but Erik refused to commit himself. Tęczyński arranged to journey to Abo (Turko in Finnish) the residence of Johan. In spite of invitations from King Erik he did not go to Stockholm, since the capture of Pernau in Esthonia by Sweden was followed by a decided deterioration of Polish-Swedish relations.⁴¹⁾ Johan left for Poland in June 1562, accompanied by Tęczyński, and married Katharina in October. Tęczyński's own plans of marrying Cecilia seem to have been given up for the time being, although in the autumn he considered the prospect of a new delegation.⁴²⁾ It also seems that some contacts had remained between Tęczyński and influential members of the Swedish nobility.⁴³⁾

In the autumn of 1562 Tęczyński had, however, resumed earlier plans for another marriage, this time with a daughter of the most powerful Lithuanian magnate, Mikołaj Radziwiłł, called Czarny (i.e. The Black). Sigismund Augustus promised the prospective father-in-law to remember the young man at the next Sejm (i.e. Parliament).⁴⁴⁾ In fact, shortly afterwards Tęczyński was made palatine of Belz.

Cecilia too, seems to have lost interest in the Pole, and writing to Queen Elizabeth of England in January 1563 she regards the connection as ended. It is possible, however, that she was requested to do so by her brother. In Rigsarkivet there is a detailed report dated March 1st, 1563, sent to Frederick II by his official in the Sound Dues in Elsinore, Jens Mogensen Rosenvinge. It speaks of a talk he had with a learned and diplomatically experienced merchant of Riga on his way to Gdańsk from an unfortunate mission to the Court of Sweden. He was told that Tęczyński had sent some Poles to teach Cecilia the Polish language, but they were arrested. Moreover, Erik had sent his newly married sister Anna and her husband, the Count Palatine Georg Johan of Veldentz-Lützelstein, to Cecilia with the mission of making her refrain from her proposed Polish marriage for political reasons. Cecilia, however, had protested, maintaining that both the King and the Council had agreed to her betrothal. If the marriage were impossible she would commend her case to God.⁴⁵⁾ Of course, the contents of the report are based on rumours, but they suggest the case to be more complicated than what is implied by other sources.

It is not clear why Tęczyński changes his mind once more and decides to make a new, and very serious attempt in Sweden. Some

41) S. ARNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-255.

42) S. ARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

43) Letter from Tęczyński, probably to Count Svante Sture, Cracow 10.III.1563., ed. after a contemporary copy by R. HAUSE, *Bidrag till Finlands Historia*, IV, Helsingfors 1912, nr. 123.

44) St. KOR, *op. cit.*, p. 8, with quotations from St. A. LACHOWICZ, *Listy oryginalne Zygmunta Augusta do Mikołaja Radziwiłła Czarnego*, Wilno 1842, nr. 85., Piotrków 7.XII.1562., - M. Radziwiłł (Czarny) (1515-1565) was chancellor of Lithuania from 1550, palatine of Wilno from 1551.

45) *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth*, 1563, ed. J. Stevenson, London 1869, nr. 111, Stockholm 18.I.1563. - *Rigsarkivet*, Copenhagen, *Danske Kancelli*, B 44 f., Indlag etc. 1562-1564, 1.III.1563. The Poles are said to be a mayor of Cracow called Bertil Busck, and two young nobles.

explanation may be found in the fact that in the spring of 1563 Sigismund Augustus seems to have planned a last attempt to reach an agreement with that country. Tęczyński received instructions for negotiations with both Erik and Johan dated April the 25th,⁴⁶⁾ but only a few weeks later he was asked to refrain from his intended journey to Sweden.⁴⁷⁾ Nevertheless, Jan Baptist Tęczyński persisted in his great plans, and started to organize his departure. His relative and namesake, another Jan Tęczyński, was to have a leading place in his retinue, and in July he asked the Polish representative in Vienna, Martin Kromer,⁴⁸⁾ to procure letters of recommendation from the Emperor⁴⁹⁾ and his son Maximilian,⁵⁰⁾ at whose court this Jan Tęczyński, the starost, had been in good favour.⁵¹⁾

Obviously, it was impossible for Tęczyński to conceal his intentions. Once more, on August 16th 1563, Sigismund Augustus asked him not to leave,⁵²⁾ but this request had no effect upon the ambitious palatine. To some astonishment one finds that only a few days later, on August the 20th, Tęczyński was able to obtain for himself an instruction for a mission to Duke Johan (at the time, by the way, when the latter was a prisoner of his brother, Erick the King of Sweden). The contents of the instruction were commonplace, and it was never officially recorded. It is only known from a contemporary copy in the Tęczyński archives,⁵³⁾ and it was signed by the vice-chancellor, Piotr Myszkowski. The original carrying the Royal Seal was shown to the Danish officials when Tęczyński was captured.⁵⁴⁾

Tęczyński gathered a large and imposing company, about a hundred persons, as his retinue. From sources relating to later events we know several names. The formerly mentioned Jan Tęczyński, starost of Rohatyń, Mikołaj Tarło "in Arce Liaszki", standard-bearer of the Przemyśl district, Krzysztof Wodzisławski (or Lanckoroński) de Brzezie, who later married into the Tęczyński family,⁵⁵⁾ Erasmus Czuryło "de Vignanowicze",

46) Library of Kórnik, ms. 260, fol. 104 seq., has an undated *Instructio Palatino Belsen, ad Sueciae Regem*; the date 25.IV.1563 is found in the *Teka Naruszewicza* 1563, I. nr. 77 (*Czartoryski Library*, Kraków, ms. 72). It was probably the Kórnik manuscript which Jo. Burchard MENCENIUS edited as *Sigismundi Augusti Poloniarum Regis Epistolae, Legationes et Responsa*, Leipzig 1703, but the above mentioned instruction as well as some other texts was omitted.

47) MENCENIUS, *op. cit.*, nr. 112, 18.V.1563.

48) See n. 24.

49) The Emperor, i.e. Ferdinand I (1503-1564) Emperor from 1558.

50) Maximilian (I) (1527-1576), King of Bohemia from 1562, of Hungary from 1563, and German-Roman Emperor from 1564., St. Kor, *op. cit.*, p. 8., *The Jagiellon Library*, Kraków, ms. 28/II, fol. 128, has the letter; the date was read by Kot as 27.VII., by the author as 16 or 17.VII.

51) B. PAPROCKI, *op. cit.*, p. 84., *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*, VIII, Roma 1963., *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, I, ed. Val. MEYSZTOWICZ, nr. 57.

52) MENCENIUS, *op. cit.*, nr. 112, 18.V.1563.

53) Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, T.K.U.A. Polen, A.II.7., *Tęczyński archives, Instructio data Joanni Baptistae Comiti in Thenzin, ad III Principem Finlandiae Ducem projecto*, Vilnae 20.VIII.1563.

54) Piotr Myszkowski (1505-1591) Polish vice-chancellor 1563-1569.

55) A. KŁODZIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, column 242.

Alexander Drohiczański de Drohiczany, Felix Czerski de Czersk et Rhozycze, Jan Przyppkowski de Przykowycze, Jan Młoszowski de Młoszowa Stanisław Czerny, the later well known poet Erasmus Otwinowski, Maciej Łowieniecki, Mikołaj Osmolski, Jan Strzeszkowski, Kasper Brzozowski (who was employed at the court of Tęczyn),⁵⁶⁾ Marcin Swierczewski and Jakub Spoth.⁵⁷⁾ There were, moreover, the Swiss Leo Curio and the Englishman George North,⁵⁸⁾ two Swedes, one of whom was called Olav Jacobsen,⁵⁹⁾ and finally Tęczyński's cup-bearer Jiskiera.⁶⁰⁾ They met at Kazimierz and sailed down the Vistula to Gdańsk,⁶¹⁾ where the shipmaster Dirck Stör agreed to take them to Stockholm.⁶²⁾ The ship was armed with guns. It is probable that the company embarked about September the 10th, 1563, and consequently Tęczyński never received the royal letter of September the 3rd, where he was threatened with disgrace if he persisted in his project.⁶³⁾

The most important sources relating to the dramatic capture of Tęczyński by Danes on the Baltic are two anonymous accounts preserved at Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen. The longer one, in Latin, covers the period from September 18th to October 18th.⁶⁴⁾ It is written by a man aboard the flag ship, who had some administrative duties after the capture, perhaps the scribe of the German Chancellery (i.e. the Danish Foreign Office), Baruk Skotte, secretary and accountant on the ship.⁶⁵⁾ The other, somewhat shorter account, (which starts with the departure of the Danish fleet from Bornholm on September the 2nd,) covers only a few days from the 18th to the 22nd September and is written in German, not necessarily by the same man as the Latin one. It was edited about 70 years ago,⁶⁶⁾ but has not been used by earlier writers.

56) B. PAPROCKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 and 429 seq.

57) These names are found on the declaration of 27.XII.1563., *Rigsarkivet*, T.K.U.A. Polen A.II.7.

58) The two persons were probably on board the ship, as they bring Jan Tęczyński's letter from Copenhagen, 10.I.1564, to England, v. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1563, nr. 220, Febr. 1563 (=1564), and *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed J. A. GILES, II, London 1864, nr. 42, Windsor 25.II.1563 (=1564). Leo Curio, born 1536, son of the well known professor in Basle, Celio Secundo Curione, was identified by St. Kor, *op. cit.*, p. 8. See also K. BENRATH in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, IV, Leipzig 1898, p. 357.

59) The Swedes are mentioned in a letter from Frederick II to Sigismund Augustus, 27.XII.1563, *Rigsarkivet*, T.K.U.A. Alm. del Latina 1563, 1564-1571, fol. 2 r., and in *Kancelliets Brevbøger 1561-1565*, ed. L. LAURSEN, 1893-95, 14.X.1563.

60) His death is mentioned in the diary of the Warsaw Sejm, 25.I.1564, *Zrządtopisma do dziejów Korony Polskiej i W.X. Litewskiego*, II, 1, ed. A. T. DZIAŁYŃSKI, Poznań 1861, p. 319; the name is normalized by Kor, *op. cit.* p. 11.

61) J. KOCHANOWSKI, *Pamiętka*, vv. 153-155.

62) Cf. *Danziger-Inventar 1531-1591*, ed P. SIMSON, München-Leipzig 1913, nr. 5367, 21.V.1568, where the dispute between Tęczyński's heirs and Dirck Stör is settled.

63) *Quod ne aliter S. Tua faciat, mandamus pro gratia nostra*, MENCKENIUS, *op. cit.* nr. 206, 3.IX.1563.

64) The account is in the *Rigsarkivet*, T.K.U.A. Polen A.III.14.; part of its contents is used by St. Kor (through St. BODNIAK).

65) H. D. LIND, *Fra Kong Frederik II's tid. Bidrag til den dansk-norske somagts historie 1559-88*, Copenhagen 1902, p. 38, suggests that Baruk Skotte might be the author of the German account; as the author of the Latin account is better informed and plays a more active role, I prefer to credit B.S. with that.

66) Ed. by L. LAURSEN, *Danske Magazin*, 5.IV., pp. 368-69, 1898-1901.

The Polish sources are the above mentioned poem by Kochanowski who, as it was said, probably had his information from the surviving Jan Tęczyński, the starost, treated however with some poetic licence, and the account in Paprocki deriving from the same source.

Here, we follow the above mentioned Latin account, unless otherwise explicitly stated. It relates briefly that Frans Iversen (Dyre) on board the ship "Scotch Pink" and another captain, Jergen Jensen (Ulfeld),⁶⁷⁾ were separated from the rest of the Danish Fleet by a storm, and met with the Polish ship at which they fired their guns (a few days before the Danish navy had fought a major but undecisive battle with the Swedes). The Poles maintained later that their ship after lowering sail had been fired at from the rear by another Danish ship, and all Polish sources agree to the fact that the situation had been dangerous. Kochanowski also mentions two ships, but when Paprocki writes the number had already risen to seven.⁶⁸⁾ Paprocki's indication of the time, a Friday afternoon, is correct, as it agrees with the Danish accounts. The date was September 17th 1563.

The result of the encounter was a Danish victory and the Poles had to follow the Danes to join the rest of the Danish navy, which was operating with the allied Lubeck navy near the island of Gotland. They arrived there late on September 18th. In spite of the rough sea, Tęczyński at once sent over to the Admiral three of his noblemen. An elderly man, who knew foreign languages, was to be the spokesman.⁶⁹⁾ The name of the Admiral is not mentioned in our source, we know, however, that it was the famous old Peder Skram.⁷⁰⁾ The Poles informed that they were on their way to Finland (the Duchy of Johan), adding the curious explanation that the count *cum familia sua iter Revaliam versus, indeque urbi huic aduersam Finlandiam erat suscepturus* - and maintained that their mission was in accordance with instructions from Sigismund Augustus who feared for the fate of his brother-in-law, Johan. The Admiral's answer was brief; he asked for evidence proving the official character of the delegation and inquired about a safe-conduct from the King of Denmark. However, it was late and further negotiations were postponed to the next day. The Polish spokesman returned to his ship, while the two other noblemen were ordered to spend the night aboard the Danish ship.

The next day, Sunday the 19th, the captain of the Polish ship (probably Dirck Stör) was questioned. He admitted that it had been a risky voyage for him, but he had sufficient security from Tęczyński against possible dangers.⁷¹⁾ On board the Danish ship it was decided to consult with Lubeck Fleet, but the Admiral (well known for his short temper) was beginning to lose patience. The wind was favourable and they were being delayed by the Poles. Better to settle the question out of hand, disperse the Poles to the Danish ships and seal up their documents. Nevertheless, he was convinced that their papers should be first examined, and some persons,

67) The names are given by H. D. LIND, *op. cit.*, p. 239 and 265. The Latin account mentions that some more ships were separated from the Navy, but does not indicate that they took any part in the incident, nor does it define the relative roles of the two captains in the affair.

68) J. KOCHANOWSKI, *Pamiętka*, v. 214; B. PAPROCKI, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

69) It might be K. Wodzisławski, who is mentioned later on in that function.

70) Peder Skram (c. 1503-1581), Danish admiral and naval hero.

71) See n. 62.

inter alias the close adviser of the Admiral, Captain Balthasar Bolhe, Eskild Oxe (formerly holding high administrative offices),⁷²⁾ and the author of the account, were sent over to the Poles.

Tęczyński received them with a long speech translated into German by K. Wodziszawski. Some letters and papers were produced by the Poles, among them the above mentioned Royal Instruction (*Regia Instructio perbrevis articulata*). With some difficulty the Danes succeeded in getting a copy of it, probably that which today lies with the other original papers in the Tęczyński archives, Rigsarkivet.⁷³⁾ Finally Tęczyński proposed a toast to the victory of both Kings. Wodziszawski and the Count's secretary (probably E. Otwinowski) were then sent over with letters to the Admiral.

On the 21st Eskild Oxe and some others came again on board the Polish ship. There, they spent a most pleasant day enjoying the famous Polish hospitality. The Latin account only mentions that they were *latissime tractati* and returned *plurimum poti*, but in the German version we find more details. According to it they were *von ihm* (Tęczyński) *aufs herrlichst und dermassen mit kostlichem getrenck, confect und anderem gepflogen, das ein parth gegen ihre widerkunft nicht als allein schlaffens begert, sie vormelden, das sie ihre tag dergleichen herrliche musicam niemals als bey ihme gehöret*.

The following day, the 22nd, a return visit was paid by Tęczyński and his namesake to the Danish flag ship. They were received with honours, with a salute of guns as well as *tibicinum tympanistarumque clangore*, and stayed with the Admiral for three hours.⁷⁴⁾ When Tęczyński left the ship he gave 40 Hungarian florins away.⁷⁵⁾ The other Jan Tęczyński, (the starost) with some companions, remained on the ship for the night. They ate at the Admiral's table and *biberunt longissime*. Upon leaving next day he was not less lavish - the German account tells us that he gave the captain of the troops on board and the standard-bearer 10 Hungarian guldens each, for a bracelet (sic!).

The next day again, the 23rd September 1563, Tęczyński had a cask of malmsey sent to the Admiral, and his secretary E. Otwinowski made a speech in Latin, translated into German by our writer (in which language he records it). Tęczyński's proposal was to provide hostages until he would finish his mission in Finland to Duke John and Katharina. Then he would present himself before the King of Denmark. If this should be declined, he asked to remain *in der custodien* near the city of Visby until he could reach Copenhagen, because both he and his men were not accustomed to the sea, suffered from the daily rough weather and were lacking *vittalien*. The Admiral gave no answer to these requests, and only promised to provide the means to buy provisions ashore.

It seems that the Admiral had then returned to his original plan of

72) Eskild Oxe (dead 1563), Danish treasurer 1547-1557. It has not been possible to identify Balthasar Bolhe.

73) Rigsarkivet, T.K.U.A. Polen, A.II.7. The copy seems to be written in the same hand as the Latin account.

74) The German account says *ungeuerlich 2 stunde*.

75) The German account says *hatt er den spilleuten, buchsen — und hackenschutzen unnd bosleuten wie gerechnet an ungerischem goldt und silber vast in die 70 thaler verehret*, — Florin and gulden are synonyms for a widespread type of gold coin.

distributing the Poles among the Danish ships. On the 25th, Eskild Oxe once more led a delegation of Danish nobles, including some Lubeck representatives and our writer, aboard the Polish ship. They were to divide the Poles into groups, one of 50 and two of 20 persons, while Tęczyński himself was to be allowed to stay on his ship *cum familiaribus suis* and follow the Danish fleet to Copenhagen. Goods, letters, and everything else had to be sealed after inspection. To this, Tęczyński protested vehemently and maintained that it was *contra jus gentium in libera legatione*. The Danes as well did not seem to have been happy about the arrangement, refrained from doing anything and reported back to the Admiral.

They did not return until the 28th, when the Admiral seems to have had his way. It is our narrator who had to make a list of names of all the Poles. After a meal, the rest of the day was spent in distributing them aboard the Danish ships. Tęczyński had tears in his eyes as he saw his companions being taken away. The next day, however, the Danes brought him better news; the Admiral had allowed 50 people to stay with him, probably persuaded by the very persons who had carried out his orders the previous day. One, most unhappy incident occurred, occasioned by some of the Danish crew who had been put on board the Polish ship, and Paprocki even speaks of an attempt to plunder.⁷⁶⁾ The leader of the trouble-makers was taken away for prosecution. To prevent similar occurrences two Danish noblemen, Hartvig Thomsen (Juel) and Christopher Rosenkrantz, were to remain on the Polish ship until its arrival at Copenhagen.

However, a long time had still to pass before Tęczyński reached Copenhagen. In fact, the Poles seem to have been taken here and there, up and down the Baltic. On October 18th, Tęczyński was beginning to lose his patience. He sent Otwinowski over to the flag ship. As Peder Skram was absent, he complained to Eskild Oxe, saying that it had been previously decided for Tęczyński to be taken to Copenhagen as quickly as possible, and that now the wind had been fair for a long time. The Count, he said, was wondering whether he was being led from one end of the island of Bornholm to the other like some trophy on show (*spectaculi aut trophaei cuiusdam instar*). He was eager to see the King of Denmark as soon as possible in Copenhagen. To all those remonstrations Oxe offered no reply.⁷⁷⁾

The same day, Tęczyński sent a letter to Frederick II, written entirely in his own hand and headed *ex classe ad Bernholmium*, where he apologized for not having applied for a safe-conduct and complained of the fury of the elements. He also asked for permission to continue freely his voyage, or to be brought before the King.⁷⁸⁾

What did really happen during the following month? King Frederick, who was in the field, already on October 14th, 1563, had ordered Peder Skram to send over to Copenhagen the most distinguished among the Poles together with the ship "The Nightingale".⁷⁹⁾ But Paprocki states

76) B. PAPROCKI, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

77) Here the Latin account ends.

78) The letter is in *Rigsarkivet*, T.K.U.A. Polen. A.II.7.

79) See n. 59.

that they did not reach this city until after St. Martin's day, i.e., after November 11th. Paprocki also tells us that a Gdańsk privateer, Rudolf,⁸⁰⁾ made two vain attempts to liberate Tęczyński who, however, refused such help because of his men retained aboard the Danish ships. The second attempt is said to have been discovered by the Danes⁸¹⁾ - but we know nothing of it from Danish sources.

Tęczyński probably arrived in Copenhagen about the middle of November 1563. We have a letter from a certain Norwegian, Thure Olavsson, probably at that time a student in Copenhagen,⁸²⁾ in which he speaks of Poles captured while on their way to propose marriage to Cecilia, sister of the King of Sweden. As they arrived in Copenhagen, they made their entry at night carrying torches through the streets. Hearing of this, the King ordered them to be put in prison. Consequently, on November the 20th, twelve Poles with their leaders had been imprisoned. Thure Olavsson further tells how on the 22nd November a certain Christian Ellekaer was sent to Poland to find out the exact character of the mission which was taking the Poles to Sweden, since they had destroyed some papers throwing them into the water when they were captured.⁸³⁾ This information requires some comment. It is improbable that Tęczyński was actually put to prison - there is no mention of it in Polish sources.⁸⁴⁾ As to the dramatic gesture of papers flung into the sea, the original instruction signed on August the 20th by Myszkowski has, in fact, disappeared at some time, while many original letters still remain in the Tęczyński archives. It may have been destroyed by Tęczyński himself after he gave its copy to the Danes, and before all documents passed into their hands (at the end of September?). Finally, it should be mentioned that we do not know the text of the Danish letter of November 22nd, but it is referred to later, both in Danish and in Polish sources.⁸⁵⁾

The news of Tęczyński's capture had somehow reached Prussia while he was still at the mercy of high seas on the Baltic. The old Duke Albrecht of Prussia⁸⁶⁾ immediately informed of it the Polish King, and the development of events was followed with great interest both at court and among Tęczyński's friends. On November 13th Sigismund Augustus wrote to the King of Denmark, explaining thoroughly the whole situation: Tęczyński had the intention to get married in Sweden, and had received an official commission more as a mark of honour than for any political reasons. Moreover, he had been recalled from his mission as soon as negotiations for a treaty with Denmark had been

80) Identified as Rudolf Alhorn by St. Kor, op. cit., p. 10.

81) See n. 76.

82) Thure Olavsson seems to be little known, cf. Francis BUHL in *Norsk biografisk Leksikon*, I, Kristiania 1923, p. 82.

83) Ed. by P. F. SUHM in *Samlinger til den Danske Historie*, II, 2. Copenhagen 1782, p. 106 seq.

84) Kochanowski calls Tęczyński the prisoner, *wiezień*, of the Danish king.

85) Danish letter of 27.XII.1563, vide n. 59 and letter from eight Polish senators to Frederick II, 27.XII.1563, *Rigsarkivet*, T.K.U.A. Polen. A.II.7.

86) Albrecht (1490-1568), Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia as Polish vassal from 1525.

initiated. His action was disapproved, and Sigismund Augustus asked Frederick II not to entertain against him any suspicions of double dealing.⁸⁷⁾

The King of Denmark never received this letter. It was sent to Albrecht for transmission to Denmark, but the latter retained it realizing that Denmark did not seriously suspect Poland⁸⁸⁾ (probably he found its contents too apologetic). Thus, on December 10th another Polish letter, more moderate in tone, was despatched again. The whole case was to be further explained by the messenger, and the only request put forward in the letter was for the release of the Count and his company, since — it was stressed — the Polish nobility was free to travel *in omnes orbis terrarum partes*.⁸⁹⁾ When some weeks later a Polish delegation was leaving for Denmark, it too was instructed to work for the liberation of Tęczyński.⁹⁰⁾

Some Polish senators also showed concern about the fate of their young colleague. Late in November the archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub Uchański,⁹¹⁾ mentions that the two young men who had set out to marry in Sweden, *quorum iuvenilis ardor et temeritas, reiectis senum salubribus consiliis*, caused him great anxiety.⁹²⁾ In expressing his fears Uchański did not speak only for himself. A month later, he and seven other senators of high rank, Philip Padniewski archbishop of Cracow, Albert Starożrebski bishop of Chełm, Martin Zborowski castellan of Cracow, Spytek Jordan palatine of Cracow, Janusz Kościelecki palatine of Sieradz, Jan Dąbrowski palatine of Lublin and the vice-chancellor Piotr Myszkowski, signed a letter to Frederick II. They have had the Danish letter read in the Senate (the one above mentioned which we do not possess today), and asked urgently for the liberation of Tęczyński.⁹³⁾

Actually, we do not know very much about Tęczyński's stay in Copenhagen, apart from the already mentioned and rather unlikely information that he was put to prison. However, an interesting detail is transmitted by Otwinowski.⁹⁴⁾ Apparently Tęczyński, who like his family had leanings towards the Reformed Religion,⁹⁵⁾ received Communion according to the Lutheran rite in order to make a good impression in Copenhagen. In that he was followed by many persons of his retinue.

Whatever the situation, Tęczyński's stay in Copenhagen came to a sudden end. On December 27th, 1563, Frederick II informs the King of Poland that Tęczyński has died of a disease which had also affected

87) MENCKENIUS, *op. cit.*, nr. 261, 13.XI.1563.

88) MENCKENIUS, *op. cit.*, nr. 275, letter to the Duke of Prussia, 10.XII.1563.

89) *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones*, IX, Roma 1964, *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Regni Daniae*, I. ed. L. KOCZY, nr. 24, and MENCKENIUS *op. cit.*, nr. 274.

90) Second instruction for legation to Denmark, MENCKENIUS, *op. cit.*, nr. 279 (23.XII.1563).

91) Jakub Uchański (1502-1581), archbishop of Gniezno from 1562.

92) Letter from J. Uchański to St. Hozjusz, 25.XI.1563., ed T. WIERZBOWSKI, *Uchańsciana*, III, Warszawa 1890, p. 44 seq.

93) See n. 85.

94) See n. 21.

95) St. Kot, *op. cit.*, p. 6 seq., p. 11.

some other captives.⁹⁶⁾ Paprocki also mentions an epidemic causing the death of several persons.⁹⁷⁾ From Danish sources we can hardly deduct anything about an epidemic in Copenhagen at that time, but wars and epidemics often go together and, at least in Malmo, mortality had been high that year.⁹⁸⁾ Kochanowski and Otwinowski give a more romantic explanation of the fact. Kochanowski speaks of great distress, of sleepless nights, tears, fever, and even makes Tęczyński declare that he is dying of grief.⁹⁹⁾ Otwinowski gives the same cause for his death, adding to this grim picture remorse, as a consequence of the Lutheran Communion.¹⁰⁰⁾

With an epidemic raging among Polish captives, it is easy to understand that the Danes wished to bring the whole affair to an end as quickly as possible. The Poles were released immediately after Christmas of 1563, and the new leader of the group, the other Jan Tęczyński (the starost), had to sign a declaration which in such cases is a normal procedure. In it he promised not to help Sweden during the war, and never commit any acts of hostility against Denmark. Fifteen other persons, probably the most distinguished in the group, also signed the declaration.¹⁰¹⁾

The matter did not end there. It seems that the Poles expected simply to sail back to Gdańsk in Dirck Stör's ship, but here they reckoned without the King of Denmark. He never allowed them to take back their ship which he intended to keep for himself. Frederick II gave the Poles permission, either to carry away the body of the dead Count accompanied by his retinue in one of the Danish ships bound for Gdańsk, or to hire themselves some ship for that purpose.¹⁰²⁾ It also seems that Count Günther of Schwartzburg, who was in the King's service as captain of some mercenaries, had helped the Poles in various ways, *inter alia* in preparing their journey back by ship, for which he was seriously rebuked by the King.¹⁰³⁾

Now, after the death of Jan Baptist, Jan Tęczyński, son of Andrzej (the above mentioned "starost"), became the leader of the company, and he seems to have planned to succeed his deceased relative in another way - that of proposing marriage to Cecilia! He wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth of England, dated Copenhagen, January the 10th, 1564, in which he asks her to recommend him to Cecilia. The letter was conveyed and delivered by Leo Curio and the Englishman George North (about whom

96) The Danish letter of 27.XII.1563 (see n. 59) states that Tęczyński was taken to Copenhagen, *Brevi quidem is postea adductus est, cum familia omni, hactenusque dum viveret detentus* (or *retentus*). *Tum vero quod nobis tam praeter opinionem, praeterquam ipsius in potestatem et indolem sane dolori fuit, morbo obit, reliquaque familia nonnihil affici coepit.* The handwriting is difficult.

97) See n. 76, cf. n. 60.

98) F. V. MANSÁ, *Biðrag til folkesygdommenes historie i Danmark*, Copenhagen 1873, p. 195.

99) J. KOCHANOWSKI, *Pamiątka*, vv. 221-264.

100) See n. 21.

101) See n. 57.

102) *Kancelliets Brevboger*, 31.XII.1563.

103) *Rigsarkivet*, T.K.U.A. Alm. del Auslendsch Registrant 1563-64, fol. 256 r. seq., Günther of Schwartzburg (1529-1583), German count and commander.

we shall hear later).¹⁰⁴⁾ The Queen granted Tęczyński's wish, and the learned humanist, Roger Ascham,¹⁰⁵⁾ composed a most elegant letter of recommendation¹⁰⁶⁾ which, however, proved of little avail to Tęczyński, since some months later Cecilia married the Margrave Christopher of Baden-Rodemachern.¹⁰⁷⁾

Thus, on January the 10th we find the starost Tęczyński still in Copenhagen, but in the diary of the Warsaw Sejm (Diet) of 1563/64 we read that he arrived to Warsaw on January 25th.¹⁰⁸⁾ From Paprocki we know that he went by land,¹⁰⁹⁾ and if both dates are correct the weather must have been most suitable for travelling with horses and sledges. His return, and the news about the death of the "palatine of Betz" is the only entry for that day in the diary. Among persons who heard about it, one at least had a certain feeling of triumph: Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black (Czarny), whose daughter had been now rejected twice by the late Jan Baptist Tęczyński. One can recognize it in his tone as he informs his son about the event: "Instead of the Swedish princess (Cecilia), he tasted death".¹¹⁰⁾

* * *

The body of Jan Baptist Tęczyński was taken to Kraśnik¹¹¹⁾ where he was buried in the parish church, and the family had to think now of erecting a monument to his memory. The task seems to have presented some difficulties.

There is in that church a monument of stone (Fig. 1) which traditionally is regarded as the sepulchral monument of Jan Baptist Tęczyński, although no explicit inscription is visible. However, the attribution seems very likely. It bears the family coat of arms, the Topór (an axe), and we know of an epitaph, not visible today, but quoted in 1655 by S. Starowolski.¹¹²⁾

The subject of the monument is most eloquent, but unusual in a sepulchre. Within an arch we see a beardless youth in armour and a maid with hair flowing over her shoulders and a gown reaching to her feet. The couple are half reclining and hold hands so as to form a heart-like shape, with one arm around each others' neck. The arch is framed by Corinthian pilasters with a montant of acanthus leaves. On the base there are cartouches around an empty, oblong middle panel and oval heraldic shields; on the left is Jelita (three lances), on the right

104) See n. 58.

105) Roger Ascham (1516-1568), English scholar and writer, Latin secretary to Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

106) Works of Roger ASCHAM, *op. cit.*, nr. 41, Windsor 25.II.1563 (=1564).

107) Christopher of Baden-Rodemachern (1537-1575), margrave, son of Bernhard III margrave of Baden.

108) See n. 60.

109) See n. 76.

110) *Raczyński Library*, Poznań, ms. 78, fol. 31 seq., Radziwiłł to his son, Warsaw 26.II.1564; Tęczyński's capture is mentioned in the previous letter, Warsaw 5.I.1564.

111) This fact is mentioned both by Kochanowski and Paprocki.

112) *Monumenta Sarmatorum*, ed. S. STAROWOLSKI, Kraków 1655, p. 519; S. Starowolski (1588-1656), Polish polyhistoric writer.

Prawda or Zaremba (a lion above a crenalated wall). The base and the pedestal are connected by lions' claws and symbols of vanity (skull with bones). The monument ends at the top like an obelisk to which is added a small globe, and it is framed by flaming urns. On the obelisk is the family's Topór coat of arms in high relief, with a double-headed eagle as crest (which probably came into use after the title of count had been bestowed upon the family in 1527). Below the coat of arms we see a cartouche panel, covered by a later installed marble slab with an inscription in letters dating from the 18th century: *D.O.M. Quos vita conjunxit Mors in tumulum reduxit* - as a matter of fact not very much in accord with historical truth.

The monument is painted light brown and is today placed against the southern wall of the church, near the chapel of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour (Matka Boska Nieustającej Pomocy).¹¹³⁾ This location is quite new. Until about 1960 the monument was placed immediately north of the main altar, where the part bearing the Prawda/Zaremba coat of arms remained out of sight. We know it had been there already in 1811,¹¹⁴⁾ but this need not be its original place. Most likely it was placed there at some time in the 18th century when the marble slab was added changing the memorial from a sepulchral to a moralizing monument. It is not unlikely that the new one covers the original inscription known to us from S. Starowolski's great work, the *Monumenta Sarmatorum*.¹¹⁵⁾

Illustris Dominus Joannes Baptista, Tencinius Comes, Palatin: Belzensis, Praefect: Lublinensis, genere, animi magnitudine illustravit et virtute extendit. Cum quo brevis aetas et summa gloria, aula et regina fortuna et constantia dimicarunt. Sed parantem magna, momentum vitae destituit et ad monumentum perduxit. Ora, hospes, et lege tuum in alieno momentum monumento.

The age of the monument and its artistic origins have been much discussed. It has been frequently ascribed to the period 1604-1605, because the great chancellor Jan Zamoyski,¹¹⁶⁾ whose family coat of arms was the Jelita (three lances), acquired Kraśnik in 1604 and died in 1605; the date has been only tentatively accepted in the new Polish Inventory.¹¹⁷⁾ It seems worth while, however, to find someone in the Tęczyński family connected both with the Jelita and the Prawda/Zaremba coats of arms. In fact such a person did exist, it was Andrzej Tęczyński, castellan of Cracow, (dead 1589) brother of that Jan who returned safely from the unfortunate Baltic voyage. Around 1569, Andrzej Tęczyński married Zofia Dembowska entitled to the Jelita coat of arms, while her mother belonged

113) When seen by the author in August 1965 the monument was in various ways damaged after its change of place, and an electric cable had been drawn across it.

114) J. U. NIEMCEWICZ, *Podróże historyczne po ziemiach polskich od 1811 do 1828 r.*, Paris-Petersbourg 1858, p. 86., vide n. 34.

115) See n. 112.

116) Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605), Polish statesman, chancellor from 1578.

117) *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, VIII, 9, Warszawa 1961, p. 20. It is unfortunate that the editors connect the lion in the Prawda/Zaremba coat of arms with the lion which the family was allowed to add to their coat of arms by Emperor Ferdinand, PAPROCKI, *op. cit.*, p. 80 seq., with illustrations; the illustration from the original edition of Paprocki is reproduced by M. Sokołowski, *op. cit.*, column 207-8.

to the Łaszcz family and used the Prawda coat of arms.¹¹⁸⁾ Thus heraldry seems to indicate that it was Zofia Dembowska who might have erected the monument. Judging from its style the present author is inclined to date it about 1570, in which he is supported by learned authorities (*vide infra*).

Similarly to its dating, the attribution of the monument to any definite artist seems to have presented difficulties, and only professor Zbigniew Hornung has succeeded in doing so. After having made an analysis of the style of ornaments (the globe, the urns and the shape of cartouches), he attributes the monument to Santi Gucci (born before 1540 in Italy, active in Poland from 1558, deceased about 1600), and dates it to about 1565-1570, unfortunately without further corroborating argumentation. In a more recent article he includes the obelisk into the discussion as an important element supporting his claim that Gucci was the creator of the monument.¹¹⁹⁾

The false attribution of the Jelita coat of arms to Jan Zamoyski became a stumbling block to art historians and many writers have discussed the monument from that misleading point of view.¹²⁰⁾ Topographic literature mentions the monument quite often,¹²¹⁾ but only M. Baliński and T. Lipiński have seen the important lion crest (1845).¹²²⁾ The earliest pictorial representation dates from 1859 and is a lithograph by Adam Lerue¹²³⁾ who, however, places the monument in the church incorrectly.

* * *

There exists still another artistic memorial of the Polish-Swedish romance — a medal engraved with the head and bust in profile of the two persons involved (Fig. 2). On the obverse is seen a bareheaded fairly young man, while the reverse displays a young lady with a cap, hair net and ruff. The inscription is in capital letters: *Joannes . comes . a . Tencin* and *Cecilia . Princeps . Svvecie*. The medal, which has a diameter of 40 mm., is known both in bronze and silver, but all existing at present are later copies, and it is uncertain whether any of the original issue have survived.¹²⁴⁾

118) A. BONIECKI, *Herbarz Polski*, IV, 1901, p. 237 and XV, 1912, p. 211; Andrzej Tęczyński (dead 1589), son of Andrzej castellan of Cracow (dead 1562); castellan of Bełz 1570-1576, palatine of Bełz 1577, palatine of Cracow 1583, Castellan of Cracow 1586-1589.

119) Zbigniew HORNUNG in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, XVII, Warszawa 1955, pp. 279-280; *ibid.*, XXIV, Warszawa 1962, pp. 227-230.

120) To the bibliography of art-history and topography in *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki*, *op. cit.*, p. 42 seq., might be added J. ECKHAERTOWNA's note in *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*, XII, 1938, p. 182.

121) See the above mentioned bibliography. The present author is much indebted to L. ZALEWSKI, *Z epoki renesansu i baroku na Lubelszczyźnie*, II, Biblioteka Lubelska, 8, Lublin 1949.

122) M. BALIŃSKI and T. LIPIŃSKI, *Starożytna Polska*, II, 2, Warszawa 1845, p. 1152.

123) *Album Lubelskie rysowane z natury przez A. Lerue*, II, 3, Warszawa 1859, picture nr. 2, text pp. 10-12.

124) The items in the coin-rooms of Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen are later copies; the medal in the Hutten-Czapski collection of Cracow is called *moulage postérieur* in the catalogue *L'art à Cracovie entre 1350 et 1550*, Kraków 1964, p. 231 seq.; I am indebted to Dr. St. Skowronek, Cracow, for having provided me with casts of this medal.

The existence of the medal has been known for a long time and it is mentioned in several Polish and Swedish catalogues.¹²⁵⁾ As far as the present author knows, it was mentioned first by C. R. Berch (1773).¹²⁶⁾ The Polish numismatist, M. Gumowski, was the first to attribute it to the prominent Dutch medallist Steven van Herwijck¹²⁷⁾ (at that time still called St. van Holland).¹²⁸⁾ Gumowski's claim may be correct, his argumentation, however, is untenable. In support of his claim Gumowski refers only to the stay of van Herwijck in Poland in 1561, where he made a whole series of medals representing Sigismund Augustus and his family. Since then it has been proved by E. Majkowski that there is no reason whatsoever to suppose that van Herwijck actually stayed in Poland when he made the above mentioned Jagiellon medals, since he used miniatures by Lucas Cranach as models.¹²⁹⁾ Nevertheless, Majkowski was also inclined to attribute the Tęczyński-Cecilia medal to Steven van Herwijck,¹³⁰⁾ but apparently has never published any further corroborating evidence.

Perhaps Majkowski was right in attributing the medal to Steven van Herwijck. Studying his medals one notices among them two which are signed and show a female figure in profile closely resembling Cecilia. One represents Elizabeth, marchioness of Northampton, and is dated 1562, the other Maria Newce, married to John Dymock, and is not dated.¹³¹⁾ In spite of the fact that the female portraits on the three medals are very similar, we must point out that the lettering on the Tęczyński-Cecilia medal is much coarser than that of the two signed medals.¹³²⁾

Besides artistic indications there are some personal connections which favour the assumption that Steven van Herwijck was the creator of the Tęczyński-Cecilia medal. In the first place, the artist's widow and children are reported to be living in a house owned by John Dymock

125) Most important are E. RACZYŃSKI, *Gabinet medalów Polskich*, Wrocław 1838, nr. 28 and E. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI, *Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises*, II, Paris-St. Pétersbourg, 1872 (reprinted Graz 1957), nr. 4049, as well as B. E. HILDEBRAND, *Sverige och svenska konungahusets minnespenningar*, I, Stockholm 1874, p. 328; further Polish collections and catalogues enumerated by M. GUMOWSKI, *op. cit.*, column 262.

126) C. R. BERCH, *Beskrifning öfwer svenska mynt och skädepenningar*, Upsala, 1773, p. 61.

127) See nr. 28. In 1925 GUMOWSKI calls it "undoubtedly" a work of H. (*Medale polskie*, Warszawa, 1925, p. 44).

128) The identification was made by V. TOURNEUR in *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1921, pp. 27-55, with supplements *ibid.*, 1922, pp. 209-211, and more extensively in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, pp. 91-132; a bibliography of more recent works about the artist is found in Graham POLLARD *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, London 1967, p. 122. - Steven van Herwijck was born about 1530 in Utrecht, was a master in Antwerp in 1558, probably spent some time in England about 1562, returned to England from Antwerp in 1565, and died in 1567.

129) E. MAJKOWSKI in *Jaarboek... voor Munt - en Penningkunde*, XXIV, Amsterdam 1937, p. 15 and pp. 25-29.

130) E. MAJKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 24 seq.

131) J. SIMONIS, *L'art du médailleur en Belgique*, Bruxelles 1900, p. 215 seq., plate XXV, nr. 4-5; *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, British Museum, London 1911, plate VII, nr. 6 and 12.

132) This fact might indicate that the medal was not made by Herwijck himself, but by someone who knew his style well, cf. my forthcoming paper in *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1969.

in 1568.¹³³⁾ John Dymock is a well known figure in Swedish-English relations in the early 1560's, when he played a role of political agent — or adventurer — using his main occupation of travelling goldsmith as cover for those activities.¹³⁴⁾ Even so his role of agent proved rather dangerous and he was lucky to escape death on various occasions. Nevertheless, he did spend some time in prison, in England from June to September 1561, in Stockholm during the first half of 1563, and in Lubeck in 1563-64.¹³⁵⁾

Another important personal link is provided by George North, whom we met early in 1564, when he carried a letter from Jan Tęczyński to Queen Elizabeth. He too had connections with Sweden and with Dymock. In 1561 he wrote a book on Sweden and in 1562 he visited the country himself.¹³⁶⁾ His connection with Dymock can be dated to 1566 at least, they were both at that time the exigent and even ruthless creditors of Cecilia.¹³⁷⁾

Although none of the above mentioned premises are in themselves sufficient to prove that Steven van Herwijck did actually make the medal, the present author thinks it proper to combine the artistic evidence with the obvious possibilities of contact between the above mentioned persons. He even suggests that the medal could have been ordered by Jan Tęczyński when George North was in England in January or February of 1564. George North may have gone to see Maria Newce, whose husband was at that time imprisoned (*vide supra*), and she might then have put him in touch with the artist, Steven van Herwijck, or a man in his entourage.¹³⁸⁾ The faces on the medal need not be actual portraits. It was sufficient that people reading the inscription would be reminded of the dead Jan Baptist Tęczyński who was going to marry Cecilia, and if the living Jan Tęczyński, "the starost", had succeeded in his plans, then the medal could commemorate that fact. We can even quote Kochanowski in favour of dating the medal after Tęczyński's death, for he writes that "other persons will... cast your face in bronze".¹³⁹⁾

133) V. TOURNEUR, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

134) F. ÖDBERG wrote an article about John Dymock in *Tidsbilder ur 1500-talets svenska hädfer*, Stockholm 1896, pp. 43-110; it is illuminating as regards Dymock's artistic connections, early in 1561 he had a Dutch painter with him in Sweden to paint a portrait of Erik XIV (*op. cit.*, p. 48). Biographical information concerning John Dymock is also found in J. BELL, *Queen Elizabeth and a Swedish Princess*, London 1926, p. 76.

135) F. ÖDBERG, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-59, p. 78 and p. 83.

136) I. ANDERSSON, *Erik XIV's engelska underhandlingar*, Lund 1935, p. 76 and pp. 179-183.

137) F. ÖDBERG, *Cecilia (op. cit.)*, pp. 72-79; *idem*, *Tidsbilder (op. cit.)*, pp. 92-97, p. 103 seq. - The strife between Cecilia and Dymock continued in the 1570's and had serious diplomatic repercussions, *ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

138) As the Jagiellon series and the Tęczyński-Cecilia medal show, one cannot deduce the actual story of the medallist in a country from the nationality of the persons he has portrayed. However, since in 1565 Herwijck mentions some unfinished work in England (when he was about to leave Antwerp, V. TOURNEUR, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-104), it is reasonable to suppose that he had been there about the year 1562, from which year we have medals with English portraits. There are no medals dated 1563, and only one from 1564 representing a lady from Utrecht; it is not unlikely, therefore, that Herwijck was still in England in the beginning of 1564. Nevertheless, as mentioned above (n. 132), we cannot state with certainty that Herwijck himself made the medal which interests us.

139) J. KOCHANOWSKI, *Pamiętka*, vv. 5-6: *Będą druzdy... twarz twoją w miedzi lać*.



Fig. 1

The Tęczyński monument in Kraśnik (ascribed to Santi Gucci, about 1570) at its former place near the main altar. (Photo: W. Wolny).

TAB. I



Fig. 2



Medal representing Jan Tęczyński and Cecilia Vasa, ascribed to Steven van Herwijck, probably 1564. (Casts by courtesy of the Hutten-Czapski Collection, Kraków).

TAB. II



Baltic Sea Shores (XVIth Century).

One cannot help feeling that the relatives of Jan Baptist Tęczyński tried to build up a legend about the scion of their noble house who had set out to marry the Princess of Sweden, but was prevented from doing so by cruel fate (no one seems to have had any doubts about Cecilia receiving permission to marry Tęczyński). This theory is supported by the strange imagery on the monument of Kraśnik which has little in common with a normal sepulchre. In building up the story, the family made use of the best among Polish and foreign artists of the time: the poet Jan Kochanowski, the sculptor Santi Gucci, and perhaps Steven van Herwijck, the medallist.

The saga of Tęczyński's Baltic voyage was not forgotten. The best testimony to this fact is provided by J. U. Niemcewicz's historic novel *Jan z Tęczyna*, published in 1825. The book, the first Polish novel written in the style of Walter Scott, won great fame both in Poland and abroad, and has been republished in modern times.¹⁴⁰⁾ The Tęczyński saga even gained entry into the Polish national epic "*Pan Tadeusz*", by Adam Mickiewicz (written in 1832-34). There, the dying Jacek Soplica speaks of his country as the land where every nobleman can reach for the crown, and says: "Once Tęczyński claimed for his wife the daughter of a Royal House, and the King gave her to him with no dishonour".¹⁴¹⁾

140) J. U. Niemcewicz, *Jan z Tęczyna*, ed. by J. Dihm, *Biblioteka Narodowa*, ser. I, nr. 150, Wrocław 1954; there exist seven Polish editions from the 19th century, three German and one Dutch translation, *ibid.*, introduction p. 101 and p. 104. *Vile*, n. 34.

141) Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, book X, vv. 516-520, *Bylem... w kraju gdzie... szlachcic urodzony jest zarówno z panami kandydat korony! Wszakże Tęczyński niegdyś z królewskiego domu żądał córy, a król mu oddał ją bez sromu*". - Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), the leading Polish poet and writer of the 19th century.

STANISŁAW SELIGA
(ST. ANDREWS)

MUSCOVY AT THE END OF THE 17th CENTURY
AS SEEN BY A CONTEMPORARY CZECH JESUIT

Professor A.V. Florovskij, well known student of the activities of Czech Jesuits in Russia in the 17th century, published in 1965 a part of a manuscript under the title: Georgius David, S.J. *Status Modernus Magnae Russiae seu Moscoviae* (1690) (Mouton & Co., London-The Hague-Paris).¹⁾ The manuscript is a copy of the original and is preserved in the Municipal Museum of Teshin in the Polish part of the town in Silesia.

In an extensive and excellent English introduction which precedes the Latin text the editor ascribes this report to a Czech Jesuit, George David, a hypothesis which seems to be well grounded. Unfortunately, the text itself has been published very carelessly. The contents, however, are interesting, with much information, and many observations made on Russia at the turning point of the two epochs just before the great changes brought about by the reforms of Peter the Great.

Though we have several other reports of a similar kind on those times, the work of David deserves closer attention, as it contains not a small amount of new information, as well as confirming some facts stated by other contemporary travellers.²⁾

David, a well-educated man, stayed in Muscovy — mainly in the capital — for over three years (1686-89) and therefore was in a position to take note of many things. He seems to have been familiar with the Russian language to a degree that enabled him to make full use of his contacts and talks with trustworthy natives on the spot. In the foreword he says (p. 42) that he will write only about what he saw with his own eyes, or what he experienced or what he found out from the frequent contacts with persons who were almost brought up there and were acquainted with local things.

He also writes that he heard from many people who had stayed there for over fifty years that, during the previous thirty to forty years Russian manners had become more gentle and people more easy of access than before. Some foreigners who lived there, adds David,

1) The full title of the manuscript is: *Status Modernus Magnae Russiae seu Moscoviae. P.P. Societatis Jesu eo admissio et remissio. Excitati motus et revolutiones, mores ac ritus gentis tam politici quam ecclesiastici breviter descripti*. The text was partly translated into Russian in *Voprosy Istorii* 1968. I 126-132; III 92-97; IV 138-147.

2) Another Czech, "Boëmus Pragensis", probably of German origin, Bernard Ludwik Tanner, published in Nürnberg in 1689 a Latin report of his journey to Muscovy entitled "*Legatio Polono-Lithuanica*". The author was on the staff of the Polish-Lithuanian mission to Muscovy in 1678.

boastfully declared that it was they who had exerted on them some civilizing influence, but Muscovite envoys who returned from the West also brought with them some beneficial influence on Muscovy (p. 41).

In the three parts of his report David writes: 1) about the Jesuit mission and religious beliefs in Muscovy as well as about Prince Golitsyn's expeditions against the Crimean Tartars. 2) about politics, institutions and life in Muscovy and 3) about church organization and Orthodox religion.³⁾

My endeavour is to include in this paper what seems to me the more interesting details in David's report which cast some light on the character of the Muscovites of those times and the life in Muscovy in general.

I

David began his journey to Muscovy from Silesia in February 1686. When he travelled over the Polish Lithuanian territories his attention was drawn to the very great number of Jews in the towns (pp. 52-54). On the day of his departure from Brest, Jews, as he writes, killed with impunity two soldiers (p. 53). During the journey one had to supply oneself with all the necessary provender, and to pay for the right of entering the towns where gentry lived (p. 55).

When he arrived at Smolensk the local Russian *voyevod* ordered him to turn back because he was not accompanied by a physician who was to have come with him. This physician, who was to be sent by the Imperial Court of Vienna, was unable to accompany David, and this fact had been previously duly notified to Moscow. The explanation of our Jesuit proved to be of no avail (p. 48).

When David wanted then and there to write a request to Prince Golitsyn for permission to enter Muscovite territory, he was simply ordered to go and write it in an adjoining small wood, whither he was conducted by no fewer than five Russians. When leaving Smolensk he was amused to see that on the walls there was a group of soldiers with a red and white flag unfolded as if they were prepared for defence (p. 48).

So he departed from there and for a whole month waited in Kadzin where Prince Ogiński resided. In the meantime David received a letter from Moscow. It came from the Muscovite postmaster, neatly written — partly in Polish and partly in Russian — informing David that he could not be allowed to enter Muscovite territory because there was no physician with him and somebody else was with him (it was a young pupil whom David took from Olomouc as his companion) (p. 48).

Embittered by all this, he decided to return for good. But, by chance, on his way, he met a Muscovite courier who rode to the Emperor and the King of Poland to let them know about the oncoming arrival of the Great Muscovite Envoys. At that time, Prince Ogiński, Chancellor of Lithuania, proved of great assistance to David. He threatened with serious consequences those who did not allow David to enter the

3) David wrote his report in Silesia after his return from Moscow, as he says, on the demand of his authorities (*iussu superiorum*).

Muscovite boundaries and showed the courier the letter received from the capital. When he looked at the letter he claimed it was not genuine; that it was written by heretics (Protestants?) and not by the Russians who were not allowed to order anything to anybody without proper permission. At the same time he gave David his own letter to the *voyevod* of Smolensk and a horseman as a guide there (p. 49).

When David arrived again at Smolensk he found there Muscovite envoys preparing to depart to the Emperor and the King of Poland. The Jesuit told them what had happened and then the first envoy addressed himself to the *voyevod* asking him: "Why don't you let them in?" To that the frightened *voyevod* said that he did not know anything about the arrival of the Jesuit and in addition he swore to it again. Of course, it was all lies. In consequence the *voyevod* received David and gave him accomodation in the suburb, where the Jesuit waited ten days till a letter arrived from Moscow. Now shown by the governor all civility, he was given as many free carriages as he wanted, and, well pleased, he started his journey to the capital (p. 49).

Throughout he travelled on bad roads and experienced much discomfort; he had to spend his nights in peasant cottages or in the open fields. Thank God it was summer! He also experienced the company of cockroaches which seemed to bite only foreigners; defence against them was a piece of bread left on the table or the bench. David discovered one cockroach under his flank, but it did not bite him. Probably the cockroach mistook him for a Russian, jokes David. As a matter of fact it happened during his return journey from Moscow three years later. Travelling on Muscovite soil, he says, one must have one's own kitchen utensils and food (pp. 54-55).

Having arrived in Moscow, he resided in the so-called Nemetskaya (German, Foreign) Sloboda — called also Kukui — where already from 1684 there existed a small Roman Catholic parish run by Jesuits. In this connection it may be added that — as David writes — Pseudo-Demetrios already had around him two Jesuits (p. 43).

During his sojourn in Moscow David remembered the friendly counsels given to him by Baron John Christopher Zierovski, the Imperial Resident at the Polish Royal Court, as well as later on those from the emissary of Prince Golitsyn. They advised him not to enter into any religious discussions with the Orthodox or Dissidents, to keep clear of public affairs, and live quietly apart (p. 47) Thus the Jesuits exercised their religious and charitable activity in the Nemetskaya Sloboda quite freely, but in the capital they gave their assistance to people cautiously (p. 60).

II

In Muscovy David observed continuously that the Orthodox felt a great hatred towards the Roman Catholics. Also Protestants (Lutherans and Calvinists) were not popular with the Orthodox and were hostile to the Roman Catholics. No wonder that the latter were exposed to the lies and slander which circulated about them with impunity. Thus, for instance, when a certain boyar sent for a Catholic priest for his Catholic

servant, at once rumour arose that reached the Patriarch himself, that the Catholic priest intended to baptise children of the Orthodox faith according to the Catholic rite (p. 60). Patriarch Joachim's attitude towards Roman Catholics was dictated by deep hatred and suspicion. His action against them largely contributed to the expulsion of the Jesuit mission from Moscow in 1689 (cf. pp. 69, 71). One gets the impression that the Jesuit raised in him, apart from hatred, some panicky fear. It happened once that a few French and Polish Jesuits requested permission in Moscow to go via Siberia to China. The rumour was that when the Patriarch heard about it he said with tears and moaning that after his death the whole of Muscovy would become Jesuit (p. 72).

But among the Orthodox and Protestants were also persons who took great interest in Roman Catholicism and from time to time attended Catholic religious services. These services were, however, conducted in German in order not to attract the Orthodox and thus avoid any complications with Muscovite authorities (p. 61). The Jesuits received instructions from Prince Golitsyn, the trustworthy minister of the Regent Sophia, to keep clear of the Lithuanian prisoners who were converted to the Orthodox religion, as the Muscovites were afraid that they would return to Roman Catholicism which they had deserted (p. 56).

A certain orthodox Archimandrite invited David four times to see him, but the visit never materialized because the Jesuit was afraid of some trap (p. 60). The Jesuit adds that it was a great worry to them that they could not trust anybody; everything that they did was done with some fear; when outdoors, they never felt secure; always suspicious about their talks and contacts with other people, because, as he writes, their enemies waited only for an occasion to suppress the Jesuits (pp. 60-61). In this connection it is worth adding that the Georgian Tsar Archill, when forced to leave his country, took refuge in Moscow, where he was converted to the Orthodox religion. After some time he got in touch with David and told him that he would like, with all his nation, to embrace Roman Catholicism. But their conversations on this matter had to be conducted in the greatest secrecy (pp. 59-60).

We know besides that approximately at that time the Orthodox monk Palladij Rogovskij and the deacon Peter Artemiev converted to Catholicism. An active role in this conversion allegedly was played by two Czech Jesuits: George David and Tobias Tichavsky (p. 10).⁴⁾

The Orthodox clergy were very numerous there, owing to the great number of churches, but because of an insufficient number of schools they were uneducated.

In the schools which did exist, and they were very few, the pupils were only taught to read and write Russian. Though six years earlier, writes David, at a great cost, two monk teachers were brought from Venice to teach Latin and Greek, it appeared that they themselves did not know Latin sufficiently, and, as to their Greek, it was barbaric (p. 106).

The Patriarch kept at his own expense a school which was attended even by some older married men, some of them preparing to become clergymen (p. 107). It may be interesting to add that the Patriarch had a numerous administrative staff at his disposal (p. 104).

Some richer boyars maintained their own chaplains attached to them

4) Cf. A.V. FLOROVSKIJ, "Palladius Rogovskij"; *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte* VII (N.F.IV) N. 2 (1934), pp. 161-188.

(p. 89). The Orthodox priests were inclined to drunkenness and did not command any respect among the people. Sometimes they were beaten by them with impunity (p. 100). They used to sell among themselves church benefices and considered it quite regular (pp. 100, 110). On meeting they used to kiss one another (p. 100).

There were many monasteries and nunneries in Moscow. The novitiate was unknown (p. 105) but it was expected that those who started monastic life should bring some monetary contribution to the institution (p. 106). Though the monks swore poverty, nevertheless wills were arranged. The life of the monks differed greatly from that prescribed by St Basil's rules (p. 106), in that there was no order and discipline. Therefore one had to apply severe punishments, as for instance arrest, putting in chains, flogging and even expelling from the monastery (p. 105). An expelled monk could go from one monastery to another as he fancied until, finally, he was accepted (p. 105). The monks did not devote themselves to study, but practiced manual work, as, for instance, producing various objects of so-called kap wood (p. 105).

The Muscovites held in particular reverence pictures of religious content and in every house there was a holy icon; many of them were painted on wood and the Muscovites carried them wherever they travelled and exhibited them in the place they were staying (p. 102). The Muscovites were scandalized if they did not find holy pictures in someone's house and therefore one could see them even in the houses of Protestants (p. 102). Some time earlier, writes David, holy pictures of the Catholic type had been condemned, but in his time were acceptable and even sought after (p. 110). However, holy pictures painted in too bright colours or representing human bodies too naked caused criticism (p. 111).

There were already to be found in the Orthodox churches statues which David saw with his own eyes; previously, they were not admitted there (p. 111). It was a custom for certain priests who probably were directed to do it, to visit offices every morning and proffer crucifixes to be kissed by the clerks, for which they received from them money (p. 100). The Muscovites carry crosses on their necks. Those who were sentenced to death before the execution took them off (p. 102).

Many days in the year were taken up by the fasts which were looked on, as it were, as some measure of holiness (pp. 73, 100-101). Holydays and Sundays were free from working but often were an occasion of drunkenness. However, not everybody took rest on such days. Peasants and simple people often worked during holidays saying that only rich people were free from work on holidays (p. 114).

The Muscovites regarded as holy men the so-called *yurodivye* who betrayed a lack of sound mind and therefore were victims of laughter, jokes and contempt, but were supposed to spend the night in prayer (p. 114).

A woman who wanted to marry an Orthodox man and herself was of a different creed had first to convert to his religion. How much some Muscovites were attached to their religious convictions may be shown by the case of a sect of Old Believers called Kapitons.⁵⁾ When expeditions

5) This name was derived from the name of a certain Kapiton Kolesnikov who was the leader of the sect (p. 121). Patriarch Nikon wrote a 3 volume book against the sect. If they enjoyed freedom, says David, the whole of Moscow would have passed over to their coreligionists (p. 112).

were directed against them they gathered with their families and voluntarily threw themselves into fire saying that they were doing it for the love of Christ (p. 111).

The religious services of the Orthodox people in David's opinion are characterized by earnestness and some sort of religious awe (p. 101).

David gives an interesting depiction of two annual ceremonies in which the Tsars and Patriarchs took part. They were: the blessing of water at the beginning of January (pp. 115-117) and the Palm Sunday procession (p. 103). In the first ceremony Tsar Peter (his half brother Tsar John was absent owing to poor health) walked, supported by arms by two boyars. He was dressed magnificently in white and wore a crown on his head. He was accompanied by richly bedecked boyars and princes in a long row. When they were coming back the interpreter introduced David and the Polish envoy to the Tsar and the Patriarch. The Tsar looked on them with a mild expression on his face but the Patriarch looked a bit sour (p. 117). On another occasion when the Patriarch blessed the people with his cross he noticed there a group of Roman Catholics and at once stopped the act of his blessing (p. 103).

In spite of the unfriendly attitude of the Muscovites towards Roman Catholics Tsarevna Sophia and Prince Golitsyn showed a singular religious tolerance and, one might say, kept the Jesuits in their care. When both of them were deprived of their power, the Jesuits, left to themselves, were compelled to leave Moscow in 1689 (pp. 69, 71). According to David the whole responsibility for the expulsion of the Jesuits rested with the Patriarch and the Orthodox clergy (pp. 69, 71).

III

David's opinion of the character of the Muscovites is very poor. They are an insincere (p. 73), vicious nation (*natio prava*, p. 56), secretive, fraudulent, suspicious and lying (cf. p. 93). Here it is worth relating what happened to a Jesuit, Albert de Boye. When in Muscovy he put on some finer clothes than the usual Jesuit dress, probably in order to appear in a better form, and when it was discovered in the capital that he was a Jesuit, the suspicious Muscovites became exasperated to such an extent that the Jesuit was in danger of his life or at least of being expelled from Moscow.⁶⁾ They began to ask him why he had changed his dress, though he could appear in Jesuit dress; who gave him the letter which he carried; what was its content; why was the letter so small? Here David adds, not without irony, that one was allowed to give to the Tsar only what was magnificent, of large size. De Boye defended himself as best he could. Finally he extricated himself from the perilous situation thanks to the help rendered to him by an Imperial envoy who just at that time was staying in Moscow (p. 44).

As to the Muscovite merchants they used to pray to God in the morning to give them as many foreign buyers as possible who did not know them and therefore could be easily exposed to fraud. (p. 93).

6) Gens enim Muscovitica suspitionum plena mutationes habitus suspectas habet (p. 47). David received such a warning from Baron Zierovski.

The Muscovites even in contact with one another were distrustful, reticent and timorous. Those who were on close terms among themselves saw one another late in the night in order not to attract any suspicion which would arise if they called on one another in daytime. When invited by foreigners, for the same reasons they called on them very seldom (p. 94).

Those foreigners whom they needed, as, for instance, military men, craftsmen, goldsmiths, merchants and others, they attracted or rather allured with fine promises, but they did not always keep their word. Sometimes they prepared some sort of a contract which was signed by the foreigners though they did not know its exact contents. Later on the Muscovites interpreted it in their own way and at the expense of the foreigners who in consequence often became almost their slaves (p. 95).

Lately the Muscovite envoys had brought over with them two youths born into higher society (one of them a Czech) and had promised them freedom in their service. However, when they arrived the Muscovites did not allow them to go to the Roman Catholic church or, for that matter, anywhere else.

Finally both of them converted to the Orthodox religion (p. 95). As a rule they tried to convert the foreigners staying in Moscow to the Orthodox faith and if they were successful in their endeavour they practically never let them out of Muscovy. Nor did they let their own people go abroad unless they were sent on some special mission (p. 95).

In the so called Envoys' Office (Posolskij Prikaz) there was a register of all foreigners which gave the Muscovites the possibility of extending their control over them and not allowing them to escape abroad (p. 82). Here also letters were brought from the Post Office before they were sent or after they had been received. Often they were opened and if it was thought advisable, confiscated (p. 82).

The large city was divided into districts in which registers of inhabitants were kept. In this way the control was extended over all of them and they were not allowed to leave of their own will (p. 88).

David noticed that the Muscovites kissed one another when they departed on a distant journey or came back from a journey (p. 95).

The Tsars enjoyed such reverence that every boyar wished to be in their service and, as a result of such an attitude, all of them lived at the Tsar's expense (p. 79). Formerly the courtiers on the occasion of some greater ceremony hired the necessary livery from the Tsar's stores, but in David's time they already had their own dress (p. 81). Those who were permanently attached to the Court of the Tsars kept such dress, or at least one piece of it, to hand, in order not to have to return home for it when such occasions arose (p. 82). In their relation to the Tsars even the most outstanding boyars were full of servile humility calling themselves their *chology*, i.e. slaves (p. 81).

The game of chess was very popular with the Muscovites, and one saw it being played in offices and among merchants (p. 94).

The Muscovite workers did not like, as a rule, to be hired by the day (p. 93). When they undertook to execute some work as a whole they asked for their pay in advance and then behaved quite unscrupulously, accomplishing the job superficially and with great haste (p. 93).

With regard to the food they ate, it was undercooked and underbaked. There were several times when food from the Tsar's kitchen was sent

to the Polish Resident and it had to be cooked again (p. 94). Joking in another place, David says, that hard drinking, which is characteristic of the Muscovites, is necessary for digesting such food (p. 93).

They consumed little veal, hares and pigeons and avoided eating the meat of suffocated animals as well as blood (p. 110). They ate little cheese and fresh butter which they produced in modest quantity (p. 96). But they were very fond of cucumbers which they ate fresh and raw and unpeeled as they took them from the garden, or pickled. All of them were lovers of garlic and onions. They crushed with a pestle finely chopped garlic and onion, then poured kvas over this mash and using spoons consumed it with relish (p. 93). They did not deny themselves curdled milk (p. 96). Some of them followed German manners in eating but did not yet make use of knives and napkins (p. 93).

Both sexes showed a weakness for heavy drinking (p. 93). Apart from brandy, beer and home produced kvas, they drank French, Spanish and other wines. White wines, which they called Rhenish, were expensive. Red wines, so called Church wines because in the past they were used for liturgical purposes, were the cheapest as they were entirely or partly exempt from custom duties (p. 91). To an ordinary visitor they offered vodka or beer; to the rich they served wine. Having offered their guests wine they served them sweet tit-bits in the German manner (p. 93).

After lunch all, even the servants, used to have a nap. Pseudo-Demetrios did not observe this custom and on this account they suspected him of not having been of their race (p. 93).

The Muscovite women from the Court and boyar society did not eat at the same tables as their husbands, even at receptions (p. 81). Boys from the age of six were only seen in the company of their fathers, and girls with their mothers (p. 81).

As to lower and middle class women one could see them everywhere: in shops and in public squares (p. 94). Women did not complain when they were beaten by their husbands. Earlier, when not beaten by them, they used to complain that their husbands did not love them. But David had some doubt on this point. They make up their faces, by some technical operation get rid of their brows and paint circles high up over their eyes which made them resemble owls (p. 94).

One could see in Moscow a large number of beggars who asked for alms in the name of Christ and the Tsar; otherwise they were given over to drunkenness and laziness (p. 95).

Boyars did not carry any weapons on them except when they went abroad. Men of middle class had behind their belts long knives fit for killing or stabbing a man (p. 95). All of them went frequently to baths (p. 95).

The windows in their houses, and even in the stone built ones-which were few, were still very small (p. 89).

IV

Many foreigners lived in Moscow, and the Muscovites behaved towards them in a more humane way than before (p. 94). There were among them: Germans, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Italians, Poles, Scots... They

were occupied as army officers, craftsmen, merchants, physicians, goldsmiths. The craftsmen of foreign origin had Russian pupil-apprentices in their workshops, but they did not acquaint them with secrets of their special trade. The Germans, for example, produced glass (p. 92).

As already stated, almost all foreigners lived in one of the suburbs of Moscow, in the so-called German settlement (Nemetskaya Sloboda). In addition Cherkassians (Ukrainians) and Poles who were sometimes taken prisoner during a war, lived in the so-called Panskaya Sloboda or Polskaya Sloboda (p. 89). In this connection one must note that there were many other Slobodas in Moscow, as for instance Yamskaya Sloboda where cabmen lived, Spasskaya Sloboda, Pushkarskaya Sloboda and so on. A Muscovite with a number of soldiers at his disposal was posted at the head of each Sloboda (p. 90). Some foreigners, as for instance Dutchmen, lived there comfortably. They had their own houses, nicely kept gardens, which some Russians had already copied from them, and their wives wore expensive and tasteful dresses (p. 63). Unfortunately, there were also people among the foreigners whose past life was not clear and rather suspicious. As David writes, there arrived people of the lowest category, those who had deserted their wives, taken part in duels, runaways and on the whole such people who, on account of their various crimes, would not dare show themselves in their own countries (p. 63).

Some of them acquired fictitious certificates furnished with seals and gave false information about themselves. All this was done in order to get better posts in Moscow, where foreigners, who could be useful (especially in the forces) were in very great demand (p. 63).

Nearly all foreigners, once they were given some post, were in most cases retained for good, one may say, they became *regioni adscripti*. Muscovite envoys returning from foreign missions brought with them various specialists and musicians. They promised them much but then went back on their word. Then they tried to persuade them, especially the Roman Catholics, to accept Orthodoxy (p. 95).

Nobody arrived in Muscovy solely to see the country. The experiences of three Italians who arrived here with a letter of recommendation from the King of Poland were disappointing. They wanted to acquaint themselves with the country. As it later happened, they found themselves among suspicious people. Though in the beginning they were received in a friendly manner by Prince Golitsyn, they were later suspected of spying and almost put in gaol. But for the intervention of the Polish Court the Italian tourist expedition would have ended in catastrophe (p. 95).

When describing the Muscovite forces David writes that the infantry consisted of (1) soldiers who possessed fields which they cultivated in peace time and (2) of so-called musketeers (*streltsy*). The latter were in the Tsar's pay and remained within the capital; they numbered 40,000. Some of them served at the Court, others in different parts of Moscow and its surroundings; some were sent to different garrisons. None of them wore any weapons when out of service. When they were in service, or when they accompanied the Tsar, they put on colourful uniforms which they received for the duration of their service from special stores. They were very arrogant and when occasion required it, kept Moscow in fright (p. 87). The infantry and cavalry were under the command

of Muscovite officers and mercenary foreigners. Some of them did not perform any exercises, or did so seldom. Therefore in peace time they lived very comfortably; their time was taken up by visiting one another, drinking and smoking (p. 63).

One hears that formerly officers received generous pay, but now, says David, they must be content with small remuneration. Officers received one half of their salaries in cash, another half in sable pelts of furs of other animals. These pelts were originally valued very highly but, when sold, they yielded barely half of their original value. Sons of the soldiers in due time became soldiers too, and their number was always increasing. There was no conscription for military expeditions but orders were given to appear to those who were bound to serve (p. 87).

Widows and children of Muscovite officers, as well as of foreign officers, received pension, the amount of which was based on the rank of the dead man. Widows received their pensions to the end of their lives or until they married again, and children, until they were able to undertake some work (p. 87).

V

Those who were under suspicion of lawbreaking were under continuous examination which lasted until the truth was discovered. David approved the fact that the period of imprisonment did not last long. The proceedings which followed were quick, though some mistakes occurred on this account (p. 85).

Murders and more serious thefts were punished by death. Similar punishment awaited those responsible for spreading heresies. Adulterers were punished if they were too notorious (p. 85).

Death sentences were executed by: beheading by an axe (on any block of wood), hanging, burning and burying alive in the ground. Sometimes the delinquent before his final execution had his hands and legs cut off; this way of additional punishment was applied to the more serious offenders. In other cases the culprit was flogged with the so-called *knouts* (whips) (p. 85).

The delinquent walked to the place of execution with his hands free; in one hand he carried a burning candle. The condemned, whom David observed, behaved quietly, crossed himself and asked the surrounding crowd for forgiveness (p. 86). He was preceded by a boy with a holy picture in his hands, and two soldiers walked on each side. A priest, who by special permission could sometimes confess the delinquent three days before his execution, did not accompany him to the place of execution (p. 86).

David, who confessed a Catholic condemned man, had to ask Prince Golitsyn for special permission to accompany him to the place of execution. He says that foreigners did not receive such gracious permission, so that together with the body the soul of the condemned suffered perdition (p. 86). Once, when David wanted at the last moment to give the condemned man a crucifix to be kissed, the executioner so brutally pushed the Jesuit that he fell to the ground (p. 58). The naked body of the executed man was to lie three days on the place of execution. Only

thanks to an application which was sent to Prince Golitsyn by the Polish Resident, was the corpse taken away immediately after the execution and buried. In this way it escaped being insulted by the Muscovite crowd (pp. 58, 59). Rumour was spread that had the condemned man accepted the Orthodox creed he would have been reprieved (p. 58).

Once David witnessed a hanging. When the rope snapped and the condemned man fell to the ground, the crowd surrounding the place burst out laughing. He was lifted and hanged again: this time with better effect (p. 86).

When the condemned man was to be burnt it was not done at the stake, but he was put into a shed through an opening above and the straw in it was set afire. The condemned was stifled by the smoke and burnt there (p. 86). A few days before David and Tichavsky departed from Moscow two Lutheran heretics, Conrad Nordermann and Quirin Kulman, were burnt there (pp. 70-71).

Wives who murdered their husbands were often buried in the earth in a standing position so that only their heads were to be seen. If there was no protection they were picked to death by rooks or eaten by dogs; otherwise they died from hunger and thirst. (p. 86).

Three times per year certain prisoners were freed from gaols: at Easter, Christmas, and on the Tsar's birthday. The reprieved then gave a sworn promise that they would never again commit any crime. On the eve of Easter the Tsars, their daughters and courtiers visited the gaols and kissed the prisoners there (p. 86).

VI

The Muscovites are by nature gifted with artistic and technical abilities. Unfortunately they lacked education as there were few schools in their country (p. 92). In those which were in existence there was no provision for Latin from the fear that it might lead to Roman Catholicism (cf. p. 46). Thus a Jesuit called John Schmid, who came to Moscow from the province of Lithuania, was expelled because the Patriarch complained that Schmid taught the children of the boyars Latin. However, David maintains that Schmid taught only a small group of Catholic children (p. 46). In his opinion had the Muscovites been able to travel abroad they would have learned all the skills of the countries they visited (p. 92). Whatever they did they executed with vigour, and nothing was done quietly; therefore everything they did was, one may say, roughly done and did not last (p. 92).

In the whole of the Muscovite Empire there were only two printing offices: one in the Kremlin in Moscow, the other in Kiev. The latter also had Latin types, but books printed there were not acceptable in Muscovy as everything coming from the West aroused suspicion. The Muscovite printing office printed books for use in Orthodox churches as well as for extra-church purposes, but their contents had to be religious. Whatever came out of the printing offices had to have the approval of the Tsar and the Patriarch; in this way it was kept under strict control (p. 107).

In Moscow and in the whole Muscovite Empire there were only two pharmacies and both were state (Tsar's) property. The main one was in the Kremlin where the Tsars lived, the other one in the city. The medicines prepared in the first pharmacy were only for the use of the Court and were seldom for sale. But the medicines produced in the other one were for sale. At the head of both of them was one of the boyars under whose orders were physicians, dispensing chemists and assistant surgeons. He came on certain days to the main pharmacy and gave orders to the physicians. In addition there was a secretary who deputized for the head manager of the pharmacies and remained there all the time the medicines were being prepared. He was shown all prescriptions and gave orders to the physicians. Nothing could be prepared without his knowledge. Everybody depended on his decision and he ordered everything that was needed (p. 83).

There were altogether five sworn physicians to the Tsar: three Lutherans, one Calvinist and one Roman Catholic. The first physician had previously been a surgeon but because he had successfully bled the Tsar, he was made a doctor by him. The Roman Catholic physician had only recently been sent to the Tsar by the Viennese Court (p. 83).

The physicians were bound to come every morning, except holidays, to the main pharmacy to receive orders from the Head or his secretary (deputy) to ensure that the medicines were prepared according to the prescription, and that everything that was required in the pharmacy was supplied. Then they had to visit the patients recommended by the Head and a report had to be given to him or his deputy about the patients, especially if they were the Court dignitaries. Otherwise the physician was not bound to visit those patients who were not recommended to him; but if he visited them he did it from a sense of charity and, gaining in this way appreciation from ordinary people and higher classes, derived much profit from them (pp. 83-84).

In their oath they had to swear never to give a patient a prescription with ingredients conflicting with Orthodox fasts; not to recommend the use of any part of a corpse, cranium or of any other part of the human body or human fat; nothing of serpents, toads, spiders and creatures of this sort (p. 84).

There were four or five sworn dispensing chemists. They were proficient in their speciality and had under them young pupils and assistants. The dispensing chemists had to come every morning to the pharmacies to prepare what they were ordered to do and to remain there until everything necessary was done (p. 84).

The remaining time was at their disposal but they had to inform the Head or his secretary about what was needed in the pharmacy. They were not allowed to sell medicines privately, but they did in great secrecy. They preferred to give medicines gratuitously rather than to risk danger (p. 84).

The assistant surgeons also came every day to the pharmacy and did what they were instructed. They too could render their services privately which brought them no small gains.

Physicians, dispensing chemists and assistant surgeons, who were selected by the Prince, were assigned to forces which were on field service (p. 84).

All physicians received salaries from the pharmacy incomes, some of them, especially the first one, quite large sums. In addition they

received remuneration from their patients. Smaller salaries according to their rank and merits were paid to dispensing chemists and still smaller to pupils and assistants. The range of salaries was great (pp. 83-84).

VII

David also writes about two military expeditions which were led by Prince Golitsyn against the Crimean Tartars in 1687 and 1689 (pp. 63-67).

In the first of them Muscovite army, composed of Russians and Cossacks, did not reach the Tartars because the steppes had been burnt by the enemy. The forces also suffered great losses from disease. Rumour had it that the Cossack leader Samoylovich was responsible for all this, and, moreover, that he had concluded a secret agreement with the Tartars. Consequently Prince Golitsyn exiled him and his son was decapitated in front of the troops (p. 64). All Muscovy approved except the youthful Tsar Peter. He was in opposition to Golitsyn on account of the Princess Sophia, whose favourite man and confidential minister Golitsyn was, and because of the ostentatious conceit of the minister, or because of the ill-will towards Golitsyn raised in Peter by people envious of the Prince (p. 64). Tsar Peter received him at an audience only after long hesitation and mainly thanks to the intercession of certain influential people (p. 64).

The second expedition was also under the command of Prince Golitsyn and it did not result in a victory either. All sorts of contradictory rumours regarding this affair arose and, as David says, it was not easy to find the truth, though he heard Golitsyn himself boasting that victory was achieved in the last expedition more than at any time previously. But people at the Court of Tsar Peter were of a different opinion. Nevertheless, Princess Sophia went forward to meet Golitsyn on his return from the expedition. This distinction shown to the Prince by Sophia revolted Peter and confirmed all previous rumours which were afoot in Moscow. This time he refused to give an audience to Golitsyn, and the treasurer who came to him to show Sophia's expenses, was caught by the beard by Peter and thrown to the ground and kicked (p. 65).

An open conflict started. The young Tsar for the sake of safety took refuge in the monastery of the Holy Trinity and attracted many boyars and musketeers (*streltsy*). Patriarch Joachim (Savelov) was also a great enemy of Golitsyn. Golitsyn was charged that he had exercised his power according to whim, organized military expeditions without the Tsar's knowledge, misused the seal and had at great expense twice led armies against the Tartars without any positive results. Peter exiled Golitsyn with all his family to the far North (pp. 65-66).

Deprived of his boyar's title, Golitsyn was allowed to travel in his own carriage with his wife, two sons and servants. But later, when more charges were raised against him, and while still journeying to the North, he was deprived of his servants, cast in irons and thrown into a simple cart. There were rumours that, but for the intervention of Tsar John, Golitsyn would have been turned back, arrested and beheaded (p. 65).

The leader of the *Streltsy* (Musketeers), Shaklovityi, because he at first did not say anything about the alleged plot of which he was supposed to know, was flogged with a knout. Later on one heard that he had described the whole plot in writing to the Tsar. Mollified by this confession, the Tsar wanted to save his life, but certain boyars and the Patriarch himself opposed it. Finally he was beheaded. Peter ordered him to be buried and services of mourning arranged for a period of six weeks (p. 66).

Tsarevna Sophia was deprived of any power and the royal title and her name was ordered to be omitted in future from supplicatory prayers. She was ordered to leave the Court as soon as possible and enter a nunnery (p. 66).

Later on, says David, strange stories were spread about her and Golitsyn, as usually took place among uneducated people, under the influence of various emotions when an occasion of disparaging occurred (p. 67).

Just about that time an elder (*starets*), head of one of the smaller monasteries, was apprehended; he and some other people suspected of having participated in the plot underwent interrogation. The Patriarch had held him in prison before on account of some pro-Catholic opinions which he was alleged to have spread. Some people said that Golitsyn planned to use him for bringing about a religious union and spreading Roman Catholicism; according to others he was singled out for the role of a new Patriarch (p. 67). When interrogated he said that he knew of some moves but he had argued against any inimical action directed against Tsar Peter. But just because he had not reported all this in due time, he had his hands and legs cut off and then was beheaded (p. 67).

According to another version he was still kept in prison. Apparently he was asked if the Jesuits knew all about it and if he had not received advice and instructions from them concerning their Catholic doctrine. Apparently he gave negative answers (p. 67).

However, with Golitsyn in exile, the religious dissenters and Orthodox had the opportunity to remove the Jesuits from the territory of the Muscovite state. They had not been able to do it when he was powerful. So the Jesuits were informed that they had to leave Moscow, that such was the wish of the Orthodox clergy and the Patriarch. Their requests for indulgence and intercession on their behalf by General P. Gordon who enjoyed great respect were of no avail. They were not allowed to write to the Tsar requesting extension of their stay in Moscow. They had to go. However, on their departure, they were given three pairs of sable pelts each (altogether six pairs) (pp. 68-70).

* * *

When we compare the information which David gives us, though very incomplete, with what we know from other sources about life in the state of Muscovy, we see that not very much had changed by the end of the 17th century.

The Orthodox religion with all its formalism and fanaticism then, as before, was an integral part of the life in Muscovy, and was, as it were, an expression and symbol of their national unity. It was an intolerant

institution, exclusive and jealous. The autocratism of the Tsars, practically approved by all and in its entirety, was another binding element there. The human individual was completely and immutably subservient to their power.

Contact with the western world was rendered extremely difficult and hence scanty influence was exercised on the Muscovite state. The Russians had their frontiers closed and foreigners were admitted and tolerated on condition that they might be useful.

Drunkenness was then, as before, and after, a very common thing. Ignorance, suspicion, hypocrisy and lying were characteristic of the Muscovite people. Hand in hand with all this went cruelty, vulgarity and a kind of listless resignation.

The Muscovite people, gifted by nature, needed only proper education in order to develop their talents. Religious tolerance was shown only by a very few individuals, as for instance the Regent Sophia and Prince Golitsyn, and it is fair to say that these traits of their character contributed to their downfall. When we read David's account of life in Muscovy at the end of the 17th century we notice, *mutatis mutandis*, many parallels with what we know about life in Russia in the centuries that preceded and followed.

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THE NOVEMBER INSURRECTION AND THE HUNGARIANS *)

In 1830, as a revolutionary wave was building up in Western Europe, Hungary embarked upon a series of peaceful reforms. Its Age of Reform was under way. Aware of what might be in the making, the Habsburgs, like Europe's other monarchs, prepared as best they could. In Hungary they decided it was better to make concessions than to try repression, so a reform Diet was convened for September 8, 1830. The royal summons to attend was issued on July 15, just two weeks before revolution erupted in Paris.¹⁾ After it broke out, all reform propositions were eliminated from the Diet agenda, but Francis I undertook to convoke another Diet on October 2, 1831, to consider the projected reforms. The dynasty's hope was that the climate of revolution would have dissipated well before then. The Hungarian estates were quite willing to go along with this, for what was happening in Paris made them as frightened as the king, that the social upheaval might spread to Hungary. Once before their common fear of social turmoil had brought the Habsburgs and the Hungarian estates together in an alliance of reaction, which had lasted for the duration of the French Revolution.²⁾ That first alliance had forestalled all political, social or economic changes in Hungary. The present alliance, however, was different. Neither were the estates willing to abandon the idea of reform for the sake of an alliance with the Habsburgs, nor were the Habsburgs intending to prevent social overhaul by a return to absolutism. What the Habsburgs wanted to do was to strengthen Hungarian feudal constitutionalism so that it might be a shield against social revolution. The Hungarian Royal High Chancellor Ádám Reviczky, one of Francis I's most trusted advisors, did all he could to ease the already shattered absolutist control over Hungary, aiming to head off tension or tumult by a policy of flexibility. The authority of the Habsburg secret police was notably curtailed in Hungary; some opposition politicians were appointed to high state office; large numbers of young people were given permission

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1) Sándor SZILÁGYI (ed.), *A magyar nemzet története* [History of the Hungarian Nation], 10 vols. (Budapest: Atheneum, 1895-98), IX, 230.

2) Béla K. KIRALY, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Decline of Enlightened Despotism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 234-240.

to go abroad to study. As a result, when the Diet of 1830 met, it did so not in an atmosphere of unrest but rather one of loyalty to the Habsburgs and readiness to apply reforms within the framework of feudal constitutionalism.³⁾

On the general European scene, neither the Habsburg Empire nor the Russian Empire was about to intervene in French affairs for the time being. The "Chiffon de Carlsbad" signed by Prince von Metternich and Count Nesselrode stipulated that there would be "no interference in the internal affairs of France, but no French attack on Europe's economic interests or internal peace will be tolerated".⁴⁾ Metternich had thus secured the cooperation of Europe's two main conservative powers to stop the export of French revolution and now turned his attention to the internal problems of the Habsburg lands to guard the system against disruption. The Diet was thus to serve a variety of purposes for the Habsburgs. It was to demonstrate to revolutionary Europe the loyalty of Hungary, the largest unit of the Habsburg lands; it was to show those who ignored legitimacy, like the Orleanists, that Habsburg legitimacy was standing fast and working well; and — like every Hungarian Diet — it was to vote money and men for the Habsburg army, both much needed in the current revolutionary circumstances.⁵⁾ And finally, the Diet was to crown Ferdinand, the heir apparent, King of Hungary during his father's lifetime (a practice not uncommon under the Árpáds, the first Hungarian dynasty) to underscore the Hungarian's loyalty to the Habsburgs and, probably more importantly, to safeguard the dynasty's inheritance of the Crown of St. Stephen, just in case revolution should penetrate into the Danube basin.

The coronation took place amidst great pomp. The Diet concentrated on routine matters of law and order while Europe was in uproar. As soon as the Habsburgs had obtained what they wanted, the Diet was adjourned in great haste on December 20. As prorogation was taking place, the November insurrection exploded in the Congress Kingdom.

The Polish revolt was the culmination of the chain reaction that began in Paris in July. The revolutionary tide galvanized the Hungarian public. Though only sixteen at the time, Ferenc Pulszky, one of Hungary's nineteenth-century intellectuals, remembered the ferment in his memoirs:

Everybody read the newspapers, and anxiety grew all the more when in September the Belgian and in November the Polish revolts broke out. No one cared any more about the Diet, though Metternich, by Ferdinand's coronation, had shown the whole of Europe that the Hungarians' loyalty defied the revolutions of half the world.⁶⁾

The insurrections in Poland and Western Europe that so preoccupied the Hungarian public were also interactive, but, while the French and

3) Mihály HORVÁTH, *Huszonöt év Magyarország történelméből 1823-1848* [Twenty-Five Years of the History of Hungary 1823-1848], 2 vols. (Budapest: Ráth Mór, 1886), I, 242; Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History], 6 vols. (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1943), V, 284-285.

4) Clemens L.W. Fürst von METTERNICH-WINNEBURG, *Aus Metternichs nachgelassenen Papieren*, 8 vols. (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1880-84), V, 8; SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 203.

5) SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 219.

6) *Életem és korom* [My Life and My Times], 2 vols. (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1958), I, 62.

Belgian revolutions achieved their modest objectives early on, the Poles had to wage a bitter, protracted war all alone. The enlarged Kingdom of the Netherlands had been created by the Congress of Vienna as a bulwark against French ambitions and had been solemnly guaranteed by the Great Powers. King Willem I, then, was fully entitled in 1830 to call on the Quadruple Alliance to stand by its guarantees and give him armed assistance against the Belgians who were trying to dismember the Greater Netherlands. This, however, the Great Powers were unwilling to do, especially as there no longer existed a French threat. The London Conference was called and the representatives of Austria, Britain and France took the lead on the Netherlands, but the other powers were much more interested in what was happening in Poland. According to Sir Charles Petrie, the noted diplomatic historian, "It is no exaggeration to say that the Belgians owed their independence, like the French the success of their revolution forty years before, to the action of the Poles".⁷⁾

In the year between the outbreak of the Polish insurrection and the planned Hungarian reform Diet, political life in Hungary was at boiling point. Public interest was fired by endless lively discussion of reform projects both in the County Assemblies and in numerous clubs that proliferated all over the country. At the same time Hungarian literature entered one of its most glorious phases,⁸⁾ inspired by the early activities of the young Academy of Sciences.⁹⁾ Press censorship dwindled to almost nothing, partly by sheer neglect and partly as a result of the court's reluctance to risk making things go from bad to worse by pressure tactics. As a result, progressive publications abounded. And from all sides came proposals, suggestions and opinions on the best way to help the Poles in their struggle.¹⁰⁾ In his memoirs Pulszky recorded:

The Polish revolution was followed with the greatest sympathy in Hungary, particularly in the North. We were eager for news.... All that winter ladies prepared shredded linen at their parties. The names of Skrzinecki, Dembinski, Dwernicki sounded on every lip. When at the end the catastrophe happened and the Russians took Warsaw, no one doubted that it was because of the treachery of Chrzanowski and Chlopicki and not because of the exhaustion of the Polish nation.¹¹⁾

Hungary, in fact, was the only country that made any serious attempt to help the beleaguered Poles. This sympathy was no sudden outburst but had a long history and had been made much keener by the partition of Poland.¹²⁾ For the partition had hit the Hungarians politically, economically and spiritually.

7) *Diplomatic History 1713-1933* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 178.

8) For the flowering of Hungarian Romanticism, see Antal Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet* [Hungarian Literary History] (Budapest: Magvető, 1958), pp. 265-333.

9) The Hungarian Academy of Sciences was founded on November 3, 1825, and became a concrete reality after Count István Széchenyi donated the equivalent of his income for a year to start building a home for it.

10) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 260.

11) PULSZKY, *op. cit.*, I, 64.

12) There is a colorful literature on the history of Hungarian-Polish relations in both Polish and Hungarian. An interesting collection of essays is Karol HUSZAR (ed.), *Polska*

Politically, the advance of Russia's frontiers so close to Hungary worried statesmen and intellectuals alike. The disappearance of a major, friendly buffer state between Hungary and Russia was a serious blow to Hungarian security. Economically, partition hurt Hungary even more. Its most important trade routes to northern, and even western, Europe had passed through Gdańsk; the best market for its main export, wine, had been the Polish *szlachta*. After the final partition, Russian tariffs made the export of Hungarian wine beyond Galicia uneconomical,¹³⁾ and in Galicia itself Habsburg duties (typical of the Habsburgs' colonial attitude toward Hungary) were higher than those imposed by independent Poland.¹⁴⁾ Spiritually, the Poles' tragic fate deeply distressed the Hungarians, because there was a tradition of friendship between the Poles and the Magyars - something unusual between neighboring European peoples.

The Galician Question ¹⁵⁾ *and the Diet of 1830*

Apart from the political, economic and spiritual bonds between the Poles and Hungarians, there had also existed since the partitions a concrete political issue, the Galician question. The Hungarian gentry, the major political power in the kingdom at that time, tried long and hard to secure Galicia's incorporation into Hungary and rather surprisingly a portion of the Galician *szlachta* supported the Hungarian efforts.

The Galician Poles' interest in such a union came to a peak during the upheaval following the death of Joseph II in 1790, when Hungarian affairs preoccupied them as much as the Hungarians. The reestablishment of Hungarian constitutionality made the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen the most privileged territory in the Habsburg Empire. Those

i Węgry: Stosunki polsko-węgierskie w historii, kulturze i gospodarstwie [Poland and Hungary: Polish-Hungarian Relations in History, Culture and Economy] (Budapest and Warszawa: Magyarország és Lengyelország, 1936), particularly the essays of Oskar HALECKI (pp. 23-25), Bálint HÓMAN (pp. 16-19), and "Powstania polskie w XIX wieku a opinia Węgierska" [Polish Uprisings in the Nineteenth Century and Hungarian Opinion] by Imre LUKINICH (pp. 63-69).

13) Adorján Divéky, *Magyarok és lengyelek a XIX-ik században* [The Poles and the Hungarians in the Nineteenth Century] (Budapest: Eggenberg-féle Könyvkereskedés Rényi Károly, 1919), p. 5. This excellent study and the documents reprinted in it are referred to in several places in the present essay. Divéky made exhaustive researches into Polish-Hungarian relations and is highly reliable. He himself wrote (p. 3): "I made it the aim of my life to study these relations so that I should, as far as my limited energies allow, illuminate our historical connections with the fraternal Polish people, in good times and bad, both in the light and in the shade". Several of his studies have been published in Polish.

14) HÓMAN and SZEKFÜ, *op. cit.*, V, 568; C.A. MACARTNEY, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 42-46.

15) The author's article "Galicia: The Poles and the Hungarians between the Partitions and the November Revolution" deals with this problem *in extenso* and is to appear in *The Polish Review* (New York). The present article's references to the Galician question are condensed from that article.

who benefited most from those privileges were the Hungarian gentry, and the Polish *szlachta* came to feel that they would be better off if Galicia were united with Hungary and they were able to share those benefits. There was no question that the Galician *szlachta* were already enjoying much better conditions than their compatriots now under Prussian or Russian rule, but all the same, they were administered by Habsburg bureaucrats and had no local autonomy. They were still a very long way from the exceptional status that the Habsburgs conferred on them in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the turbulence of 1790 both Poles and Hungarians dreamed up schemes for unification of Hungary and Galicia - and the Hungarians never gave up the idea until the November insurrection.¹⁶⁾ In one form or another the issue kept coming up in the Hungarian County Assemblies and the Diet, where the most forceful demands for Galicia's annexation were made in the 1825-27 and 1830 sessions. At the latter the project was close to realization when it was swept under by the November insurrection. The Diet of 1830, in fact, was both the climax and the end of Hungarian interest in the idea.

A curious political circumstance encouraged both the *szlachta* and the Hungarian gentry to consider a union of Galicia and Hungary after the partitions. The three partitioning monarchs had wiped out the Polish state by force. Yet all three, in true eighteenth-century fashion, were at pains to justify their parts in the spoliation by offering legal, hereditary, real and supposititious claims to the conquered Polish provinces.

The Habsburg claim to Galicia was based on the fact that certain Russian principalities in the area had been under the direct rule of the Crown of St. Stephen or had been its vassals at one time or another. In varying degrees, Hungarian influence on the area had continued from the early eleventh century until the middle of the thirteenth.¹⁷⁾

16) The Galician *szlachta* had even sent a lustrous delegation to Vienna to urge the annexation of Galicia to Hungary. Henrik MARCZALI, *Az 1790/91-diki országgyűlés* [The Diet of 1790/91], 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1907), I, 271. It is hard to say how representative that delegation in 1790 was, for at that time the *szlachta* was in as much upheaval as the Hungarian estates. Poland, in fact, had even more at stake than Hungary. The Hertzberg Project and the subsequent Polish-Prussian alliance had raised hopes high that Poland might be resurrected. A restored Poland that would include Galicia, as the Hertzberg Project proposed, would obviously have been an even more attractive proposition than all the feudal privileges that might have accrued to a Galicia annexed to Hungary. Poland was undeceived in 1794; the Hungarians before 1790 was out. On the Polish-Prussian alliance and the Hertzberg Project, see KIRÁLY, "Prussian Diplomatic Adventure with Poland and the Feudal Revolt in Hungary in 1790", *The Polish Review* (New York), XII, No. 1 (Winter 1967), pp. 3-11. On the Hungarian feudal revolt, see KIRÁLY *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century...*, pp. 173-195.

17) Hungarian expansion into the area had been begun by King László (Saint Ladislas) of Hungary (1077-1095) and was energetically pursued by King Kálmán (Coloman) (1095-1116). In the chaotic conditions that followed the death of Yaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kiev (1015-1054), these early efforts were highly successful. Hungarian influence beyond the Carpathian Mountains was reinforced by a series of dynastic marriages. King András (Andreas) I (1046-1060) had married Princess Anastasia, daughter of Grand Prince Yaroslav; King László's daughter married one of Yaroslav's grandsons; King Kálmán married Eufemia, daughter of Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh of Kiev (1113-1125); King Géza II (1141-1162) married Eufrozina, daughter of Grand Prince Mstislav I of Kiev (1125-1132). There were also numerous marriages of lesser princes and princesses of the Árpáds who became thoroughly enmeshed in the affairs of the feuding Russian princes.

The degree of the Hungarian kings' control over southern Russia varied greatly as divers princes swore fealty to the Crown of St. Stephen. András, son of King Béla III

The Hungarian gentry then argued that, if Galicia was to be seized by the Habsburgs and that seizure was to be justified by reference to the territories of the medieval kings of Hungary, it was only right and proper that Galicia should be attached to the Crown of St. Stephen within the Habsburg system rather than directly to the imperial court in Vienna. It is worth noting, however, that the Galician question was brought up in the nineteenth century as an item on the Hungarian estates' gravamina,¹⁸⁾ not as a legislative proposal. The estates felt strongly that Galicia was constitutionally a part of Hungary and that the Habsburgs had violated their constitutional responsibility by not annexing it to Hungary. Thus it was logical to include the Galician question among the estates' gravamina, though a legislative draft would doubtless have been more effective. In Hungary's feudal system, however, legislative initiative was reserved to the crown; the estates had no alternative but to bring up the Galician question as a gravamen.¹⁹⁾

The Diet of 1825-27 took no action on the issue, but it did not die. The Balkan crisis that flared up during the next two years, the first source of friction between the Habsburgs and the Romanovs since the Congress of Vienna, brought talk of the possibility of war. Tension between the Austrian and Russian dynasties in 1828 and 1829 naturally excited the Poles and there was a spate of unrest in Galicia. Count Tatishev, the Russian ambassador in Vienna, reported to St. Petersburg: "The Galician Poles are eager to join their former compatriots".²⁰⁾

Czar Nicholas I's coronation in Warsaw as King of Poland in 1829, or at least the timing of it, flashed like a red light in Vienna. To influence the Galician Poles, the Warsaw press "printed numerous articles contrasting the misery of the Galician Poles with the well-being

(1172-1196), ruled in his father's name as Prince of Halich from 1187 until he was deposed by the local boyars in 1190. In 1205 András II (1205-1235) was proclaimed King of Halich and Lodomeria and three years later the area was brought under direct Hungarian rule. In 1234, just before András II's death, Hungarian administration was withdrawn, though Hungarian suzerainty continued.

Hungarian influence beyond the Carpathians was shattered in 1241 by the Mongol invasion led by Ogotal, Genghis Khan's son, but in 1245 and again in 1249 Béla IV (1235-1270) led campaigns to the north. Neither succeeded in reestablishing Hungarian authority, but the many blood ties between the Hungarian royal and the Russian princely families helped to preserve a sense of community in the face of the common Mongol danger. The last medieval link between Hungary and Galicia was wrought by King Lajos (Louis) I, the Great, of Hungary (1342-1382). When the Angevin became King of Poland in 1370, he attached Galicia to Hungary and installed a Hungarian governor-general. The province was ceded back to Poland in 1386. HÓMAN and SZEKFÜ, *op. cit.*, I, 353-355, 412, 434 and 565.

18) The gravamina were a list of grievances presented to the Diet by the estates, individual counties, or even individual noblemen (*gravamina particularia*). Since countless gravamina were presented to every Diet, the *sessio mixta*, a joint inaugural meeting of both houses, decided whether the royal legislative proposals or gravamina would be debated first and which gravamina were important enough (*gravamina praeferentialia*) to be placed on the agenda of both houses. The same agenda were then considered separately by both the upper and the lower houses of the Diet.

19) István NEDECZKY, *Deák: A képviselői alkotmány megalapítása* [Deák: The Establishment of the Representative Constitution] (Budapest: Rudnyánszky A. Könyvnyomdájából, 1876), pp. 128-135.

20) S. ASZKENAZY, *Wczasy historyczne* [Historic Rests], III, 266, as quoted in Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

of the Poles in the [Congress] kingdom".²¹⁾ The Treaty of Adrianople that same year was a success for Russian diplomacy, enhancing both the prestige and the temerity of St. Petersburg. Mounting Russian pressure, growing Polish discontent with Austrian rule and indications that the Galicians seemed to be thinking that the Romanovs would be preferable to the Habsburgs persuaded Vienna to look for ways to pacify its Polish subjects. A minimum measure that Vienna hoped would be effective would be to incorporate Galicia into Hungary so that the *szlachta* might share the same feudal privileges as the Hungarian estates. Not only might this have appeased the Galician Poles but it might also have tempted all Poles to consider seeking fulfillment under the Habsburgs.

It was planned that Ferdinand's coronation with the Crown of St. Stephen at the Diet of 1830 would be a propitious occasion to effect the constitutional transfer of Galicia from Austrian to Hungarian administration. The fourth paragraph of the Diet's Address to the Throne contained the formal request for the annexation of Galicia to Hungary. In his reply of September 24, 1830, Francis I announced that he agreed in principle to the transfer and, in order to realize it, was going to call a mixed commission in Vienna of delegates from the Hungarian estates, the Hungarian Royal Court Chancellery and the governor-general of Galicia. For all their punctilio, the Habsburgs anticipated events by flying the ancient flags of the Kingdoms of Halich and Lodomeria during Ferdinand's coronation ceremonies.

Then, just as the constitutional niceties and the fine points of court etiquette had been worked out and the mixed commission was about to convene, the Polish insurrection erupted on November 29, fundamentally altering the attitudes of all three of Poland's partitioning monarchs. The Polish question, which had thitherto been a divisive element in relations between Austria and Russia, gradually drew them together in a bond of common fear. The Galicians, forgetting all about plans for union with Hungary, turned toward Warsaw. Prince Lobkowitz, governor-general of Galicia, meanwhile launched a vigorous campaign in Vienna against the union of Galicia and Hungary.

In a letter dated December 17, 1830, Prince Lobkowitz urged Joseph Sedlnitzky, the Austrian chief of police, to do everything he could to block the mixed commission's meeting. He claimed that the Hungarians had made a "general sensation" over the emblems and banners of Halich and Lodomeria displayed at Ferdinand's coronation. He particularly complained about an article in the *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* that had caused a great stir in Galicia by implying that Hungary's annexation of Galicia had been finally decreed by the emperor and that all that remained to be settled was the technical procedure for the changeover.²²⁾ The prince rejected Hungarian claims to Galicia by arguing that only the tiny principalities of "Halicz and Włodzimir" had belonged to the medieval kings of Hungary and that they had been attached to Hungary only through ties of marriage so that they could not be considered territories of the Crown of St. Stephen. He pressed Sedlnitzky to contrive to prevent signature of the imperial decree ceding Galicia to

21) *Ibidem*.

22) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 230-231; *Oesterreichischer Beobachter*, September 30, 1830.

Hungary.²³⁾ That such a senior official should have been so concerned about losing his position as the head of the province is a vivid indication how imminent a union between Galicia and Hungary was.

Perhaps the last word on Hungary's annexation of Galicia was that of no less a statesman than Prince Adam Czartoryski, who, remembering the events of 1797, wrote in his memoirs:

The Governor-General of Galicia, Count Erdödy, came at this time to pay my father a visit. A Hungarian by birth, he was preoccupied with an idea which he was constantly talking about. He wished to prove to the Poles that the best thing that could happen to them would be to be united to Hungary; for, he said, the Emperor of Austria had only put forward his claims to Galicia as King of Hungary. This language on the part of a high Austrian functionary proved how much strength the Magyar element still possessed. The annexation of Galicia to Hungary, if it had been possible, would doubtless have brought great material advantages to Galicia, would have conferred upon her a free government, and would especially have protected her against the many evils which she suffered during the fifty years which preceded 1848. What would have been an immediate result of such an annexation at that period it is difficult to guess. In any case the Poles would have gladly fraternized with the Hungarians; yet public opinion and the Polish national spirit would probably have been opposed to such a measure, besides which I do not think the Austrian Government of that time would ever have agreed to it.²⁴⁾

Hungarian Aid and Its Impact

Count István Széchenyi, whose diary is a treasurehouse of information, jotted down on December 6, 1830, that news about a revolt in Warsaw had reached the Hungarian public.²⁵⁾ It is unlikely that anyone else received the tidings earlier than such a prominent statesman. The Hungarian Diet was already winding up its business for its adjournment on December 20. Shortly before the prorogation, on December 15, Széchenyi noted: "The revolt in Poland seems to have been well organized".²⁶⁾ So when the Diet adjourned, the news was encouraging. While the insurrection followed its course, the Diet remained in recess, so that Hungary's main political forum could take no action. Political life was very much on the go, however, in the counties, which had already been strongly influenced by the liberal trends of the Age of Reform. It was, then, the counties that were the fountainhead of efforts to render aid to the Poles.

Széchenyi was not the only person inspired by the Poles' successes. Their gallantry and early victories over the Russians were known all over Hungary. It was hoped that a Polish triumph might put an end

23) ASZKENAZY, *op. cit.*, 1910, pp. 457-459, reprinted in Divéky, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

24) Adam GIELGUD (ed.), *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and His Correspondence with Alexander I*, 2 vols. (Orono, Me.: Academic International, Orbis Academicus, 1968), I, 171-172.

25) Gyula VISZOTA (ed.), *Gróf Széchenyi István naplói* [The Diaries of Count István Széchenyi] in the series "Fontes historiae hungaricae aevi recentioris" (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1939), IV, 15.

26) *Ibid.*, IV, 167.

once and for all to the Habsburgs' efforts to impose authoritarianism on Hungary. More realistic observers in Hungary, however, foresaw with horror the possibility of Polish defeat by the Russian colossus.²⁷⁾ "The Hungarian nobility, had they been in a position to follow their sympathies, would have been ready for any sacrifice to help their neighbor; secretly they did indeed do a great deal, in fact, everything possible under the circumstances", the contemporary historian, Mihály Horváth, reported.²⁸⁾ Typically laconic, Széchenyi wrote on June 25, 1831: "Everybody is speaking up for the Poles".²⁹⁾

The Hungarians were doing much more than merely speaking, however. Some stole across the border to join the Poles' fight; several professional officers resigned their commissions and others, unable to resign, deserted to join the Poles; some cadets fled from the Maria Theresa Military Academy in Wiener-Neustadt to enlist in the Polish army; other citizens smuggled money, food, weapons and supplies to the embattled Poles; societies were formed to make collections for the Poles. All this took place despite the fact that from the outset the Viennese cabinet decided on a policy of nonintervention and, to immunize Galicia from revolutionary infection, sealed off the Russian border. Everything the Hungarians sent the Poles had to evade the Austrian frontier guards.³⁰⁾

Politically and materially, the most important help came from the counties. The movement began in Bars county in northern Hungary (modern Slovakia) near the Galician border. On May 4, 1831, János Balogh, a member of the local gentry, presented a draft Address to the Throne, requesting the immediate convocation of the Diet to discuss ways of giving the Poles support, and proposing that, pending the opening of the Diet, the export of food and weapons be freed of control.³¹⁾ His draft also suggested that all the Hungarian counties should be informed of the contents of the resolution and be asked to send similar petitions to Vienna. Such collaboration among the counties had developed in the eighteenth century and had proved a powerful force against Habsburg absolutist tendencies. Time and again the Habsburgs had tried to suppress Hungarian constitutionality by not summoning the national Diet, but the political power and opposition of the counties had always kept such periods relatively brief. Not to convoke a Diet was one thing, but to suppress fifty-odd County Assemblies and local administrations was quite another. The Habsburgs simply could not administer Hungary without the counties' cooperation. Even Emperor Joseph II, who went furthest in trying to eliminate Hungarian constitutionality, could not sidestep the counties and had to content himself with appointing a Royal Commissioner to preside over each County Assem-

27) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 261.

28) *Ibidem*.

29) VISZOTA, *op. cit.*, IV, 191.

30) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 262.

31) LAJOS KOSSUTH, *Országgyűlési tudósítások* [Reports from the Diet] 5 vols. in the series "Fontes historiae hungaricae aevi recentioris" (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1948-61), II, 401, n. 6.

bly in an attempt to influence it. The apparatus of the county administrations he could not ignore, and in fact, the more he issued enlightened ordinances, the more he had to depend on the counties to carry them out. So the counties continued as small states within the larger state and in large degree went their own way.³²⁾

This was the case in 1831, too. Balogh's draft Address to the Throne was enthusiastically adopted by Bars County Assembly in spite of vigorous opposition from the high sheriff (*főispán*), the senior county official, a crown appointment. News of Balogh's proposal spread fast: as early as April 16 István Szechenyi recorded in his diary that Bars was going to make representations to Vienna in the Poles' behalf. "Man sollte [sic] ihnen helfen", he added.³³⁾

The movement thus begun by Bars was strongly opposed by Prince Metternich. He had instructions circulated to all the Hungarian counties not to pass similar resolutions. If such a resolution were put forward, the instructions said, it "entweder lediglich bei Seite gelegt, oder als ein unüberlegter und gesetzwidriger Schritt beanstandet werde".³⁴⁾ Metternich even went so far as to prohibit the Grimm art gallery in Pest from exhibiting portraits of the leaders of the Polish revolt.³⁵⁾

Bars County Assembly passed Balogh's resolution on May 4 and it was not long before a total of 36 Addresses to the Throne had been approved by different Hungarian County Assemblies, regardless of the instructions Metternich had had distributed to them.³⁶⁾ A clearer indication could hardly have been given either of the feelings of the majority of the Hungarian estates or of their political independence of mind and action.

One of the counties that responded to Bars's lead was Pozsony, which prepared an even more forceful Address to the Throne than Balogh's. Pozsony declared that the whole nation should be alarmed at the Russians' assault on the Poles. It pointed out that Francis I himself had been a major influence in the Congress of Vienna in securing the Poles' autonomy, which in 1815 had been considered an important factor in the Central European balance of power. That factor was still important, the county's petition claimed; indeed Polish autonomy had become a matter of even greater significance as a result of the fact that the czar had pushed his frontiers forward to the vicinity of Transylvania.³⁷⁾

Francis I simply ignored the counties' addresses and his disregard of the opinion of the majority of the political nation was subsequently brought up as a national gravamen at the Diet of 1832-36.³⁸⁾ In the

32) On the status of the counties in the governmental system of Royal Hungary, see KIRÁLY, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century* ..., pp. 108-114.

33) VISZOTA, *op. cit.*, IV, 189.

34) National Hungarian Archives Praes. 1831, No. 749, as quoted in DÍVÉKY, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 5.

35) DÍVÉKY, *op. cit.*, p. 8; HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 265.

36) Kossuth mentioned 33 counties that followed Bars's initiative and sent Addresses to the Throne on behalf of the Poles. KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, II, 401, n. 6.

37) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 263-264.

38) KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, I, 41.

interval between the counties' addresses in the summer of 1831 and that long Diet, the Russians managed to subdue the Polish insurrection. Immediately after the Poles' defeat, a message to the Hungarian nation from the Polish revolutionary government (see below) reached Hungary and was read to the opening session of the Trencsén County Assembly. Trencsén then sent another petition in the Poles' behalf to Francis I. A few other counties followed suit. The king in his rescript upbraided Trencsén for standing up "in support of the Poles who rose up against their constitutional king".³⁹⁾

In the wake of the counties' political initiatives in 1831 in support of the Poles, sympathy for them and efforts to help them came from all over Hungary. Mór Perczel, who was later to achieve fame as a general in the Revolution of 1848, endeavored to persuade soldiers in the Pest artillery regiment to volunteer to fight in the Polish army. He was court-martialed for his pains.⁴⁰⁾ In the northern counties bordering on Galicia, ladies were busy all winter of 1830/31 shredding linen for bandages for the Polish wounded.⁴¹⁾ The high sheriffs of several counties complained to Vienna about the widespread sympathy for the Polish struggle. Count Ábrahám Vay of Bereg county, for instance, wrote to the Hungarian Royal Court Chancellery on May 25, 1831:

I am obliged to report that the Bars resolution, which was distributed to all the counties, has caused quite a stir. Sympathy for the Poles is universal. I have great difficulty in curbing my beloved and loyal county, especially since, if I keep the future in mind, I dare not still the hatred for the Russians in this county on the border [of Galicia].⁴²⁾

The fact that 36 Hungarian counties had passed resolutions in favor of the Poles was a political phenomenon of no mean proportion in the Habsburg Empire. Its significance did not escape the Poles. Franciszek Wołowski, a Warsaw deputy to the Polish Revolutionary Diet, told the assembled delegates on June 25, 1831:

I have no doubt that all of us are overwhelmed with the deepest gratitude and read with great elation the address of twenty-plus Hungarian counties to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, in which they emphatically demanded that he not withhold his support from the Polish nation. The noble Hungarian nation recalled its valued memories of all the Poles and of the close ties that linked our two nations for so long by our giving each other kings.⁴³⁾

Wołowski proposed that the Polish Diet should express its gratitude to the Hungarian nation in a resolution. The two houses of the Polish Diet commissioned Julian Niemcewicz, one of the deputies, to draft the resolution. To be sure of the views of all the Polish leaders, Niemcewicz visited Prince Czartoryski, who told him that he was doubtful of the accuracy of the news about the Hungarian counties' action.

39) *Ibid.*, II, 408, n. 26.

40) *DIVÉKY, op. cit.*, p. 8.

41) *PULSZKY, op. cit.*, I, 63.

42) *DIVÉKY, op. cit.*, p. 9.

43) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Recalling the incident in his memoirs, Niemcewicz said Czartoryski told him:

It would not be politically wise to express the nation's thanks on such an uncertain matter without informing [Emperor] Francis, who might feel offended by our action. Besides, it would be improper for the nation to take such a ceremonial action on the basis of newspaper reports.⁴⁴⁾

Niemcewicz also consulted the Austrian consul, who told him that the reports about the Hungarian counties' petitions were inaccurate and that, in any case, only the Diet had the right to send an Address to the Throne. Neither of these statements was true. The consul also said that Emperor Francis would be offended by a Polish vote of thanks and would consider it interference in the Habsburg Empire's internal affairs, for "the king does not like his people to engage in politics".⁴⁵⁾ And this statement, of course, was very much to the point.

Despite these pieces of advice, Niemcewicz drafted a resolution, as he had been commissioned to do. In the meantime, however, the draft had become outdated because the National Government (*Rząd Narodowy*) had already composed a Manifesto to the Hungarians dated July 5, 1831. The Marshal of the Diet reported the government's action to the deputies on July 28 and on August 5 Kisiński, a Warsaw deputy, read the text of it to them. The message conveyed the Poles' gratitude to the Hungarians as the only people that raised its voice in their support amid general European indifference, a gesture, the manifesto said, that would go down as a golden act in the annals of the Poles' present struggle. It also referred to the historic ties between the two nations. "The bones of Poles and Hungarians are resting in common graves in Varna", it recalled.⁴⁶⁾

The Polish Diet was divided on whether to endorse Niemcewicz's draft or the government's manifesto. Eventually the Marshal of the Diet reported on September 3, 1831, that a single manifesto had been put together.⁴⁷⁾ It was hardly an auspicious moment, however, for General Ivan Paskievich was already under the walls of Warsaw, which was to surrender on September 7. The deputies had no time to arrange for the manifesto's delivery to the Hungarians. Several copies nevertheless reached Hungary⁴⁸⁾ and one of them was that read to the Trencsén County Assembly. The manifesto was warmly received in Hungary, where news of the Poles' defeat caused great alarm and sorrow. Count István Széchenyi noted in his diary:

After six long hours of bombardment, the Poles capitulated on [he left the date blank]. Liberalism has been set back by fifty, perhaps a hundred, years.⁴⁹⁾

44) *Pamiętniki z 1830-31 roku* [Memoirs of the Years 1830-31] (Kraków: M.A. Kurpiel, 1909), p. 143, as quoted in Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 9.

45) *Ibidem*.

46) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

47) Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

48) Kossuth, *op. cit.*, II, 431, n. 1.

49) Viszota, *op. cit.*, IV, 214.

Epidemic and Peasant Revolt in Hungary

The November insurrection had indirect but very regrettable repercussions in Hungary - an outbreak of cholera and a related peasant revolt in northern Hungary, both of which had an impact on the evolution of Hungary's Age of Reform. A devastating cholera epidemic had been moving west across Russia at the time the November insurrection broke out. Its spread was accelerated by the massive concentration of Russian troops in the Congress Kingdom and by the waves of Polish refugees who fled into Galicia and Hungary after the insurrection's collapse. The closing of the Hungarian-Galician border on January 28, 1832, was a totally ineffective prophylactic against the disease.⁵⁰⁾

Throughout the summer of 1831 concern at the bad news of the deteriorating situation in Poland was compounded by fear of the spread of the Asian infection, which brought rapid but agonizing death to those who contracted it.⁵¹⁾ There was no question in anyone's mind that the plague had been brought in by the czar's Asian forces, who were overrunning Poland.⁵²⁾ The first cases of it were predictably reported in Galicia, but it quickly spread through Hungary and within a year had hit all of western Europe.⁵³⁾

Western Europe, however, had at least been alerted to the dangers of the epidemic by what happened in Hungary; Hungary, on the other hand, was completely unprepared. The virulence and swift diffusion of the cholera caused tremendous turmoil and confusion. The administrative regulations issued to police and health authorities were at cross purposes and did more harm than good. They isolated the villages, disrupting the flow of trade and even food between them, but since complete isolation was impossible to enforce, some traffic was permitted. At all barriers complicated and inefficient health measures were taken, such as fumigation of all merchandise and even the mail, which was specially perforated for this purpose.⁵⁴⁾

Ferenc Pulszky, who witnessed these events, gave a vivid description of them. The epidemic reached Sáros county in July 1831, he said. The county was at once cut off from the surrounding counties and every village where a case was reported was quarantined by the local authorities. The nobility rushed to the county capital, Eperjes (modern Prešov in

50) SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 231.

51) Fifty-six thousand deaths were reported in Hungary in three months. Ignác Acsády, *A magyar jobbágyország története* [History of Hungarian Serfdom] (Budapest: Politzer, 1906), p. 432; Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, IX, 236.

52) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 266; PULSZKY, *op. cit.*, I, 64; SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 231.

53) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 266.

54) The authorities in fact simply applied the same methods as were practiced in the Military Frontier Zones along the southern borders of Hungary and Transylvania. Administered directly from Vienna by the *Hofkriegsrat*, the Frontier Guards not only defended the Habsburg Empire for almost four centuries but also acted as a *cordon sanitaire* against the spread of epidemic and disease from the Ottoman Empire toward Central Europe. The actual hygienic methods used by the Frontier Guards in cases of epidemic are vividly described in Gunther E. ROTHENBERG, *The Military Border in Croatia 1740-1881* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

Slovakia), to be near medical help, and everybody was consuming panaceas.

The epidemic broke out in the town of Eperjes, too. Traffic came to a standstill instantly; the coffee houses were empty; scarcely a soul was to be seen in the streets; many houses were barricaded up; many people kept touch with the outside world only through windows; everything that came into a house was fumigated and steeped in vinegar; no one touched fruit. All these precautions were in vain. Fatalities rose rapidly. The tolling of bells for a death never stopped; during the afternoon one funeral came on the heels of another. Horrors piled up. The council banned the tolling of bells. Funerals were permitted only at night. All this was of no help. In a population of eight thousand, 35 people died in a single day. When the death rate had reached its peak, news of a new horror arrived: in Zemplén county the poor people from the village of Varano to the village of Zamutó had risen in revolt.⁵⁵⁾

The peasant uprising was only partly the result of long-standing grievances. Its immediate cause was the epidemic, and the confusion and anarchy that came with it as a result of misgovernment. The Palatine and the Hungarian Royal High Chancellor, for instance, were at loggerheads. Archduke Joseph and much of the Hungarian aristocracy considered Count Adám Reviczky an upstart because his countship dated back only to 1824.⁵⁶⁾ Aware of this animosity, Reviczky used the trust Francis I had in him to arouse his suspicions against the archduke and have him rescind several of the Palatine's orders. Such counterproductive activity by the two highest officers of state in Hungary served only to make confusion worse confounded.⁵⁷⁾ The Hungarian Viceregal Council⁵⁸⁾ ordered the use of bismuth to disinfect wells and public places. Some people died of bismuth poisoning and overdoses of medicine; others who took nothing survived. Rumors ran among the Slovak peasants of the Zemplén and Sáros counties that the landlords were intending to poison the laborers. Suspicion and fear mingled with old injustices to fire the peasants' hatred of the nobility.⁵⁹⁾ In several places landlords, physicians, notaries, ministers and county officials were lynched with the utmost barbarity. The peasants "attacked the mansions of nobles, tortured Jews, committed vandalism, robbery and murder. Sáros county at once convened the County Assembly, and while it was in session, the southern parts of Szepes county rose in revolt."⁶⁰⁾

In Sáros county the rebels were mostly Slovak peasants; the German populace did not join them. When news was received that Eperjes was about to be attacked, the town was mobilized, the deputy high sheriff declared martial law, a volunteer force armed with shotguns was organized, ammunition sales were placed under official control, barricades were thrown up, and patrols kept the town under watch. "At dawn,

55) *Op. cit.*, I, 65.

56) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 188.

57) *Ibid.*, I, 269; Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, IX, 231.

58) The Hungarian Viceregal Council (*Consilium regium locumtenentiale hungaricum*) was the central executive branch of the Hungarian government, presided over by the Palatine and reporting to the king through the Hungarian Royal Court Chancellery (*Magyar Királyi Udvari Kancellária*).

59) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 267.

60) PULSZKY, *op. cit.*, I, 66.

however, instead of the rebels, a company of armed men arrived. The town now began counteraction and lynched a number of rebels nearby. It was at this time that we first heard the name of Lajos Kossuth, who was distinguishing himself by vigorous but considerate actions as a plague commissioner in Zemplén county", Pulszky reported.⁶¹⁾

The uprising was a typical peasant revolt, disorganized, lacking central leadership, operational knowledge and modern arms. The peasants had only makeshift weapons. There was no concerted action, only outbreaks of local violence. Most peasants were content with vengeance against their own lords; few collaborated with neighboring communities. The state's organized military forces had no difficulty putting the rebellion down. Baron Ignác Eötvös, High Sheriff of Abaúj county, was made a royal commissioner and troops were put under his command. The uprising was crushed iron-fistedly; rebels were hanged on the spot. A volley of fire in Terebes that killed fifteen peasants on August 5, 1831, opened the state's counteroffensive. In a few weeks it was all over. Retaliation was ruthless. There were 41 executions and 700 imprisonments in Zemplén county alone.⁶²⁾

Terror and counterterror bore bitter fruits. The area was pacified, to be sure, but neither side could forget the atrocities of the other.⁶³⁾ The peasants had been terrorized into submission by the ferocity of the state. Much of the nobility clung stubbornly to the conviction that the only solution to the social crisis was to consolidate the feudal system and its privileges, rather than reform it. They closed themselves like clams into the shaky shelter of an obsolete social system. An important sector of the nobility, the progressive gentry, however, believed otherwise. They saw the mortal danger to the system and their interests, which could not be safeguarded by dogged insistence on outdated privilege. Evaluating both the internal and external causes of the crisis in Hungarian feudal society, they were more sure than ever before that the key obstacle to progress was the Habsburgs' colonial treatment of Hungary, which had at all costs to be changed. The main internal problem, they believed, was the desperate plight of the serfs. The Polish insurrection had taught them that a nobility could not fight for its country's national independence from foreign tyranny with the millstone of a bound peasantry around its neck. The precondition for a successful struggle for national independence was the cooperation of the peasantry, but that cooperation would be possible only after a thoroughgoing overhaul of the peasants' status in Hungarian society.⁶⁴⁾ The progressive gentry concluded that for this the Western economic, social and political model would have to be adopted. This element among the gentry was the backbone of Hungary's Age of Reform, the leading stratum in the bourgeois transformation of the country. Until the Revolution of 1848, the progressive gentry played the same role in Hungary as the bourgeoisie did in western Europe and was the real force for change.

61) *Ibid.*, I, 67.

62) Erik MOLNÁR (ed.), *Magyarország története* [History of Hungary], 2 vols. (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1964), II, 440.

63) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 268.

64) MOLNÁR, *op. cit.*, II, 444.

The long-term course of the November insurrection in relation to Hungary's internal development was: insurrection - coincidental cholera epidemic - peasant revolt - the Hungarian gentry of conscience turn actively to reform. Though the Polish insurrection's impact was in the long run to further the reform movement in Hungary, its immediate effect was to put the brake on political activity. Disillusion and distress at the suppression of the Poles, the horrors of the epidemic and the peasant revolt simply stultified political life. But gradually the counties recovered and they began discussing reform projects with an eye on the Diet set to meet on October 2, 1831. National committees set up by the Diet of 1825-27 reported on draft reforms in practically every area and their printed recommendations reached the County Assemblies and the public. Under the prevailing circumstances, however, Vienna was not prepared to honor Francis I's pledge to summon a Diet in 1831 and it was postponed for a year by a royal rescript issued on September 16, 1831.⁶⁵⁾ Since the voices of the progressive gentry were loud and clear in the County Assemblies, the government started to retreat from its earlier leniency, and Prince Metternich warned the Hungarians: "I hold the dam in my hand. I shall let the flood overwhelm you. I shall let the peasants strike you down".⁶⁶⁾ The court recognized the potential of the peasant unrest all over Europe as a curb upon the reformist estates. The regime used Metternich's 1831 threat to the Hungarians again against the Galician szlachta in 1846. Not only were the fates of Poles and Hungarians interconnected but they were also often tragically similar.

The Polish Exiles' Response to the Hungarians; the Diet of 1832-36

After the collapse of the Polish revolutionary government, political activities were continued by exile groups and individuals, mostly gathered in Paris. Many of these exiles felt that they had to complete what the Polish revolutionary government had started and respond to the Hungarians' initiatives during the insurrection. This sentiment was spurred on by reports that the Hungarians had made new motions in favor of the Poles, initiated by the same János Balogh who had drafted the first of the 36 pro-Polish county Addresses to the Throne in May 1831. Balogh had again delivered a speech in Bars County Assembly in support of the Polish revolutionaries. The full text of his speech reached the Poles in Paris, where the historian of Polish-Hungarian relations Adorján Divéky later unearthed it among the Polish exiles' papers.⁶⁷⁾

On December 20, 1831, a meeting was held in Paris under Joachim Lelewel and resolved to send a message to the Hungarians. It also

65) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

66) ACSÁDY, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

67) LÉONARD CHODŹKO (ed.), *Annales polonaises recueillies par Léonard Chodźko*, Vol. V, as quoted by DIVÉKY, p. 12, n. 18. The Polish émigrés left some 100 volumes of manuscripts in Paris.

resolved to invite Hungarians living in Paris to attend its next session to help strengthen relations between the two peoples.⁶⁸⁾ Present at that first meeting was a Polish exile of Hungarian origin, Károly Kraitsir, a physician, who was asked to draft the message in Hungarian and Latin. The draft, completed by December 31, stated that the national government had prepared a manifesto of thanks to the Hungarians but had been prevented from sending it by the tragic events of early September.⁶⁹⁾ It advised the Hungarians to draw a lesson from what had happened to the Poles and to place no faith in the blandishments of monarchs. The foundation of a nation must be liberty, justice and unity, it said. The message, emphasizing Polish gratitude to the Hungarians, was signed by Lelewel as chairman of the nine-member committee.⁷⁰⁾

When finally the Hungarian Diet was convened on December 16, 1832, János Balogh, who was one of the delegates from Bars county, at once opened a debate in the Lower House on the Polish question.⁷¹⁾ His initiative was endorsed by a large majority of the deputies.⁷²⁾ In view of several counties' instructions to their delegates, the minimum goal of the liberal opposition in the house was to get the Polish issue on the Diet's agenda as a national gravamen.⁷³⁾ There was good reason to approach the matter as a gravamen, moreover, when Francis I had not even deigned to answer the 36 county Addresses to the Throne eighteen months earlier.⁷⁴⁾ The lively, lengthy debate that ensued was a tremendous inspiration to the Polish émigrés in Paris, when the rest of Europe was silent about Poland. The Lelewel committee hastened to prepare a new message before the Diet should be prorogued. Sent to István Borsiczky of Trencsén county, it was dated December 16, the same day as the Diet had opened. Recalling the Polish-Hungarian ties of the past and listing the horrors of Russian rule in Poland, the message called the Hungarian deputies' attention to the fact that at the Congress of Vienna the King of Hungary had guaranteed the Polish constitution. The integrity, civilization and peace of Europe depended on the complete restoration of the rights of the Polish nation, it declared. "The mighty czar", the message warned, "is the common enemy of the Poles and the Hungarians".⁷⁵⁾

68) CHODZKO, *op. cit.*, Vol. LIII, MS 157, as quoted by Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

69) Though events had prevented its formal dispatch, copies of it reached Hungary unofficially nevertheless.

70) *Catoroczne trudy Komitetu Narodowego Polskiego* [Yearly Acts of the Polish National Committee], pp. 37-43, as quoted by Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

71) For details of the Diet's activities, see KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*; SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 350 ff.; Hóman and Szekfű, *op. cit.*, V, 288-298; HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 288-461 and II, 3-33. Royal High Chancellor Adám Reviczky wrote to Metternich on November 25, 1833, that Polish agents were attending the Diet sessions and had picked up copies of deputies' speeches to publish them in Paris. VISZOTA, *op. cit.*, IV, 670.

72) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 337.

73) See n. 18.

74) MANÓ KÓNYI (ed.), *Deák Ferenc beszédei* [The Speeches of Ferenc Deák], 3 vols. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1903), I, 129; KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, I, 44.

75) Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The most outspoken defenders of Poland were Trencsén and its deputy, Borsiczky, which is why both of the *Paris émigrés'* letters were sent there. Borsiczky wanted to place the Poles' "Letter to the Hungarian Nation" on the Diet agenda at once, but was persuaded to wait until the Polish question came up anyway and a debate was demanded in the counties' instructions to their delegates, in case his precipitate action should divert attention away from important reform projects. He and his Diet colleagues promised to keep the Polish letters secret until such a debate, but Borsiczky talked about the letters so much that word eventually reached the ears of the Palatine.⁷⁶⁾

Archduke Joseph asked Borsiczky to show him the letters and also asked him to keep them secret. The archduke's behavior was influenced by his family ties, for his second wife was the Grand Duchess Alexandra Pavlovna of Russia, who received from the czar an annual appanage of 200,000 florins, payable even after her death.⁷⁷⁾ The Palatine's dependence on the court of St. Petersburg made his position difficult. In an attempt to forestall any anti-Russian moves in the Diet, he tried to convince Borsiczky that the Polish question would be dealt with through diplomatic channels and would be jeopardized if the matter came up in the Hungarian Diet. Borsiczky turned down the Palatine's request, arguing that the Polish question was included in his county's instructions and he was not therefore free to drop it. Archduke Joseph then warned him that, whatever the Diet should resolve on the subject of Poland, he would not sign any Address to the Throne about it. Borsiczky retorted: "Your Highness has to sign the address as soon as the majority passes it". "With more than thirty years' service, have I not deserved to be spared such a contentious problem?"⁷⁸⁾ the archduke said offensively. He then had Borsiczky surrender the letters to him, explaining that any debate of the Polish question would affront the czar and had to be prevented. The deputy from Trencsén handed the letters over, but reminded the Palatine that many counties had instructed their delegates to take up the Polish question, so that there was no way of preventing a debate on it. He also told him that, when the debate came up, he would have to ask for the return of the letters so that he might acquaint the estates with their contents. The Palatine promised to give them back but, when the time came, went back on his word and returned to Borsiczky only the letter addressed to him, not the one addressed to the Hungarian nation. The latter he kept on the grounds that he was entitled to do so in his capacity as president of the joint session of the Diet.⁷⁹⁾

There were rumors rife in the Diet that István Balogh, too, had received a letter from the Poles. The Palatine and the supporters of the government did their best to delay a debate on the Polish question as long as possible and, when it became inevitable, to tone it down. The liberals were determined, however, and insisted that the issue had to be included not only in the agenda for debate but also in a Diet

76) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 344.

77) SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 350; HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 345.

78) SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 351.

79) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 345.

Address to the Throne.⁸⁰⁾ Finally, in June 1833, Balogh presented a motion for an address urging diplomatic efforts to secure justice for the Poles and the reestablishment of their constitution as set forth in the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna.⁸¹⁾ Balogh was seconded by Borsiczky. The speaker of the Lower House (*Personalis*) tried to forestall the debate on the grounds that, since the Poles had been defeated, there was nothing the Hungarians could do for them. Notwithstanding the efforts at obstruction by the parliamentary officers, discussion of the Balogh proposition began. On November 20 it was taken up in the *sessio circularis*.⁸²⁾ Three days later Balogh formally informed the *sessio regnicolaris* that at his county's initiative 36 counties had presented similar Addresses to the Throne in 1831. Their petitions, he said, had appealed to Francis, "whose hands give a blessing to everything, to save the Polish nation, tottering between life and death, from the mailed fist of the Northern Giant, which crushes everything". Those addresses, he told them, had gone unanswered to that day. Balogh therefore proposed:

His Majesty should be begged to intervene with his omnipotent diplomatic action and resurrect the Polish nation, which has been plucked from the ranks of nations and extinguished.⁸³⁾

The *Personalis* reminded the house that it met to enact legislation that would be felt for centuries to come and, to achieve this, it should refrain from meddling in international affairs and end the Polish debate forthwith. The deputies were undismayed and the debate continued. Several deputies supported Balogh's proposal. While others were aware that any Diet action would be of no immediate assistance to the Poles, they, too, favored a debate as a gesture of sympathy toward the Poles and in order to let the Habsburgs know how strong the Hungarians' feelings were for the Poles.

Ferenc Kölcsey, Hungary's poet laureate, twice addressed the Lower House. A deputy for Szatmár county, he told his listeners that he had to support Balogh's motion because he had been instructed to do so by his county, which had been one of the first to direct an Address to the Throne in the Poles' behalf, but he did so above all because it was also his own conviction that the Poles' cause was just. He was distressed, he said, because the Hungarians had been unable to send the Poles

80) *Ibidem*.

81) KÓNYI, *op. cit.*, I, 129; HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 346.

82) KÓNYI, *op. cit.*, I, 130. The *sessio regnicolaris* was the plenary session of the Diet in which business was run through parliamentary officials appointed by the king. These officials, who had wide authority, used the procedural rules of the Diet, and sometimes abused them, to assist the passage of royal legislative proposals and block opposition efforts. In order to circumvent this, the deputies regularly met in unofficial sessions (*sessiones districtuales* or *circulares*), which were presided over not by the parliamentary officers but the deputies themselves in turn in alphabetical order. The decisions of the *sessiones districtuales*, which were arrived at free of influence from the court, were not legally binding, but by a gentleman's agreement the deputies who attended the *sessiones districtuales* undertook to vote in the *sessio regnicolaris* the way the unofficial session had resolved.

83) KÓNYI, *op. cit.*, I, 130. For the debate pro and con the Balogh proposition, see KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, I, 42-52.

armed help. "We had only our voices of prayer, which we raised to the throne... to no avail... What sort of people would we be, had we not been moved by the cries for liberty suppressed?... We should ask His Majesty to grant in response to a request by the representatives of the whole nation what he denied to the appealing counties, to seek ways and means of undoing the injustices committed against the Poles".⁸⁴⁾ Kőlcsey continued:

Here on our very frontiers a neighboring power perpetrated a terrible deed that affects us as human beings, as a nation and as the possessors of constitutional liberties, and it alarms us deeply. Men may die side by side, one after another, but to nations we wish life for thousands of years, and this wish and hope of ours has been shaken to the depths of our hearts when we see the nation that is our neighbor... murdered and smashed by savage violence... It is therefore proper to express our wish before His Royal Majesty that he should interpose his high prestige in behalf of the Poles, for whom we so mourn... We also owe it to ourselves. It is impossible to hide the danger with which we are menaced by the suppression of the freedom of the citizens on our borders by tyranny and by the continual expansion of the Northern Power in our vicinity... The Great Powers of Europe are silent; let us speak up! Perhaps, when they see a powerless nation situated in a disadvantageous position do what they should have felt themselves obliged to do, a spark that might ignite a beneficial fire may be struck in their bosoms.⁸⁵⁾

A deputy from Bihar county, Tisza, criticized the Austrian government for trying to suppress other peoples, more specifically, for using the army of the free Hungarian nation to subdue the Italians.⁸⁶⁾

For all the idealism of the debate, there was a strong element of realism in the deputies' recognition of the indivisibility of freedom and the interdependence of the fates of two neighboring peoples. They were well aware of the increasing danger from Russia's expansionist policy and wanted to mobilize Habsburg power against it.

The Poles' partisans, though a majority in the Lower House, still were not able to win the unanimous backing of all the deputies. Many delegates rallied to Vienna and parliamentary officers in both houses tried to sweep the Polish issue aside. The most outspoken opponent of the liberals was József Andrassy, a deputy from Esztergom county, the ex officio High Sheriff (*főispán*) of which was the Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary. To him support of Vienna was axiomatic, so it was only to be expected that Esztergom's delegate would follow the same line. Andrassy's most forthright statement to the house on Poland was that "nations are born and nations die". He continued: "That was the case with the Poles: they were doomed. Although I regarded their heroic plight with respect and was saddened by their fate, as a legislator I have to consider whether or not the Poles' independence could or could not be restored. Or is it the estates' intention to rekindle the flames, which are transitory, to cover Europe in ashes, and to fan a conflagration that would consume the whole of Europe, Hungary included?"⁸⁷⁾ Andrassy's approach was typical of cases where

84) HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 347; KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, II, 402-403.

85) HORVÁTH, *loc. cit.*; KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, II, 403.

86) HORVÁTH, *loc. cit.*; KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, II, 433.

87) DIVÉKY, *op. cit.*, p. 18; KÓNYI, *op. cit.*, I, 42; KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, II, 435.

enormous injustices were done and freedoms were crushed, but no vital interests of a Great Power were at stake.

Above all, when what is at stake is a nation's misfortune, deserved or otherwise, an individual can and should feel sorry and sympathetic, but we as legislators have to consider whether Hungarian laws can help to reestablish Polish national independence. We cannot ask His Majesty to launch a war for the Poles. On the other hand, to use diplomatic routes, to start open bargaining, would yield very meager results. This is why I could not support the motion, both because of my instructions and for the reasons I have just given.⁸⁸⁾

Most speakers nevertheless came out in favor of the Poles. Pál Nagy commented that, whether or not France or Britain did anything, the Hungarians had to look into every possibility for helping the Poles. "The need for common defense against the Russian danger obliges us to do something", he said. He emphasized that, since the western monarchies had guaranteed Polish liberties at the Congress of Vienna, they should honor their commitments. "The King of Hungary in particular", Nagy said, "must be alive to his obligation to uphold the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna and in defense of those obligations he must succor the Poles".⁸⁹⁾

The most important speech without doubt was that of Ferenc Deák, who responded to Andrassy's opposition to the liberal cause.⁹⁰⁾ Deák the representative of his native Zala county, drew a clear line between the realistic facts of Poland and the sentiments the Hungarians felt for the Poles. The Diet could not do more than make its sympathy for the Poles known, he pointed out, but neither could it do less. His whole speech was listened to with rapt attention both by the liberal opposition, to which he belonged, and by the conservative supporters of the government. It was during this Diet of 1832-36 that Deák, who was to achieve so much fame later as the maker of the *Ausgleich* of 1867, first made his mark as a national politician. The clarity of his thought, the incisiveness of his speeches, earned him the respect of both sides of the house and in barely three years turned him from a Diet newcomer into the acknowledged leader of Hungary's reformist liberals. In no way an opportunist, his statement on the Polish question showed him for the man he was and would always be: a staunch defender and supporter of progressive ideas, humane beliefs, social justice and international cooperation based on justice and mutual understanding. Picking up where Andrassy left off, Deák began:⁹¹⁾

"Nations are born and nations die": these were the words of the honorable deputy from Esztergom county, who spoke just before me. I do not think, however, that he was offering this as something brand new, for the pages of mankind's history have taught us abundantly clearly that one nation rises, another falls. The history of the world, however, did not teach us to look coldly at and withhold all possible help from a nation struggling against drowning in the whirlpool of mortal danger. After all, individuals are born and die, but it is our duty to do all in our power to try to save those facing great danger or starvation from their doom. I have no intention of analyzing the Poles' history over the last century: I should have to list many grievous misfortunes that have overtaken that nation; I have no

88) DÍVÉKY, *op. cit.*, p. 43; KOSSUTH, *op. cit.*, II, 435-436.

89) SZILÁGYI, *op. cit.*, IX, 353.

90) *Ibidem*; HORVÁTH, *op. cit.*, I, 339.

91) KÖNYI, *op. cit.*, I, 42-45.

intention of seeking for the causes, known and secret, of the partition of Poland; I am not going to sum up the consequences of partition. Time will teach Europe whether it was advisable or wise to have let it happen. A bitter sense of sorrow and anguish should nevertheless grip our hearts when we see the Polish nation, which in the sixteenth century was considered the mightiest state in the North, permanently erased from the community of nations by naked force... Our sorrow is made all the greater by our awareness that there is nothing in our power to offer those who have been crushed, except sympathy and pain. For centuries we ourselves were stricken by the iron fist of misfortune. We could not do as much for our unfortunate neighbors as the Hungarians did for Rudolf Habsburg in 1278. But those who bow under the yoke of oppression feel sweet relief to see tears of compassion and sympathy amidst their ocean of woe and to hear voices raised in prayer by those who are helpless to do anything more, even if those voices of prayer are beaten back by the icy breast of the oppressor. Let us offer them this small measure of relief if nothing else is in our power, but let us offer it at once without further delay. Or are we unwilling to spare our tears of compassion and the few hours' work it takes to prepare a plea in behalf of those who have shed blood for us? Alexander of Greece, the mighty prince of Macedonia, shook both Europe and Asia with his victories, his glory filled the hemisphere, and he called himself Amon, son of Jupiter. However, he could reckon only on the awesome dread of the older generation, not its respect, for he had struck down the freedom of Greece that his father had already despoiled before him. Octavianus, the fortunate emperor of Rome, governed his empire wisely, was a patron of the sciences, and was known to his subjects as Augustus; yet he is not remembered with esteem because it was he who extinguished the last flames of Rome's freedoms. Alexander, czar of All the Russias, in the wake of his splendid victories, granted a civic constitution to the Poles under his rule and this earned him far greater glory and warmer gratitude than his bloody victories had done. But it was he himself who undid his own glorious work and the splendid constitution that had promised so much has now been completely demolished. The allied princes, when they were challenging the mighty power of Napoleon, proclaimed that they were fighting for the freedom of Europe. When with a measure of good luck the enemy's immense strength lay shattered, they called themselves the liberators of Europe. Every Austrian soldier who was present at the gory battle of Leipzig now wears on his chest the chanter of the allies' glorious promise, that tiny metal cross inscribed "Europae libertate asserta". Those three words awoke fine hopes in the hearts of the nations. The words in the metal of those commemorative medals are a silent but telling and eternal reminder of the sacredness of those princely utterances. So, if those mute insignia speak so clearly, so too must we who enjoy the sweet fruits of our free constitution under the wise administration of a just king have the freedom to speak out and urge that those magnificent promises should be fulfilled: let the constitutional freedom of our oppressed neighbors be restored, so that they, too, may be happy, for pure and lasting happiness is impossible without freedom.

The Palatine and the governments' supporters heard this appeal with alarm and dismay. Many of them spoke out in opposition, accusing the progressives of attacking the government on flimsy pretexts and demanding steps that were outside the realm of reality.⁹²⁾

The Palatine mobilized the pro-Vienna deputies to block any meaningful resolution, a move that was fairly successful. The conservative deputies were very ready to obstruct any measure unpalatable to the Habsburgs, including the Polish question. Aware that there was no possibility of taking any more effective action than they had already done and unwilling to jeopardize pressing reform projects nearer at home, the liberals felt they had honored their obligations by their speeches in the house. Some of them also appreciated that Archduke Joseph during his many years as Palatine had shown himself to be the fairest of all the Habsburgs in his attitude toward the Hungarians

92) Ηορνάτι, *op. cit.*, I, 354.

and refrained from any further action that might embarrass him. So the Balogh motion was defeated and the Polish question lapsed as an affair of state in Hungary.⁹³⁾ It was not entirely forgotten, however, and several individual efforts were made even as late as 1835 to reopen the debate, but without success.⁹⁴⁾ This did not alter the fact that a very substantial proportion of the Hungarian people and their representatives gave the Poles moral support until long after the Polish cause had in fact been settled by force of arms.⁹⁵⁾

Epilogue

There is no doubt the Habsburgs were not happy at Russia's oppression in the Congress Kingdom, but their policy was inconclusive and rather contradictory. At the time the November insurrection broke out, the Romanov and Habsburg courts were at odds with each other. Moreover, Austria did not welcome the extension of Russia's authoritarian rule to its very borders. Yet Metternich argued successfully against interference and the border was ordered closed. It was not a very strict quarantine, however, and some Hungarian aid managed to get through to the Poles, partly because of the inefficiency of the border control, and partly because some officials turned a blind eye to it. The contemporary historian Mihály Horváth suggested that Hungarian aid was allowed through with the tacit connivance of Vienna.⁹⁶⁾

The onset of the cholera epidemic in the summer of 1831 later changed the picture. In a futile effort to stop its spread, the frontier was sealed tight and the smuggling of Hungarian weapons and supplies was almost completely stifled. As Russian pressure on the Poles was stepped up and the situation in the Congress Kingdom became more and more hopeless, refugees began fleeing in ever greater numbers. Many of them crossed into Hungary, where they were warmly welcomed. In Horváth's account, the county gentry "competed with one another to give the Poles hospitality". Although in response to representations from St. Petersburg, Vienna imposed increasingly strict controls on the refugees, many Poles found a permanent haven in Hungary, where several county administrations defied a government deportation order.⁹⁷⁾

The refugees included many prominent Poles, among them Ostrowski, speaker of the Lower House of the Polish Diet.⁹⁸⁾ Pulszky noted in his diary:

The deputy high sheriff [of Sáros county] received instructions from the Hungarian Royal Court Chancellery to expel the Polish refugees, and if necessary, they were to be sent under military escort to the Austrian provinces. This scared the refugees

93) *Ibidem*; Kossuth, *op. cit.*, IV, 315.

94) Kossuth, *op. cit.*, IV, 314-315 and 441-443.

95) Divéky, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

96) Horváth, *op. cit.*, I, 265.

97) *Ibidem*.

98) Pulszky, *op. cit.*, I, 63.

a great deal and many of them fled to France. A number of them, however, stayed on in the homes of high-ranking aristocrats, nominally as bailiffs, companions, secretaries or librarians. The nobles' privileges were a safe protection against the Vienna government's administrative type of persecution.⁹⁹⁾

It was against this background that the Polish question was taken up by the Diet of 1832-36 and it was there that, for all the expressions of sympathy and good intentions to help, the question met its political death in Hungary. History had taught Hungary's intellectuals to turn to literary and artistic means to pursue their political objectives when ordinary political methods failed. The Polish cause was the source of much inspiration to Hungarian letters - though curiously, this continued only as long as material assistance was getting into Poland. When Poland became a political issue in the Diet, the muses fell silent, until the political activity died down. Then they picked up where they left off. The work of Hungarian writers and poets serves as a bridge between the Hungarians' support of the Poles between 1831 and 1835 and the backing the Poles gave the Hungarians in the Revolution of 1848.

Hungary's most distinguished men of letters wrote about the Polish situation, and as the years went by, ever more of them drew inspiration from the heroism the Poles had shown in the teeth of the "Northern Giant" or the "Eastern Tyrant", as Russia was often known in Hungary. The speeches delivered by Balogh, Kölcsey and Deák to their County Assemblies and the Diet were fine examples of contemporary Hungarian composition that were as much an adornment to Hungarian politics as to Hungarian letters. After 1835 some of Hungary's ablest poets turned their talents to Poland. József Bajza¹⁰⁰⁾ wrote *Apotheosis*, a eulogy to the Poles' fight for freedom from oppression. His theme was that they had fought for the dignity of man: "In their bosoms burned the fire of love for the common good, in their hands gleamed the shining sword of pure patriotism". Mihály Vörösmarty¹⁰¹⁾ deplored the shedding of so much patriotic blood in vain in *A hontalan* (The Refugee). One of Hungary's leading liberal statesmen, Baron Miklós Wesselényi, in his book *Szózat a magyar és szláv nemzetiség ügyében* (Manifesto on the Cause of the Hungarian and Slav Peoples), printed in Leipzig in 1843, denounced the Russians as the enemies of mankind.

This fascination for things Polish reached its climax with the Revolution of 1848, when it was the turn of the Poles to come to the aid of the Hungarians and to write a new chapter in the long history of relation between the two nations.*)

99) *Ibidem*.

100) József Bajza (1804-1858) was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, director of the National Theater, prominent intellectual leader of the Revolution of 1848, and a typical Hungarian Romantic writer.

101) Mihály Vörösmarty (1800-1855) was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a leading deputy at the time of the Revolution of 1848, and the finest poet of Hungarian Romanticism.

*) All illustrations are taken from PULSZKY, *Életem és korom* [My Life and My Times], 2 vols. (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1958), except the portrait of János Balogh which comes from Sándor Szilágyi (ed.), *A magyar nemzet története* [History of the Hungarian Nation], 10 vols. (Budapest: Atheneum, 1895-98), IX, 583.

TADEUSZ SKOWROŃSKI
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PAGES BRÉSILIENNES

Arrivé au Brésil au début de 1938 en qualité de ministre de Pologne, j'étais surpris et étonné de trouver dans ce pays, si lointain, tant d'intérêt et de sympathie pour ma patrie.

Dans des articles de presse, discours de circonstance, dans des déclarations d'hommes d'État - les noms de nos héros et gloires nationales, poètes, artistes, comme Mickiewicz, Sienkiewicz, Chopin, Kościuszko ou celui du roi Jean Sobieski, apparaissaient fréquemment.

D'où venait cette admiration pour la Pologne - pays si lointain géographiquement et pourtant si proche aux coeurs brésiliens? D'où venaient tant de connaissances précises du domaine de notre histoire, art et littérature?

C'est seulement plus tard que je compris, que la Pologne pour les Brésiliens était une sorte de symbole de la liberté, des sacrifices sans limites pour la cause de l'indépendance, de la noble devise inscrite sur les étendards des légions polonaises: "Pour notre liberté et la vôtre" - cette devise, partie intégrale de la doctrine politique brésilienne, que le plus grand homme d'État du Brésil, Rui Barbosa, lança à la conférence internationale de la Hague, au palais de la paix, sous forme de son célèbre appel, si peu populaire à l'époque.

Il promulguait la doctrine de l'égalité des souverainetés nationales de tous les pays, de leur droit à l'autodétermination et indépendance, de la libération des pays subjugués, dans ce nombre la Pologne.

C'est par la France, dont l'influence culturelle et spirituelle sur le Brésil était énorme et ininterrompue jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale, que l'idée de l'indépendance de la Pologne devint populaire au Brésil.

C'est par ce même canal, qu'après l'échec de l'insurrection de 1830 - les oeuvres de nos éminents propagandistes tels que Chodźko, Lelewel et tant d'autres, trouvèrent au Brésil un terrain fertile et accueillant.

Voilà pourquoi j'ai pu trouver dans des bibliothèques privées de Rio des traductions de Mickiewicz, des volumes illustrés de Léonard Chodźko ou "la Pologne" de Charles Forster etc, des gravures jaunies de Thaddée Kościuszko, ou du prince Joseph Poniatowski sautant dans la rivière d'Elster, d'après Vernet. Il m'arrivait aussi de trouver dans des maisons amies des lithographies d'Épinal aux sujets polonais qui ornaient leurs murs. A l'occasion de mes visites on me montrait avec fierté ce que les poètes, écrivains et publicistes brésiliens avaient écrit sur notre pays, toujours avec sympathie, enthousiasme et admiration - des odes inspirées, des articles de journaux de l'époque des insurrections de 1830 et 1863, des monographies sur Chopin, Kopernik, Sobieski, aussi des impressions de voyages en Pologne, des vues de Cracovie, des

célèbres mines de sel de Wieliczka, ou de la colonne du monument du roi Sigismond à Varsovie.

Dans les bibliothèques publiques et privées j'ai trouvé plus de cent auteurs brésiliens qui ont consacré leurs écrits à la Pologne.* En voici quelques exemples:

Le "Diario Mercantil", le plus grand journal de l'époque, de Rio de Janeiro, publie un article dans son numéro du 27 février 1831 sur l'insurrection qui éclata en Pologne peu de mois auparavant:

"Les prières de tout homme dans le coeur duquel existent les sentiments de justice, seront dirigées au Ciel en faveur des Polonais.

Puissent la Russie, l'Autriche et la Prusse se sentir obligées de quitter les terres dont elles se sont emparées avec un cynisme sans pareil.

Le rétablissement de la Pologne aura d'immenses conséquences pour l'Europe, car la Pologne par l'extension de son territoire si fertile, par le nombre de ses habitants, qui monte à près de 20 millions, par sa position entre la Russie et l'Allemagne - mettera fin à l'influence néfaste de la première sur la seconde, ce qui aura comme effet que les semi-barbares du Nord cesseront d'être l'épouvantail de l'Europe civilisée".

En date du 15 novembre, le même journal écrit:

"Par le brick *Andres*, venant de Hambourg avec escales à Pernambuco et Bahia, en 83 jours, est arrivée la bonne nouvelle que les braves Polonais battront et obtiendront complète victoire sur l'armée russe groupée devant les remparts de Varsovie. On dit que le carnage fut terrible et que plus de 10.000 Russes ont perdu la vie sous les coups des valeureux Polonais, sans compter 16.000 prisonniers, trains et munitions. Le coeur d'homme libre exubère de plaisir, quand il voit ainsi triompher la cause de la Liberté. N'est pas loin le jour où nous verrons disparaître de la face de la terre l'abominable despotisme". Malheureusement, cette fois-ci, ces prévisions ne se réalisèrent pas.

En 1854 un jeune poète Felix de Cunha (1833-65), frappé par la tragédie de la Pologne lui consacra une poésie dans laquelle il dit entre autre:

"Je me lamente oh! Pologne
Réduite à une colonie
De la cité moscovite.
Mais je sais que tes éternels faits
Vont perdurer dans les coeurs
Des fils de la liberté!"

Considéré comme le plus grand poète brésilien du XIX^e siècle, Machado de Assis, connaisseur et admirateur de Mickiewicz - sous l'impression du désastre de l'insurrection polonaise de 1863, publie l'année suivante une ode de plus de 100 vers, intitulée "Polonia", qu'il termine en s'exclamant:

"N'aime pas la liberté
Qui ne pleure pas avec toi tes souffrances,
Ne prie pas, n'aime pas, ne désire pas
Ta résurrection, oh héroïque trépassée".

*) V. Tadeu SKOWROŃSKI - "Paginas brasileiras sobre a Polónia (Coletanea) 210 pages - Editora Freitas Bastos - Rio de Janeiro 1942.

Le diplomate d'une renommée internationale de l'époque de l'Empire Brésilien - Joaquim Nabuco (1849-1910), qui a laissé également un héritage littéraire, ayant à peine 15 ans a écrit une ode de plusieurs pages en l'honneur de la Pologne. Cette oeuvre juvénile jouissait d'une grande popularité parmi les étudiants universitaires. Voici ce que dit entre autre Nabuco:

"Un colosse barbare, qui s'est transplanté en Europe,
Des parages inhospitaliers,
Ce peuple indigne de s'appeler européen!
Masse inerte et rude, sans instruction,
Sans foi, sans amour, sans lettres ni arts,
Voilà en quoi se résume ce grand empire
Qui occupe l'Orient de l'Europe
Et qui aujourd'hui s'y étend largement.
Un autocrate despotique lui dicte les lois
Son armée immense ne se compose que de bourreaux.

.
Et pourtant les Polonais ne fléchissent pas
Devant les lances aiguës des ennemis".

Également en 1864 apparaît à Bahia, centre intellectuel d'alors du Brésil, un livre intitulé: "Em favor de Polonia", consacré aux problèmes et aux causes de l'échec de l'insurrection polonaise de 1863. Le ton de cette publication est tellement agressif et révolutionnaire, pour l'époque, que l'auteur a préféré se cacher sous un pseudonyme ("Pensés d'un homme en bras de chemise") sans doute pour ne pas être molesté à la suite d'interventions de la légation de Russie auprès du gouvernement brésilien à Rio de Janeiro.

Cette publication termine par un sonnet, combien actuel pour les temps que nous vivons:

"Aux coups d'un despotisme inique
Le géant des despotes du Nord
Semant avec ses hordes la mort
Prétend lancer la Pologne dans l'abîme.
Indifférent à l'héroïque civisme,
De ces frères d'un malheureux sort,
La vile Europe, courbée devant le plus fort,
Les observe avec un obscène et impie cynisme.
Et si Dieu a créé les hommes comme frères
Ah! pourquoi le monde ne s'élève et ne crie
Avant que le barbare au silence les ait réduits".

Encore d'une manière plus expressive a représenté la tragédie polonaise un poète lyrique, très apprécié, Louis Pereira de Souza (1839-84). Son long poème de sept chapitres intitulé: "Les volontaires de la mort" (1864) est une protestation poétique contre les oppresseurs de la Pologne. Ce poème fut qualifié par la critique "d'un rugissement du lion, au milieu du désert".

Louis de Souza compare le tsar à Néron, qui, une lyre à la main, assiste, à son oeuvre, l'incendie de Rome, et ses courtisans qui applaudissent - aux puissances européennes qui ne se sont pas même donné la

peine de protester en face de la tragédie polonaise et de ses "volontaires de la mort".

Tobias Barreto (1839-89) un poète de grande classe et d'une renommée bien méritée sous la fraîche impression de l'échec de l'insurrection, écrit un poème enflammé, intitulé "A Polonia".

Ce poème, considéré une des perles de la littérature brésilienne, se termine par une exclamation dirigée à la Pologne:

"Accepte l'amoureux baiser
Que le jeune Empire te donne.
Il est libre notre étendard fougueux
Qui flotte dans le vent de l'automne
Pareil aux ailes d'un condor sans peur.
Nos âmes dans une méditation profonde,
Pour toi... une protestation au monde
Pour toi... un vœu au Seigneur!"

Castro Alves (1847-71), le prince des poètes brésiliens, lui aussi, a pris la parole en faveur de la Pologne, "non morte, mais plongée dans la léthargie, qui cherche sur le tombeau de Sobieski un glaive" pour venger les injustices qui lui ont été faites.

Je pourrais citer encore des dizaines d'oeuvres et d'auteurs, qui avec amour et compassion ont écrit sur la Pologne. Je me limiterai à énumérer quelques uns de plus grande renommée à savoir: le vicomte de Taunay, José Verrissimo, Rocha Pombo, Alberto de Aragão, Humberto Campos et tant d'autres.

Finalment vint le jour, où, comme l'avait prévu dans son songe prophétique Castro Alves - la Pologne se réveille de son sommeil léthargique. Le Brésil, suivant sa tradition, fut un des premiers pays à reconnaître la "Polonia Restituta", même bien avant la fin de la guerre de 1914.

Le grand homme d'Etat, Rui Barbosa, dans son discours prononcé à la séance du sénat le 31 mars 1917, termine son allocution par la phrase suivante:

"la Pologne qui semblait être condamnée pour toujours, n'est plus aujourd'hui celle que nous avons connue par le cri de désespoir: "Finis Poloniae". La patrie de Sobieski s'élève de son tombeau, comme Lazare, pour occuper la place qui lui est due, dans la famille des nations".

Le ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Brésil, Nilo Peçanha, envoya une longue note diplomatique datée du 17 août 1918 à l'ambassadeur de France Paul Claudel, au sujet de la reconnaissance de la Pologne par le gouvernement brésilien. Cette note, loin d'être dans sa conception un mémoire sec et protocolaire comme on le rédige en pareilles occasions, est une sorte de profession de foi, une apologie du principe de la liberté.

"Nous donnons pleine adhésion à l'expression de notre solidarité pour la cause de la libération de la Pologne.

Sa soumission à la domination des empires étrangers est une des plus grandes injustices de l'histoire. Entre les devoirs imposés à la conscience publique des peuples, qui donnent en ce moment leur sang pour l'indépendance des nations, tout le monde est d'accord de restituer aux Polonais leur droit à la Patrie.

...Cette guerre ne se fait pas pour des questions de marchés ou d'intérêts, mais pour qu'il en sorte un monde meilleur, c'est pour un grand idéal que l'homme combat, comme il n'a jamais encore combattu



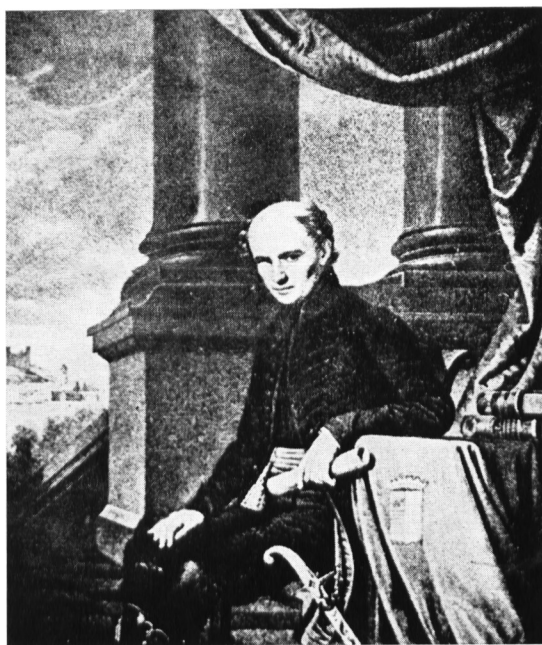
*Balogh János.
(Torsch metszete a Rajzolatokban.)*



Pulszky Ferenc (1842)



Deák Ferenc



Kölcsey Ferenc

au cours de l'histoire - il est donc clair qu'aux conditions de la paix future, s'impose la libération de la Pologne, qui souffre doublement par son humiliation durant l'esclavage et par la grandeur de ses droits!''.

Le Brésil, comme l'a dit M. le Président de la République, en remerciant pour la gracieuse et prestigieuse initiative de la France, l'invitant à collaborer dans cette grande oeuvre de la réparation internationale (le Brésil était au nombre des alliés) adhère à la déclaration des puissances et considère la création d'une Pologne unifiée et indépendante comme une condition de la paix.

...Le gouvernement fédéral reconnaît de ce fait la nationalité polonaise, reconnaît aussi — comme les autres nations alliées — le Comité National à Paris, son origine légitime...''.

Voici, en peu de mots l'historique de cette sympathie désintéressée séculaire, et pour employer les paroles de Tobias Bareto - "de l'amour" pour la nation polonaise, qui pour le Brésil était toujours le symbole de l'indépendance et de la liberté.

TYMON TERLECKI

(Chicago)

THE GREATNESS AND ILL FORTUNE OF STANISŁAW WYSPIAŃSKI

A year ago, in 1969, the one-hundredth anniversary of Stanisław Wyspiański's birth was celebrated. Such occasions are, of course, purely conventional, but very often useful, because they attract attention and excite interest. Sometimes, they introduce the writer to the awareness of the reading public; sometimes, they move only the professional historian of literature. As a rule, they take effect on two planes: the public forum and the private *cabinet de travail*. Wyspiański's last anniversary did not follow this pattern.

In his native country the living theatre actively responded with some bold productions; they confirmed the undiminished vitality of Wyspiański's dramas. Among scholars, the response was perhaps weaker and overshadowed by the monumental edition of Wyspiański's collected works,¹⁾ the preparation of which had altogether taken more than ten years. His "bibliographic monograph"²⁾ belongs more specifically to the centenary year. It is in itself an impressive monument, consisting of four volumes, running to some 1,600 pages, with almost 6000 entries, many detailed indices and so on.

Outside response to the occasion presents, however, a striking contrast to these manifestations. It was nil, nonexistent. As far as I know, nowhere outside Poland was a single attempt made to stage any of Wyspiański's plays. There is an explanation for this sad fact. Three Polish playwrights, opposing Wyspiański, are attracting interest to an extent hitherto unknown. They are: S.I. Witkiewicz, the forerunner of the theatre of the absurd; Sławomir Mrożek and Witold Gombrowicz, two contemporary representatives of, let us say for simplification's sake, the same or a similar kind of theatre. All three have been translated and commented upon, staged and heatedly discussed, while there is no satisfactory *corpus translationum* of Wyspiański in any European language, or at least, no representative selection of his works; the only exception being a Russian "omnibus", containing seven translations of different hands, published in Moscow in 1963. Obviously, the ghost of the poet did not disturb the peace of the secluded studies of scholars or the less secluded ones of theatre directors.

The present essay will try to answer the questions: why are things as they are? and why should they be otherwise than they are? The latter question which concerns Wyspiański's artistic standing, is, in the present state of affairs, perhaps no less difficult to answer than the former, which concerns the circumstances that determined his international reception.

Wyspiański was a man of many ways, a bird of many colours. The most striking, because the most unusual, was his creative bisexuality. He was at the same time a poet and an artist. To tell the truth, he had been an artist, before becoming, or at least, revealing himself as a poet. His first interests were directed towards the plastic arts, and he acquired in this field a thorough training at home and abroad, mainly in France; his theoretical basis was so extensive, that for a moment he contemplated an academic career; at a certain point of his short and incredibly crammed life, he was indeed professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków. Most astonishing was the scope of Wyspiański's capacities in this domain. They were, in fact, all-embracing: from murals and stained glass, through drawing, oil painting, pastel, graphic art and typography, to interior decoration, scenic design and architectural projects; he even tackled sculpture, although only sporadically. These multifarious skills were never completely overshadowed and eliminated by his feverish literary activity. Only a horrid illness, the decay of his fingers, arrested the indefatigable draughtsman and painter.³⁾

Such phenomena are rather rare. In Wyspiański's epoch, only three such cases can be quoted: the Preraphaelites Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris, as well as one of the exponents of Irish nationalism, using the cryptonym AE (A.E.), in private: George William Russell. But they all represent a much smaller potential of their different creative faculties. Rossetti had little training, and did not betray any great technical abilities as a painter. More important still was the fact that in all three cases the creative faculties existed and revealed themselves separately.

With Wyspiański they found their point of convergence in his drama. A thing which cannot be said of his other contemporary, Gerhard Hauptmann who, before becoming a playwright, had intended to be a sculptor: in his case, the literary activity submerged the artistic one, he has no historical place in the field of his primary interest, and it would be rather difficult to indicate any link between this and his drama. As for Wyspiański, his drama was *par excellence* a work of the theatre, combining word-expression with visual expression, audial with multifarious plastic effects.

It should be added here that Wyspiański had an inborn, very deep musical sensitivity, although he lacked the theoretical knowledge and practical training in this domain. What he possessed was sufficient to make a Wagnerite of him, perhaps one of the more consistent ones, at a time which almost unanimously saw in Wagner one of its patron-saints. Like Wagner, and before him Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Molière, Wyspiański was an integral man of the theatre, he combined all the necessary faculties for its creation.

Wyspiański's artistic universality provoked very early and independently of each other, the admiration of two Englishmen. Edward Gordon Craig wrote in 1908 and 1909 to his Polish follower Leon Schiller: "Wyspiański's designs I saw for the first time in March 1908... I hoped for more designs which might take one into the brain of W. (Wyspiański). Even as the studies for cannon - swords - flying ship - and geometrical studies take us into Leonardo's brain".⁴⁾ A few years later Huntly

Carter, an open-eyed and assiduous observer of the European artistic panorama, called him "colossal - a sort of modern da Vinci".⁵⁾ Wyspiański's universality is the first, most striking pointer to his creative caliber, its most obvious determinant.

Another phenomenal aspect of Wyspiański was the eruptive character of his literary creation. He began to think about a second way of self-expression, the literary poetic form, around 1890, under many different stimuli, which it would be too long to discuss here. He published his first dramatic work in 1898, and made his début on the stage with another one in the same year. He also realized then the nature of his sickness, incurable in that period of medical science. From this point onward, he engaged in a breathless race against death which was gaining momentum, making the end more and more imminent. In this respect, Wyspiański's creative life presents the lofty spectacle of victory of art over death.

Wyspiański's is a case of condensation and compression. Not just one single, individual work, not its stylistic instrumentation, but the whole creative process was here half instinctively, half consciously accelerated, shortened, intensified. Between 1897 and 1907 Wyspiański published, at his own expense, eighteen dramas (including an adaptation for the stage of Mickiewicz's "Forefathers" and an original paraphrase of Corneille's "Le Cid"), a book about "Hamlet" and two epic poems. He also left three dramatic *juvenilia*, more than ten sketches and half finished dramas, some of them small, some quite considerable in size and almost complete. Beyond these, there are traces of many works destroyed, of many, many more planned and outlined. It was indeed a volcanic explosion, a sustained series, a barrage of explosions - a phenomenon which has but few equals. This is the more amazing, as it represents only half - the written, literary half - of Wyspiański's whole artistic output.

No less impressive is the character of this hectic *oeuvre*. It emerges as a cluster of works perplexing in their diversity of form, boldness of poetic imagination, structural inventiveness. Wyspiański was continuously experimenting with all the dramatic types then known; he telescoped the whole evolution of the symbolist drama; he exploited its inspirations and inherent possibilities to the very limits. Eventually he overcame and surpassed them all.⁶⁾ The rather far going assumption, that he denotes within symbolism the apogee and the consummation of the symbolist dramatic formula, can be risked.

Independently of this view, Wyspiański is a marvel of internal dynamics. The intensity of his imagination, feeling and intellectual attack can, in his epoch, only be compared with that of August Strindberg. But in opposition to the latter, there was nothing morbid in Wyspiański, if we do not count his physical illness. On the contrary, there is something invigorating in the work of this doomed man, something that was and perhaps still remains stimulating, a kind of spiritual energy.

Wyspiański's influence in his mother country was great, the greatest since the era of the Polish romantics, who also used the dramatic medium and reached in it some of the highest summits of Polish literature. Wyspiański inherited from them the standing, the place, the role of the poet - unknown in modern Western literatures, except perhaps for

the Hungarians: that of the poet as a bard, a prophet, a high priest, a national leader. However, in Wyspiański's case the matter was complicated by his modern mentality; he critically tested this kind of approach to the poet and eventually rejected it. He was completely lacking in such somewhat clownish traits as were displayed by the symbolist Joséphin Péladan, who called himself *Sâr Mage*, revived *l'ordre de la Rose-Croix* and saturated his "wagneries" with occultism. Wyspiański abhorred it, as he abhorred every kind of escapism from the confrontation with the reality of life, from responsibility.

This can be observed in his attitude towards romanticism as a historical and psychological phenomenon. This "neo-romanticist", this "posthumous child of romanticism", as somebody called him, was at the same time a violent, venomous, ruthless critic of romanticism, especially of its Polish variant. In this respect he forestalled - on the poetic plane - Eugène Lasserre and Julien Benda, the undoers of the romantic spell in the European cultural heritage. To this spell he opposed intellectual sobriety, the cult of life, the responsibility for its shape.

He held, though for a short moment only, a position which was not given to any symbolist poet anywhere in Europe (perhaps with the one exception of Hauptmann, at the time of his "Hannele"). In spite of some internal complexities and structural audacities, he overcame in at least one or two of his dramas ("Warszawianka", staged in 1898, "Wesele", staged in 1901) the hermeticism and elite character of the symbolist drama; it could be said that he created a symbolist popular drama, although the term sounds like a *contradictio in adiecto*. It is about the second of these works that Jean Fabre, the French historian, specialist of the XVIIIth century and enthusiast of Wyspiański declared boldly: "We should celebrate the anniversary of the world première of "The Wedding" as a festive day of the European theatre".⁷⁾

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The reception of Wyspiański's work abroad stands in sharp contrast to the stir it created in his homeland. There is no equivalent, for instance, of the renown, the adoration the Czechs bestowed on his contemporary, the "satanist" Stanisław Przybyszewski. Nevertheless, the early prospects seemed promising. In 1906 the Russian translation of the "Song of Warsaw" was published, and about the same time Innokentij Annenskij paraphrased "Protesilas and Laodamia". Wyspiański's premature death in 1907 stimulated the interest - Russian, Czech, German and Yiddish translations of single works were published.⁸⁾ Edward Gordon Craig's sophisticated periodical "The Mask" printed a long, revealing and well documented study by Leon Schiller, Wyspiański's spiritual disciple.⁹⁾

A young man at that time, Schiller a few years later had the illusion that the moment of universal recognition of Wyspiański was round the corner. In an article published in 1913 he meticulously registered the foreign reverberations and attempts realized or planned outside Poland, hailed them as "a rising movement in the West, aiming

at the Europeanization of this peerless legacy, to which, so far, only local value had erroneously been attached". Schiller was deeply convinced that "Wyspiański's work would make a no lesser impression than Wagner's".¹⁰⁾ This hope was expressed and these prognostics were made in an ominous moment, on the threshold of World War I, the great *caesura* in European and Polish spiritual life. It interrupted the progress of Wyspiański's reception abroad. In spite of later efforts, one on a grand scale, to the extent of a lifelong dedication, Wyspiański is to the present day an unknown poet. The past anniversary proved it once more.

The reason for it being so was just bad luck, indeed a run of bad lucks.

The first of them was the unfortunate placement in time which can be defined by the apparently paradoxical formula: Wyspiański was born too late and died too early. This is clear when viewed against a wider background. In French literature, the homeland of symbolism, a distinction is sometimes made between two generations of symbolists. The first (Mallarmé, Verlaine, Rimbaud) created it - the thing, not the name. To the second belonged a host of symbolists proper, priding themselves of the name, but almost all of them *minorum gentium*, and a few who transgressed the historical time limits of symbolism. These were in the first place Paul Claudel, André Gide and Paul Valéry, not to mention Oscar Miłosz (Milosh), Jean Giraudoux or Jean Cocteau. Wyspiański's birth and shortlived activity fell somehow between these two generations. He was seven years younger than Maurice Maeterlinck (born 1862) and one year younger than Claudel (born 1868).

These small portions of time, especially the first one, were of immense importance. Maeterlinck, if we may say so, snatched the priority, the seniority of the symbolist drama, for which the movement so desperately yearned. He started a decade earlier than Wyspiański ("*La Princesse Malaine*", 1889) with an unexpected, tremendous and, in the perspective of time, exaggerated success. "*Tout le monde lit La Princesse Malaine*" stated René Boylesve; around 1898 Apollinaire sighed: "*Si j'étais Dieu et Maeterlinck*",¹¹⁾ and we are inclined not to take it as an Apollinairian *boutade*. Claudel embarked on his dramatic work almost at the same time ("*Tête d'Or*", 1890), but his début passed unnoticed, except for Maeterlinck. Recognizing a rival in Claudel, he exclaimed: "*l'oeuvre d'un fou furieux ou du plus prodigieux génie qui ait jamais existé*".¹²⁾ One is tempted to imagine that he would have repeated the same if, a decade later, he had come across Wyspiański's "*The Legion*" or "*The Wedding*". In the long run, Claudel proved Maeterlinck's rival. The very slow process of recognition was, in Claudel's case, counterbalanced by a long drawn-out artistic presence, a very long creative period (he died only in 1955, almost fifty years after Wyspiański).

This chronology reveals, by comparison, the Polish dramatist's literary fate. He was doubly handicapped: he was a latecomer and an early leaver; destiny forced him to abandon the stage prematurely. Only two other dramatists, in the whole history of the European drama beat his record: Terentius, who died at the age of 26 and Georg Büchner, whose life ended when he was 24 years old; even Anton Chekhov lived longer than Wyspiański. (It may, incidentally, be noted that the output

of all of them was incomparably smaller, at least quantitatively). This pathetic aspect is still further enhanced by yet another comparison: Wyspiański lived only a little more than half the time Wagner did (70:38); Ibsen was born in 1828 but died only one year earlier than Wyspiański (1906); Strindberg, born in 1849 survived him by five years (1912); Hauptmann, of the same age group as Maeterlinck, lived until 1946.

Early death deprived Wyspiański of that great opportunity which Claudel exploited to the utmost. These two men present a striking contrast: an erupting volcano, and a steadily growing tree, an explosion, and an organic growth (the tree, *l'arbre*, is - not insignificantly, perhaps - a key image and a key symbol in Claudel's poetry). It was characteristic of Claudel that many of his works were developing together with his life, they passed through many stages, many evolutionary phases, had many consecutive versions (the first version of "La Ville" appeared in 1890, another one eleven years later, in the collective volume "L'Arbre", 1901; an even more typical example is "La jeune fille Violaine" - 1892 and "L'Annonce faite à Marie" - 1912). Wyspiański tried such a procedure only once, rather unsuccessfully, with his first printed drama "The Legend". Otherwise, he had no time for that, he created with the feverish haste, as Fabre put it, "of a man condemned to death".¹³ For him the problem was not the final, most perfect expression, but expression as such, a desperate urge for fulfilment. Hence the many incidental weaknesses which accompany his intrinsic, indubitable greatness. Only a superficial critic could be held back by the former and overlook the latter. For the same reason Wyspiański, in contrast to Claudel, was unable to fight for his recognition, to adapt his formula, to wait for the favorable cultural conjuncture. His death made him a closed, meteoric chapter.

In consequence his *oeuvre*, compressed into such a short span of time, may appear to be a marginal, peripheral episode, whilst in fact it is a phenomenon in itself, the focal point, the compound, perhaps the fullest existing realization of all the symbolist concepts of drama.

No smaller, but perhaps a much greater handicap than his placement in time, was Wyspiański's placement in space. Except for his *Lehr- und Wanderjahre*, a circular tour of Western Europe and his trips to Paris, where he stayed altogether some three years, he passed his life in his native town of Kraków. For better or worse, he was being linked, identified with his birthplace. He owed it everything and paid a heavy price for it. Kraków was, in his time, not only for the former Poland as a whole, but even for her Austrian dominated part, a degraded, dethroned capital of the old Polish Kingdom and the old Polish Commonwealth, the spiritual heart of an oppressed nation, its visible symbol. To put it more brutally and realistically: it was sick of frustration and compensation neurosis. Wyspiański was infected by it and, at the same time, he desperately fought against it. This ambivalent attitude created the internal dynamics of his work, but it also left on it a deep imprint, a brand, a stigma. Almost everything he wrote is loaded with local allusions and is nationally coloured, which gives it a stamp of particularism, of something seemingly, supposedly local, parochial.

This kind of stubborn prejudice, not to say misjudgement, warps

the otherwise goodwilled assessment of Allardyce Nicoll in his popular, encyclopaedic book "World Drama". (The late Mrs. Nicoll was of Polish extraction and a historian of drama herself, the author of a somewhat dated English book about the reception of Shakespeare in Poland):

"It was precisely in the first year of the century, indeed, that his finest drama "Wesele" (The Wedding), made its appearance. Outwardly this is a simple folk-drama, similar in kind to many peasant pieces turned out in half a score of countries during these romantic years, but Wyspiański has introduced into the folk-canvas individual elements of his own. The subjective and the objective are inextricably intertwined in its action, and the symbolic boldly takes its place along with the realistic depiction of a rustic interior: even the sheaves of corn, the very basis of life for the peasant community, live and move in the appearance of the *chochol*. "Wesele" demonstrates that Wyspiański's genius is peculiarly fitted to weld together elements of the most diverse - indeed seemingly irreconcilable - kinds, and it is from just such a process of fusion that his better plays derive their interest. In both "Akropolis" (printed 1904) and "Noc listopadowa" (A November Night, 1904), for example, figures taken from classic myth appear in a Polish setting, and the walls of Cracow's Wawel are peopled by ghosts of the past: it is as though the ramparts of Troy were superimposed upon the medieval fortress. In these and in his other plays Wyspiański shows himself a master of stage effects: a painter himself, he builds many of his scenes with their decorative appearance in view, and at the same time he engages in interesting dramatic experiments, such as the use of crowds in "Legion" (1900). This last mentioned drama, however, serves to indicate why his fame will always remain localized. In creating it the author frankly indicates that he has been dominated by one basic concept - the idea that "Poland is the Christ of Nations" - and at once we realize that such a theme, although it might give him added power as a national writer, is bound so to restrict his appeal as to make his work assume no more than historical interest for others. Wyspiański, indeed, may perhaps be taken as the supreme example of the poet, undoubtedly gifted with genius, who is so rooted in his own land that transplantation is impossible".¹⁴⁾

It must be pointed out in this connection that particularism or localism is not always, not even actually, a notion relevant in art; all art is in the end particular and precisely because of that it counts, it attracts our interest and enriches us. The crucial issue is a different one: to be effective, particularism must aim at and attain universality. The Irish Renaissance was a local phenomenon, perhaps even more "parochial" than Wyspiański, but thanks to the language used (the Anglo-Irish instead of the archaic Gaelic), it won recognition and popularity in Europe. A more particular, sealed-off world than the Yoknapatawpha County of Faulkner's novels, can hardly be imagined but nobody in his right mind would dismiss it as "parochial".¹⁵⁾

In this respect, however, Wyspiański's compatriots were themselves not without blame. Criticism in his lifetime and long after that, had put the main stress on the "Polishness" of Wyspiański's work, emphasized its ideological and national aspect. The *élite* revered him as a new incarnation of the national bard, the fourth *wieszcz* (after the three others, canonized in the romantic era). But this reverence lacked consistence. Kraków, although it had all the natural conditions, did not become Wyspiański's Bayreuth after his death, nor in the period

between the two wars, nor after the Second World War. Yet this was (and perhaps still is) a practical way of imposing Wyspiański as a European, a universal value. Thanks to Bayreuth and the international medium of music, of course, Wagner (incidentally Wyspiański's model) hovers over Europe ever since the time of the pilgrimages of the French symbolists *ad limina*; though he was not less "particular" and even is more abstruse than Wyspiański; a true understanding of his work requires a real effort and a commentary.

Another argument in point is furnished by Chekhov. He found in the Moscow Art Theatre of Stanislavsky a congenial scenic medium for his dramas already in his lifetime; just as the *Comédie Française* is called *La Maison Molière*, so could the MAT be called *La Maison Chekhov*. It can legitimately be surmised that, without this chance, he would most probably not have won the world-wide acclaim he enjoys to-day. Wyspiański never had such a chance. On the contrary, he experienced two bitter setbacks: first he felt compelled to sever his ties with the Kraków theatre at the peak of his creative strength; and then, three years before his death, he was refused the directorship of that theatre, which he had coveted more than anything else.

There is one more inherent organic drawback in Wyspiański's dramatic work. His is a poetic drama, almost without exception, contrasting in this respect with the works of Maeterlinck and d'Annunzio, as well as with the symbolist works of Strindberg. Maeterlinck's prosaic diction was, or seemed, particularly easy to render in another language, because of its transparent gracility, simplicity, the insistent use of repetitions. Wyspiański's poetic diction is complicated by a forceful linguistic stylization: it is studded with archaisms, dialecticisms and neologisms. It must be admitted that this is the most questionable and the most questioned aspect of his work. It may discourage a foreign reader and inhibit the translator, but on the other hand, it should not be overrated. Flaws and blemishes of this kind inevitably, almost automatically disappear in translation; there is no reason and even no way of repeating them in a foreign language. The last experiment with the English rendering of "Powrót Odyssa" (The Return of Odysseus) confirms this.¹⁶⁾

Wyspiański stood closest to French symbolism - he had been visiting and staying in Paris at the heyday of this movement. But somehow he did not find his way to the famous Tuesdays of Stéphane Mallarmé at 37, rue de Rome. Two minor Polish symbolists, Wacław Rolicz-Lieder and Antoni Lange attended them, Wyspiański, as far as we know, did not. His Parisian years were his Herculean crossroads, filled with a feverish activity in the visual arts, taken up by his first attempts at writing, and his assiduous visits to the theatres - those cultivating the classic repertoire, not the vanguard houses promoting symbolist drama.

Even more unfortunate was Wyspiański's failure to meet Teodor de Wyzewa, the *éminence grise* of French symbolism.¹⁷⁾ He, obviously, would have been the most natural *companion d'armes*. Born of Polish parents (his father Teodor Wyzewski took part in the 1830/31 Uprising) still in historical Poland, he moved with them to France as a seven-year old boy, in the very year Wyspiański was born. At the time when the latter was acquiring his first knowledge about Wagner, the former, under the pseudonym Teodor de Wyzewa, became Wagner's standard bearer and

apostle in the shortlived "Revue Wagnérienne" (1885-1886) where, together with others, he hailed "*le dieu Richard Wagner*" not only in esoteric prose but in a sonnet as well; he also took part in the pilgrimages to Bayreuth; before Jean Moréas and his famous manifesto, he proposed "the first truly valid definition of literary symbolism".¹⁸⁾ Wyspiański could not have known or even heard about this revue, the chapel of French Wagnerianism; but it is not impossible that he knew de Wyzewa's fervent and revelatory articles (based on a rather scanty knowledge of Wagner), which had been reprinted in his book "Nos Maîtres" (1895). There is no trace of an encounter between de Wyzewa and Wyspiański in the former's personal diary, though he knew and was even intimate with the Polish third-rate pot-boiler Stefan Krzywoszewski.

But he did hear about Wyspiański when the Polish artist became famous in his homeland. At a certain moment he wrote a letter signed "*votre bien dévoué compatriote et serviteur*". In it, he asked Wyspiański to send him his books; he needed them for an article in the "Revue des Deux Mondes", of which, as an established authority on many foreign literatures, from Russian to Danish, he was a regular contributor. "...*j'aurai un grand bonheur à pouvoir une fois encore* - wrote de Wyzewa to Wyspiański - *rendre hommage à mon pays en signalant aux Français l'un de ses principaux écrivains*".¹⁹⁾ But nothing came of what seems, from afar, an exceptional opportunity lost. Delsemme blames Wyspiański for it, ascribing to him "the bad habit of not answering the letters received". This is gratuitous and questionable: Wyspiański, in his normal shape, was a spontaneous, impulsive, prolific letterwriter and his, as yet unpublished, correspondence is a psychographic document of rare quality and outstanding importance. If Delsemme's dating of the undated letter (summer 1906 - fall 1907) is correct, as it seems to be, it came too late. Wyspiański was at that time already bedridden, facing imminent death, indifferent to the belated echo from the outer world, from a far-off land.

Consequently, the most competent foreign critic dismissed Wyspiański's work in a postscript to an article on Bolesław Prus, a great realist from the previous era who was impervious to the genius of Wyspiański the symbolist. It is worthwhile quoting in its entirety:

*"La Pologne a perdu récemment un jeune poète, Stanislas Wyspiański, dont le robuste et subtil génie lui aurait mérité de prendre place à côté des deux plus hautes gloires de la poésie nationale, Mickiewicz et Słowacki, s'il avait pu contenir une fièvre d'improvisation souvent préjudiciable à la pureté de son art. Tel qu'il a été, ce Wyspiański, poète et peintre, restera l'une des figures les plus originales de tout le mouvement artistique de notre temps".*²⁰⁾

This marginal *post mortem* shows that de Wyzewa was fairly well informed about the phenomenon Wyspiański, although he did not duly appreciate his universal value.

The whole incident had a hidden lining. First, de Wyzewa tried for a long time to conceal his origin, and demonstrated a negative attitude towards his native country; this did not save him from the venomous chauvinist shafts of Charles Maurras. Later, he tried to make up for this pusillanimity, but his approach was complicated by his literary russophilism. Finally, he had at that time, already severed his ties with

symbolism and lost his early enthusiasm for Wagner. Delsemme suspects even that the main motive behind de Wyzewa's initiative was his penitent patriotism.²⁰⁾ All this explains somehow the nature of his relationship to Wyspiański and his lack of full understanding discernible in the quoted casual obituary. Nevertheless, the fact that the two never met must be considered a great opportunity wasted for Wyspiański.

Perhaps an equally great lost opportunity was that represented by Edward Gordon Craig. He learned of the Polish symbolist dramatist immediately after his premature death in 1907 from Leon Schiller. Wyspiański's spiritual disciple, Schiller too was born and brought up in Kraków; young, 21 years old then, an apprentice in literature and in theatre, he was to become in future Poland's most prominent producer and the creator of the style, the trend, or the artistic ideal called the Polish Monumental Theatre.²¹⁾ It was he who introduced Craig to Wyspiański, although it seems that the Englishman has had even earlier some intimation of the Polish artist. The whole episode is now better known thanks to the recently published and already previously mentioned correspondence between "the father of the theatrical reform" and his Polish son in faith.

In the first, self-introductory letter, written in the fall of 1908, Schiller said:

"How much I am indebted to you is beyond my power to express. Three years ago, when in my little native town nothing was known in the theatre of your projects - your little book [the German edition of "Die Kunst des Theaters", which preceded the English version and was published twice in 1905] was already going the round among us, young men, commented (*sic*) upon, continued - until at last we placed your name by the side of those of Wagner and Wyspiański".

In a letter from the end of this year, the follower of this Holy Trinity made a formal proposal:

"If you require a study on Wyspiański and if you have not already somebody better than me please intrust (*sic*) it to me... I want to write of him solely as a theatrical worker - so many literary studies have been written on him - nobody has written of him from this point of view... such a phenomenon will be a marvellous surprise for you. I have heard that you are never separated from Wyspiański's portrait. - Nor I either - It is my guide-post".

Craig was enthusiastically responsive and even partly prepared for the initiation, he already knew some of Wyspiański's drawings. "And I have heard much about him which make (*sic*) the blood tingle..." - he said in his answer to the first letter of Schiller.

The reaction to his essay is expressed in Craig's strange, bizarre, tortuous style but its emotional temperature is obviously high:

"Your letter asking me how I like your Polish essay on the Polish Theatre... arrives (?). I carry its contents about in that thing which on top of my body I am ashamed to call a head - - it finds (the letter finds) but cold comfort there and sinks down towards my heart - and my heart speaking without authority cries out that it loves your Polish essay very much indeed - loves the Polish cry of it, loves the love put into the translation - and loves Wyspiański.

There, then, is the blunt and awkward - raw - queer heart nonsense (*sic*).

Then the fingers get agitated - the nostrils dilate - the brows lower - and the mouth refuses to show any sign - - - and the talk becomes different. There creeps through the lips the question - what has Poland to do with Wyspiański, what has Wyspiański even with Europe and the Europeans - with the children of men or with the litters of Rabbits - - what too is this cry of pain which escapes - - - surely it was the howl of a wolf or the squeak of a weasel - or the wind maybe - but (and the eyes dilate and are in Love with Heaven) it cannot be the cry of a God - ? - ? not that surely - not the cry - the howl - of a God".²²⁾

This friendly, open-hearted confrontation had two consequences: one spiritual, the other material, practical.

Craig realized that Wyspiański, born and dead in a, for him, exotic historical city, had been his forerunner, that he had incarnated his ideal of "the artist of the theatre" - *avant la lettre*, even before he himself had formulated it; in a letter of March 1909 Craig wrote about Wyspiański: "the lover of the 'Theatre that should be'". He attested to it also in his books: e.g. in "The Art of the Theatre" and "Towards a New Theatre".²³⁾ There is further Schiller's testimony in support of this: "Edward Gordon Craig considered Wyspiański the only, beside himself, 'artist of the theatre' in the history of scenic art".^{23a)}

As for the practical results, Craig published in his periodical "The Mask" a fundamental essay of Schiller about Wyspiański.²⁴⁾ It was the first attempt at establishing a European, universal standing for the poet from Kraków; in truth, it has so far remained unsurpassed.

Somewhat later Craig participated in the International Theatre Exhibition co-organized by Schiller in Warsaw in the autumn of 1913 (the following year transferred to Kraków). Craig wrote the foreword to its catalogue which was published in the English original with a Polish translation. With over forty of his works exhibited he was, beside Wyspiański, the second if not the main highlight of the venture. The event marked the adhesion of Poland to the theatrical reform, it linked the two names: that of its English promotor and that of its Polish forerunner.²⁵⁾ This association lies at the basis of the phenomenon called the Polish Monumental Theatre which was to take shape some ten years later.

But in the outer world, on the European scene, these facts had no sequel and fell into oblivion. Wyspiański's recognition by Craig was passed over in silence by his biographers and monographists.²⁶⁾ In his own memory the once fascinating figure dimmed with time: he lived to an age of Methuselah, and died only in 1967, as a 90-year-old remnant of another epoch.²⁷⁾

Neither did Schiller's memorable essay have any after-effects. It has become an incident, belonging more to his own artistic biography than to the history of Wyspiański's reception outside Poland. In Schiller's correspondence with Craig, and in the quoted article of 1913, we find the trace of yet another lost opportunity. He had been invited by John Middleton Murry and his companion, the New-Zealand-born Katherine Mansfield, to write about his father in spirit; a whole special issue of the revue "Rhythm" was to be dedicated to him.²⁸⁾ It never materialized, because of the premature end of the periodical.

The only souvenir left of this fleeting promise is the touching dirge, Katherine Mansfield's poem "To Stanislaw Wyspianski", written in her 'Bavarian period' (1909-1910, before her encounter with Murry),

but full of reminiscences of her homeland: "a little island cradled in the giant sea bosom".

"I sing your praise, magnificent warrior, I proclaim your triumphant battle.

.....

Stanislaw Wyspianski - Oh man with the name of a fighter,
Across these thousands of sea-shattered miles we cry and proclaim you;
We say "He is lying in Poland and Poland thinks he is dead;
But he gave the denial to Death - he is lying there, wakeful;
The blood in his giant heart pulls red through his veins".

This lofty, heroic epitaph appeared however almost thirty years after its composition, as a separate print in an edition of only one hundred copies.²⁹⁾ It too was an incident. And to tell the truth, in its essence it again reiterated the idea of Wyspiański's greatness as a national poet.

Similar ill luck marked the first endeavours in translation. In the heyday of his apprenticeship and friendship with Craig, Schiller's English wife "Madeline" embarked on rendering in her mother tongue two of Wyspiański's dramas: "Meleager" and "Protesilaos and Laodamia". It was Schiller who chose them; he defined them in a letter to Craig in these significant words: "...They are the most typical examples of the 'theatrical word' with Wyspiański - melo-mimo-dramas...". The master was most interested and enthusiastic: "Masque (*sic*) will devote a whole number to Wyspiański's 'Protesilas and Laodamia' if Schiller likes, for Craig likes right enough". And in another letter: "...that might lead some London publisher to undertake an English edition of W's (Wyspiański's) Dramas".³⁰⁾ But a sentimental complication in Schiller's life, the break-up of his marriage, frustrated this endeavour. No trace of it survived.³¹⁾

The same happened with Katherine Mansfield's attempt. During her stay in Germany, she tried to translate one of Wyspiański's works through the intermediary of German translations.³²⁾ At that time (in 1909-1910), there existed in this language only rather poor versions of his two dramas of destiny: "Klątwa", German "Der Fluch" (1909), and "Sędziowie": "Gericht" (1909); one of them attracted the attention of the English novelist. Under this impact and, most probably, under the suggestion of Schiller's essay in "The Mask" as well, she became instrumental in the unrealized project of the special issue of "Rhythm".

Another instance of a translation which did not materialize was the German version of Wyspiański's masterpiece "Wesele" (The Wedding), done in verse by Józef Drobner. Practically speaking we know of it only from hearsay - through Schiller. Writing his essay in 1913, he had it in front of him, and gave it the highest praise. The young but competent, exacting and severe judge considered it a congenial rendering, preserving even the punctuation, even the typographic arrangement (very important with Wyspiański) - "not a translation but the creation of a poet" - he wrote.³³⁾ In spite of that, it was never published in its entirety, and was preserved only in small, not very significant fragments.³⁴⁾

The most dramatic episode in this story of translators' labours lost was the venture of Adam Łada-Cybulski, known in France under the name of Adam de Lada. Of a landed family, he had been as a young man, a dandy and a theatre critic in Lwów. Under the impression, the staggering effect which "The Wedding" had produced in this city, he

decided to devote his life to one purpose: that of making Wyspiański known abroad, through the medium of the then most international language - the French. In the article already repeatedly quoted, Schiller called this intention "a surprise of almost historic importance".³⁵⁾

Unfortunately, the "surprise" never materialized. Cybulski sold his country estate in Poland, moved to France to live among the French people and stayed there, it seems, until the end of his days. At a certain moment of his venture, he became a small farmer in a remote corner of the Provence, recreated there the scenery of "The Wedding", including a peasant wife. For decades he toiled at the transfer of Wyspiański's work into a different idiom. As far as we know, only part of his life-long effort saw the light of day: before World War I "Protésilas et Laodamie" (1913) and later "Les Noces" (1917) were published in the prestigious *Edition de la Nouvelle Revue Française*; "L'Anathème" and "Les Juges" appeared in one volume in 1925.³⁶⁾

In connection with these translations, two attempts at introducing Wyspiański to the French stage should be reported - both miscarried, though in different ways.

In the beginning of 1913 Jacques Copeau, the editor of "La Nouvelle Revue Française" (also actor, playwright, critic of the theatre) saw "The Judges" played by Polish actors in Paris, and became acquainted with the then as yet unpublished French translation of the play. The result of this experience was a reserved but penetrating criticism, published in his monthly and - what seems much more significant - the inclusion of Wyspiański's drama in the repertoire of his epoch-making theatre "Le Vieux Colombier", which opened its gates in the fall of the same year. But the outbreak of World War I frustrated the start of the venture and - once more - Wyspiański's great chance. After the war, Copeau did not go back to the idea of producing the Polish poet on the stage of his theatre.^{36a)}

The second attempt of this kind with "The Wedding" was only seemingly more fortunate. It was produced by an experimental stage, the "Théâtre Art et Action" in Paris in 1923, but had only two or three performances there. The task was too complicated for the possibilities of the somewhat amateurish company, the moment was not quite propitious.³⁷⁾

This explains the fate of Wyspiański's other translations in France. Their literary success was also modest, or less than modest. They seemed out of tune with the time. They were moreover handicapped by their interpreter. The nebulous, woolly-minded personality of Monsieur de Lada hovered over the whole single-handed heroic venture. His interpretative divagations did not pave, but rather obtruded the way to the universal recognition of the admired poet. Something of the translator's mind stuck to the works translated. And yet, had he but been a different man, Cybulski could have become Wyspiański's Jeremy Curtin, playing in France the role the latter played in respect of Sienkiewicz in America. But he did not, and the sacrifice of his whole life remained practically useless.

One more aspect remains to be mentioned in this sequence of missed chances, adversities, drawbacks and handicaps. Wyspiański's way to the outer world was twice blocked by his own compatriots, his fellow-writers - once by Henryk Sienkiewicz, the second time by Gabriela Zapolska. It happened in two different but crucial moments: at the

beginning of his short career and soon after his death, in the period of the decline of symbolism.

Sienkiewicz was, after Mickiewicz, the first Polish writer who won wide international acclaim.³⁸⁾ A "master of easy beauty", he appealed to the general public, his *roman d'aventure* (or nobilitated Western), his fresco à la Alma Tadema did not require commentaries, did not call for any effort, did not cause any aesthetic shock to the reader. His success was so sweeping, that Henry Bordeaux coined the term "*sienkiewite aigüe*". The rage for "Quo Vadis?" in France (200.000 copies sold in two years) provoked the negative reaction of an offended national pride, of professional envy, of those with a more exacting taste (Léon Daudet called it *un faux chef-d'oeuvre*). Both the success and the backlash harmed Wyspiański. There is much truth in the statement:

"En arrêtant l'attention sur ce livre unique ('Quo Vadis?'), on paralyse une curiosité qui aurait dû s'étendre à toute l'oeuvre de l'écrivain et à la littérature dont elle était issue".³⁹⁾

In contrast to Sienkiewicz, Wyspiański was a master of a baffling, bewildering, exacting beauty. There was no room for two such opposites. At that very moment Europe could afford to accept only one variant of literary Polishness. Wyspiański's chance passed. His artistic activity came to a close practically at the moment of Sienkiewicz's international confirmation (Nobel Prize in 1905). He ceased to be present. He was deprived of that cumulative effect which played such a great part in the literary careers of his contemporaries: Maeterlinck, Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, Claudel.

No less unfortunate was the second blockade, although it was on a smaller scale. It debarred him from the German-speaking countries. There, the emergence of the Polish cause amidst the turmoil of World War I directed the attention not to Wyspiański, the poetic herald of the state which was soon to be born again, but to Zapolska. Not his dramas, but the plays of the Polish Aphra Behn (and a much better one for all that, at least in the dramatic part of her output), won an unexpected, unheard-of acclaim. She was a professional actress and a professional repertoire purveyor. She had a thorough knowledge of the mechanism of the theatre, and of the theatrical effect. Again, facility won the field over difficult originality: Zapolska's melodrama "Tamten" (under the title "Die Warschauer Zitadelle") over Wyspiański's poetic drama "Noc listopadowa" (November Night). The latter was never translated into German, the former had in 1916-17 almost 400 performances in Berlin and some 300 in Vienna, and afterwards was played on many German and Austrian provincial stages. The same happened, on a smaller scale, with Zapolska's sentimental pot-boiler "Sybir" (Siberia).⁴⁰⁾

Incidentally, both these plays were by no means the best of Zapolska. She was one of the few women dramatists in European literature, sending memory as far back as Hroswitha, the Saxon Benedictine nun of the 10th century; she was the only woman naturalist in the theatre deserving consideration and a permanent place for such masterpieces of the *comédie rosse* kind as "The Morality of Mrs. Dulska", "Miss Maliczewska" and "The Four of Them". Zapolska's shortlived success at the end of the First World War was fatal to Wyspiański, but - as far as she was concerned - it had no sequel, except for a few translated novels and a few more productions.

What happened to Wyspiański afterwards was the crown, the consummation of the contrast between intrinsic greatness and persistent ill fortune. There were the already mentioned belated and maniacal efforts of Łada-Cybulski, and the experimental production in Paris. There were highly valuable but isolated words of praise by Claudel, by Félix GaiFFE and Fabre,⁴¹⁾ two distinguished academicians. There is a large French monograph of Wyspiański by Claude Backvis⁴²⁾ - hard reading, even for specialists, because of the density of its style and its blurred composition. But all in all, Wyspiański is still a *poeta ignotus*. This concerns in the least degree the Slavic orbit, more the Anglosaxon sphere than that of the Romance and Germanic languages. There are as many English as Bulgarian translations.⁴³⁾

One wonders whether and how this bad spell can be broken? And also - to what purpose?

The latter question is best answered in this way: the change of the existing state of affairs would be of as much interest to Wyspiański as it would be to unbiased literary scholarship, to the comparative studies in literature. Knowledge of European and American symbolism is not complete without Wyspiański, perhaps the most versatile and most extremist among its dramatists. That in itself is a sufficient reason for an overdue shift. The gain would be twofold: it would inscribe Wyspiański into a wider context; it would supplement the picture of universal literature with a link, with a phenomenon without which it can not actually be considered complete.

Such a shift requires an act of awareness, like the one attempted here, and also some practical moves. The first would be the translation of Wyspiański's works. No congenial renderings should be expected at this stage. Useful, prosaic versions would do for the moment. Such a transposition as that of "The Return of Odysseus" is an example, showing that the effort is rewarded. This one enriched the long history of the Odyssean theme with an absolutely new variant, without which this history would have been poorer.⁴⁴⁾

Another indispensable requirement for a change is the reinterpretation of Wyspiański in universal categories. The onesided nationalist, ideologic exegesis was more or less understandable in the atmosphere of the moment, but its consequences were disastrous; it became one of Wyspiański's many predicaments. There are in him other, still unrecognized values. Schiller testifies to the fact that Craig was fascinated by "Liberation" from the purely structural point of view although it is, or seems to be, one of the most hermetically Polish among Wyspiański's dramas. "November Night", another work of a similar kind, the symbolic evocation of the 1830 Uprising, would be the joy of Sir James George Frazer, the great anthropologist, author of "The Golden Bough" because it is the most daring artistic application of what he called the vegetative myth.⁴⁵⁾ These two examples are sufficient, just now, to illustrate the point.

We can not and should not indulge in daydreaming. Wyspiański will never be "a good box office" dramatist.⁴⁶⁾ But he is entitled to an act of historical justice, on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. What is both the minimum and the maximum can be postulated and should be worked for: *un succès d'estime*, a living presence in the consciousness of the cultural *élite*.

NOTES

1) Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Dzieła zebrane*, (Works), team ed. dir. Leon PŁOSZEWSKI. Preface by Aniela LEMPICKA. vol. I-XIV. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957-1966).

2) Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Dzieła zebrane*, Vol. XV: Monografia bibliograficzna (Bibliographic Monograph) by Maria STOKOWA, Part 1: Twórczość pisarska. Życiorys. (Wyspiański's Writings. His Biography); Part 2: O twórczości pisarskiej i plastycznej (On Wyspiański's writings and paintings); Part 3: Teatr Wyspiańskiego (I) (Wyspiański and the Theatre (I)); Part 4: Teatr Wyspiańskiego (II); Wyspiański and the Theatre (II). (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1967-1968).

3) There is no up-to-date treatment of this aspect in any foreign language. The interested student must reach back to the monumental source edition: Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *Dzieła malarskie* (The Plastic Works of Stanisław Wyspiański) ed. by Wł. JAROCKI and Ign. PIENKOWSKI (Bydgoszcz: Inst. Wyd. "Biblioteka Polska", 1925). It contains also the catalogue of Wyspiański's works, compiled by Stanisław ŚWIERZ and counting 554 entries. Some losses and gains have to be taken into account since that time. There is also a newer, excellent publication of this kind: Helena BLUM, *Stanisław Wyspiański* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Auriga". Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1970).

4) Irena SCHILLER, "Korespondencja Leona Schillera z Edwardem Gordonem Craigiem" (The Correspondence of L. Schiller and E.G. Craig), *Pamiętnik Teatralny* (Theatre Diary), XVII fasc. 4 (68) 1968. pp. 446 and 602, 458 and 610. The letters written between 1908 and 1914 are published in a Polish translation, but some selected ones are also printed in the original English, either in full or in part.

5) Huntly CARTER, *The New Spirit in Drama and Art* (London: Frank Palmer, 1912), p. 174.

6) This thesis was formulated for the first time in my paper "Wyspiański and the Poetics of Symbolist Drama", read at the annual meeting of AATSEEL in New Orleans in November 1969. The paper appeared in considerably extended form in *The Polish Review*, New York, XV, nr. 4, and gives a more detailed though still not exhaustive justification of the thesis.

7) Jean FABRE, "Wyspiański i jego teatr" (Wyspiański and his Theatre), *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, VI, fasc. 3/4 (23-24) 1957, p. 397. The French original was printed in *Peuples Amis*, nr. 95 (Mars 1957).

8) See the chapter "Przekłady utworów Stanisława Wyspiańskiego na języki obce" (Translations of S.W.'s works into foreign languages) in Part 1 of STOKOWA's *Bibliographic Monograph*, op. cit., p. 117 et seq.

9) Leon de SCHILDENFELD SCHILLER, "The New Theatre in Poland: Stanisław Wyspiański", *The Mask*, vol. II nr. 1/3, pp. 11-27 and nr. 4/6 pp. 57-71 (1909/10). The study is preceded by the Editor's (Craig's) introductory biographical note.

10) L. SCHILDENFELD SCHILLER, "Wyspiański w literaturach zachodnio-europejskich" (Wyspiański in West-European Literatures), *Krytyka*, XXXVI (1913), p. 301 and 305.

11) Maurice Maeterlinck 1862-1962, ed. by Joseph HANSE and Robert VIVIER (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1962), p. 57 and 110.

12) Ibid., p. 25.

13) FABRE, *Wyspiański*, p. 390.

14) Allardyce NICOLL, *World Drama from Aeschylus to Anouilh* (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1949), pp. 739-40. In this otherwise factually correct statement, there is one serious mistake, namely accusing Wyspiański of Messianism. Actually, he opposed in the most outspoken and violent way his own watchword: "I want nothing but what is everywhere", to the romantic idea that "Poland is the Christ of nations". Wyspiański was the apostle of social and political normality and not of national martyrdom for the sake of others.

15) The problem interested Schiller already in his article of 1913 in *Krytyka*. A few passages deserve to be quoted: "In each of his works Wyspiański, without losing his national awareness, attains a supra-national point of view", p. 303. "This supra-national quality would probably make it possible to produce abroad the most profoundly national and thus most profoundly personal dramas of Wyspiański", p. 304. "Under the Prosperian spell of

his art, the most intimate, the most local and exotic aspects of his drama become international, are capable of inciting awe and delight in any European individual and in any epoch", p. 304.

16) Stanisław WYSPIAŃSKI, *The Return of Odysseus*. A drama in three acts. Translated with an Introduction by Howard CLARKE. Indiana University Publications Russian and East European Series, Vol. 35 (Bloomington, 1966).

17) He has lately aroused considerable interest; cf. two exhaustive, highly sympathetic, highly appreciative books, one written by an American, the other by a Belgian scholar: Elga LIVERMAN DUVAL, *Teodor de Wyzewa, Critic without a Country* (Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1961), and Paul DELSEMME, *Téodor de Wyzewa et le Cosmopolitisme littéraire en France à l'époque du Symbolisme* (Bruxelles: Presses Universitaires, 1967). The quoted epithet of de Wyzewa is Delsemme's (or adopted by him from Edmond Jaloux), and serves as the title of the second part of his monograph, p. 125 et seq.

18) DELSEMME, *Teodor de Wyzewa*, p. 32.

19) The letter is quoted in full by Delsemme, op. cit. p. 323.

19a) Ibid., p. 322.

20) Ibid., p. 195.

21) See: Tymon TERLECKI, "The Polish Monumental Theatre", *New Writing and Daylight*, (London, Autumn, 1944); Tymon TERLECKI, "Leon Schiller" in *Ludzie, książki i kulisy* (People, Books and the Stage) (London: B. Świderski, 1960); Zbigniew RASZEWSKI, "Leon Schiller", *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, Roma, 1966 and Edward CSATÓ, *Leon Schiller* (Warszawa: PIW, 1968). (The first essay of T. Terlecki was translated into Italian and printed in *Iridion*, fasc. 5, Roma 1945).

22) Irena SCHILLER, "Korespondencja", op. cit., pp. 446 and 602, pp. 449 and 605, pp. 446 and 602, 453 and 609, 465 and 611.

23) Edward GORDON CRAIG, *On the Art of the Theatre* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), p. VIII; *Towards a New Theatre, Forty designs with critical notes* (London and Toronto: 1913).

23a) *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1956 fasc. I (17), p. 72.

24) See note 10.

25) The quoted correspondence of Schiller and Craig contains a lot of valuable historical material (pp. 478 et seq., 502 et seq. and 602 et seq.). There can be no doubt that the participation of Craig and the prominent place accorded him among the other English, French, German, Polish and Russian artists in the Warsaw exhibition were the result of Schiller's initiative. "We would like to have - wrote the latter in German, when separated from his English companion and secretary - if only possible, everything you have drawn, engraved, painted, all your projects, your designs, your little figures, models, stage constructions, photographs, etchings etc., etc.". In fact, the "dear Master and dear Friend" became, as his Polish enthusiast and pupil had desired him to be "to some extent the patron of the exhibition". This is only generally mentioned in secondary sources, e.g. in: Ifan Kyrle FLETCHER and Arnold ROOD, *Edward Gordon Craig, A Bibliography* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1967), p. 106.

26) There is not a single mention of Wyspiański in any of the five books: Janet LEEPER, *Edward Gordon Craig. Designs for the Theatre*. Penguin Books. (London, 1948); Enid ROSE, *Gordon Craig and the Theatre*. Record and Interpretation (London, n.d.); Ferruccio MAROTTI, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Bologna, Cappelli, 1961); Denis BABLET, *Edward Gordon Craig*, transl. by Daphne WOODWARD (New York, Theatre Arts Books 1966) - in French 1962; Edward CRAIG, *Gordon Craig. The Story of his Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968). Some traces of the relationship Wyspiański-Craig may perhaps be detected among Craig's contributions in the fifteen volumes of *The Mask*. They are signed with over sixty pseudonyms, among which there is also a caricatured Polish one: "Stanislas Ledochowski". See MAROTTI, op. cit. p. 97, FLETCHER and ROOD, op. cit. p. 62.

27) He does not specify Wyspiański in the *Index to the Story of My Days*. *Some Memoirs* (London: Hulton Press Ltd., 1957) perhaps because they cover the years 1872-1907, although he leaps forward to 1909 mentioning "a faithful friend 'Lulek' Schiller when in Paris" (p. 142). Neither was the relationship between Craig and Wyspiański indicated

in the comprehensive retrospective exhibition, organized by the National Library in Paris; only a small niche had been reserved for Schiller. See the catalogue: *Bibliothèque Nationale. Gordon Craig et le Renouveau du Théâtre*, Paris 1962, p. 66-7.

P.S. The statement about Craig's attitude towards Wyspiański should be rectified in accordance with the new materials brought to light in Helena BLUM's *Stanisław Wyspiański* op. cit., p. 44. She quotes (in translation) two letters of Craig from 1960 to Marian Kratochwil, a Polish artist living in London. They testify to his undiminished (in spite of the years) admiration for Wyspiański as "a genius". This late testimony aggravates the negligence and ignorance of Craig's interpreters.

28) Irena SCHILLER "Korespondencja", op. cit., p. 476 and 612. Leon SCHILLER, *Wyspiański w literaturach zachodnio-europejskich*", p. 302.

29) Katherine MANSFIELD, "To Stanisław Wyspiański" (London: Bertham Rota, 1938). Here quoted from the reprint in *The Penguin Book of New-Zealand Verse*, ed. by Allen CURNOW. London, 1960, pp. 127-8.

30) Irena SCHILLER "Korespondencja", op. cit. p. 452 and 608, 465, 467 and 611.

31) It is interesting that the first translations of Wyspiański's dramas into English quite independently confirmed Schiller's choice: *Meleager* (1933) and *Protesilaos and Laodamia* (1933).

32) Ruth ELVISH MANTZ and J. MIDDLETON MURRY, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (London: 1933), p. 325; Anthony ALPERS, *Katherine Mansfield, A Biography* (New York: 1953), p. 124.

33) SCHILLER, "Wyspiański w literaturach zachodnio-europejskich", op. cit. p. 304.

34) See STOKOWA's *Bibliographic Monograph*, op. cit. part I p. 120, and 129.

35) SCHILLER, "Wyspiański w literaturach zachodnio-europejskich", p. 300.

36) A very evocative essay "Monsieur Sibouski" by Józef CHMIELIŃSKI in the collective work *Wyspiański żywy* (The Living Wyspiański), ed. by Herminia NAGLEROWA (London: B. Swiderski, 1957). p. 82-9, enumerates beside the translations published also *Meleager*, *Wyzwolenie*, *Bolesław Śmiały*, *Akropolis* as "ready" and *Legenda* as "work in progress". It is difficult to judge whether this information furnished by the translator in 1921 and published more than thirty years later, is correct and precise. Chmieliński attributes to Cybulski (called by his neighbours "Sibouski" and, incidentally, by Craig in his correspondence with Schiller "Cibulkisky") the translation of *Warszawianka* (La Varsoviennne) which, in fact, was done by Léonie KNOLL and published in 1926. See STOKOWA, op. cit. part I, p. 123.

36a) Cf J. COPEAU "Stanislas Wyspiański et les représentations polonaises", *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 5e Année, nr. 56, 1 Août 1913, p. 299-300 and "Un essai de renovation dramatique: Théâtre du Vieux Colombier", ib. nr. 57, 1 Sept. 1913, p. 337 et seq. Wyspiański's drama *Les Juges* figures in the repertoire for the first season of this theatre on p. 484. This has not been noticed so far by scholars dealing with either Wyspiański or Copeau. The comprehensive monograph of Maurice KURTZ *Jacques Copeau, Biographie d'un théâtre*, (trad. de l'Américain par Claude Cézan, Paris 1950) ignores Copeau's article about Wyspiański and does not mention his intention to produce the latter's play in Le Vieux Colombier; there is no trace in his book of either the name or the problem.

Here is a tentative explanation of the whole matter. The first season (1913/14) had been rather difficult for Copeau: in spite of his solemn promises, he was obliged to deviate from the planned repertoire (among the victims were, beside Wyspiański, Ibsen, Synge, Shaw), and to introduce emergency productions (Copeau's own old adaptation of *The Brothers Karamazow*, played successfully elsewhere). The discomfiture of Claudel's *L'Echange* may also have had its part in the changes. Copeau's stay during the war years in New York was marked by compromises with the taste of the public. The second Paris period (1920/23) disclosed his liking for comedy and farce of Molière's type. The tragic and pathetic drama of Wyspiański was a far cry from it. The second tentative at producing Wyspiański in Paris mentioned here, may also have influenced Copeau's decision.

37) See STOKOWA, op. cit. part III, p. 367-8. Also the reminiscences of a participant in the venture: Marie Antoinette ALLÉVY-VIALA, "Wesele" w laboratorium teatru "Art et Action" w Paryżu", *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, fasc. 3/4 (27/8) 1958, p. 495-504 and of a Polish witness: Józef Andrzej TESLAR, "Wyspiański polski i obcy" in *Wyspiański żywy*, op. cit. p. 106.

38) A special scholarly conference was devoted to this problem; its proceedings were published in a big collective work (over 500 pages altogether): *Henryk Sienkiewicz*.

Twórczość i recepcja światowa. Materiały konferencji naukowej, listopad 1966, ed. by Aniela PIORUNOWA and Kazimierz WYKA (Kraków 1968). The study of Maria KOSKO, *La fortune de "Quo Vadis?" de Sienkiewicz en France*, Paris 1935 and *"Un 'Best-Seller' 1900: 'Quo Vadis?'"*, Paris 1960 deals specifically with one work in one country. The reception of Sienkiewicz in the United States was investigated in detail by Mieczysław GIERGIELWICZ, *Henryk Sienkiewicz's American Resonance* (impr. from *Antemurale X*, Roma, 1966). See also the concise discussion of the problem by Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI in the collection *Sienkiewicz. Odczyty*, Warszawa, 1960.

39) Kosko, *Un "Best-seller" 1900*, op. cit., p. 138. Delsemme op. cit., p. 139 tries to argue with this statement, but it seems valid. It is supported by de Wyzewa's opinion of 1910: "la mémorable aventure du succès de *Quo Vadis*?... je persiste à considérer comme fâcheuse pour l'introduction définitive, chez nous, des véritables chef-d'oeuvres de M. Sienkiewicz et ses confrères" (quoted by Delsemme, p. 324).

40) See Józef BIENIASZ, *Gabriela Zapolska. Opowieść biograficzna*. (Wrocław: Zakład Nar. im. Ossolińskich, 1960), pp. 301-4, and Jadwiga CZACHOWSKA, *Gabriela Zapolska. Monografia bio-bibliograficzna* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1966), pp. 199-200, 224, 483.

41) Paul CLAUDEL, "Introduction à une conférence sur Wyspiański peintre et poète, prononcée au Grand Palais à l'Exposition d'art polonais" *La Revue Hebdomadaire* nr. 26 (Paris 1921), p. 292-3. Félix GAFFE, "L'Ame de la Pologne d'après son théâtre", *Mercur de France*, Tome CXXV (mars-avril 1918), p. 5-34. On the lecture of Fabre see note 7.

42) Claude BACKVIS, *Le Dramaturge Stanislas Wyspiański (1869-1907)*, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952). Only a few essays can be quoted in English. Stefan SREBRNY, "Stanisław Wyspiański. The Poet of Young Poland", *The Slavonic Review*, vol. 2 (December 1923) p. 358 sq.; Monica M. GARDNER "The Polish Rising in the Dramas of Wyspiański" ib. vol. 9 (December 1930) p. 361 sq.; Waclaw BOROWY "Wyspiański" ib. vol. 11 (April 1933) p. 617 sq.

43) See STOKOWA, op. cit., Part II, p. 399-400. The English-Bulgarian parity is tenable, if we count the already quoted translation of *The Return of Odysseus*, not yet included in Stokowa's bibliographic register. There exists also an abbreviated translation, a stage adaptation of *The Wedding* by Florian SOBIENIOWSKI and Hesketh PEARSON. It was not printed, although it was twice performed: in Pittsburgh, Pen. (1951) and in New York (1962), in the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Theatre Arts.

44) *The Return of Odysseus*, op. cit. Introduction p. VIII-IX (see note 6).

45) See also Fabre's high evaluation of this drama: "The last masterpiece and at the same time perhaps the most sublime drama of Wyspiański". Op. cit. p. 403.

46) "Achilleis, The Curse, Lelewel, The Warsaw Song, Meleager, Protesilaos and Laodamia, The Return of Odysseus or The Judges, can be played anywhere in Europe" - SCHILLER wrote in his article "Wyspiański w literaturach zachodnio-europejskich" in 1913 (op. cit., p. 303), although even then *Lelewel*, the weakest, the most bookish of Wyspiański's dramas could not have been considered a realistic choice. At that time his statement was an illusion; but to-day it is nothing but a dream.

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