

THE IMAGE OF LITHUANIA IN ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT In the 17th century, as contacts between citizens of England, which was gaining increasing importance in Europe, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) intensified, the phenomenon of the image of Lithuania in English and Scottish societies, as well as the level of their knowledge about the GDL, became more important. The issue of mentioning Lithuania in West European historical sources and the related issue of the image of Lithuania in the region in the 16th–17th centuries has already been analysed in Lithuania, albeit not thoroughly enough. However, the question of the image of Lithuania in English publications in the 17th–18th centuries still requires more detailed analysis. This article discusses Lithuania-related facts that could have been familiar not only to the narrow circle of people that were in close contact with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also to wider well-read English and Scottish society. The few educated members of English society who had an interest in learning more about Lithuania had access to publications in various languages published in different countries. However, this article dwells almost exclusively on publications in the English language dating from the 17th century that facilitated the rendering of knowledge and opinions about Lithuania to a much wider circle of people who read in the English language.

The 17th century was a period marked by the rapid growth of England's political, economic and cultural influence. Intensive spiritual quests and rivalry between different branches of Protestantism were typical of English society at that time. In its relationship with continental Europe, England aspired to a role as the defender of Protestantism from the expansion of Catholicism. Lithuanian Protestants were among those who turned to it for support. English universities attracted increasing numbers of students from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL), especially young people from the Calvinist Church.

England appeared among the destinations of young Lithuanians in their educational journeys,¹ though the British Isles never managed to attain the popularity of traditional destinations chosen by the offspring of the Lithuanian nobility in the 17th century, including Germany, Italy, France and the Netherlands. Jonušas Radvila² (Janusz Radziwiłł), the future Grand Hetman of Lithuania and palatine of Vilnius, as well as being a patron of the Reformed churches of the GDL, was probably the Lithuanian of the highest social status who visited England in the 17th century. The itinerary of his educational journey led him to England in 1633; however, his visit to London was also combined with a diplomatic mission. The expansion of commercial relations could also have been observed, though most frequently they required mediation. Finally, communities of migrants from England and Scotland settled in Lithuania. As contacts between citizens of England, which was gaining increasing importance in Europe, and Lithuania intensified, the phenomenon of the image of Lithuania in English and Scottish societies, as well as the level of their knowledge about the GDL, became more important. The issue of mentioning Lithuania in West European historical sources, and the related issue of the image of Lithuania in the region in the 16th–17th centuries, has already been analysed in Lithuania,³ though not thoroughly enough. Studies by Polish researchers that analyse the image and knowledge of Poland, which is frequently

¹ E.g., in 1678, the Catholic Teodoras Steponas Bilevičius, the son of the Stolnik of Žemaitija, visited England: G. Sliesoriūnas, 'Teodoro Stepono Bilevičiaus gyvenimo odisėjys', *Teodoras Bilevičius. Kelionės vokiečių, čekų ir italų žeme dienoraštis*, tr. ed. B. Mikalonienė, K. Gudmantas, G. Sliesoriūnas (Vilnius, 2003), pp. 38, 40, 42, 45; in the abovementioned travel journal, the visit to England is described on pp. 206–15. This trip is also mentioned in: B. Olszewicz, *Diarjusz czyniony w Anglii jako się peregrynowało i mieszkało*, (P[oznań], 1929); J. Dąbrowski, *Polacy w Anglii i o Anglii* (Cracow, 1962), pp. 108–114; B.M. Puchalska, 'Sarmata w Anglii: wokół dziennika podróży Teodora Biłłewicza', *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Apogeum sarmatyzmu. Kultura polska drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, ed. K. Stasiewicz, S. Achremczyk (Olsztyn, 1996), pp. 126–30; Teodor Billewicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677–1678*, ed. M. Kunicki Goldfinger (Warsaw, 2004).

² H. Wisner, *Janusz Radziwiłł 1612–1655. Wojewoda wileński i hetman wielki* (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 38–9.

³ *Kraštas ir žmonės: Lietuvos geografiniai ir etnografiniai aprašymai (XIV–XIX a.)*, ed. J. Jurginis, A. Šidlauskas (Vilnius, 1988); A. Vyšniauskaitė, *Lietuviai IX a.–XIX a. vidurio istoriniuose šaltiniuose* (Vilnius, 1994); *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai*, vol. 3, (Vilnius, 2003), which is dedicated to sources from the 17th century, is most relevant to the topic of this article.

identified with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, i.e. including GDL-related sources in the topics of research,⁴ also prove important in the analysis of Lithuania's image, though as a rule the topics related to Lithuania receive little attention in these works. In recent years, an increase in studies of Lithuania's image (perceiving it as the whole GDL) formed by publications in the Italian and French languages in the 17th–18th centuries is observable.⁵ However, the question of the image of Lithuania in English publications of the 17th–18th centuries still requires detailed analysis. This article discusses Lithuania-related facts that could have been familiar not only to the narrow circle of people that were in close contact with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also to wider well-read English and Scottish society. The few educated members of English society who had an interest in learning more about Lithuania had access to publications in various languages published in different countries. However, this article dwells almost exclusively on publications in the English language dating from the 17th century that facilitated the rendering of knowledge and opinions about Lithuania to a much wider circle of people who read in the English language.

⁴ T. Chyńczewska-Hennel, *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców* (Warsaw, 1994); R.W. Wołoszyński, *Polska w opiniach francuzów XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 1964); S. Kot, *Rzeczpospolita Polska w literaturze politycznej Zachodu* (Cracow, 1919); W. Tygielski, 'Avvisi z Polski w zbiorach urbinackich. Kilka uwag na temat przepływu informacji na przełomie XVI w.', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 41 (1997), pp. 141-57; J.A. Wilder, *Okiem cudzoziemca. Ze wspomnień cudzoziemców o dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1959), pp. 46-7; *Obraz Polski pod koniec XVII wieku. Ze zbioru podróży, ogłoszonych w Hadze 1705 r.*, ed. X. Godebski (Lviv, 1869); etc. Works by the Polish historian E.A. Mierzwa are particularly important for the topics analysed in the article: *Anglia a Polska w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1986); *Anglia i Polska w epoce Jana III Sobieskiego* (Łódź, 1988).

⁵ R. Kamuntavičius, 'Lietuva ir Šveicarija: bendravimo istorija iki XVIII a. pabaigos', *Darbai ir dienos*, 44 (2005), pp. 125-45; Idem, 'Itališki XVI–XVII a. su Lietuva susiję tekstai', *Istorija*, 49/50 (2001), pp. 88-97; Idem, 'Lietuva Prancūzijos ir Šveicarijos periodikoje 1763–1773 m. ('La Gazette de France' ir 'Nouvelles des divers endroits')', *Lituanistika*, 2006, No. 3, pp. 1-12; Idem, 'Kijevas Žemaitijoje': Kaunas Vakarų Europos XVII a. leidiniuose', *Istorija*, 68 (2007), pp. 21-29; Idem, 'Italai ir prancūzai Lenkijoje ir Lietuvoje XVI–XVII a.', *Lietuvos kariuomenė svetimšalių akimis XVI–XVII a.*, ed. R. Kamuntavičius, V. Rakutis (Vilnius, 2009), pp. 7-32; R. Kamuntavičius, 'Memoirs of French Travellers: A Source of Lithuanian History in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Lithuanian Historical Studies* (1998), pp. 27-48.

The image of Lithuania in England was formed by atlases of the world and Europe, supplemented by descriptions that were published in the 16th century in continental Europe and new updated editions. In the first half of the 17th century, English editions of the majority of these works were published in Great Britain. Original English atlases of the world and Europe started appearing in the second half of the 17th century. Only authors who had personally acquainted themselves with Lithuania could modify the stereotype of the country. The latter publications, as well as news in periodicals which expeditiously influenced the image of Lithuania and the events that took place in Lithuania in the eyes of English society, receive significant attention in the article. The fourth group of publications analysed in the article are those which contained random information about Lithuania.

I. European and world atlases and other geographical publications In the early 17th century, the works of Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius (1606), Giovanni Botero and Johann Boemus (1555, 1611) were translated into English. Later followed translations of updated editions of these world atlases and descriptions (by Hondius-Janssonius and Willem Blaeu). The information presented in the great works was compiled in numerous English geographical dictionaries and manuals. As a rule, news regarding Lithuania in new editions of the publications was updated belatedly. Sometimes this proved to be for the best. For example, at the beginning of the 17th century, even though the Union of Lublin had already been signed (1569), Lithuania was still listed among the most influential regions in Europe, whereas Portugal, which at the same time was in a union with Spain, had already been excluded from the list.⁶

By the 16th–17th centuries, the majority of stereotypes regarding Lithuania and its inhabitants had already been firmly anchored in literature of that kind. Following the publication of the English editions of the works, the stereotypes sank deeper into the minds of the well-read part of English society. The following stereotypical images of Lithuania can be mentioned among the most stable

⁶ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum. The Theatre of the whole world* (London, 1606), p. 2: ‘The regions thereof (as they are now called) are Spain, France, Germanie, Italie, Slauonia, Greece, Hungarie, Poland with Lithuania, Moscouia, or more significantly Russia; and that Peninsula which conteineth Norway, Sweeden, and Gotland. Among the Isles [...] England and Scotland, then follows Ireland [...].’

ones promoted by geographical works: 1) Lithuania and especially Žemaitija were lands where pagan prejudice was extremely powerful;⁷ 2) Lithuanian women were granted the right to have official lovers, tolerated by their lawful husbands, whereas Lithuanian men had no similar rights;⁸ 3) Lithuania was a country with an extremely cold climate;⁹ 4) Lithuania was a densely forested country with a lot of moorland and hardly passable roads, thus it was advisable to travel in winter; however, people there produced a lot of honey and wax;¹⁰ 5) there were few towns,¹¹ but the capital Vilnius was a big city containing the temples of various religions;¹² 6) the inhabitants had rude, barbaric manners;¹³ 7) the nobility were disobedient and

⁷ John Speed, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the World [...] together with all the Provinces, Countries, and Shires, contained in that large Theater of Great Britain Empire*, performed by Iohn Speed (London, 1631), p. 32: 'they are yet most of them grosse Idolaters: and are oftimes met in their Woods with horrid visions; and are strangely corened by the Diuell with a beliefe that they can Prophecy. The silly blasphemers nourish in their house a poore snake (like themselues) hathered out of some ditch;' Robert Stafford, *A geographicall and anthologicall description of all the Empires and Kingdomes, both of Continent and Islands* (London, 1607), p. 21: 'The next is Samogitia, in which the people liue in cottages with their cattle and labouring Beasts, some of them sacrificing vnto a certain Diuell, called by them Siemiennicke.'

⁸ Speed, *A prospect*, p. 32: 'The women haue a freedome by custome to keepe many Stallions which their Husbands loue as themselues, and call them their adjutories. But the men may by no means play false.' The following authors also dwelt on the prevalent myths and stereotypes, implying that behaviour considered immoral at that time was characteristic of Lithuanian women: A. Janulaitis, *Enėjas Silvius Piccolomini bei Jeronimas Pragiškis ir jų žinios apie Lietuvą XIV/XV a.* (Kaunas, 1928); J. Sarcevičienė, 'Vieno stereotipo istorija: LDK moters įvaizdis istoriografijoje', *Feminizmas, visuomenė, kultūra*, 1999, no. 1, pp. 30-9.

⁹ Edmund Bohun, *A geographical dictionary, representing the present and ancient Names of all the countries, provinces, remarkable Rities, universities, Ports [...]*, the Second Edition (London, 1691), p. 234: 'The Air is exceeding cold...'; Speed, *A prospect*, p. 32.

¹⁰ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, p. 98: 'The greatest part of Lithuania is full of Bogges, for the most part woody, and therefore not easilie entered, trauelled or come unto; it is better trading with the Lithuanians in the winter then at the other times: for that the moores and lakes beeing couered with thicke ice or deep snow [...] They have great plenty of wax and honey.'

¹¹ Ibid.: 'In Lithuania there are few townes, and the villages are little inhabited.'

¹² In the 16th–17th centuries, Vilnius was sometimes referred to as the 'New Babylon', S. Bodniak, 'Polska w relacji włoskiej z roku 1604', *Pamiętnik biblioteki kórnickiej*, 2, (Kórnik, 1930), p. 37.

¹³ Bohun, *A geographical dictionary*, p. 234: 'The Air is exceeding cold, and the Inhabitants as barbarous.'

arrogant, and the peasants were treated no better than slaves¹⁴ (in Lithuania they were more severely oppressed than in Poland) and had to live together with livestock.¹⁵

All these statements, which moulded public opinion, were included in original atlases of the world and Europe prepared in England, and even at the end of the 17th century they were presented as true, referring to present-day life rather than the past of the country.

Meanwhile, purely geographical information was presented in an increasingly accurate manner. The geographical dictionaries dating from the second half of the 17th century delineated accurately the provinces of the GDL, including not only Žemaitija but also White Rus' (excluding Polesia, as Szymon Starowolski suggested). The relationship between Lithuania and Žemaitija is beautifully described in Edmund Bohun's geographical dictionary: 'Samogitia [...] this Province is very often included in Lithuania largely taken, the Fortunes of which it has always followed'.¹⁶

The English would frequently face difficulties in attempting to define the Lithuanian language. They would exclude it from the classification of European languages (though they managed to distinguish between the languages of the Sami and Suomi people), and in descriptions of Lithuania the language of its inhabitants was frequently defined as Slavic (no distinction was made between the Lithuanian and Byelorussian languages). However, there were studies (translated ones) which emphasised that the Lithuanian language was not Slavic (Cromer and Ortelius).

II. Original information about Lithuania Original information about Lithuania can be found in travel journals, especially those written by authors who visited Lithuania themselves. It was also mentioned by writers who travelled around Poland. Authors who had a chance to live in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for a longer time were especially informative, as they managed to accumulate diverse information. However, few of them lived in Lithuania.

Researchers have already noticed that in the context of the abundant English travel literature of the 17th century, works on the

¹⁴ Robert Morden, *Geography rectified: or, a description of the World* (London, 1680), p. 114: 'The Gentry are very free, but the Peasants no better than Slaves.'

¹⁵ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, p. 98: 'In that house they [Žemaitijans] hide themselves, their wives, children, servants, maids, sheep, cattle, come and household stuffe altogether.'

¹⁶ Bohun, *A geographical dictionary*, p. 360.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are rather few and far between.¹⁷ Muscovy and Turkey were favoured by significantly more attention.¹⁸ However, the very beginning of the 17th century was favourable to Lithuania as well. In 1600, Samuel Lewkenor's book describing cities with universities was published in London.¹⁹ The author visited Vilnius, and lived there from late October to Easter.²⁰ He confirmed that Vilnius was a multicultural and multiconfessional city. In the 17th century, English authors, with few exceptions, tended to distinguish nations on the basis of two criteria: manners and tongue. However, not everyone was able to understand the speech situation in the GDL. Samuel Lewkenor was a pleasant exception, as he noticed that the Lithuanians, Polish, Ruthenians and Muscovites had few differences in their customs, clothing and armour (though this is arguable), but they differed substantially in their languages.²¹ He mentioned that citizens of Vilnius were Catholics, followers of John Calvin and Martin Luther, Jews and Tartar Muslims, but the majority of them belonged to the Ruthenian Orthodox Church.²² Important is the remark that the Tartars who lived in the outskirts and surroundings of Vilnius used their mother-tongue.²³ It is often believed that by the end of the 16th century, Vilnius Tartars had already abandoned their Turkic language. Lewkenor, however, was well acquainted with the Tartars, as he travelled in their sledge from Tallinn to Vilnius.²⁴ Lewkenor's other impressions

¹⁷ Mierzwa, *Anglia i Polska w epoce Jana III*, p. 131.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Samuel Lewkenor, *A discovrse not altogether vnprofitable, nor vnpleasant for such as are desirous to know the situation and customes of forraine Rities without traouelling to see them. Containing a Discourse of all those Rities wherein doe flourish at this day priuiledged vniuersities*. Written by Samvuel Levvkenor, Gentleman (London, 1600) [77 fol.].

²⁰ Ibid., fo. 55v: 'I trauelled from Reuell in Leifland vnto this citie, where hauing spent fiue weeks in my iuorney, I arriued about the latter end of October, and stayed there untill the Easter following.'

²¹ Ibid., 'The Lithuanians, Polonians, Russians, and Muscouites use all one manner of attire and armes, though in language they all differ the one from the other.'

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.: 'Neere vnto this cittie, namely in the suburbs thereof, and villages neere vnto adioyning, dwel great multitudines of Tatars, which use their natiue Tartarian language, and the Mahometan religion.'

²⁴ Ibid.: 'In one of these Tartars slides (which are wagons without wheelles) I trauelled from Reuell in Leifland vnto this citie [Vilnius].'

of Lithuania include the fact that there were quite a few masonry churches, two castles, one old and decrepit on the hill and the other new and attached to the king's palace in the city, and a university in Vilnius, the city was surrounded with dense fir groves, and the plentiful honey resources of the country were used in the production of *medovukha*.²⁵ (Forests, honey and *medovukha* were part of Lithuania's image.) The impressions of those who travelled around Lithuania, and subsequent descriptions of the country, were to an extent affected by well-established stereotypes. However, the same vice is sometimes observable in more recent historiography referring to Englishmen's opinions about Lithuania. In the description of the Earl of Carlisle's embassy to Moscow, which proceeded via Swedish-controlled Riga, Mierzwa attributed his opinion on the locals, stating that they were 'blockish and barbarous' and 'less ingenious than the Moscovites', to the impressions of Lithuania.²⁶ This seems to harmonise with other negative records concerning the peasantry of the GDL. However, this description made by a member of the embassy is attributable to the inhabitants of Livonia, most likely the Latvians, who suffered a lot in the war and were under the total control of the Swedes.²⁷

It is noteworthy that Vilnius had a reputation as a city which had no rivals in Europe in the number of churches of different confessions throughout the entire 17th century. At the end of the century, this image was promoted by the highly rated and several times republished work by Robert Morden *Geography Rectified or a Description of the World* which ran that no other city in the world

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Mierzwa, *Anglia i Polska w epoce Jana III*, p. 135: 'Jego relacja zawiera spostrzeżenia nt. Litwy [...]. Mieszkańcy 'ogólnie biorąc bardzo tumanowaci i barbarzyńscy.'

²⁷ [Miege Guy], *A Relation of Three Embassies from his Sacred Majestie Charles II to the Great Duke of Moscovie [...] performed by the Right Hoble the Earle of Carlisle in the Years 1663 & 1664* (London, 1669), pp. 332-333: 'Livonia [...] As to the Inhabitants, they are very blockish and barbarous, and without contradiction infinitely less ingenious than the Moscovites [...] the Swedes being in possession of all their Ports and strongest Towns, there remains not nothing to the Natives but the Tilling of their grounds, in so much as they stand almost in the same condition with Swedes, as the Helotes did formerly with the Lacedaemonians [...] Their Religion is the same with Swedes, viz. the Lutheran.'

could surpass Vilnius in the number of churches and temples of various confessions except perhaps Amsterdam.²⁸

Speaking about works by authors who lived in Lithuania, it is worth mentioning Eleazar Gilbert, a minister in the Calvinist Church and the preacher for the Scottish congregation in Kėdainiai, and his brochure, well-known to researchers on the Reformation, on the anti-Protestant riot in Vilnius in 1639, published in London in 1641.²⁹ The brochure reveals how the Catholic rioters, unable to damage Protestant churches as they were protected by the soldiers of the palatine of Vilnius Kristupas II Radvila (Krzysztof Radziwiłł), wreaked their fury on the Protestants' houses and shops,³⁰ and attacked more prominent Lutherans on the streets. George Hartlib, the Rector of Vilnius' Protestant Grammar school, was among the victims of the violence, and had a narrow escape from death. The rioters twice threw him over a bridge into the river, probably the Vilnia.³¹ In

²⁸ Robert Morden, *Geography Rectified or a Description of the World* (London, 1688), p. 117: 'Vilna, the Capital City, incloses so many sorts of Religions, that there is no City in the World where God is Worshipped after so many different ways, unless in Amsterdam; a Liberty too much allowed in most parts of Christendom, but rare temporum felicitas'; this description of the world was published in several editions (e.g. 1680, 1693 [extended], etc.). Mierzwa mentioned R. Morden's description of Vilnius, *Anglia a Polska w epoche Jana III*, pp. 119-20.

²⁹ Eleazar Gilbert, *News from Poland. Wherein is declared the cruell practice of the Popish Clergie against the Protestants, and in particular against the Ministres of the City of Vilna, in the great Dukedome of Lithuania, under the Government of the most illustrious Prince, Duke Radzivil. Faithfully set downe by Eleazar Gilbert, Ministre to the foresaid Prince, and Preacher to the Scots Congregation in Keydon. Read it over, and you shall find it a most unparalell'd story for barbarous Treacherie* (London, 1641) (32 pp.).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10: '...perceiving they could not accomplish their designes against the Protestant Churches, like theeves and Robbers, more then like Christians and Schollars, being led by the Devil their Patron, they betooke themselves to the shops and houses of the Scots, French, and Dutch Merchants there inhabiting, who for the greatest part are Protestants, breaking open their doores, Truncks, and Cupboards, but especially the house & shop of one Iacob de Scans, a French Merchant and Elder of the Protestants Church, from whom they took above thirty thousand Florens in goods and money.'

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20: '...in the day of the aforesaid tumult, against that good man Master George Hartlib, Rector of the Protestant Colledge ...This good man, I say, walking peaceably from the Protestant Colledge unto his owne house, was by these Catholice Christian Schollars, apprehended as thiefe, beaten with trees, buffered, and most dangerously wounded with stones in foure or five places of the head... they threw him over a bridge into a deep river ...they threw him in again...'

England, this brochure evoked a feeling of solidarity with Lithuanian and Polish Protestants, and contributed to the fact that the picture of Lithuania as a country of religious tolerance that had formed in the mid and late 16th century started transforming into an image of a country where Protestants were persecuted. Few things could have affected the reputation of Lithuania in England more than the attack on George Hartlib, the brother of Samuel Hartlib, one of the most prominent English intellectuals of the 17th century, who was among the pioneers of the Royal Society and a patron of Samuel Chylinski.

Afterwards, for several long decades, no works appeared in the English language in which Lithuania was favoured with much attention, and no English-writing authors happened to relate their lives to the country. The situation changed in the late 17th century. Two authors who had lived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for an extended period of time published exhaustive studies. One of them was Gaspar de Tende (Monsieur Hauteville), a French officer who had served in the Polish Crown Army. His book was immediately translated and published in London in 1698;³² the same year, Bernard O'Connor, King John III Sobieski's personal doctor, published a two-volume study about the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³³ English readers were provided with unique access to comprehensive information regarding the institutional relationship between Poland and Lithuania in the union, the political system, and the political history of the second half of the 17th century. Gaspar de Tende firmly sealed the image of the Lithuanian army as more inclined to marauding than the Polish troops for a long time.³⁴ Basically, we should accept the fact. However, he also emphasised the at-

³² [Gaspar de Tende], *An Account of Poland. Containing A Geographical Description of the Country, the Manners of the Inhabitants and Wars they have been Engag'd in; the Constitution of that Government; Particularly the Manner of Electing and Crowning their King; his Power and Prerogatives: With a Brief History of the Tatars. By Monsieur Hauteville, who Resided about 25 Years in that Kingdome* (London, 1698).

³³ Bernard O'Connor, *The History of Poland in the several letters to Persons of Quality Giving an Account of the Ancient and Present state of that Kingdome* (London, 1698), vol. I-II.

³⁴ [Gaspar de Tende], *An Account*, p. 172: '...There are no Sutlers in the Polish Army, for, besides that, the Soldiers would not pay 'em, they could never arrive in the Camp without being plunder'd by Soldiers, and especially by the Lithuanians, who are more accustom'd to Pillage than the Polanders.'

tachment of the Lithuanian nobility to the idea of the statehood of their country, and advocacy for the rights of the duchy. O'Connor presented a comprehensive description of the provinces and towns, including Vilnius, and mentioned the legends of the GDL created in the 17th century, yet could not state for sure whether they were true or fictitious. These included stories about lost children raised by bears in the woods of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,³⁵ and about a boy with a golden tooth born in Vilnius, as confirmed by a committee, including the Bishop of Vilnius, university professors and goldsmiths from Vilnius workshops. Alongside these legends, the author included information about the interior of the Royal Palace in the Lower Castle, probably borrowed from writers of the first half of the 17th century: 'Among the other public Edifices [in the castle] is the Great Duke's Palace, in which is a famous Guard-Chamber, furnish'd with all sorts of Arms.'³⁶

The almost simultaneous publication of books about Livonia and Muscovy in the English language suggests increased demand for information from the region. The first publication comprehensively depicts battles between Lithuania and the Teutonic Order, and later Sweden, and the second focuses on the wars between Lithuania and Rus' and Muscovy.

The first conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of this group of publications in the English language is as follows: in the 17th century, the amount of information about Lithuania in English publications was gradually increasing. At the very end of the 17th century, those who required Lithuania-related data in their work or other spheres of interest already had the possibility to obtain it.

However, does this optimistic conclusion suggest that the previous stereotypes which had determined Lithuania's image became less

³⁵ The legend, which gained great popularity in Europe, was created in the second half of the 17th century. Probably the first source to publish the news about a boy raised by a bear found near Kaunas was the French newspaper *La Gazette* (issue of 5 January 1664); later the information was numerous included in various publications, relating the occurrence to Lithuania rather than Kaunas in particular, or even mentioning other place names, e.g. forests around Grodno. Bernard O'Connor's work was unique in that it included an illustration of a boy raised by a bear which later became a classic, Bernard O'Connor, op. cit., p. 342; the legend was most comprehensively analysed by R. Kiersnowski, *Niedźwiedzie i ludzie w dawnych i nowszych czasach: fakty i mity* (Warsaw, 1990). Also see R. Kamuntavičius, 'Kijevas Žemaitijoje', p. 24; idem.

³⁶ O'Connor, *The History of Poland*, p. 326.

influential? I believe the answer lies in the review of O'Connor's work published in the *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society*.³⁷ Information about Žemaitija and Lithuania occupied a third of the review, which was two and a half pages in length. What facts were intended to engage the reader? The review covered pagan suspicions and the sacrifices which were still practised in Žemaitija, and heathen rites in Lithuania, and wrote of children raised by bears, as well as about a huge bell in Vilnius.³⁸ A few marginal episodes in O'Connor's book were escalated into a well-promoted story. However, Lithuania was still destined to be viewed by the English as a country of pagan rites.

III. Lithuania-related news in English periodicals The periodical press in England has been circulating continuously since the mid-17th century. *The London Gazette*³⁹ published by Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), who was closely related to diplomatic missions and intelligence services, played a significant role in informing the public about international events. Although in the 17th century, England was not represented in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by a constant diplomatic mission, its commercial agents worked in Gdańsk, and frequently, for example under King John III Sobieski's rule, court informers would be employed. *The London Gazette* would cover information submitted by these sources. Polish historiography makes much of the information on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the newspaper.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, in preparing this article, there

³⁷ *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society of London: giving some accounts of the present undertakings, studies, and labours, of the ingenious, in many considerable parts of the world* (London, 1699), pp. 98–101.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101: There are several Observables touching the Liberality, and other particular Customs of the People, as the remains of Heathenish Superstitions and Sacrifices still used, viz. by those of the Province of Samogitia, &c. for which we refer to the Book itself. Next he comes to speak of the Origin and Extent of the great Dutchy of Lithuania, with the Description of its Towns, and Succession of its Dukes. In Vilna the chief City thereof is a Bell, which requires above Twenty four strong Men to ring it; and here likewise he mentions several Idolatrous Customs and Rites formerly observed; and speaking of the Woods and Deserts of Lithuania, he gives the Relation of several Children that have been bred up and suckled by the Bears, with their Cubs, with Observables of their eating raw Flesh, wild Honey, and Crabs; with the Difficulty to making them go Upright, bringing them to Speak, and the like, which ends this Volume.⁷

³⁹ The newspaper was first published in 1665 as *The Oxford Gazette*. It was an official journal of records of the English government sent directly to subscribers. Still published as a weekly.

⁴⁰ Mierzwa, *Anglia i Polska w epoce Jana III*, pp. 142–9.

was no possibility to analyse what percentage of the news from the Commonwealth in *The London Gazette* was dedicated to the GDL, or what the quality of such information was. The Lithuania-related data in the English periodical press here is evaluated on the basis of a content analysis of another publication, the political monthly *Historical and Political Monthly Mercury*.⁴¹ Its publication was directly related to the periodical press in the Netherlands, a centre for political and commercial periodicals in Europe in the 17th century, which had a positive influence on the quality of the news in the monthly, especially that relating to the Baltic Sea region, as the Dutch had firmly established commercial positions in the area. The articles published were for the most part translations from Dutch publications. The publication of the monthly should be associated with the ascent of William III to the English throne in 1688. Until 1695, Lithuania received little attention, and readers were first of all informed about the country's participation in the war with Turkey. However, the publishers soon realised that the conflicts between noblemen in Lithuania affected not only the internal affairs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but also its abilities to lead the war against Turkey, and so were of international importance; thus, starting with 1695, the conflicts between the noblemen and the political struggle in Lithuania attracted more and more attention. News from Lithuania increased in connection with the actions of the politicians of the GDL during the interregnum of 1696–97, and the struggle for the throne between the Elector of Saxony, who called himself Augustus II after being elected king, and François Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, the candidate supported by France. Attention to Lithuania was stimulated by the internal (civil) conflict in the country at the junction of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the outbreak of the Great Northern War (1700–21).

Strangely, English readers were not enlightened on the quarrel between Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, the Grand Hetman of Lithuania and palatine of Vilnius, and the bishop of Vilnius Konstanty Kazimierz

⁴¹ The exact title of the political monthly was *The Present State of Europe or the Historical and Political Monthly Mercury, giving an Account of all the Public and Private Occurrences, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military, that are most considerable in every Court*. The monthly was published from 1688, and from 1690 acquired a well-established form and had numeration introduced (Volume I) (hereinafter *Historical and Political Monthly Mercury*).

Brzostowski, which had important political consequences, and led to the excommunication of the Hetman on 18 April 1694;⁴² however, in 1695 they were already informed at length about the attempts to settle the quarrel, as it was leading to the breakup of sejms⁴³ and the king's support for the bishop.⁴⁴ The disruption of sejms received additional editorial comments, called 'The Reflections upon the Advice from Poland'. They provided explanations regarding the interruptions in the work of the sejms, information on the *liberum veto* rule, and other vices of the sejms, such as accessibility to meetings even on occasions when war-related issues were discussed (though technically details of such issues were to be discussed in closed meetings), which helped enemies collect information in advance and prepare accordingly. In addition, readers were offered specific information about the peculiarities of the system of government, e.g. about the right of the capital of Lithuania to send deputies to the

⁴² For more information, see G. Sliesoriūnas, *Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystės vidaus karo išvakarėse: didikų grupuočių kova 1690–1697 m.* (Vilnius, 2000), pp. 147–160.

⁴³ *Historical and Political Monthly Mercury*, vol. 6, 1695, no. 3 (March), p. 102: 'The Dyet of *Warsaw*, as most People that were no Prophets foresaw, is broken up, without doing any thing but quarrelling among themselves, even to Blows and Wounds, and throwing one another out at Window. Nor is there any likelihood of there meeting suddenly again, in regard that most of the Deputies are return'd Home, to prevent the Prolongation of their Session: for that's a sure way, when Tumult and Uproar, too undecent in such Assemblies, will not do it. So that finding no Good to be done by the Dyet, there have been daily Conferences at the Palace between the King and the Senators in the City, upon the Affairs of the present Conjunction; and they came at length to a Resolution, That the Arriere-Ban of *Poland* should be Rais'd, if Occasion requir'd.'

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: 'In one of the Conferences, several Senators made great Complaints to the King against the Bishop of *Wilna*, telling him, That instead of that Benediction which other Bishops gave to all People, he pronounc'd all the Curses he could imagine against the Grand Marshal of *Lithuania*, and all that took his part. And the Waiwode of *Kalis* at the same time speaking earnestly in the Bishop's Behalf, *M. Konuski Litewski* [Koniuszki Litewski], Son to the Grand Marshal aforesaid, took him up, and told him, he was fitter to speak in a School, then in a Council. Which so much offended the King, that he could not forbear shewing his Displeasure. And the Grand Treasurer of *Lithuania* further adding, that the Bishop and his Adherents were the Causes of all the Broyls and Contentions in the Kingdom; the King declar'd, that he would protect the Bishop, and defend him against all his Enemies; adding these words, *I was elected your King to maintain Right and Equity, and we are resolv'd to do it the remainder of our days.* For which His Majesty was applauded by the greatest part of the Senators, who give him new Assurances of their Devotion to his Person and Government.'

sejm (a similar right was exercised by two cities in Poland, Kraków and Poznań).⁴⁵ The armed clash between the Sapiehas and Karolis Stanislovas Radvila (Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł), the Vice-Chancellor of the GDL, regarding the administration of the dominions of another branch of the Radvila family, the Biržai Radvilas, following the death of the last member of the family, Liudvika Karolina Radvilaitė-Witelsbach, Princess of Neuburg, was given exhaustive coverage.⁴⁶ The monthly stated that the breakout of a mini civil war in Lithuania could have turned into a bigger evil than the war with the Turks.⁴⁷ Readers were expeditiously informed that the successful

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4: 'Because we shall have frequent Occasion to mention these Dyets of *Poland*, it will not be amiss to say something concerning the Nature of those Assemblies [...] there is a Necessity that Affairs but be determin'd by Unanimous Consent, or as they say, *Nemine reclamante, nemine dissentiente*, otherwise the Dyet breaks up, Every Body goes home again, and whatever Proposals were made, become no more then the Embrio's of State Conception. Among all the Cities and Towns of *Poland*, *Cracow*, *Dantzick* [false information], and *Wilna* have the Privilege to send Deputies who have their Seats in the Chamber of the Nobility. Now in regard that all sorts of Persons are permitted Entrance into the General Assemblies, the meanest Peasant knows as much as the best Man in the place. So that when they consult about making War, the Enemy has immediate Intelligence of their Designs and their Forces, and consequently has time to prevent 'em. By this Constitution of the Polish Dyets, 'tis apparent that the Government of *Poland* in this particular is very defective, in giving such a Lawless Liberty to Multitude, and letting loose the Reins to so destructive a Mischief, yet so easily Control'd by the General Remedy apply'd by all other Nations of *Europe*, concluding all Debates by Plurality of Voices.'

⁴⁶ For more information on the conflict, see Sliesoriūnas, *Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė*, pp. 173-83

⁴⁷ *Historical and Political Monthly Mercury*, vol. 6, 1695, no. 7 (July), p. 238: 'But worse Things threaten *Poland*, where there is like to be a petty Civil War, by reason of the Contests between the Prince *Sapieha*, Grand General of *Lithuania*, and Prince *Radzeville*. Which latter having muster'd together 4000 of his own Vassals, and taking along with him some Pieces of Cannon, march'd away with his Force to regain some Castles and Lands, of which the Grand General had got into Possession, and settl'd Officers. The great Dispute between these Two Princes, is, Who shall be Administrator of the vast Estate of the young Princess *de Radzeville*, the Daughter of Prince *Charles* of *Newbourg*? Now, by the Law of *Poland*, they who are not Natives of the Country, can lay no Claim to such Administrations, tho' the Parents of the Deceas'd; by which means the Prince of *Newburgh* is excluded: And the present Pretenders to this Administration, are the Grand General of *Lithuania*, and Prince of *Radzeville*, Grand Chancellour of the same Dutchy. Thereupon the Grand 'Squire of *Lithuania*, Son to the Grand General, hearing of the Prince of *Radzeville*'s March, set forward with an equal Number of Disciplin'd Soldiers, and fell upon him; and several have been kill'd, wounded, and taken Prisoners on both sides: nor did they stop there; for both Parties begin

resumption of the work of the Republic's parliament was hardly possible without the settlement of the quarrels between the Lithuanian noblemen.⁴⁸ It should be noted that the depiction of the particularly important status of the GDL's noblemen in the country, as presented to English society, was, in principle, truthful. The editors believed that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had to urgently introduce reforms in its political system so that the quarrels of the noblemen could no longer impede its smooth functioning.⁴⁹ The quarrel between the Hetman and the Bishop encouraged the editors to comment on the broader topic relating to the damage the immoderate dominance of the clergy did to the public interest.⁵⁰

English readers were expeditiously and accurately enough enlightened on the interregnum period in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as problems in Lithuania, struggles between

to fortifie themselves with a Resolution to prosecute their Claims. And hence the Fears of more dangerous Consequences: And it is to be wish'd, that it may not be the Cause of new Quarrels between the Grandees of the Kingdom.'

⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 6, 1695, no. 8 (August), p. 280: 'Some of the Deputies have represented to the King, That no new General Dyet can be call'd together, till the Difference between the Grand General of *Lithuania*, and the Bishop of *Wilna* be fully reconcil'd, because it may be again broken upon that occasion as it was before. For which reason there is great Diligence us'd to terminate that Affair, as also that other Difference between the Grand General and Prince *Radzeville*.'

⁴⁹ Ibid.: 'The Tranquility of *Poland* very much depends upon the Reconciliation of the Differences between the Grand General of *Lithuania*, Prince *Sapieha*, and the Bishop of *Wilna*, and the same Grand General with Prince *Radzeville* about the Administration of the Princess's *Radzeville's* Demesnes. The Unhappiness of a Kingdom, when the Members are too Potent for the Head. The King of *Poland* therefore labours to the utmost of his Power, the Composing of these Quarrels in a friendly way, to the end, the Consultations of the General Dyet, interrupted hitherto by the Contests of those powerful Subjects, may prove more successful for the Publick Welfare. And indeed the Condition of that Kingdom requires the Application of some speedy Remedies to restore it to its former Splendour. 'Tis crazy at home, and little redoubted abroad.'

⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 6, 1695, no. 12 (December), pp. 429-30: 'As for the King of *Poland* himself, he makes in his chief Business to labour an Accommodation between the Archbishop of *Vilna* and the Grand General of *Lithuania*, to which purpose he has summon'd an Assembly to meet at *Warsaw*, in hopes to remove the Obstacle that has so much retarded the Convocation of a General Dyet. The Grand General testifies a readiness to comply, but the Archbishop [bishop] continues obstinate. A Fault which too many Ecclesiasticks in all the Regions of *Christendom* are subject to, that when they take a Peek, none stand more upon their Punctilio's than they do. And if they cannot avoid the Repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the two Petitions comprehended under the Emoluments of *daily Bread*; and *Thy Kingdom come*, put to silence and bury in Oblivion all the rest.'

political factions, the confederation of some of the units of the Lithuanian army led by Grzegorz Ogiński in Brest in late 1696, and the suppression of this confederation.⁵¹ The election of the king in 1697 received much attention, which was induced by the ongoing war between England and France. English readers were offered calculations on whose victory was more likely in the event of an armed clash between the supporters of the newly elected King Augustus II and the French candidate the Prince de Conti, and the troops of the claimants. The focus lay on the GDL's army, which if need be was believed to support de Conti, under the influence of Hetman Sapieha. The publication had a notion that the Lithuanian army was too weak and too small to defeat the Saxons and the supporters of Augustus II in the Republic.⁵² Readers were expeditiously informed about the hesitation in the GDL's army⁵³ and the less significant military assistance from the GDL than the Prince de Conti had expected: only 300 soldiers came to Gdańsk (the ship in which the Prince resided at that time was moored in the harbour of

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 1697, no. 1 (January), p. 26: 'As for the Lithuanian Army, after the Agreement made between Prince *Sapieha*, Grand General of that Dutchy, and Them, upon the Articles recited in the preceding Month, they are all return'd to their Obedience; and in Token of their Submission, they March'd out of *Breze* [Brest], Headed by the Sieur *Oginski*, without either Drums, Trumpets or Colours; at what time the Grand General took Possession of the Place, and caus'd *Te Deum* to be Sung, in Return of Thanks to Heaven for so happy an Accommodation.'

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. 8, 1697, no. 11 (November), p. 426: 'Tis a question whether the Prince of *Conti* will have so many Disciplin'd Men; which if he have not, 'tis to be fear'd he will not be able with the Polish Nobility alone who at best are but a good sort of Trained Bands, to withstand his Competitor, who besides his own Disciplin'd Soldiers, has a great Number of the Nobility also. 'Tis true, that the Report goes, that the Armies of *Poland* and *Lithuania* are Confederated in favour of the Prince of *Conti*. But I look upon this as a piece of false News in respect of the Polish Army; and for the Lithuanians, who perhaps may declare for the Prince, upon the Account of their general *Sapieha*, who as yet adheres to him, it is neither numerous nor hardy enough to make head against the Saxons.'

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 429: 'All this while the Prince of Conti's Party gave out, That the *Lithuanian* Army had declar'd for the Cardinal-Primate, and that they were upon their March to act by the Prince of *Conti*'s Orders, his Highness having districted among 'em a considerable Sum of Money, and promis'd to supply 'em with larger Sums, so soon as he saw any hopes of Success in his Affairs. But notwithstanding these fair Stories, other Letters since that, assure us, that the *Lithuanian* Army began to think of submitting to the King.'

the city).⁵⁴ English readers were promptly advised that the Prince de Conti had decided to return to France, indicating the inadequate support from Lithuania as the main reason for his decision.⁵⁵

It is obvious that the English press offered expeditious and exhaustive enough coverage of the role of Lithuania in the conflict which developed in the Republic following the election of the king in 1697. English society had a possibility to learn about developments in the Republic and the movements of the GDL's politicians and army straightaway from their press, and not from the soon-to-be published books describing the period of the interregnum⁵⁶ and their translations into the English language.⁵⁷ The authors of such books already knew the outcome of the conflict, and as often as not tried to justify themselves and blame the failures on others.

The attention of the English press to the struggle between factions of Lithuanian noblemen did not decrease when these clashes escalated into internal (civil) war. In the autumn of 1700, as the

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 430: 'While the New King is thus encourag'd on every hand, the Prince of Conti fits waiting in his Cabin for the Numerous Army that was promis'd him, in order to make Head against his Competitor. At length, upon the Second of this Month, N. S. the Grand Marshal of *Lithuania*, young *Sapieha*, the Son of the Grand General of the same Dutchy, arriv'd at *Dantzick* with the Company of his Guards, and 300 Men of the fame Province, and presently went aboard the Prince's Ship to kiss his Hands. To whom the Prince made great Complaints of the extraordinary Delay which he found in the *Lithuanian* Army, and the Generals that commanded it, in the Performance of their Promises. The Marshal assur'd him, that he should be follow'd in a few days by a Body of 6000 *Lithuanians*. Upon which the Prince could not forbear to let him understand how ridiculous it was to think of making Head with so small a Number, against a great Body of *Germans*, so well disciplin'd as the *Saxons* were.'

⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 8, 1697, no. 12 (December), p. 471: '...nobody having the Courage to join with him: that at length his last Hopes having fail'd him, through the Revolt of the *Lithuanian* Army, at the Head of which he resolv'd to have put himself, he was constrain'd, by the rigour of the Season, to return back, *not having found in all Poland one single Place* that was willing to hold out for him.'

⁵⁶ [La Bizardière (Michel-David, M. de)], *Histoire de la scission ou division arrivée en Pologne le XXVII. juin M.DC.XCVII au sujet de l'élection d'un roy* (Paris, 1700).

⁵⁷ [La Bizardière (Michel-David, M. de)], *An historical account of the divisions in Poland: from the death of K. John Sobieski, to the settlement of the present king on the throne: Containing a particular relation of the late king's death, and of all the intrigues of the several candidates, till the coronation of the Elector of Saxony*. Translated from the French original. Written by M. de la Bizardière, printed for H. Rhodes..., 1700.

conflict climaxed, English readers were expeditiously advised on King Augustus II's attempts to mediate between the quarrelling sides: the Polish referendary Jan Szembek was sent to Lithuania.⁵⁸ They also learned about the decisive battle which took place on 18 November 1700 near Valkininkai and saw the crushing defeat of the Sapieha faction, which led to them losing their hegemonious status in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The readers were enlightened on the enormous danger that the conflict caused to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,⁵⁹ and on the details of the Battle of Valkininkai. This description of the battle is unfamiliar to historians, probably due to the fact that the name of the town, Valkininkai, was not mentioned. The calculations of the sizes of the armies included in the article was also novel – the Sapiehas were said to have had between two and three thousand soldiers, whereas the Lithuanian republicans, which were referred to as the 'Ogiński party', had recruited no less than five thousand.⁶⁰ The publication put a special emphasis on the execution of Michał Franciszek Sapieha, the son of the Great Hetman of Lithuania, Koniuszy (Master of the Horse) of Lithuania and

⁵⁸ *Historical and Political Monthly Mercury*, vol. 11, 1700, no. 11 (November), p. 400: 'The Referendary of the Crown is gone to *Lituania*, to compose the Differences between the Houses of *Oginski* and *Sapieha*, which are lately come to the last Extremity; blows having past between 'em, wherein too many have already fall'n on both sides.'

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 12 (December), p. 428: '*Poland*, it is to be fear'd, labours under a more infirm Condition, then she believes she do's. Not do her Physicians well understand what Remedy to apply. The General Dyet is appointed to meet in *February* next, who if they comply with the King, the Republick must plunge itself into a War, which has had but little Success hitherto, and to which the Good Fortune of the King of *Sweden* bodes but little Prosperity for the Future. If they refuse the King's Demands, they hazard the Effects of Royal Rancour and Disgust; and all this at a time that requires her speedy Aid to quench the Flames of a Civil War, broke out in her own Bowels, between Two Potent Families, that prosecuted each other with an implacable and inexorable Hatred.'

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 428-9: 'For now these Intestine Broils are come to such a Height, that the Princes of the House of *Sapieha*, seeing the Wast that *Oginski* and his Party committed upon their Signories and Vassals, drew together between Two and Three thousand Men, and some Field Pieces, and marching directly against their Enemies, who were no less then Five thousand strong, under the Leading of the young Prince *Wisnouwiski*, vigorously attack'd' em. The Fight was long and bloody; but Number prevailing, *Sapieha's* Party was defeated, with the loss of a Thousand Men, their Cannon and Baggage. So that the Victors, flush'd with their Success, will hear, of no Accommodation.'

Artillery General, after the battle, when he was held prisoner by the republicans. It should be noted that the cruelty of the citizens of the GDL was explained by the remains of the barbarity of the ancient Sarmatians (the common belief was that the Polish nobles were descended from them) which, as the article suggested, was still typical of 'modern Poles'.⁶¹

A review of information about Lithuania in the English press allows for the conclusion that at the end of the 17th century the part of English society which was well-read in international politics was, on a monthly basis, accurately enough in accordance with the requirements of those days, enlightened on the situation in Lithuania, its internal conflicts, their consequences for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and their destructive impact on the political system of the Republic. Readers had the possibility to form a basically truthful impression about the exceptional influence that the noblemen of the GDL had in Lithuania, and about their political factions. As in English periodicals the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its citizens were closely coupled with Poland and the Poles, the exhaustive coverage of the conflicts between factions of GDL noblemen in the late 17th and early 18th centuries could only support the stereotype adopted by English society, which depicted the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a country of selfish and indomitable noblemen, frivolous nobility, and a strange political system which was leading the state to disaster and yet could not be reformed.

IV. Occasional references to Lithuania Information about Lithuania can be found in English publications where one would hardly expect the country to be mentioned. It is noteworthy that Lithuania-related topics occurred in various rather unexpected contexts.

An example of this could be a work on the origin of English names and surnames. The preface of the book patriotically states that the English had christened more pagans than any other nation. It is claimed that, all in all, there were eight pagan tribes christened

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 429: 'Nay, more then this, as if they had resolv'd to extinguish all the Hopes of Reconciliation, by some Act of Cruelty that never could be forgotten, they cut to Pieces, after Quarter given, the Son of the Grand General *Sapieha*, and the Starost of *Braslau*, to atone the Grand idol of their Antipathy. A sign that still there are some foul Reminders, of the old Sarmatean Barbarism among the Modern Polanders.'

by the English, and one of them was the Lithuanians. Thomas of Walden in Essex was declared the christener of Lithuania.⁶² My initial intention was to use this episode as an example of curiosities that occur in English texts, but a more detailed analysis revealed that the compiler of the abovementioned linguistic work, William Camden (1551–1623), was a renowned author of historical and topographical publications.⁶³ And the alleged christener of Lithuania, Thomas Netter of Walden (1370–1430), was a Carmelite, a famous theologian who fought against the followers of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus, a diplomat, a participant in the councils of Pisa and Constance, and the confessor of the King of England. In the English Carmelite tradition, he has been styled the Apostle of Lithuania, since in 1419, by order of the King of England, he was sent from Constance on an embassy to Poland, Lithuania and the Teutonic Order. It has been asserted that on this occasion he established a few Carmelite monasteries and, what is most important, converted Vytautas, the barbarian Grand Duke of Lithuania, to Christianity. Here again we come across the stubborn image of Lithuanians as pagans. Despite the great number of English publications that accurately depict the christening of Lithuania, specific theological literature referred to Thomas Netter, the Apostle of Lithuania, as the christener of Vytautas the barbarian until the middle of the 19th century.⁶⁴ It is a legend which emerged from an historical event, the embassy. May the annals of the English Carmelites store information about Lithuania in the early 15th century as well?

⁶² William Camden, *Remains concerning Britain: their languages, names, surnames, allusions, anagramms, armories, moneys, impreses, apparel, artillerie, wise speeches, provervs, poesies, epitaphs*, Printed for ... Charles Harper ... and John Amery (London, 1674), pp. 16-17 (previous editions 1637, 1657).

⁶³ William Camden, *Britain, or, A chorographical description of the most flourishing kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the islands adjoining, out of the depth of antiquitie...*, [London], 1637; etc.

⁶⁴ Walter Waddington Shirley (editor), Netter, Thomas, et al., *Fascisculi Zizaniorum magistri Joannis Wyclif cum tritico...* (London, 1858), p. Ixxi: 'On the close of the council [Council of Constance], he went in 1419, at the solicitation of many of leading members, into Lithuania, to negotiate a peace between Jagello king of Poland, and Michael grand master of the Teutonic order. The most lasting fruit of his mission was the foundation of several monasteries of the Carmelite order; and by his more ardent admirers he has been celebrated as the apostole of Lithuania'; *The History of England during the middle ages*, vol. 3, by Sharon Turner (London, 1830), pp. 139-40: 'In 1419, he was dispatched to the king of Poland; and on his way converted to Christianity the uncivilized duke of Lithuania [Vytautas].

* * *

In general, the image of Lithuania in English publications of the 17th century was negative. Lithuania was depicted as a notorious province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a country which itself had a poor reputation in England. The knowledge of Lithuania in the light of the high standard of geographical sophistication in England in the 17th century was modest. Probably this should be considered as the weakness of Lithuania. However, it is always advisable to turn one's weaknesses into strengths. This was what Samuel Boguslaw Chylinski did in 1659, stating in the review of his translation of the Bible into the Lithuanian language that: 'to translate the Holy Scriptures into that tongue (which not only in those large Teritorines [having in mind the whole Grand Duchy of Lithuania] but also in the neighbouring Countries of Livonija, Curlandia, Russia [probably Western Ukraine is meant], Prusia, and in the borders of Moscovy, itself is commonly used), I thought it my duty ...'.⁶⁵

Such promotion of the widely used Lithuanian language left England with a single option – to support the Lithuanian translation of the Bible ...

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⁶⁵ *An Account of the Translation of Bible into the Lithuanian Tongue Into which Language the Scriptoros were as yet never Translated with a Copy of the Testimonial Given to the Translator and of the Approbation of his undertaking, by several Reverend Doctors of Divinity, with the Professors of the same, and other Person of the Note in the University of Oxford, November 15, 1659*, p. 10.

LIETUVOS ĮVAIZDIS ANGLIŠKUOSE XVII A. LEIDINIUOSE

Santrauka

GINTAUTAS SLIESORIŪNAS

XVII a. intensyvėjant kontaktams tarp vis reikšmingesnę vietą Europoje įgaunančios Anglijos bei Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės gyventojų svarbesnis pasidarė ir toks reiškinys kaip Lietuvos įvaizdis Anglijos bei Škotijos visuomenėse, anglų bei škotų bendrų žinių apie Lietuvą lygis. Žinių apie Lietuvą Vakarų Europos šaltiniuose ir su tuo susijusi Lietuvos įvaizdžio XVI–XVIII a. Vakarų Europos šalyse problema Lietuvoje jau buvo tyrinėta, nors ir nepakankamai išsamiai. Tačiau Lietuvos įvaizdžio angliškuose XVII–XVIII a. leidiniuose problema tebelaukia išsamesnio tyrinėjimo. Šiame straipsnyje ir bandoma aptarti, ką apie Lietuvą galėjo žinoti ne vien tik siauras tiesioginius kontaktus su Lietuvos Didžiąja Kunigaikštyste turėjusių asmenų ratas, bet ir platesnė, skaitančioji Anglijos bei Škotijos visuomenė. Šiame straipsnyje aptariami beveik išimtinai anglų kalba XVII a. pasirodę leidiniai, iš kurių žinių apie Lietuvą galėjo pasisemti ir įspūdį apie ją susidaryti daug platesnis angliškai skaitęs skaitytojų būrys. Savo santykiuose su kontinentine Europa Anglija XVI a. pab. – XVIII a. pr. pretendavo į protestantizmo gynėjos nuo katalikiškosios ekspansijos vaidmenį. Paramos čia ėmė ieškoti ir Lietuvos protestantai. Anglijos universitetai vis dažniau ėmė pritraukti studentus iš Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės, pirmiausia – evangelikų reformatų jaunimą. Lietuvos įvaizdį Anglijoje suformavo XVI a. kontinentinėje Europoje paskelbti Pasaulio ar Europos atlasai ir aprašymai bei jų aktualizuojami pakartotiniai leidimai. Anglijoje XVII a. pirmoje pusėje buvo išleisti beveik visų svarbiausių tokių darbų vertimai. Originalūs angliški pasaulio ar Europos atlasai ėmė rasti XVII a. antroje pusėje. Įtvirtintą Lietuvos stereotipą kiek pakeisti galėjo autoriai, susipažinę su Lietuva asmeniškai. Pastariesiems leidiniams bei žinioms angliškoje periodikoje, operatyviai dariusiems įtaką tam, kaip visuomenė įsivaizdavo Lietuvą ir čia besiklosčiusius įvykius, straipsnyje skiriama gana daug dėmesio. Ketvirtoji aptariamų leidinių grupė – tai tie leidiniai, kuriuose pasitaikydavusios žinios apie Lietuvą buvo atsiktinės. Tvariausi Lietuvos stereotipai, kuriuos angliški XVII a. leidiniai perėmė iš Vakarų Europoje XV–XVI a. sukurtos geografinės literatūros bei populiarių įvairių šalių aprašymų, buvo šie: 1) Lietuva ir ypač Žemaitija – kraštai, kur stipriai reikiasi pagoniški prietariai; 2) Lietuvos moterims pripažįstama teisė turėti oficialius meilužius, kuriuos toleruoja jų teisėti vyrai, tuo tarpu vyrams meilužių turėti nevalia; 3) Lietuva – labai šalto klimato kraštas; 4) joje daug miškų ir pelkių, nepravažiuojami keliai, todėl keliaujama žiemą, tačiau daug gaunama medaus ir vaško; 5) mažai miestų, bet sostinė Vilnius – didelis miestas su įvairių tikėjimų šventykломis; 6) gyventojai puoselėja barbariškus papročius; 7) bajorija neklusni ir arogantiška, o valstiečiai – beveik kaip vergai, Lietuvoje engiami dar labiau nei Lenkijoje, gyvena po vienu stogu su naminiiais gyvuliais. XVII a. žinių apie Lietuvą angliškuose leidiniuose ilgainiui gausėjo. Tie, kam dėl jų tarnybos ar kitų interesų reikėjo gauti išsamią informaciją apie Lietuvą, pačioje XVII a. pabaigoje tokią galimybę jau turėjo. Tačiau anksčiau išplitę Lietuvos įvaizdį lėmę stereotipai tebebuvo labai gajūs. XVII a. pabaigoje pagausėjo žinių apie Lietuvą angliškoje periodikoje. Tarpautinė politika besidominti skaitančioji Anglijos visuomenės dalis įgijo galimybę operatyviai, maždaug per

mėnesį, gauti, tų laikų reikalavimais vertinant, gana tikslią informaciją apie padėtį Lietuvoje, jos vidaus konfliktus, jų pasekmes visai Lenkijos-Lietuvos Respublikai, griaujamąjį poveikį Respublikos politinei sistemai. Skaitytojai galėjo susidaryti iš esmės tikrovę atitikusį išpūdį apie itin didelę didikų įtaką Lietuvoje, jų politines grupuotes. Kadangi Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė ir jos piliečiai angliškoje periodikoje jau buvo glaudžiai siejami su Lenkija ir lenkais, tai išsamios žinios apie Lietuvos didikų grupuočių konfliktus XVII a. pabaigoje ir XVIII a. pradžioje galėjo tik sustiprinti Anglijos visuomenėje jau susiformavusį Lenkijos-Lietuvos Respublikos stereotipą – tai savanaudiškų ir savivaliaujančių didikų, lengvabūdiškos bajorijos ir keistos bei valstybei pražūtingos politinės santvarkos, kurios nebuvo sugebama reformuoti, kraštas. Galiausiai straipsnyje atkeipiamas dėmesys į tą faktą, kad Lietuvos atsitiktinių paminėjimų XVII a. pasitaikydavo ir tokiuose angliškuose leidiniuose, kur žinių apie Lietuvą sunku būtų tikėtis. Tokio pobūdžio leidiniuose pateikiamą informaciją apie Lietuvą dažnai galima būtų pavadinti netikėta ar net kurioziška.