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SOME NOTES ON THE LITERARY SOURCES OF “HISTORIA BELLI SVECO-MOSCOVITICI DECENNALIS” BY JOHANNES WIDEKINDI

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The article aims at giving a more systematic and complete notion of Johannes Widekindi's literary (as opposed to documentary) sources in his historiographical work on the Ingrian war — apart from the well-known usage of Stanislaw Kobierzycki and Petrus Petrejus — than has been done in previous research. First, all the references in the Novgorod appendix are deciphered. Furthermore, sources are listed for two large digressions in the main text, namely on Pskov and on Cossacks. Some notes are made on the usage of Axel Oxenstierna's sketch on Swedish-Polish relations in the first book of Widekindi's work. All in all, more than a dozen works are listed, and some of them are discovered to be Widekindi's sources for the first time, among others *Theatrum humanae vitae* by Theodor Zwinger, *Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri tres* by Jakub Sobieski, the anonymous *Tragoedia Moscovitica*, the poems by Johannes Narssius and others. In general, the list of sources attest to Widekindi's interest in Polish affairs rather than any concern for Russian history.

Keywords: Time of Troubles, Ingrian War, Swedish Neo-Latin, 17th century historiography, Rossica, Johannes Widekindi, Axel Oxenstierna.

Historia Belli Sveco-Moscovitici Decennalis by Johannes Widekindi (ca 1620–1678), the Swedish historiographer of the Realm, is the main source on the history of the Ingrian war that took place in the beginning of the 17th century. It was published in Swedish as *Thet Swenska i Ryssland Tijo åhrs Krijgz-Historie* in 1671 and in Latin one year later. However, the work, largely compiled from sources written in Latin, was originally composed in Latin¹ too, as we learn from one of Widekindi's letters to his protector, Chancellor Magnus

¹ In fact, the situation is more complicated than that. There are not only some passages in the book where the Latin text is a paraphrase of the Swedish one — that may, after all, be explained by the revision of the Latin text undertaken by Widekindi before its publication — but also passages where the Latin text is translated from the Swedish original. This is suggested by an indication in Almqvist 1907: 181 n. 5 that Evert Horn's report dated 23 May 1610 is rendered in Widekindi's text (pp. 177–178 in the Swedish version) almost word for word. Another instance is Evert Horn's letter to his brother (pp. 540–542 in the Swedish text); in the Latin text the curious reader is asked to see it in the Swedish version, i.e. Widekindi did not have time (?) to translate it into Latin. To summarize: we cannot take the whole Swedish text for translation and we cannot

Gabriel De la Gardie.² Which were Widekindi's sources then? In the dedicatory letter to De la Gardie, in the Swedish version of his work, Widekindi makes an explicit and, to my knowledge, unusual (even for the 17th century) declaration regarding them:

Documenternes allegerande, aff hwilka Historien består/ hafwer iagh i Trycket/ så i thet Swenska som Latinska Exemplaret... vthelyckt/ effter som the i mitt Concept som i Archivo lembnas/ finnas; och thet skulle synas orijmligit at hängia redskapen widh Arbetet/ icke annorledes än en Handwårckare wille knippa fjil och tång widh wårcket som han giordt hafwer/ eller och en Philosophus och Orator wille binda notiones secundas och heela Logicam och Rhetoricam widh den Materie han tracterar, thet aldrigh Aristoteles, Cicero och the gamle hafwa giordt/ hwilka elliest sielfwa konsten hafwa vpfunnit/ den i sine skriffter märckeligen brukat/ ändoch thes terminos artificiose dissimulerat och förborgat. Altså hafwer iagh meent/ at sättia i brädden eller Contexten alla theras namn/ aff hwilka thenne Historie är sammanhämmtat/ skulle både wara ett owalkat och skrubbet Arbete/ samt och hinder för den gode Läsarens intention, som wil medh en hast och uno quasi spiritu inhämta och betrachta Historiens beskaffenhet/ effter som thess troowårdigheet sigh nogsamnt thess förvthan kan bekänna.³

The draft mentioned by Widekindi has not been preserved to our day, and thus the source problem gets very complicated because of the author's deliberate avoidance of mentioning them. What was the reason for this avoidance? We will probably never know exactly. That Widekindi rarely wrote a word of his own, compiling everything from the sources, was hardly a fact he was uncomfortable with: for the Early Modern historiography, it was rather normal to work in this way. A somewhat more plausible suggestion would be that he felt shy about compiling very much (as we shall see) from authors which were either Poles themselves or connected with Poland. For an author with such a strong anti-Polish tendency as Widekindi it would be at least awkward to confess to the reader that his text is to a great extent woven of the accounts written by the archenemies.

However, there is an argument against such an explanation: Widekindi makes a similar declaration in his later writing, *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (published posthumously in 1691, but completed by 1673). But there all the “*Protocoller, Registraturer, Fullmacher/ Rådslagh/ Besluth och Stadgar/ Missiver, vthgångne och inkomne Breff/ samt Relationer*”⁴ which the text is compiled of do not have that much to do with Poland, these documents are mostly Swedish. So it seems plausible that Widekindi's reference principles

take the whole Latin text for the original; thus it is important to check the status of the two versions for every single source or group of sources, and it makes the search for the sources yet more important.

² For more details about the letters and their significance, see Vetushko-Kalevich 2016.

³ “Both in the Swedish and in the Latin book... I have excluded the references to the documents, of which the history consists, because they may be found in my draft which I leave in the archive. And it would look absurd to hang the instruments on the work in the same way as if a craftsman would hang the file and the pliers on his product or if a philosopher and an orator would attach the second notions and the whole logic and rhetoric to the subject he treats. Aristotle, Cicero and the other men of old never did it. They invented the art itself and used it in their writings, but they artificially dissimulated and concealed its terms. So I have thought that to put in the margin or in the text the names of those of whom this history is compiled would be an awkward work and an obstacle for a benevolent reader, who only wants quickly and in one breath to absorb this history and to see its nature, because its trustworthiness may be recognized without further reasons”.

⁴ *Gustaff Adolphs Historia*, p. 2. In this case researchers are in a far more favorable position: both a large part of the draft and the dedicatory exemplar — also containing the references — are preserved (Wadén 1936: 100–101).

are to be explained by his aesthetic sensitivity, and that he indeed regarded it as “reader-friendly” not to clutter up the margins of the text.

Be that as it may, the general picture of what Widekindi’s main sources were is pretty clear. For Polish-Russian relations, apart from the first book (on which see below), he primarily used Stanisław Kobierzycki’s *Historia Vladislai Poloniae et Sveciae Principis* (1655),⁵ often in combination with the work of the Swedish diplomat Petrus Petrejus (published in 1615 in Swedish as *Regni Muschovitici Sciographia* and in 1620 in German as *Historien vnd Bericht von dem Großfürstenthumb Muschkow*).⁶ For Swedish-Russian and to some extent for Swedish-Polish relations, Widekindi used Swedish archive documents such as letters from Polish commanders and Swedish kings to Jacob De la Gardie, reports from Swedish commanders to their kings, armistice treaties etc. One of the most prominent sources in this group are the reports of Jacob De la Gardie, partly preserved to our day in the University Library of Tartu.

These are the main sources. What I am going to discuss here are the secondary ones, used only occasionally and mostly outside the main narrative.

There are some exceptions from Widekindi’s habit to conceal his sources. Many of the documentary ones, especially in the last books, are provided with the dates when the letter quoted or paraphrased was written. On the page 928 of the Swedish version Widekindi mentions Kobierzycki as an author to read if one wants to learn more about Russian-Polish relations at the end of the 1610s; Kobierzycki is also indirectly referred to in expressions like “Polish authors say”, especially in the 4th book in connection with the battle of Klushino and in the 6th book, when the seizure of Smolensk is described. As for Petrejus, he is mentioned several times as a diplomat in action, once as the author of the “Muscovite chronicle” (but not as a reference), and only once referred to directly (see just below).

The main exception, though, which may be called a key to the secondary literary sources of Widekindi, is provided by his hurry in editing the Latin version. One of the consequences of this hurry is the lack of two final books and of the summary of the eighth book. Another result is the existence of an appendix with a short account of the geographical position and the history of Novgorod, with a remark “*Addendum ad p. 250*”. It should have been included in the fifth book, that deals with De la Gardie’s military actions in 1611, namely the seizure of Novgorod. This text is apparently a draft, submitted to the printing press at the very last moment: beside its general incoherence, we may note a very confused chronology (Widekindi first talks about events which took place in 1477, in 1494 and 1581, but then goes back to the year 1424 and finally to the tenth century). This draft contains references as well. I have managed to decipher all of them:⁷

⁵ Many of the passages loaned by Widekindi from Kobierzycki are identified by Helge Almquist in the notes to his fundamental work on Swedish-Russian relations in 1595–1611 (Almquist 1907 passim). A detailed survey on the amount and character of these loans is forthcoming (Vetushko-Kalevich 2018).

⁶ Several loans from Petrejus are identified by Almquist (Almquist 1907: 176 nn. 1, 3, 220 n. 2 etc) and some more by Irina Kulakova in the commentary to the Russian translation of Widekindi (Videkind 2000: 575 n. 135, 579 n. 172 etc). A more systematic study would still be relevant. Among other things, two textual questions should be answered: 1) is there any evidence that Widekindi used not only the German version of Petrejus (see below), but also the Swedish one? 2) does Widekindi’s claim about the priority of his Latin text prove true for passages with this non-Latin source as well?

⁷ In Irina Kulakova’s commentaries to the Russian edition (Videkind 2000: 628–631), Caspar Schütz and Eberhard von Weyhe are not identified; Julius Caesar Scaliger is confused with his son Josef Justus; Chytraeus is identified, but not the exact work by him.

Sarnicius = Sarnicius St. Descriptio Veteris et Novae Poloniae cum divisione eiusdem veteri et nova. Cracoviae 1585. S. v. Nouogrod.

Chytraeo lib. 23. fol. 611. = Chytraeus D. Saxoniam, ab Anno Christi 1500. usque ad annum M. DC. Nunc tertium recognita, et integri Decennij accessione ad praesentem usque M. DC. XI. continuata. Lipsiae 1611. Pp. 611–612.

Casp. Schulz l. 9. p. 398. = Schütz C. Historia Rerum Prussicarum. Danzig 1599. Fol. 398.

Crantz. l. 13. c. 15. = Krantzius A. Wandalia. De Wandalorum vera origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores vel euersores fuerunt. Francofurti 1575. P. 301.

Waremundus de Erenbergh in meditament. pro foederibus. f. 59. n. 68. = Waremundus de Erenberg (aka Eberhard von Weyhe). Meditamenta pro foederibus, ex prudentum monumentis discursim congesta, in quibus variae et difficiles attinguntur Politicae quaestiones. Hanoviae 1601. P. 59.

Christoff. Warsevicius de optimo statu libertatis l. 2. f. 166. = Warsevicius C. De optimo statu libertatis. Cracoviae 1598. P. 166.

Petrei. p. 2. fol. 74. = Petrus Petreius de Erlesunda. Historien und Bericht von dem Großfürstenthumb Muschkow. Lipsiae 1620. S. 74.

Scaliger. exerc. 249. f. 799. = Scaliger I. C. Exotericarum Exercitationum Liber XV. De Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum. Francofurti 1607. P. 799.⁸

Pius 2. in Europa lib. 2. cap. 27. = Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis... opera quae extant omnia. Basileae 1571. P. 419.⁹

Chrantz. lib. 11. Vandaliae c. 5. = Krantzius A. Wandalia. De Wandalorum vera origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores vel euersores fuerunt. Francofurti 1575. P. 251.

Gvagnin = Guagninus A. Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio, quae regnum Poloniae, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Massoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam, et Moschoviae, Tartariaeque partem complectitur. Spira 1581. P. 83.

David Chytraeus (1530–1600), German historian and theologian, is the main source of this appendix. The geographical data in the beginning are for the most part taken from his *Saxonia*. The distance to Viborg is probably taken from Petrejus, as well as the mention of the Cathedral of St. Sophia. The following words, from “*Emporium per totam Europam clarissimum*” to “*labefactari libertas mercatorum caepit*”, are likewise a paraphrase of Chytraeus. The same is true for the entire passage “*Anno 1494. Omnes Hansae mercatores... quod jam diu fatiscere caepit*” and “*In Germanorum cum merces adveniunt... penitus abolita*”. Widekindi points out rightly that in the book by another German historian and Chytraeus’ contemporary, Caspar Schütz, the reasons for Ivan III’s wrath against the Hanseatic merchants are described somewhat differently (“in quibusdam variat”): in Chytraeus, a Russian is burned alive in Reval for sodomy, and the Revalians say that they will do the same to the Grand Duke himself, if he commits such a crime. In Schütz, two Russians are executed, one for sodomy and another for a coinage offence,

⁸ The reference is incorrect: it should be “exerc. 259”.

⁹ Of numerous editions of Piccolomini’s *Europa*, this is the one present in the book catalogue of Oxenstierna’s library; see Vetushko-Kalevich 2016: 216–217.

but it is, along with “*andere klagen*” of the Russians, the only reason for Ivan’s repressive measures, while the personal offense is not mentioned.

It is interesting to note that Widekindi refers not to the Swedish version of Petrus Petrejus’ report on Russian matters, edited 1615, but to the German one, which appeared five years later, significantly updated. The erroneous “*p. 2*” instead of “*p. 1*” in this reference is most probably a sign of carelessness, rather than of Widekindi taking the German version for the second part after the Swedish one or taking the Chronicle from 1615 (1620) for the second part after Petrejus’ report from 1608 (*Een wiss och sanfärdigh berättelse...*). When talking about “300 vehicles” Widekindi reproduces Julius Caesar Scaliger’s text, whereas both Petrejus and Pope Pius II just mention a large amount of spoils; the former talks in fact about “600. *wagnar*” in his Swedish version.

The passage on Perun and the remark on the course of Volkhov are taken from *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* by Alessandro Guagnini, a native of Verona, who spent almost all his life in Polish service. Actually he is also the ultimate source for the story of two nobles (“*Fuit tunc ex civibus... munusque mittens*”), in which he refers to the reign of Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible), not Ivan III who put an end to Novgorod’s independence. But Guagnini’s passage (fol. 101) is longer and its phraseology is not as similar to Widekindi’s who tends to abridge passages by excluding some phrases and retaining the others rather than by paraphrasing. The key to this riddle is simple. Guagnini treats the episode in the part of his book that is quite remote from the story of the fall of Novgorod, and, most importantly, it is missing in the index. Widekindi took it from another source. This source was Theodor Zwinger’s gigantic collection *Theatrum humanae vitae* (Basileae 1604), the text of which (p. 808) is almost identical with that of Widekindi. Here we confront a source we would hardly ever have checked. Google-books have changed the world dramatically.

Despite the two references we have, Widekindi did not use the famous *Wandalia* of Albert Crantz directly (half-seriously, one may add: “because it does not have any index”). The first of these references is taken from *Meditamenta pro foederibus* by Wahremundus ab Ehrenberg (one of the pseudonyms of the early 17th century jurist Eberhard von Weyhe), the second one is from Zwinger (*Theatrum humanae vitae*, p. 544).

In the main text of Widekindi’s work we encounter two other large excursus, this time less draft-like and without any reference clues. In the sixth book Widekindi treats the events which took place after the seizure of Novgorod. The repeated and unsuccessful attempts of Evert Horn to storm Pskov prompt an opportunity to describe its history and topography in the same way as was done in the appendix about Novgorod.

The fact that this description¹⁰ is mainly sewn together from two different accounts is obvious because of the awkward repetition of the geographical section, introduced by *ut dixi*. The first half is, again, almost completely taken from Chytraeus, whereas the second originates in *Commentarii de Bello Moscovitico* (pp. 119–121) by the Prussian diplomat and Stephen Báthory’s secretary Reinold Heidenstein, printed in Basel in 1588. To be more exact, some remarks from Heidenstein are more or less word-for-word included in the first half as well (“*ex Monomachi stirpe Jaruslai filius*”, “*modo a Lithuanis, modo a Russis*”, “*qui partim Nobilibus, partim diversarum societatum mercatoribus, constabat*”, “*Apud Novogardenses haesit tunc Basilius... a Johanne autem patre Basilij adjuti fuissent*”, “*in qua per universum Magni Johannis Basilidis regiminis tempus mansit*”).

¹⁰ Pp. 304–308 in the Latin version, pp. 374–379 in the Swedish one.

Finally, the erroneous parenthesis on the name of Princess Olga — she is said to have been called Helena *before* the baptism — remains somewhat enigmatic. Widekindi could have taken the indication on the name change either from the famous account of the Austrian diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein (*Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, 1549, fol. 4) directly or from Petrejus (pp. 148–149), who apparently followed Herberstein. But neither of the two texts gives reasons for confusion found in Widekindi’s phrase. However, it seems more plausible that the source was Petrejus: firstly, the exact wording does not follow Herberstein’s Latin, “*sanctus*” vs “*divus*” and “*sacer*” vs “*festus*” being, along with the orthography of the name Olga, the most striking differences, and secondly we do not have any other evidence of Widekindi using Herberstein. The Swedish version of Petrejus, although not necessarily used by Widekindi, provides us with a likely mechanism of the confusion: in his marginal notes, written in Latin, Petrejus has “*Olga accepto Baptismo Helena dicta est*” (book 2, p. 9), and from the point of view of grammar such a phrase is indeed ambiguous. Perhaps Widekindi had something similar in his draft.

By the 7th book Widekindi had had numerous opportunities to talk about Cossacks (as they were an integral part of both the second and the third False Dmitry’s forces and are mentioned *passim* starting from the second book), but it is just here, while describing rather insignificant skirmishes in the beginning of the year 1612, that he takes such an opportunity and dwells upon the subject.¹¹ The resulting passage is approximately as long as those on Novgorod and Pskov.

Frequent mentioning of Poland in this passage led us to a suggestion that the source was Polish, and this proves to be perfectly correct: with slight abbreviations and changes of narrative order almost everything beginning with the words “*in quibus naturae miraculo munitis*” is taken from pp. 109–115 of *Commentariorum Chotinensis belli libri tres* (1646), written by Jakub Sobieski, Polish politician and father of King John III Sobieski. Widekindi is, however, sincere in claiming the absurd etymology of the word *Zaporohenses* (“*Zaporohenses a voce Tabor dictos puto, quae notat Castra*”¹²) to be his own. In fact, the etymology becomes clear for a Polish reader as soon as Sobieski mentions the rapids (*Poroehy*) of Dnepr, but Widekindi could hardly be acquainted with Slavonic prefixes and thus missed the point.

Two other phrases in this passage, “*praedis ex hostico agendis assueti*” and “*adversus Turcas (quibus fere infensiores ut qui Christiani esse volunt)*”, are taken from another source, and here we face two problems. First, among the texts which we have already confirmed to be used by Widekindi, there are two (namely Zwinger, p. 4354, and Heidenstein, pp. 10–11) containing these words and a great part of what Widekindi tells in the beginning of this excursus about the rivers Don and Dnieper. Second, here Widekindi could have used yet another source without resorting to any of these two. Anyway, as far as this source or these sources (to which some common reference work obviously belongs, as especially the row of Tanais’ epithets suggests) are not found, we shall decide ourselves between the two.

The differences are, indeed, very slight. Still it may be regarded as quite certain that Widekindi was using Zwinger¹³ here: Heidenstein does not have the introductory words

¹¹ Pp. 346–350 in the Latin version, pp. 428–433 in the Swedish one.

¹² “I think that Zaporozhians are called so because of the word ‘*tabor*’, which means ‘camp’”.

¹³ He seems to have been very fond of this encyclopedia: the words “*Persas olim nefas fuit sine munusculo Reges adire*” in the dedicatory letter to King Charles XI are probably prompted by another passage in Zwinger (p. 2435).

about frequent mentions of Cossacks; the wording of the last phrase is much closer to Zwinger, as is the punctuation and the spelling of the word ‘Borysthenes’. It would have been, in fact, a surprise if Widekindi had used Heidenstein here: while the siege of Pskov, mentioned above, is an essential part of Stephen Báthory’s war with Russia, and it was natural to look for Pskov’s description there, the mention of Cossacks is somewhat more accidental, and Heidenstein’s book does not contain any index.

Among the (still) unidentified parts in the beginning of the excursus, there is a phrase: “*Porro tum demum Boristhenes dicitur, cum in Neperum Berisna cadit, vide Leuncl.*”¹⁴ Here we have to do with a reference Widekindi forgot to strike out of the Latin version (in the Swedish one it is lacking, as are some other details from the passage). However, just as in the case with Crantz, Widekindi seems to have taken the reference from some other source, as Johannes Löwenklau simply says in his *De Moscorum bellis adversus finitimos gestis commentarius* that Borysthenes is nowadays called Berezina.¹⁵

Apart from the appendix and the two larger excursus, there are many shorter passages on Russian towns. Some of them are loaned from Petrejus, but there is still a lot of work to identify the sources in every single case. The passage on Vologda¹⁶ is an interesting example. Vasily Geiman claims in his commentary to the Russian translation¹⁷ that the passage is loaned from Petrejus. But the text of Petrejus (pp. 63, 128) turns out to correspond only to approximately a half of what Widekindi says about Vologda and the Northern river route.¹⁸ Unexpectedly, Widekindi gives a clue himself, telling about Vologda in *Gustaff Adolphs Historia* (p. 32): “*Om thenne Stadz (sc. Wologdas) och Slotz situation och beqwäm- ligheet til Kiöpenskap/ finnes... mehra vthi Oleario och sahl. Ståthållaren Krusenstiernas Tractat om then Moskovitiske Handel.*”¹⁹ The reference to Olearius is misleading — his famous travel description contains no information about Vologda at all — but the mention of the diplomat Philip Crusius von Krusenstiern (1597–1676) is important anyway. Most probably, Widekindi is talking about his memorandum *Gründtliche Nachricht und Anweisung Worinnen die Russische Handlung fürnemblich bestehe* from 1646. The manuscript was held in the Royal Library in Stockholm, but in 1912 it was loaned to the library of Kiev, and its further fate is unknown. However, a transcript is preserved in Uppsala.²⁰ It may turn out to have provided Widekindi with some more pieces of information he gives about the geography of Northern Russia.

So much about the digressions. A few words should be said about the main narrative, too. Apart from Kobierzycki and the documents from the time of the war, an important source here is Axel Oxenstierna’s sketch about Swedish-Polish relations, *Historica Relatio*

¹⁴ “Further, it is called Borysthenes only after Berezina falls into Dniepr, see Löwenklau”.

¹⁵ *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarij Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstain... His nunc primum accedunt... Commentarius de bellis Moscorum adversus finitimos... scriptus ab Ioanne Leuuenclao* (Basileae 1571), p. 208.

¹⁶ P. 322 in the Latin version, p. 397 in the Swedish one.

¹⁷ Videkind 2000: 600 n. 376.

¹⁸ It contains, still, an important piece of evidence that Widekindi wrote the draft in Latin also when the source was German. To Petrejus’ *vberhalb der Stadt* and *vnter der Stadt* correspond *supra urbem* and *intra oppidum* respectively in the Latin version, and *vth om Staden* and *in om Staden* respectively in the Swedish one. That means that in the former case the Latin text is more exact, while in the latter both versions must be misreadings of *infra* in the draft.

¹⁹ “About the position of this city (sc. Vologda) and its fortress and its convenience for trade there is more to find in Olearius and in the Treaty about the Muscovite trade by the late governor Krusenstiern”.

²⁰ von Krusenstjern 1976: 32.

*rerum anno 1625 et sequenti huc usque gestarum inter Regna Sueciae et Poloniae.*²¹ It constitutes a base for the preface and for the whole first book of Widekindi's work. Unfortunately, by the time of its publication only an incomplete transcript had been preserved: in the middle of the fragment there is a long lacuna, and the text ends abruptly in the description of the events of the year 1606 (starting from 1598). In Widekindi's work, the first three and a half chapters are completely taken from this sketch; the lacuna begins in the middle of the fourth chapter; the text after it corresponds in Widekindi to chapters 10–16 of the first book, although this time with significant additions from Kobierzycki. It is difficult to decide which parts of chapters 5–9 originate from Oxenstierna; the editors of his text are talking about "significant additions" from elsewhere, but apart from a couple of phrases from Kobierzycki I have so far identified only the source for the parenthesis on the origins of Muscovy in the beginning of the fifth chapter: it is taken from Chytraeus' *Saxonia* again (p. 22). To be exact, chronologically we cannot exclude that it was already Oxenstierna who used Chytraeus' text here, but it looks unlikely because a digression of several lines on the ancient history of Russia is somewhat out of place in a pretty concise essay on recent Swedish-Polish relations. In Widekindi's narrative it is far more appropriate.

The text of Oxenstierna could go on a good deal into the second book of Widekindi. In the later parts of the work it could occasionally be used for the description of Swedish-Polish negotiations about the armistice in 1611 and later.

The sketch of Oxenstierna influences the style of Widekindi's first book significantly. The opening sentence of the main text is 155 words long, and so it goes on, with mile-long periods and a very high (1.4–2.0) number of substantives per verb form. As soon as Kobierzycki takes over as the main source, Widekindi's text becomes more simple and moderate. This clumsy shift is perhaps the main stylistic drawback of the text, which is otherwise quite elegant and pleasant to read.²²

The official reasons for the murder of False Dmitry I at the end of the first book (chapters 16–17) can be found neither in Oxenstierna nor in Kobierzycki. They are a summary (with some obvious phrasal correspondences) of pp. 45–48 of the anonymous pamphlet *Tragoedia Moscovitica, sive de vita et morte Demetrii, qui nuper apud Ruthenos Imperium tenuit, narratio*, edited in 1608 by Cologne typographer Gerhard Grevenbruch.²³ Here, as elsewhere, Widekindi feels quite comfortable in using a source with a strong pro-Polish (in this case also Jesuitic) tendency and changing it in a way similar to how he sometimes changes Kobierzycki: here e.g. the words "*largitionibus in ganeones, parasitos, citharoedos, et id genus homines*"²⁴ are turned to "*largitiones nimiae in Polonos, Ganeones, Parasitos, Musicos, etc.*"²⁵ It may be added that the opening words of chapter 5 "*Russia seu Roxolania*" (which are followed by the parenthesis from Chytraeus mentioned above) recall the opening words of the *Tragoedia*: "*Russia, quae etiam Roxolania dicitur*".

²¹ Published 1888 in the first volume of the still ongoing edition of Oxenstierna's writings (Oxenstierna 1888: 239–246). The fact that Widekindi uses this text has been noted by its editors (Oxenstierna 1888: 244 n.).

²² Geiman's (or, most probably, Sergei Anninskii's) harsh criticism of Widekindi's language and style (Geiman 2000: 520) can only be explained by an insufficient familiarity with Neo-Latin literature in general and by the ambition to vilify the author, all too apparent throughout the article.

²³ Since 1609 an exemplar of *Tragoedia* could be found in Sweden (see Tarkiainen 1969–70: 117).

²⁴ "By the presents given to gluttons, parasites, musicians and other persons of this kind"

²⁵ "The excessive presents given to Poles, gluttons, parasites, musicians etc."

To make the picture of the sources of the main narrative more complete, one should also mention *De motu civili in Polonia* by Stanisław Łubieński, published in his *Opera posthuma* (Antverpiae 1643), and *Chronica Gestorum in Europa Singularium* (Cracoviae 1645) by Paweł Piasecki.²⁶ Widekindi quotes them once each: Łubieński when describing the council in Poland about waging war against Muscovy,²⁷ and Piasecki when talking about the beginning of False Dmitry II's campaign.²⁸ In both cases, the authors could be prompted to Widekindi by Kobierzycki, who (being more generous as regards references) mentions them in the margin here and there.

Finally, it will probably not be too surprising to add that not all of the poems Widekindi puts at the end to decorate his historical work are his own. The four last poems in the Latin edition, celebrating the cities of Moscow, Tver, Narva and Novgorod, are taken from Johannes Narssius,²⁹ a Dutch physician and poet from Dordrecht, who praised Gustav II Adolf with a series of poetry collections in the 1620s and later composed a whole epic poem about the deeds of the Swedish king.³⁰ The poems of Narssius are reproduced by Widekindi with only slight synonym changes (like “*turbatrix*” instead of “*vexatrix*” in the poem on Moscow), in the same way as he works with prose sources in the main text of *Historia*.

To summarize, Widekindi used as sources mainly Neo-Latin historical works, often connected with Poland. He could find many of them in the library of Axel Oxenstierna, committed to his care for several years.³¹ But apart from Krusenstiern's treaty and *Tragoedia Moscovitica*, he never uses (at least as I have managed to check so far) works dealing specifically with Russian affairs. This is especially remarkable if one considers how many descriptions of Russia had been produced in Western Europe in the 16th and the 17th centuries, and how rich Swedish book collections were in this respect:³² the royal historiographer could hardly lack access to a couple of volumes of that kind. Thus the researcher dealing with passages like those treated in this paper seeks almost automatically for traces of Sigismund Herberstein, Adam Olearius, Antonio Possevino and other famous names primarily associated with European Rossica-literature³³ — but none of these seems to have been used by Widekindi. Considering this, as well as not an especially high amount of notes on Russian historical and geographical conditions in the text and Widekindi's rather calm and indifferent way to speak of Russians themselves (cf. the emotional and moralizing accounts of many previous authors like Petrejus or Olaus Magnus), we may perhaps perceive some details of Widekindi's attitude to his text. The learned digressions are a rare and secondary decoration to the text, making it a bit less monotonous — but

²⁶ The use of them by Widekindi has been previously noted by Almquist (Almquist 1907: 117 n. 1, 161 n. 4).

²⁷ Pp. 90–91 in the Latin text of Widekindi, from pp. 156–157 in Łubieński's book.

²⁸ Pp. 39–40 in the Latin text of Widekindi, from p. 253 in Piasecki's book.

²⁹ *Meva Pomerelliae obsidione Polonorum liberata... aliaque poemata Suedo-Borussica, Moschouitica, miscellanea Joannis Narssii* (Stocholmiae 1627), pp. 78–83. Narssius also immortalizes Torzhok and Yama in his distichs.

³⁰ On Narssius' connections with Sweden see Wrangel 1897: 35.

³¹ See Vetushko-Kalevich 2016: 296–297. Of the works mentioned here, Łubieński and Piasecki should be added to the list: the former may be found on p. 86, № 701, the latter on p. 87, № 711.

³² See Tarkiainen 1969–70: 114–117.

³³ The commentators of the Russian translation go so far as to claim that Widekindi “must have known” Herberstein, Possevino and Paulus Odebornius, but do not give any textual evidence for it (Kovalenko et al. 2000: 541–542).

they are not the main scope of the work. Widekindi is writing about political and military processes, about Jacob De la Gardie's glorious deeds, about treacherous Poles and so on, not about an exotic country in the East. This also fits well into his main project — to write about the recent history of Swedish-Polish relations.³⁴

Although many sources have now been identified, much remains to be done. Not all the details from the digressions on Novgorod (e.g. that Novgorod is also called “Nugigrod” and that Onega is also called “Olla”) and the Cossacks (a large part of the opening passage on Dnieper) have correspondences in the works listed above. Krusenstiern's treaty has to be consulted. Further research on Petrejus' influence has to be conducted. The situation with documentary sources is desperate — De la Gardie's reports for 1609–1610 are lost, and many of the archive documents were destroyed in the palace fire of 1697 — but many of the documents still survive, giving an opportunity to perceive the way in which Widekindi worked with them; this is, however, a separate research problem.

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НЕСКОЛЬКО ЗАМЕЧАНИЙ О ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫХ ИСТОЧНИКАХ «ИСТОРИИ ДЕСЯТИЛЕТНЕЙ ШВЕДСКО-МОСКОВИТСКОЙ ВОЙНЫ» ЮХАНА ВИДЕКИНДА

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³⁴ See Vetushko-Kalevich 2016: 296.

В статье предпринимается попытка дать более полный, чем делалось в прежних исследованиях, обзор литературных источников Юхана Видекинда в его историографическом труде об Ингерманландской войне, помимо хорошо известных в этом качестве Станислава Кобержицкого и Петра Петрея. Расшифрованы все ссылки, которые Видекинд дает в приложении, посвященном Новгороду. Далее указываются источники двух больших экскурсов в основном тексте сочинения — о Пскове и о казаках. Сделано несколько замечаний касательно использования Видекиндом в первой книге реляции Акселя Оксеншерны о шведско-польских отношениях. Всего перечислено около полутора десятков трудов — использование некоторых из них Видекиндом установлено впервые: речь идет, в частности, о «Театре человеческой жизни» Теодора Цвингера, «Записках о Хотинской войне» Якуба Собеского, анонимной «Московитской трагедии», стихах Иоганна Нарссия. В целом набор источников отражает больший интерес Видекинда к польским делам, чем к русской истории.

Ключевые слова: Смутное время, Ингерманландская война, шведская новолатинская литература, историография XVII в., Россия, Юхан Видекинд, Аксель Оксеншерна.

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