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Editorial Foreword

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The second issue of volume 11 of *The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies* includes on the one hand topics of interest for scholars focusing on Medieval Studies, and on the other hand, further approaches aspects related to dissent and conformism, which were tackled during the tenth annual international conference on Nordic and Baltic studies in Romania. The conference entitled *Dissent versus Conformism in the Nordic, Baltic and Black Sea Areas* was held in Constanța between June 6-8, 2019.

Mihai Dragnea is a researcher interested in political, social and cultural relations between Germans, Scandinavians and Wends during the Middle Ages. In his article on *The Saxon expeditions against the Wends and the foundation of Magdeburg during Otto I’s reign*, he states that “by building monasteries, setting up bishoprics, and converting the Wends, the Ottonians strengthened the legitimacy of their rule through the Christian faith”. The conversion of the Wends was also supported by the Archdiocese of Magdeburg, the most important Ottonian political and ecclesiastical center.

Another specialist in Medieval Studies is Costel Coroban, who reveals in his paper aspects related to the ideology of power, back in the 12th and 13th centuries Norway. The Icelandic work *Egils saga* is a fruitful literary source from this point of view, and it is believed that its author is the well-known Icelandic historian and poet Snorri Sturluson.

Referring to more recent times, Adrian Vițalaru renders important information about the activity of the Romanian diplomat Mihail Pâclianu in the Nordic countries, at the end of his career, in the period 1919-1928. This was a long diplomatic mission in the Nordic countries, as Pâclianu was first accredited to Sweden and Denmark, and since 1922 to Norway and Finland as well.

In her article on teaching Finnish as a foreign language, Anja Keränen suggests taking into account improvisation as a teaching method. The Finnish educational system is widely appreciated, and that is why, the author compares its values with the values of improvisation theatre. This
method proves pragmatic practice in language learning, and its potential is worth a closer analysis.

As far as the Baltic states are concerned, Tomas Čelkis discusses the public mobility in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th and 17th centuries. The author examines the road conditions, the everyday life of the travellers, the climate and geographic conditions, the safety of such journeys etc. in an attempt to find the reasons behind the rather intense mobility at that time.

Last but not least, the relationship between dissent and conformism is also examined by Gintaras Druckus with a focus on Lithuanian investigations and archival documents. In Lithuania the two terms have often been defined in the context of occupation, but it seems that they have remained up-to-date also after Lithuania’s independence.
The Saxon Expeditions against the Wends and the Foundation of Magdeburg during Otto I's Reign

Mihai Dragnea
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Abstract
During the Middle Ages, rulers from different regions in Europe aspired to an idea of imperial hegemony over a territory. On the other hand, there were rulers who deliberately refused to be elected as emperors, although their reign showed some characteristics of imperial rule. This essay asks for the reasons why some rulers such as Otto I strove for an imperial agenda and how the expeditions of his margraves across Elbe were legitimized by contemporary writers. According to the idea of universal expansion including both Christians and pagans from all over the world, the Ottonian kingdom became an empire, an intrinsically Christian one, however, which followed the Carolingian model.

Rezumat
În Evul Mediu, conducătorii din diferite regiuni din Europa au aspirat la o idee de hegemonie imperială asupra unui teritoriu. Pe de altă parte, au existat conducători care au refuzat în mod deliberat să fie aleși în calitate de împărați, deși domnia lor arăta unele caracteristici ale conducerii imperiale. Acest eseu cercetează motivele pentru care unii conducători, cum ar fi Otto I, s-au străduit să promoveze o agendă imperială și modul în care expedițiile margrafulor săi dincolo de Elba au fost legitimate de scriitori contemporani. Conform ideii de expansiune universală, ce integra creștini și păgâni din întreaga lume, regatul Ottonian a devenit un imperiu, unul intrinsec creștin, care a urmat modelul carolingian.

Keywords: Ottonian kingship; Old Saxony; Magdeburg; Wends; Conversion; Saxon margraves

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Introduction
From the seventh century onwards the exonyms Wendi in Latin and Wenden in German had been used by the Germanic peoples to refer to speakers of Western Slavic languages, who lived in a vast territory from Holstein in the north to Carinthia in the south. The Wends were located mainly on the eastern cultural and political border of the Carolingian Empire. We know that some Latin authors who wrote about the Wendish Crusade of 1147 (Helmold of Bosau, Arnold of Lübeck, Vincent of Prague, Vincent of
Cracow, Saxo Grammaticus, Otto of Freising or the author of the Annales Palidenses) used the terms *Slavi* or *Sclavi*. However, the Wends maintained different cultural characteristics from the eastern and southern Slavs and therefore in this paper we will use the term *Wends*.¹

The chronicler Adam of Bremen who lived in the eleventh century mentioned the following Wendish tribes: Wilzi or Lutici (between the Warnow and the Oder, up to the Peene), Obotrites or Reregi (between the Bay of Wismar and Lake Schwerin, in Mecklenburg), Sorbs (Upper Saxony, in Lusatia; between the Elbe and Saale), Wagri (Wagria, Holstein), Warnabi or Warnavi (on the Warnow), Polabians (between the Trave and Elbe; around Ratzeburg), Circipani or Zerezepani (between the Recknitz and the Peene), Kicini or Kissini (on the Peene), Redari (right bank of the Peene, around Demmin and Mecklenburg), Rani or Rugians (Rügen), Hevelli or Stodorans (on the Havel), Leubuzzi (on the Oder) and Pomeranians (in Pomerania, between the Oder and the Vistula).²

The missionary tradition among some of these tribes like the Obotrites and Polabians is closely linked with the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen. The archdiocese was also responsible for the conversion to Christianity of other northern people such as the Scandinavians. However, its importance diminished after the founding of Magdeburg.³ The city was mentioned for the first time in the Capitulary of Thionville, issued by Charlemagne in 805. There, *Magadoburg* appears as a fortified customs post

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¹ For a brief analysis of the linguistic interactions between Germans and Wends in the second half of the tenth century, see Mihai Dragnea, “Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication Between Germans and Wends in the Second Half of the Tenth Century”, *Journal of the Institute of Latvian History*, 2 (110) (2019), forthcoming.

² *Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, MGH SRG (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1876), I. 1; II. 18-19; III. 19, 21; IV. 13, 18.

located on Elbe at the Wendish border. Its purpose was to control the arms trade. Within this system were also few other customs posts such as Bardwick, Schesel and Halzstat.4

The Ottonian realm is often described by the historians as a polity “without a state”. It was emphasized that the Ottonians did not have a developed legal system or a bureaucratic apparatus.5 However, Ottonian authority was exercised in centers such as Magdeburg, Quedlinburg and Werla. Magdeburg was considered an imperial city (urbs regia), which reminds one of Charlemagne’s residence, Aachen. The eastern limits of the province of Magdeburg were defined according to the political and geographical context of the time. In the tenth century, the Elbe was for the Saxons what the Rhine was in the ninth century for Carolingians, namely a natural border and the main east-west trade-route of Germany into the Wendish territories. For both the Franks and the Saxons, the control of the two rivers also ensures control over the Wends. This could not be maintained as long as the Wends were not culturally assimilated by adherence to Christianity. The chronicler Widukind of Corvey, a well-informed observer of contemporary affairs, stated that the conversion of the Wends was made possible only after they were conquered by Margrave Gero, who was assigned by Otto I to govern them within a vast territory known as marca Geronis.6 Founding churches and bishoprics was not just a matter of politics and authority, but also an act of piety. Since the king’s right to make war on pagans and other Christians was unquestioned, religious centers like Magdeburg and Quedlinburg were established not by some clergy, but by the Ottonian nobility. Until the construction of St. Maurice’s abbey in Magdeburg in 937, abbeys like Fulda, Regensburg or Corvey were responsible for missionary activity across the Elbe.

4 A facsimile of the manuscript was published in Capitularia regum Francorum, ed. A. Boretius, MGH L, sectio 2 (Hanover, 1883), I, no. 44, ch. 7, 122-126, here 123. Magdeburg was also mentioned in the anonymous chronicle written in 805 at the Catalan abbey of Moissac.
5 In this sense, see the work of Gerd Althoff, Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).
6 Widukind of Corvey, Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres, ed. P. Hirsch, MGH SRG, 60 (Hanover, 1935), II, 20.
Otto’s interest beyond the kingdom's eastern borders

The founder of the Ottonian dynasty was Henry the Fowler (Henry I), a descendant of Charlemagne through his mother, Hedwig. As Duke of Saxony (912-936) and King of Germany (919-936), Henry concentrated his power on Saxony and Thuringia. He did not conceive his reign in a centralized way, but rather in the form of a union in which the stem duchies maintained their autonomy. Henry did not act as a sovereign, but rather as a moral ruler who was formally equal to other German dukes (primus inter pares). During his reign, he waged several campaigns in the east, which brought in significant revenues. Early in 929, the joint forces of Henry and Duke Arnulf of Bavaria reached Prague in a sudden attack. The expedition forced Wenceslaus, the Duke of Bohemia, to resume the payment of a tribute first imposed by the East Frankish king Arnulf of Carinthia in 895. After Wenceslaus’s submission, Henry started several campaigns into the adjacent lands of the Wends, homeland of Wenceslaus’s mother. These were due to the fact that in the meantime, the Redarians from Mecklenburg had organized a raid in the border town of Walsleben. Following the raid, the city was destroyed and the entire population was killed. The raid led to a general uprising of the Obotrites. The coalition was crushed by Henry at Lenzen, a fortified city that served as the basis for the Obotrite raids into the Saxon territory. The chronicler Adam of Bremen tells us that following the defeat at Lenzen, “the Bohemians, the Sorbs, and other Wends, promised to Henry the payment of the tribute, and to God that they would become Christians”.

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7 Henry was, through his mother Hedwig, the grandson of Ludwig II’s daughter. Timothy Bolton, The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 305.
9 For more details regarding the Battle of Lenzen, see David S. Bachrach, Warfare in Tenth-Century Germany (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 198-205.
10 Itemque Behemos et Sorabos ab aliis regibus domitos, et ceteros Sclavorum populos uno grandi praelio ita percussit, ut residui, qui fere pauci remanserant, et regi tributum et Deo christianitatem ulito promitterent. Adam of Bremen, I, 58.
However, a change in style of rulership occurred between Henry I and his son, Otto I. These changes were gradual and are related to the various ways the two interacted with their familiares. Otto’s idea of kingship, its role and how it should be represented on earth, involved a reset of the ties with the Saxon magnates as well as the clergy. Historians stated that the first Ottonians had a plan of expansion which aimed at extending the eastern borders. Thus a vast territory between Elbe, Oder, and Neisse would have been incorporated into the Ottonian state. Its inhabitants, the Wends, were converted and integrated into Latin Christianity. In this case we are dealing with both a territorial and religious expansion, as a result of the symbiosis between secular and ecclesiastical interests. Regarding the religious component, the conversion of the Wends during the second half of the tenth century was possible due to the founding by Otto I of the Magdeburg archdiocese and the suffragan dioceses, the model being Charlemagne’s integration of the Saxons into the Frankish ecclesiastical organization. Unlike the Franks’ ones, the Saxons’ achievements were modest. If the Frankish armies stayed longer in Saxony, the Saxon contingents led by margraves did not camp for too long and in significant numbers across the Elbe. The Wendish revolt of 983 ended the Christianization process. In the north-east, the dioceses of Brandenburg and Havelberg were abandoned until the twelfth century. The Ottonians retained their domination only in south-eastern Germany. In the policy of the last Ottonians, the recovery of the lost territories was not a priority. Emperor Otto III (996-1002) consolidated his position against the Hungarians and Poles. Because he made alliance with the pagan Lutici against the Christian Poles, Henry II was criticized by the missionary bishop Bruno of Querfurt. The bishop rebuked the emperor saying that he did not wish to conquer the Lutici and bring them to Christianity, “as the Gospel commands”.

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11 Otto I’s familiares could be members of the familia regis or counsellors. Their influence in the territory can be determined according to how close they were to the king.

Indeed, it is difficult to prove the existence of a so-called expansionist Ottonian policy in the east. The subjugation and integration of populations are notions characteristic of pre-modern and modern war, and their transfer in the medieval period is problematic. Political communication between the king and the dukes, margraves, counts, influential clerics, and other social communities was governed by unwritten sets of rules of symbolic behavior, traditionally called the *Spielregeln*. The decentralized structure of the Ottonians' governing apparatus made almost impossible the existence of a systematic plan for the administration of the new subject territories. Such measures would have required massive involvement from the Saxon magnates and ecclesiastical authorities. Among their duties was also the collection of revenues (tribute and tithe). Apart from the two taxes, there are no clear indications that the Ottonians intended to extend their political domination in the east. Another argument is the military independence of the Saxon margraves, who could have organized expeditions against the Wends without the king's consent. A common reason was the refusal to pay the tribute and the tithe and the armed revolts against the ecclesiastical authorities. The Saxon margraves could wage war not only against the Wends, but also against other neighbours such as Poland. In 972 there was a massive clash between the Polish troops and the detachments of Odo I, Margrave of Lusatia, who attacked Mieszko's dominions. Following this attack, the Saxon contingents were defeated in the vicinity of a locality called *Cidini* (Cedynia) by Thietmar of Merseburg. Worried by the defeat of his vassal, Otto summoned Mieszko in 973 to Quedlinburg to appear in court in order to solve the dispute. The primary sources do not mention any territorial changes. We only know that in order to keep peace with his amicus, Mieszko had to send his son as a hostage to the Emperor's court.

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13 For further details about the Ottonians' governing apparatus, see the work of Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997).


If the Ottonians have wanted an expansion to the east, as originally thought, why are there no indications in this regard? Expeditions like that in Italy, where armed forces from all over the kingdom participated, did not take place beyond the Elbe. The only expedition to the east was against Poland, conducted by Henry II. Those who had an interest in organizing military campaigns against the Wends were the Saxon magnates, especially those living along the eastern borders. The few Ottonian expeditions against the Wends were in fact led by the Saxon margraves, possessors of remarkable military potential.

From a careful reading of the contemporary narrative texts we find out that the dominant form of warfare consisted of sieges conducted by large Saxon armies. We know that in October 955, after the annihilation of the Hungarians on the Lechfeld, Otto I initiated a campaign against the Obotrites led by princeps Stoinef. Yet we also know that the campaign did not aim at a territorial conquest, but rather was a punitive one. The two Billung brothers, Wichmann the Younger (killed later by Mieszko I) and Ekbert the One-Eyed), instigated the Obotrites to organize a rebellion against Otto I. The king sought to defend his legitimacy, which also contested by the Franconian duke Eberhard and the Swabian duke Liudolf, not only in Germany, but also across the Elbe. However, after the defeat, Stoinef was willing to pay the tribute he owed. A similar offer may have been made to Mieszko I.16 The Saxon chronicler Widukind gives us details about the negotiation between the Saxons and the Obotrite prince, which ultimately failed. Following the campaign, the large Obotrite army (ingens exercitus) was defeated on the river Recknitz by the pro-Ottonian Saxon milites, and their territory was devastated. Prince Stoinef and hundreds of other prisoners were beheaded.17 The peace between the Saxons and the Obotrites lasted until 983, when several Saxon contingents led by margraves and the archbishop of Magdeburg tried to suppress the Obotrite

17 Widukind of Corvey, III, 53-55.
revolt and avoid losing the territory conquered in 955.\textsuperscript{18} Without any political agreements, in parallel, an anti-Saxon bloc emerged, which grouped together the Wends, the Czechs, and the Bavarians.\textsuperscript{19}

Otto was not only a king, but also the Duke of Saxony. This meant that as a king he could delegate the Saxon ducal title to one of his vassal counts. The military command was perhaps the most important of the ducal attributes. Small numbers of heavily armed and mounted warriors (\textit{milites armati}; \textit{Panzerreiter}) could be commanded by both secular and ecclesiastical magnates.\textsuperscript{20} German bishops became pillars of the Ottonian monarchy, acquiring more rights outside the ecclesiastical sphere. Thus spiritual aspirations and pastoral duties came from their role as administrators of the dioceses. For instance, beyond the ecclesiastical attributions, the Saxon bishops could have control of some military personnel. Regarding the military function, they shared similar attributes with the counts, but were subordinated to the duke and margrave. Towards the end of the tenth century, German bishops built fortifications for defence, acting as both spiritual and temporal lords. The fortifications played a crucial role in both offensive and defensive campaigns carried out by the first Ottonian kings with the assistance of the Saxon armies.

In 936, when he had ascended the throne, Otto appointed Count Hermann a margrave (\textit{princeps militiae}), granting him the Saxon march north of the Elbe where the Obotrites lived (Billung March). In this situation, a \textit{princeps militiae} was a leader of the Saxon military vassals, equal to a duke. In king’s absence, Hermann was not only the commander of the army, but also an administrator (\textit{procurator regis}) and revenue-collector of Saxony and the Billung March. He was never called a \textit{dux} by the primary sources. Hermann’s position was strengthened only after Otto was


\textsuperscript{19} Pleszcynski 2001, 415.

crowned as emperor in Rome. His son Bernard inherited and strengthened his position and managed to be recognized as duke of Saxony.²¹

Consistent information about the properties held by the Saxon nobles in the Wendish territory comes from the founding diplomas of some suffragan dioceses of Magdeburg. At the founding of Havelberg and Brandenburg, Otto transferred certain privileges to the new churches, which were under the jurisdiction of the two dioceses. It is possible that most of the privileges were granted to the archdiocese of Magdeburg. According to Thietmar of Merseburg, Archbishop Giselher of Magdeburg (981-1004), who succeeded Adalbert, received from King Henry II a county (comitatus) and a benefice (beneficium) on the river Mulde,²² most likely in a former Wendish territory conquered by Henry I in 929. In 958 and 961, Otto added to Hermann Billung’s possessions some properties along the lower Unstrut as well as Asendorf, Dornstedt, and Lobitzch.²³ This confirms that Otto had a full range of privileges, which he granted according to his interests. In 965, Otto granted Magdeburg one-tenth of the silver paid as tribute by the five Wendish tribes (Ucrani, Receni, Riedere, Tolensani, Zirzipani) ad publicum nostrae maiestatis fiscum. The five tribes were to play an important role in the revolt against the Ottonian rule in 983.²⁴ On the other hand, Pope Benedict VII (974-983) offered Giselher a special status compared with the other German archbishops. Thus the cathedral chapter in Magdeburg was organized on the model of the College of Cardinals in Rome and the liturgy performed in the cathedral was correlated with the pontifical one. In this sense, the city on the Elbe mirrored Rome, as did the Aachen of Charlemagne. Through the architectural development of

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²¹ Benjamin Arnold, Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 90.
²² Thietmar of Merseburg, IV, 69.
Magdeburg cathedral, Otto evoked Charlemagne and his success in the fight against the pagans.²⁵

**Magdeburg as a metropolitan see for all Slavs**

Since its foundation, Magdeburg was regarded as a missionary center. Its missionary legitimacy was related to the conversion of eastern neighbors. In 948 two bishoprics were founded, Brandenburg (east of Elbe) and Havelberg (at the confluence between the Elba and the Havel), from which the missionary activity in the Wilzi (Lutici) territory was coordinated.²⁶ Some twenty years later, another three bishoprics were created in southern Lusatia: Merseburg (on the Saale), Zeitz (on the White Elster), and Meissen (on the Elbe), responsible for converting the Sorbs.²⁷ In 968/969, Magdeburg was set up with jurisdiction over the five bishoprics.²⁸

The missionary idea was applied not only to the Wends, but also to other Slavs that would have liked to accept Christianity through the missionaries from Magdeburg. In 959, Princess Olga of Kiev asked Otto I to send some clergy to Kiev to preach the Gospel.²⁹ The German delegation arrived in Kiev in 961 or 962, and was led by the Benedictine monk

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²⁹ However, Olga accepted Christianity from the Byzantines. For more details about Olga’s baptism as well as Vladimir I, see Mihai Dragnea, “Imaginea cneaghinei Olga în Cronica lui Nestor”, *Romanoslavica*, 50 (1) (2015): 45-53; idem, “Rusia Kieveană în timpul dinastiei Rurikizilor (sec. IX-XIII)” in *Stat și societate în Europa medievală (secolele XI-XIV)*, eds. C. Neagoe, C. Popescu (București: Ars Docendi, 2013), 141-171.
Adalbert, the first archbishop of Magdeburg (968-981). The outcome of the mission was a tragic one. All Adalbert's companions were slain by the pagans, becoming martyrs. The only one who managed to escape was Adalbert. For this reason, the archbishop's image was strongly linked to the conversion of the pagans.

The announcement of the founding of Magdeburg as an ecclesiastical province was not received with great interest either by the papacy or by Poland. In 968, two years after the conversion of the Polish duke Mieszko I (960-992), the diocese of Poznań was founded. The first bishop of the diocese was Jordan, whose goal was to convert the Poles. In an attempt to secure political independence from the Ottonians, Mieszko passed his domains under the formal sovereignty of the papacy, declaring himself a vassal of St. Peter. Pope John XIII thwarted any intention of Otto to subordinate the diocese of Poznań to that of Magdeburg. This was possible, since Poland was not part of Germany and Mieszko was not the vassal of Otto I. While conquering Lusatia, the Saxon margrave Gero extended his supremacy over Mieszko, who, after being defeated by Gero in 963, became Otto's friend and an important ally (amicus imperatoris). The Piasts proved to be valuable allies of the Saxon margraves in their long and exhausting wars against the Wends, whom often they failed to force to pay tribute. During the Piasts, Poland was a duchy (ducatus). Only in some cases do the Piasts bear the title of rex, thus ruling a regnum (Bolesław I, Jukka Korpela, Prince, Saint, and Apostle: Prince Vladimir Svjatoslavich of Kiev, His Posthumous Life, and the Religious Legitimization of the Russian Great Power (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 57-58.


Darius von Güttner Sporzynski, Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100-1230 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), Appendix 2, 231-234. For more details about the political alliances between the Piasts and the Ottonians, see Pleszczynski 2001, 409-425.
Mieszko II, Bolesław II, Przemysł II). In certain situations, Mieszko was forced to pay a tribute, due to the possession of some territories claimed by the Saxon margraves and dukes.

After Mieszko’s conversion, the Piast dynasty became the defender of the Church (defensio ecclesiae) in the Baltic region, recognizing the authority of the papacy. As they were appointed by God, the Piasts had as objectives the conversion of their subjects and other pagan populations in the Baltic region and the development of the Church’s institution through the founding of abbeys and monasteries. On the other hand, the papacy accepted the authority of the Polish dukes for the ruled territory, and recognized the sacred character of the dynasty. Thus, by divine will, the Piasts became “natural princes” of Poland (domini naturales).

Regarding the symbolism and attributes of the Piast dynasty, we may assume that the model of inspiration was the Ottonian monarchy. Although formally the diocese of Poznań was subordinate to the papacy, the Polish clergy performed vital functions in the state, which made it directly dependent on the Polish dukes. The clergy promoted the interests of the dynasty, which, according to the anonymous author of the Deeds of

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the Princes of the Poles, known as Gallus Anonymus, became the interests of the Church they belonged to.\textsuperscript{38}

The point at which the plans of the Piast dynasty and of the Church converged was the expansion of Christianity on two dimensions: spiritual and territorial. As for the relationship between the two powers – secular and ecclesiastical – and the missionary character as a result of their collaboration, we can highlight the proximity to the Ottonian model. Poland of the Piasts can be seen as a copy of the Ottonian state, obviously, on a small scale.\textsuperscript{39} We believe that the papacy did not approve of with the power relationship with the Ottonians, since Pope John XIII did not accept the subordination of the diocese of Poznań to the archdiocese of Magdeburg. By this action, the papacy somehow forced the Ottonians to accept the existence of a neighbouring independent state. In other words, the pope encouraged the Polish dukes to escape from the political influence of the Ottonians. Furthermore, we are witnessing the attempt to overcome the status of amicus imperatoris held by Mieszko I. This should not be a surprise since Mieszko’s political significance as an ally was so valuable for Otto I. What we notice is that even after Christianity, the leaders of the various peoples within the Baltic region were not treated equally by Christian authors.

**Sacralization of Ottonian warfare**

In Rome, Otto I was crowned as emperor by Pope John XII (February 12, 962).\textsuperscript{40} The coronation took place after the king intervened in Italian politics.

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\textsuperscript{38} Alan V. Murray (ed.), *The Crusades. An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 498.

\textsuperscript{39} For further details regarding the origins of the Polish state within the geopolitical context of the second half of the tenth century, see Przemysław Urbańczyk, “Piast Lands in the 10th Century – Imitatio or refutatio imperii?”, in *Das lange 10. Jahrhundert – struktureller Wandel zwischen Zentralisierung und Fragmentierung, äußerem Druck und innerer Krise*, eds. Christine Kleinjung, Stefan Albrecht (Mainz: RGZM, 2014), 71-83.

\textsuperscript{40} Adalbert and Liutprand from Cremona gives us a brief description of the event. To these accounts is added a more complete testimony of the coronation ordo. For more details, see David Warner, “The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna”, in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany*, eds. Björn Weiler, Simon MacLean (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 130. Helmut Beumann considers that the coronation would have taken place earlier than 962. Helmut Beumann, *Die Ottonen* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), 90-91.
Once again a pope had conferred the Roman imperial title on a king, even if it was a Saxon king of the Eastern Franks. After the coronation, Otto called for a synod, which was accepted by the pope. It is very likely that Otto saw in the synod a suitable place to present his imperial agenda, by associating the coronation with the military success against the Hungarians. We may consider that Otto, as a defender of the Church, wanted to convert the Wends, who were to be integrated into his *imperium Christianum*. A first measure would have been the subordination of all Wendish suffragan dioceses to Magdeburg. This is confirmed by Adam of Bremen, who stated that the whole Wendish territory as far as the river Peene was subject to the archbishopric of Magdeburg.\(^{41}\)

Otto’s coronation was closely linked to the foundation of Magdeburg, an imperial city and at the same time an ecclesiastical province. The conversion of the Wends through Magdeburg took place after the military campaign of 963 across the Elbe. The campaign involved two Saxon margraves from the Wendish border, Gero and Hermann Billung. The connection between the two and Otto dates from the beginning of his reign and formed the vital political context for the missionary activity of the Magdeburg clergy. Following the campaign of 963, Gero occupied the region of Lusatia and brought Mieszko I of Poland under royal authority, as Herman Billung brought the two Wendish princes Selibur and Mstivoj.\(^{42}\) In this sense, the conversion was considered both a military consequence, and the result of preaching.

Historians emphasized that Otto I wanted to extend his domination over the pagan Wends. An expansion across the Elbe would have taken place on two fronts: military conquest and cultural assimilation.\(^{43}\) However it is difficult to confirm the existence of a systematic plan for the conversion

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\(^{41}\) *Magedburgensi archiepiscopatui subjiceta est tota Sclavonia usque Penem fluvium. Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, II, 14.


of the Wends elaborated and coordinated by the clergy of Magdeburg. This
does not mean that there were no sporadic attempts at conversion in the
context of the tributary relations between the Saxons and the Wends. The
conversion would thus have been resulted from military campaigns that
forced the Wendish leaders to pay tribute, and not from the divine will
exercised through preaching. We believe that the Ottonians were aware of
the need to sanctify wars with the eastern neighbors. The clergy were
aware of this as well, and linked the necessity of conversion to tributary
relations and political dominance. In this sense, the Ottonian symbolism
regarding the pagans should be analyzed. The hereditary symbol of the
Ottonian dynasty was the Lance of St. Maurice. When he selected his
second son Otto as his successor, Henry I gave him both the lance that he
had and the kingdom by hereditary right. The seals of the two are related
in type to those of their Franconian predecessors, both including a
representation of a lance. Gallus Anonymus, who wrote in the early
twelfth century, tells us that after he came to reign, Otto III gave King
Bolesław I of Poland not only the diadem, but also a few relics like that of
the nails from Christ’s cross, and a copy of the lance of St. Maurice. In
return, Bolesław gave him an arm of the martyr St. Adalbert, which had
recently been deposited in Gniezno cathedral. The Aquitanian chronicler
Adémar de Chabannes mentioned that the emperor founded basilicas and
monasteries commemorating St. Adalbert both in Aachen and in Rome.

The lance of Maurice was also a symbol of the resistance of the
Theban legion in front of the pagans at Agaunum. The cult of St. Maurice
played an essential role in mobilizing the armies that fought against the
Wends and Hungarians. Otto held the holy lance at the Battle of Lechfeld
when he defeated the Hungarians. According to both Widukind of Corvey
and Thietmar, the holy lance was the guarantee of victory for Otto against

44 It was emphasized that before the Investiture Controversy there is no evidence to connect
the holy lance with the cult of St. Maurice. Therefore the importance of the lance lies in its
connection with the royal family. For more details about the significance of the holy lance
for the Ottonian lineage, see Howard L. Adelson, “The Holy Lance and the Hereditary
45 Gallus Anonymus, I, 6, pp. 36-37.
the pagan Hungarians.\textsuperscript{47} This is why during the Middle Ages, St. Maurice was often venerated in the missionary context, for his fight against the heathen and martyrdom in the name of the Christian faith. Therefore we consider that Otto I’s devotion to Maurice was linked to the Saxon expeditions across the Elbe. The necessity of converting the Wends also involved a military component, who was supported by the Saxon magnates and the ecclesiastical authorities. In the name of the emperor, who acted as a defender of the Christian faith, Saxon margraves had the legal and moral right to wage war against all the enemies of the Church.

Any attempt to convert the Wends must be understood through the tributary relations with their leaders. The beneficiaries of the tribute paid by the Wends were the Ottonians, the Saxon nobility and the ecclesiastical authorities. The main interest was to obtain tribute from the Wendish leaders. For Ottonians and Saxon merchants, it was tribute that demonstrated the fidelity of the Wends, even if they were pagans or apostates. On the other hand, for the Church the Wends’ political status depended on maintaining Christianity and paying tithes. In several cases, external warfare secured a considerable part of the first Ottonians’ income. This often took the shape of booty, slaves and tribute. From the Wends, we can assume that the main sources of income were the tribute and the tithe. If the tribute from the Wendish leaders had been a significant part of the Ottonians’ income, surely in the Wendish territories there would have been a permanent presence of the Saxon armies. For the Ottonians and their Saxon vassals like the margraves and counts, the tributary relations with the Wendish leaders were sufficiently advantageous. In addition to paying the tribute, the Wends also offered military support in various regional conflicts. The lack of a permanent military presence and the hesitation in suppressing the Wendish revolts like that in 983 confirm the Ottonians’ lack of interest in maintaining Christianity across the Elbe. The payment of the tribute was not affected by conversion. For the Saxon nobility it mattered less if the Wends followed the Christian rituals. The Wends were perceived as Christians as long as they paid the tribute and the tithe. The tribute could have come from some Wendish Christian leaders, who would have

\textsuperscript{47} Widukind of Corvey, III, 46; Thietmar of Merseburg, II, 10.
ruled over a majority or partially pagan population. In this case, the ecclesiastical authorities would have lost the tithe and could not have exercised their religious duties. It is possible that the tribute was collected by the clergy in the suffragan dioceses, or by laymen acting for the Church (Saxons and Wends). Therefore a revolt against them would have meant the interruption of payment of the tribute. The situation is confirmed by the primary sources, which sometimes do not indicate a coordination of military and ecclesiastical activity, but rather a clash of the two forces. It is very likely that the founding of Magdeburg would have taken place in the context of an ecclesiastical expansion, which could have provided a source of income for the faithful archbishops and bishops of the Ottonians. This is by no means a component of an expansionist plan to the east, but a political and economic reality of that time.

The sacralization of conflicts with the rebellious Wends was *par excellence* the work of the German clergy. The earliest testimony regarding Maurice’s identification with Ottonian kingship dates back to 1008 and belongs to Bruno of Querfurt, the Saxon missionary bishop. In a letter to King Henry II (1002-1024), Bruno ironically described Maurice’s “sacred lance” (*sacra lancea*), standing next to the “diabolic banners” (*diabolica vexilla*) of the Lutician god, Zuarasiz (also known as Redigast). 48 Thietmar of Merseburg tells us that in 961, the relics of St. Maurice were deposited in the cathedral of Magdeburg, and the whole ceremony was received with great honor by the local population. 49

The association between Ottonians and St. Maurice dates back to the time of Otto I. The saint was associated with the struggle against paganism and the martyrdom of Theban soldiers, who died for faith in Christ. It is very likely that the figure of St. Maurice played an important role in both the conversion and conquest of the Wends. His *sacra lancea* became a

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49 Thietmar of Merseburg, II, 17. However Thietmar does not mention the *translatio* of St. Maurice’s relics or the royal penance performed on this occasion. For more details about this issue, see David A. Warner, “Henry II at Magdeburg: Kingship, Ritual and the Cult of Saints”, *Early Medieval Europe*, 3 (2) (1994): 135-166.
powerful visual instrument of early Ottonian proselytism. Only in this way can we explain the deposition of his relics in Magdeburg cathedral, the spiritual heart of the ecclesiastical province of all Slavs. The earliest visual source of Ottonian devotion to the Mauritian cult is an ivory plaque, dating from the second half of the tenth century. It is possible that the ivory plaque adorned one of the shutters of Magdeburg cathedral altar, dedicated to St. Maurice. On the plaque is represented the saint, sitting on the left side, behind Otto I, who bends to hug him. The emperor holds in his hands a model of a church (probably Magdeburg cathedral), pointing to Christ.\(^{50}\)

**Contemporary views on the founding of Magdeburg**

The earliest reference to the foundation of Magdeburg is a letter of Archbishop William of Mainz, the bastard son of Otto I,\(^{51}\) sent to Pope Agapetus II (946-955) shortly before his death. In the letter, William opposed the founding of an archdiocese in Magdeburg, as this would harm his primate and position within the church of Eastern Francia. The idea of founding an archdiocese for missionary purposes came after Otto I's victory against the Wends in 954-955, and the defeat of the Hungarians at Lechfeld shortly after that.\(^{52}\)

The administrative status of the Magdeburg ecclesiastical province is confirmed both in the documents attesting the founding of the archdiocese and in the records of the Synod of Ravenna on April 20, 967. In Ravenna, Pope John XIII issued a document laying down the status of the archdiocese of Magdeburg, to which the dioceses of Brandenburg and Havelberg were subordinated. In the document, Otto I was associated with the emperor Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople. In mid-October, Pope John XIII issued three other documents listing a series of

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\(^{50}\) For further details about the cult of St. Maurice under the Ottonians, see Blough 2016, 338-361.

\(^{51}\) Otto's illegitimate son William, the future Archbishop of Mainz, was born in 929 to a captive Wendish noblewoman during the campaign across the Elbe led by Henry I. Sara McDougall, *Royal Bastards: The Birth of Illegitimacy*, 800-1230 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 100.

privileges granted to the archbishops of Magdeburg. Based on these documents, the archbishops could invest other bishops in the suffragan dioceses. The official foundation of the archdiocese of Magdeburg entered into force only on October 18, 968.53

The founding of Magdeburg as an ecclesiastical province was viewed differently by contemporaries. Depending on their interests, they positioned themselves either on Otto's side or against him. William was not the only prelate hostile to Otto’s founding of Magdeburg. Bishop Bernard of Halberstadt shared a similar position. His dissatisfaction was due to the fact that Magdeburg would also include territories from the diocese of Halberstadt. For the Archbishop of Mainz, the founding of a new archdiocese equated with the loss of his ecclesiastical authority. The conflict between the archdiocese of Mainz and the Ottonians dated back to the time of Otto’s father, Henry I. Prior to his coronation as king in 919, Henry increased the Saxon military strength by supplying knights54 with confiscated domains from the archdiocese of Mainz and other nobles, who had supported King Conrad I (911-918).55 Otto I’s coronation as king at Mainz, the main ecclesiastical center of Francia orientalis, gave legitimacy to the Ottonian dynasty. His bastard son could have provided warrant for conflict resolution. It is possible that William’s opposition to Otto's plan to make Magdeburg an ecclesiastical province was fuelled by the Franconian nobility.

Nevertheless, the opposition of the two prelates did not in any way affect the founding of Magdeburg. From Widukind of Corvey we learn that the two prelates died at the beginning of 968, at an interval of only a few

54 During the Ottonians, the term *miles* ‘knight’ (plural *milites*) designated a well-equipped rider. Later, the term gained social connotations. For more details on the evolution of the term in the Ottonian state, and the meaning that authors assign to the term, see David Stewart Bachrach, “Milites and Warfare in Pre-Crusade Germany”, War in History, 22 (3) (2015): 298-343; Joachim Bumke, The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages, trans. W. T. H. Jackson, E. Jackson (New York: AMS Press, 1982), 38.
Otto’s intervention in the election of successors confirms his intention to secure support from the new prelates. Widukind was irritated by Otto’s plan, since he was silent about Magdeburg church and its importance in the Saxon history. It was emphasized that the sensitivity of the Saxon chronicler can be attributed to the fact that in his intention to build a monastery dedicated to St. Maurice, Otto brought monks from abbeys like Trier and Gorze, and not from Corvey.  

Contemporary writers who mentioned the Ottonian political agenda were usually clerics and monks, and as such, they were not the most objective observers of conflicts between the king’s wishes and ecclesiastical interests. Most often, the ecclesiastical community of which they belonged was involved in the disputes. Therefore such writers had to place themselves and their writings within these conflicts. In this sense, they had to adopt a specific style of narration which would either legitimate the king’s involvement into ecclesiastical affairs or deny it. An example is Widukind, the Benedictine monk from Corvey, who did not provide information on the founding of the archdiocese of Magdeburg by Otto I. Even though he and Henry I were named imperatores, Widukind does not mention the coronation of Otto in 962. The silence of the chronicler contemporary with the events has been interpreted by historians in various ways. It is possible that Widukind’s work was commissioned by an important member of the Ottonian dynasty, such as Archbishop William of Mainz, Queen Matilda or Otto’s daughter, Princess Matilda. The chronicle

56 Widukind of Corvey, Ill, 74.
57 Dietrich Claude 1972, 30-31.
58 In disputes between royal and church powers, royal penance played the role of a quasi-legal argument, especially when the status and prestige of the community to which the writer belonged were involved. For more details, see Iliana Kandzha, “Royal Penance as Quasi-legal Argument in Ecclesiastical Disputes: Representation of Ritual in Ottonian Historiography (919-1024)”, Annual for Medieval Studies at CEU, eds. Gerhard Jaritz et. al., Vol. 23 (Budapest: Central European University, 2017), 35-47.
could have served as a teaching tool for Princess Matilda, in order to prepare her for an important position in state government.\textsuperscript{60}

Moreover, Widukind was a voice of the Saxon opposition to the founding of Magdeburg, which Matilda, as the most important person in Saxony in the absence of Otto (\textit{domina imperialis}), had to accept. Thus, Matilda could have avoided internal conflicts. We cannot exclude the fact that the omission of Otto’s coronation was an editorial accident of the chronicler.\textsuperscript{61} Prior to the conversion of the Saxons by Charlemagne, their relationship with the Franks was a friendly one (\textit{societas et amicitia}). After they adopted Christianity, the Saxons and the Franks became “brothers and as if one people in Christian faith”.\textsuperscript{62} Otto’s election as king by the \textit{populus Francorum atque Saxonum}, in Aachen, established the connection with the Carolingian Empire. Otto’s imperial legitimacy was considered an act of divine will, after which the Ottonians received \textit{Francia orientalis}. In Widukind’s conception, Otto’s reign was already imperial. This was made possible by Otto’s military supremacy in Europe, and the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural character of his state (\textit{rex gentium}).\textsuperscript{63} For Widukind, Otto was a king of both the Franks and Saxons. He was crowned in Aachen by the Archbishop Hildebert of Mainz, “a Frank by birth” (\textit{Franco genere}). The archbishop gave him the sword of kingship with a solemn declaration of his divine calling to become a Christian soldier. During this ceremony, Otto was dressed in a tunic tightly wrapped around his body, “according to the Frankish custom” (\textit{tunica stricta more Francorum induto}).\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{60} Matilda was the abbess of Quedlinburg founded by her grandmother, whose name bears it. Gerd Althoff, “Widukind von Corvey. Kronzeuge und Herausforderung”, \textit{Frühmittelalterliche Studien}, 27 (1993): 262-272.


\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Saxones igitur possessa terra summa pace quieverunt, societate Francorum atque amicitia usi.} Widukind of Corvey, I, 14. \textit{Ob id qui olim socii et amici erant Francorum, iam fratres et quasi una gens ex Christiana fide, veluti modo videmus, facta est.} Widukind of Corvey, I, 15.

\textsuperscript{63} Widukind of Corvey, III. 76.

\textsuperscript{64} Widukind of Corvey, II, 1.
The idea of a Carolingian inheritance did not go away after the death of Otto I. In 1000, the Emperor Otto III opened the tomb of Charlemagne in Aachen. How could this gesture be interpreted? Could it be Otto III’s intention to establish the cult of Charlemagne in Aachen? Around 1030, the Aquitanian chronicler Adémar de Chabannes stated that Otto III wanted to exhume the body of Charlemagne from under the floor of the Aachen cathedral. The emperor did not know exactly where Charlemagne’s grave was. After three days he received a sort of vision, in which it was pointed out a special spot on the floor which had to excavate. Among the objects found there was a golden throne said to have belonged to the Frankish emperor, and which was donated to Bolesław I of Poland.65

Conclusion

One of the most widespread misconceptions among historians is that in medieval Europe the connection between religion and warfare found its full shape only after the emergence of the crusading ideology. However, as primary sources have shown us, since the Carolingian period, warfare had much in common with religion when it came to the moral and legal justification of military conquests. During the second half of the tenth century, the Ottonian culture of war was influenced by secular and ecclesiastical customs derived from Carolingian and Biblical traditions. The nature of the warfare has determined both the Ottonian influence on the church and the power ratio between Saxony and the other German duchies. The Saxon margraves (later dukes) could at any time launch an expedition against the Wends without the king’s consent. They acted as vassals of Otto and therefore they represented his authority across the Elbe. For the ecclesiastical authorities, the eastern expeditions were often seen as a sort of holy wars against the pagans. The moral and legal justification was not only the killing of Christians, but also the refusal of paying tribute and tithe and recognizing of the ecclesiastical authority. Thus the warfare across the Elbe was what united the king and the Saxon magnates and thus it was necessary to increase and expand the Ottonian royal power in Germany.

Consequently, in the Ottonians' governing apparatus, spheres of competence between what is now perceived as ecclesiastical and imperial powers were often interrelated. The Ottonians had much support within Saxony, especially from bishops, abbots and a part of the Saxon magnates. This practice was in fact a response to the tendency of the lay lords to build up their local power at the expense of the king. Since the clergy were theoretically celibate, we can assume that they did not always make their ecclesiastical offices hereditary. Therefore the Ottonians could maintain more control over them according to their own interests. The previous rebellions and civil wars against the Ottonian rule in other duchies of Francia orientalis, suggested that the legitimacy of the dynasty was questionable. In order to impose their imperium and secure domination among the other German dukes, the Ottonians had to exercise military power in other duchies as well as to extend their realm across the Elbe.

The Ottonian dynasty also took the status of divine authority. Their main interest was to secure communication with God and obtain supernatural support in their political actions. By building monasteries, setting up bishoprics, and converting the Wends, the Ottonians strengthened the legitimacy of their rule through the Christian faith. The Duchy of Saxony, however, had no central administrative capital as the Carolingians had. Aachen still retained symbolic significance for the Ottonians, but it was located so far west that its power as a central administrative centre no longer existed. The most significant Ottonian political and ecclesiastical center was Magdeburg, an archdiocese founded by Otto I which supported the conversion of the Wends in theory and practice. Its ecclesiastical province included the suffragan dioceses in the Wendish territory.
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Intercultural Political Models in *Egils Saga* and Other Literary Sources. A Philological Study

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**Abstract**

This article examines the way rulers are depicted in Icelandic literary sources such as *Egils saga* and some other literary sources belonging to medieval Scandinavia. We may presume that the construction and description of the image of Norwegian kings in that age, when Christianity had not totally replaced the Old beliefs in Iceland, are conclusive when attempting to better understand and analyze the mixed ideology of power in 12th and 13th century Norway and Iceland. Our aim is to explore the foundations of the political ideology of Early Medieval Norway, which were consolidated in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the authors and sources constructed an intercultural model of kingship based on the recently Christianized culture over which the influences of the old faith was overlapping.

**Keywords**: *Egils saga*; Christianity; paganism; models of kingship; interculturalism

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The main source of this article, *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* ("Saga of Egil son of Grím the Bald", *Egla* or *Egils saga*), belongs to the category sagas of the Icelanders – the first settlers of the country, *landnámamenn*, or of...

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2 For the present research we have used the English translation by W. C. Green, *The Story of Egil Skallagrímnson*. Elliot Stock, London, 1893; and the one by E. R. Edisson, *Egils saga*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).
biographical sagas of individuals according to some other scholars\(^3\), and is one of the most ary and monumental such sources. The saga was written roughly 1240\(^4\) or 1230, before the writing of the iconic chronicle *Heimskringla*\(^5\), but the oldest manuscripts of *Egils saga* date from the 14\(^{th}\) century. Since the 19\(^{th}\) century, it is strongly believed that the author of this saga is none other than Snorri Sturluson, and this was his first such work, even though there is no conclusive evidence to this\(^6\). Evidence for Snorri Sturluson’s authorship consists in examples of intertextuality to *Heimskringla*, Ágrip, Morkinskinna, and *Sverris saga*\(^7\). In regards to some events that are presented in the source, *Egils saga* even parallels *Heimskringla* word by word. In other cases, it is not so facile to pinpoint to the source material, but once done so, intertextuality becomes evident. Unlike *Heimskringla*, *Egils saga* does not aim to be a historical record of the deeds of the Norwegian kings, yet it remains the most “historical” of the Icelanders’ sagas as it reaches the level of details of many *konungasögur*\(^8\).

Many historical facts in *Egils saga* may be cross referenced to other sources, yet in regards to the life of its protagonist, Egill Skallagrímsson (who is thought to have lived circa 904-995), there is no historical evidence that confirms his existence. Thus, in the absence of a historical Egill, the source remains mostly a literary and fictional work of great value as illustrative for many parts of Norwegian and Icelandic culture. Its character of fictional work should not be considered a disadvantage for our research aims, as the period in which it was written was loaded with significant political events (the Civil War in Norway had not yet ended) so the saga offers a remarkable view of the ideology of power through its depiction of

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\(^6\) Neijmann 124.


\(^8\) Strayer 402.
power relation and rulership in reference to the period two centuries before.

It is noteworthy to remember that these Icelanders’ sagas may be read as political declarations of the author. In the case of *Egils saga*, one immediate reason of the author was to reinforce the claim of his family over Borgarfjörður, as he lived and farmed at Borg. This is only one example that supports the value of these sources for analyzing the political conceptions of the Icelanders in the 13th century. Another argument is the fact that *Egils saga* has mostly been analyzed from the points of view of aesthetics of Old Norse skaldic poetry or in relation to certain anthropological concepts.

Structurally, the saga is divided into 92 chapters which tell the story of the protagonist, who fulfills multiple roles: poet, hero, traveller, farmer, Viking, mercenary, husband and father. The narration begins with the grandfather of Egil, Kveldúlfr (“Night-wolf”), who possessed the ability to enter a battle rage that transformed him into a wolf but drained his powers (a gift that Egill inherited). The saga also sketches the emergence of Norway as a unified kingdom under King Haraldr hárfagri in the 9th century and provides ample details on “Viking and pagan” Norway. Other significant developments that are mentioned are the conflict between the Scottish and the English and the settlement of Scandinavia. The locus of the action changes continuously in the story, a testament to the author’s broad historical and geographic knowledge, from Norway to Sweden, Denmark, Frisia, and Saxonia, then to England, Scotland, and finally to

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9 Ibid. 403.
11 Strayer 402.
Iceland. Egill stands out as the hero of the story through his remarkable childhood, superb poetic talent and his battle-exploits around the Baltic Sea and the North Sea\textsuperscript{12}.

The term of form siðr (the old way/custom/law) in opposition to nýr siðr refers to the influences of the Pagan faith, respectively, of Christianity, on the two corresponding political models. Given the fact that the events in Egils saga take place two centuries before it was written (namely, in the 12\textsuperscript{th} century) and that it was written in Iceland, we may presume that the construction and description of the Norwegian kings in that age when Christianity had not totally replaced the Old beliefs are conclusive when attempting to better understand and analyze the mixed ideology of power in 12\textsuperscript{th} and 13\textsuperscript{th} century Norway and Iceland (note, 13\textsuperscript{th} century Icelandic society was highly literate, on par with the most developed cultural centers in Europe\textsuperscript{13}).

An important element of interest in Egils saga for our research purpose is the description of kings and their deeds and attributes. In sources such as Islendingabók, these came only as references to regnal years and there were very few neutral or supportive comments on the effort of Christianization of Iceland by King Óláfr Tryggvason. Overall, Islendingabók does very little in the sense of direct assessment of the Norwegian king’s policies, and what can be deduced from it is obtained from what the saga omits to inform us. In contrast, Egils saga offers accounts of the activities of King Eiríkr blóðøx (c. 885 – 954), King Haraldr hárfragri (c. 850 – c. 932), King Æthelstan of England (c. 894 – 27 October 939) and their feuds with the Icelandic family of the Mýramenn; and, more notably, it includes a poem dedicated to Jarl Harald Eiríksson of the Orkneys (fl. 1190).

Since the description of Norwegian kings in Icelandic sagas is our concern here, a few general remarks on their image in Icelandic sagas shall follow. Because Iceland was not a monarchy, Kings appears as secondary characters in the sagas of the Icelanders. This does not imply that the

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Ármann Jakobsson, “The rex inutilis in Iceland” in Majestas 7 (1999): 44.
Icelanders had no direct contacts with the kings of Norway. We can assume that many prominent Icelanders had relatives in Norway, but what was of greater importance was that Icelandic skalds were the keepers of oral tradition and lore in Norwegian king’s courts (dróttkvöedi). In *Hallfreðar saga*, the monarch who appears is Óláfr Tryggvason. He is described through the eyes of his court poet, Hallfreðr, who experienced dilemmas adapting to the conversion to Christianity, and at one point became overly jealous on his wife’s admiration for the King but regretted his feelings at the demise of the ruler. After the death of Óláfr, the skald wanted to avenge him by killing Jarl Eiríkr Hákonarson, but the recently deceased monarch appeared in his dreams and urged him to write a laudatory poem to the Jarl instead, as it befitted anyone to offer his service to the King, whoever he may be. Here we see an example of the concept of an intercultural model of political rule. The champion of Christ, King Óláfr Tryggvason, remained faithful to the ideal of justice even after his death, becoming an embodiment of it.

Turns such as these could be considered a minor motif of the conflict with Norwegian kings in the Icelanders’ sagas. Another example is *Kormáks saga*, where the skald Kormákr Ögmundarson maintains amicable relations with kings Håkon the Good (v. 920-961) and Haraldr gráfeldr (Grey-cloak, d. 970), even though they had been rivals and enemies. This minor motif may possibly be explained by a reality of the time, the Icelanders’ need of maintaining good relations with the multiple claimants and rivals to the throne of Norway, a task often made very difficult due to a large number of pretenders to the position of King.

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15 Ibid., 145.
16 This saga is part of the *Flateyjarbók* collection.
18 Ibid.
In *Egils saga*, the image of the monarch is a negative one, because the kings were in conflict with the family of Egill, the Mýramenns. Notably, Egill’s ancestor, Þóroðr Kveld- Úlfsson had fallen victim to King Haraldr hárfgari’s betrayal and ill treatment. The nephew, Egill, had a feud against King Eiríkr blóðøx. Some have attempted to challenge this negative general perception by pointing out to the fact that Egill Skallagrímsson was not the typical hero who evinces perfect attributes. Indeed, Egill was often portrayed as impudent, ruthless. savage, and, at best, undiplomatic; his deeds are often the target of the author’s irony; furthermore, the saga tells us that in the end, the hero made peace with King Eiríkr blóðøx after the king offered Egill the chance to write a laudatory poem about him; also the other prominent kings featured in the saga, King Hákon (brother of Eiríkr blóðøx), appears as a just and beneficent king. Ármann Jakobsson introduced an interesting discussion by assigning the independent-minded and easily-offended Egill to the mentality of the farmer, while arguing that his friend, Arinbjörn, belonged to the mentality of the courtier.

While King Eiríkr blóðøx’s reputation in view of the author was saved owing to the monarch’s appreciation of fine skaldic poetry, the irreconcilable “tyrant” and traitor of *Egils saga* remains the father of Eiríkr, King Haraldr hárfgari. This negative description is in contrast to the general historical reputation of King Haraldr hárfgari, who is hailed as the unifier of the kingdom of Norway, and as the one who contributed significantly to the spread of Christianity in Scandinavia. In *Islendingabók*,

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23 Ibid., 148.

24 Ibid.

King Haraldr hárfagri was commended and at the same time “held responsible” for the colonization of Iceland, for having driven the people out of Norway through his forceful conversions. According to Ármann Jakobsson, Egils saga is responsible for King Haraldr hárfagri’s renown as a tyrannical monarch because:

“King Haraldr hárfagri is depicted in terms of a 13th-century monarch who holds the whole of his kingdom as his personal property, allocating it to his servants as fiefs. He collects taxes from all of his population, and declares himself the owner of all lakes and the sea. Scholars have tended to take this at face value, perhaps owing to an inclination to believe everything written by the presumed author of Egils saga, Snorri Sturluson [...] The power attributed to King Haraldr in Egils saga is, however, far beyond credibility for any Viking ruler of the 9th century. Contemporary evidence offers in fact no firm proof that King Haraldr ever even existed.

This foundation myth probably originated in the 13th century, and certainly flourished during the following centuries [...] Most Family Sagas are not very explicit, but nevertheless appear to take their cue from Egils saga and depict King Haraldr as a ruler on a grand scale, who permits no opposition and drives kings, earls and magnates from his realm. Laxdæla saga (4), Eyrbyggja saga (3-5), and Gisla saga (3, 16-19) give same version of history, probably influenced by Egils saga (11-12). In Laxdæla saga, though, the emigration of the Laxdælir is not due to the king’s excessive harshness, but rather to the fact that he wanted to be the sole ruler of his state and control all honours (4). In younger sagas, such as Svarfdæla saga (210), Harðar saga (3), Bárðar saga (106-7) and Grettis saga (4-19), the myth is perpetuated”.

26 Ibid.
These observations of the Icelandic scholar support the premise of our study, that the foundations of the political ideology of Early Medieval Norway were consolidated in the 12th and 13th centuries and that authors and sources from this period constructed models of kingship based on their 12th or 13th century recently Christianized culture over which the influence of the forn siðr was overlapping. Jón Viðar Sigurdsson argues that sagas which describe events taking place centuries before they were written (fortíðarsögur), such as Egils saga, may be considered relevant and trustworthy historical sources, for identifying elements in regards to the ideology of power. In the historian’s opinion, these sources reflect the main ideas of the ideal qualities of rulers, even though they may never yield fully conclusive notions on this subject. Conversely, contemporary sagas (samtíðarsögur) are thought to be reliable sources because they were written two to seven decades after the events had taken place and, possibly, the authors may have been reproached by witnesses to the events if they had changed the truth.

The first category, fortíðarsögur, may be considered historical literature in the contemporary understanding of the term, yet their authors could be considered “retellers and commentators” rather than “novelists”. History and literature are often interchangeable. The sagas still reflect the main features of the society, still paint the social realities of the times quite accurately, even if the names of the characters and some other elements may not be true:

“Fictional conversations or characters do not automatically imply that the social structure of these sagas is invented. The difference between history and literature is often small, sometimes consisting of no more than the fact

29 Ibid., p. 96.
30 Ibid., p. 99.
that the writers of literature use invented names, unlike the writers of historical accounts.”

Continuing his debate on the historicity of the sagas, Jón Viöar Sigurdsson introduces the concept of the *continuity* of society. If indeed there existed continuity between the society of 13th century Iceland, when many sagas were written, and 9th and 10th century Norway, then the sagas may be regarded as worthy sources. The same historian considers that evidence is sufficient to assume that a high level of continuity truly existed in Norwegian and Icelandic societies between the 10th and 13th centuries, identifying as break-points to earlier or later social order the changes brought about by Christianization, and respectively, the political developments of the 14th century. In conclusion, we can assume that sagas such as *Egils saga* may be trusted to reveal us the main rules of the “political game” throughout that period:

“If we accept that there existed a general knowledge about the Norwegian kings in Old Norse Society, it is hard to argue that the saga authors could have equipped the rulers with more qualities than they actually had had. Their audience would have resented it […] Finally, we must however also be careful not to overestimate the value of the sagas about the distant past as sources. They contain obvious examples of the present, and thirteenth-century ideology is forcing its way into descriptions of the past”.

It is useful to reflect on the image of King Haraldr hárfagri bearing in mind the above remarks. Exercising such a strict, tyrannical control over Norway as the King is depicted in the sagas may have been possible in the later rule of King Hákon Hákonarson, or during the reign of King Magnús lagabœtir, when the consolidation of the kingdom had made it possible. Historians opine that King Haraldr hárfagri, who came from the region of

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31 Ibid., p. 99.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., 100.
Opplandene (the upper lands of Østlanded) and Vestfold, was unlikely to have begun his conquests in Østlanded and that, regarding the tight control the sagas say he exercised over the country, that was also actually unfeasible for the King in 9th century Norway given that there was no bureaucratic apparatus to permit the ruler to hold such an influence. More probably, he exercised control through local small independent chieftainships so indeed the King was responsible for beginning the process of the unification of the country\textsuperscript{35}.

To offer an example of how the sagas treat King Haraldr, in the aftermath of his visiting various regions of the country and attending banquets given by local rulers, the King is informed by a faithful man, Hárek, that Throlf Skallagrimsson (the brother of Egill), whose banquet Haraldr had just attended, had actually been planning to raise an army against the King. Throlf even confessed to the King that because of his tyranny the whole country lacked only the courage and the opportunity to get rid of him. When King Haraldr was landing his fleet to join the feast held by Throlf, the local yeomen-soldiers were discouraged when they witnessed the mighty ships of the King. Next, the plotters allegedly attempted to assassinate the King in his sleep or drunkenness, but they failed in this as well because the King kept an extensive guard\textsuperscript{36}. It is remarkable that the author describes Throlf, the local leader, as an equal of King Haraldr hárfagri:

“...in a man like Thorolf that he thinks himself above everyone; he wants not for strength and comeliness; he keeps a guard round him like a king; he has wealth in plenty, even though he had but what is truly his, but besides that he holds others’ property equally at his disposal with his own. Thou, too, hast bestowed on him large grants, and he had now made all ready to repay them with ill”\textsuperscript{37}.

\textsuperscript{35} Dyrvik 24.
\textsuperscript{36} Egils saga, chapters 11-12.
\textsuperscript{37} Egils saga, chapter 12.
Both King Haraldr and Thorolf appear as great feudal lords in the above fragments, and it seems as if Thorolf had many vassals or sworn men. Discussing the assigning of relations of vassalage to 9th century Norway by the author of the saga appears as an anachronism unless we trust that Snorri Sturluson was better informed of the realities of feudalism on the continent, which was rather likely, but he was most likely referring to hirdmen or housecarls. Continuing the above account from Egils saga, Hárek advised King Haraldr that he should keep Thorolf near him and “let him be in thy guard, and bear thy standard, and be in the forecastle of thy ship; for this duty no man is fitter. Or if thou wilt have him to be a baron, then give him a grant southwards in the Firths, where are all his family: thou mayest then keep an eye on him, that he make not himself too great for thee.” Hárek appears to be wishing the best for King Haraldr, but then he asked that he and his brother be given the chieftainship of Thorolf’s region, the Hálogaland. Ármann Jakobsson calls this model of an aristocrat that is well-behaved to the King in spite of his tyranny the “chivalric vein of a faithful noble who welcomes the king to his home.” One trait of King Haraldr hárfagri that is repeated in this small story is the King’s ability to not let anger take control of his actions. Haraldr became extremely angry when he witnessed the magnificence of Thorolf’s banquet and when Hárek imparted him his thoughts on Thorolf’s betrayal, but in both situations the king did not lose his temper and behaved perhaps wiser than expected. Yet, the same Hárek remarks that Thorolf had just gone north in order to avoid meeting the retinue of the King because he was “too wise.” This is another example where Thorolf, the brother of Egill, evinces qualities that are usually specific to Kings (in contrast, his brother appears rash and undiplomatic at times).

38 For a discussion on how the concept of feudalism was not adopted in Scandinavia and how it was understood in High Medieval Norway see Erik Opsahl, „Bastard Feudalism or Sub-Vassality In Medieval Norway?” in Collegium Medievale 4, 2 (1991), 178-214.
39 Egils saga, chapter 12.
41 Egils saga, chapter 12.
To conclude, not all depictions of King Haraldr hárfagri are negative in the sagas though. For example, in *Vatnsdœla saga*⁴², the protagonist chooses to fight on the side of the king at the Battle of Hafrsfjórðr, for which he was richly rewarded and treated with great reverence and with the gratitude of Haraldr, after which a soothsayer advised him that if he should seek his fortune in Iceland, he would become prosperous. This is one of the rare examples where the main reasons of the family’s migration to Iceland do not reside in the tyranny of King Haraldr hárfagri. The same saga tells us that the descendants of the protagonist, the people living in the Vatn valley in northern Iceland, maintained amicable relations with the King of Norway while at the same time they were able to keep their independence. Thus, Haraldr hárfagri appears as a strong king that is magnanimous to those loyal to him but unforgiving towards his enemies⁴³.

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References:


Mihail Pâclianu – A Romanian Diplomat in the Nordic Countries (1919-1928)

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Abstract
Mihail Pâclianu was the longest-serving diplomat to have led a diplomatic mission in the Scandinavian countries. He was also the diplomat who represented Romania’s interests in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland between 1922 and 1928. However, the post of head of mission in Northern Europe did not charm Pâclianu. He would have preferred to stay in Switzerland (he led the Bern legation from 1912 to 1919) or be transferred to areas he already knew well (Turkey and Egypt). However, he complied to his government’s decision to appoint him to the head of the Stockholm legation, which was less important than the Bern legation. In the Scandinavian countries, Pâclianu focused his activity on promoting the image of Romania. He attempted to establish links with political, intellectual and economic elites, as well as to reorganize the network of honorary consulates. He also got involved in the economic sphere, where he agreed to sign agreements which, however, did not strengthen trade ties between Romania and the Scandinavian countries. He led the diplomatic mission in the Scandinavian countries at a time when the region was of secondary importance to the Romanian government. As a result, he did not receive the special support of the Bucharest leadership and did not receive the diplomatic personnel necessary to deal with the entire geographical

Rezumat
Mihail Pâclianu a fost diplomatul cu cel mai lung mandat la conducerea unei misiuni diplomatice din Țările Nordice. El a fost, totodată, diplomatul care a reprezentat între 1922 și 1928 interesele României în Suedia, Danemarca, Norvegia și Finlanda. Cu toate acestea, postul de șef de misiune în nordul Europei nu l-a atras pe Pâclianu. El ar fi preferat să rămână în Elveția (a condus legația în perioada 1912-1919) sau să fie mutat în zone pe care le cunoștea deja (Turcia și Egipt). S-a conformat însă deciziei guvernului de a-l numi la conducerea legației de la Stockholm, care era inferioară ca importanță legației de la Berna. În țările nordice, Pâclianu și-a concentrat activitatea spre promovarea imaginii României, a încercat să construiască legături cu elitele politică, intelectuală și economică, precum și să reorganizeze rețeaua de consulat onorific. S-a implicat și în domeniul economic, acolo unde a mijlocit semnarea unor acorduri, care, însă, nu au dinamizat legăturile comerciale dintre România și țările nordice. El a condus misiunea diplomatică din țările nordice într-o perioadă în care pentru guvernul român zona respectivă era de importanță secundară. De aceea, el nu s-a bucurat de o susținere deosebită a liderilor de la București și nu a primit nici personal diplomatic pe măsura ariei geografice și a „dosarelor” pe care le administra legația. Dispunând de mijloace financiare și umane
area and with the “files” administered by the legation. Nevertheless, with limited financial and human resources, Pâclianu succeeded in contributing to the promotion of Romania’s interests in Scandinavia, making a good impression, as evidenced by the reaction of the Scandinavian press at the conclusion of his mission and at his death (July 1928).

**Keywords:** Mihail Pâclianu; diplomat; diplomatic mission; Romania; Nordic Countries

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This article focuses on the activity of the longest-standing chief of diplomatic mission of Romania in the Nordic countries. Mihail Pâclianu headed the Romanian legation in the Swedish capital between 1919 and 1928, also being accredited to Denmark, while in 1922-1928 he represented Romania’s interests in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland. In fact, the diplomatic mission from the Nordic countries was the last in his diplomatic career, as Pâclianu died shortly after its conclusion, in the summer of 1928. Starting from these facts, I will focus on the context in which Pâclianu was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in the Nordic countries, attempting to answer several questions: how did Pâclianu get appointed in the Nordic countries? In which context did he begin his diplomatic mission in Stockholm? Also, I am interested in analyzing the initiatives Pâclianu took and how he managed to deal with the shortage of staff at the diplomatic representation he led. Who were his main collaborators? Did he identify real collaboration opportunities between the Romanian state and the Nordic countries?

**A Diplomat’s Rise**
Mihail M. Pâclianu was born on April 27, 1867 in Foșcani, in a boyar family that owned land in the Putna County. With a Law degree from Paris, he was eligible for a position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, in July 1889, he submitted a request to the ministry, in which he asked to be appointed ‘supernumerary attaché’ according to the organizational laws of
the department of Foreign Affairs\textsuperscript{1}. His request was granted by the ministry as it was, in fact, the first step taken by some of the young men aspiring to a diplomatic career. Thus, in August 1889, Pâclianu became supernumerary attaché, being assigned a position in the ministry’s central administration\textsuperscript{2}. In October, however, Pâclianu passed the legation attaché’s exam\textsuperscript{3}. Consequently, at the end of October, Pâclianu became legation attaché and was transferred to Romania’s legation in Paris\textsuperscript{4}. For a young man at the beginning of his career Paris was particularly attractive because Romania’s legation in the French capital, then headed by Vasile Alecsandri, was among the most prestigious of Romania’s diplomatic missions. In Paris, he covered political issues, as well as the general consulate’s management. He returned to Bucharest quite soon, where he held, for a short while (October-December 1891)\textsuperscript{5}, the position of chief of cabinet for the ministers Constantin Esarcu and Alexandru Lahovari. In January 1892, Pâclianu was appointed legation attaché at Romania’s diplomatic mission in Brussels from where, after a few months (in May 1892), he was transferred to the Paris legation. Once more in the French capital, Pâclianu was promoted from legation secretariat class II to class III\textsuperscript{6}. At the end of 1893, however, he was transferred to Romania’s diplomatic agency in Sofia, where he also managed the consulate. However, as he worked in a ministry with limited staff, moving young diplomats from one diplomatic mission to another according to need was normal. In this context, Pâclianu was moved, in early 1896, to the Petersburg legation, from where he was transferred to the Constantinople legation after only a year and a half. He did not work long in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, either.

In July 1897, Pâclianu returned to the ministry’s central administration, where he was appointed Director of political affairs and litigation. He practically held an important position in the ministry’s

\textsuperscript{1} Arhivele Diplomatice ale Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al României [The Diplomatic Archives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, hereafter AMAE], fund 77, Mihail Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. I, unpaged.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
architecture, being later temporarily appointed (between 1900 and 1905), on multiple occasions, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this context, Pâclianu was appointed diplomatic agent of Romania in Egypt in 1906. He was Romania’s first diplomatic representative in Cairo and, alongside Nicolae Mișu, the diplomatic agent in Sofia, the chief of the only two diplomatic agencies of Romania at the time. Though the Egypt agency was distinguished more through its commercial and consular function rather than its political representation (it held a marginal political role from the perspective of Romania’s interests), it allowed Pâclianu to garner experience at an international level. Thus, in 1912, after Romania’s legation in Bern was left without an occupant because of Nicolae B. Cantacuzino’s recall, Pâclianu was appointed to lead the diplomatic mission in the Swiss capital. Even though, initially, the Bern legation was mainly preoccupied with economic connections, the outbreak of war and Switzerland’s neutrality status increased this diplomatic mission’s political importance, bringing Pâclianu in the upper echelons of Romania’s interests abroad. He managed to stay legation chief until the end of the war at a time when there were several waves of recalls and appointments at the top of Romanian diplomatic missions during the war. His uninterrupted presence in Bern between 1912 and 1919 showed that the Romanian leaders cherished his work. He also made a good impression in Switzerland, where he collaborated well with the federal authorities, with the press, and with the members of the Romanian community. Nevertheless, in 1919, the Romanian government decided to replace Pâclianu as chief of the Switzerland legation, sending him to a different destination – Sweden.

7 Ibid., vol. IV, unpaged.
From Bern to Stockholm

In April 1919, Mihail Pherekyde, president ad interim of the Council of Ministers, sent Ion I.C. Brătianu, who was in Paris at the time, a telegram in which he informed him that it was necessary that diplomatic representatives be sent to Belgrade, Prague and Warsaw. As a reply, at the end of May 1919, Ion I.C. Brătianu telegraphed the secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Docan, informing him of his decision. Brătianu proposed that the Warsaw and Prague legations, that were about to be opened, be led by Alexandru G. Florescu and Dimitrie I. Gr. Ghika, and at the same time, he wished to switch the diplomatic chiefs of mission in Bern and Stockholm, Mihail Pâclianu and Gheorghe Derussi. Unlike Pâclianu, who kept his position in Bern throughout the war, Derussi had been recalled and dismissed by the Marghiloman government, returning as chief of the diplomatic mission in Stockholm at the beginning of 1919. Furthermore, despite his closeness to the Conservative-Democrat Party led by Take Ionescu, Derussi was able to maintain good relationships with Ion I.C. Brătianu, which contributed to his appointment at the head of the Bern legation.

Even if Pâclianu was immediately informed of the proposition and asked to agree, the Bern diplomat’s answer was slow to come. It was only on June 22/July 3, 1919 that the diplomat gave an answer to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the excuse that the telegram proposing that he should move to Sweden, was extremely late in arriving. In fact, Pâclianu took some time to consider, seeking to find the best answer to a proposition that was not to his liking. One can grasp from his reply the dissatisfaction for having to leave Switzerland after seven years, a country

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11 Romania established a legation in Sweden in November 1916. First, the legation was led by a chargé d’affaires (Grigore Bilciurescu) and from April 1917 it was headed by Gheorghe Derussi (Paul Oprescu, ”Stockholm și Oslo (Christiania)”, in vol. Reprezentanțele diplomatice ale României, vol. II (București: Editura Politică, 1971), 100-103).
12 AMAE, fund 77, Mihail Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. III, unpaged.
14 Oana Popescu, România și Danemarca în prima jumătate a secolului XX (Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2010), 50.
where he had managed to build relationships in the diplomatic, political, economic and intellectual milieus. There were several significant accomplishments in his portfolio, pertaining to propaganda, as well as the completion of economic deals between Romania and Switzerland. Even if Pâclianu was well thought of by Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, an important member of the Romanian delegation at the Peace Conference, it seems that Brătianu wanted a new breath at the head of the Romanian legation in Switzerland. Under these circumstances, Pâclianu wrote: ‘I am willing to accept the Stockholm position, inferior in importance to that of Bern, if I am at the same time accredited in two other Scandinavian courts or at least in Copenhagen’. Still, Pâclianu would have wanted to occupy a different position. He suggested to the leaders of Romanian diplomacy that he was willing to accept the Constantinople legation bearing in mind his experience in Egypt, where he had been diplomatic agent of Romania between 1906 and 1912. Since the relations between Romania and the Ottoman Empire, as former enemy states, were far from clarified, and Brătianu wanted Derussi in Bern, Pâclianu had no choice but to accept the Stockholm position.

On August 10 the Swedish authorities gave him their agreement and on August 30, through a decree issued by King Ferdinand, Pâclianu was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Romania in Sweden, starting with September 1, 1919. However, it was not until October 11 that Pâclianu handed in the recall letters to the Swiss authorities.

Pâclianu got a ‘consolation prize’, however. Starting with November 1, 1919, he was appointed diplomatic representative of Romania

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16 About his activity in the field of foreign propaganda, see Adrian Vițalaru, Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen – diplomat (Iași: Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2014), 36-66.
18 AMAE, fund 77, M. Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. III, unpaged.
19 Ibid.
20 On July 10, 1919, Pâclianu’s agreement was requested in Stockholm.
at the Royal Danish Court\textsuperscript{22}. Thus, one of his terms for accepting to leave Bern was met. This decision of the Romanian authorities was part, however, of the Romanian patterns of diplomatic representation in Northern Europe, since as early as the diplomatic mission in Denmark was opened, in May 1917, the Stockholm chief of legation was also accredited in Copenhagen\textsuperscript{23}.

Having arrived in Stockholm on June 17, 1920, the Romanian diplomat presented his accreditation letters to King Gustav V on July 2. Thus, the official beginning of Pâclianu’s mission in the Nordic countries did not happen until July 1920, ten months from the moment he had been appointed through royal decree. It is difficult to say what Pâclianu did during this time. He perhaps prepared his departure and tried to become familiar, as much as possible, with the relations between Romania and the two kingdoms where he was accredited: Sweden and Denmark. We know that until he started his mission, Pâclianu travelled to Romania, where he was received by King Ferdinand and Queen Marry. The Romanian sovereigns instructed him to send the Swedish king their condolences on the death of his son (Prince Erik, who died in 1918), informing him, at the same time, of the dynastic connections between the two kingdoms\textsuperscript{24}.

From October 1919 until June 1920, the Stockholm legation command was ensured by Mihail Arion, who had arrived in Sweden by ‘ricochet’, after the members of the Romanian legation in Petrograd left the Russian territory\textsuperscript{25}.

**Minister Plenipotentiary of Romania in Northern Europe**

Thus, in the summer of 1920, Mihail Pâclianu started his mission in the two Scandinavian kingdoms in a relaxed atmosphere, enjoying a

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\textsuperscript{22} AMAE, fund 77, Mihail Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. IV, unpaged (Royal Decree of November 11, 1919).

\textsuperscript{23} Between 1917 and 1919 in Copenhagen activated a chargé d’affaires - Constantin Langa-Rășcanu (Organizarea instituțională a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe..., volume II, 541; Popescu, 48).

\textsuperscript{24} AMAE, fund 77, Mihail Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. IV, unpaged.

\textsuperscript{25} Arion had previously activated at Romanian legation in Russia.
cordial reception in Stockholm, as well as Copenhagen. Pâclianu’s connections to the Scandinavian world had been minimal until 1919 (with the exception of his time working in Petrograd and perhaps with some links established with the Swedish Red Cross in the years of the First World War). However, he was an experienced diplomat, with three decades of diplomatic activity of which no less than 13 as chief of diplomatic representations.

In April 1922, in the context of budget, political and economic strategic reorganizations of Romania’s international representation, Pâclianu was accredited as well in Norway and Finland. Practically, from 1922 until the end of his mission, at the beginning of 1928, he was the only Romanian chief of mission in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland. Thus, in 1922, his work in Northern Europe took on a different dimension. The appointment of one single Romanian representative for all the Nordic countries, with the headquarters in Stockholm, as well as the diplomatic mission’s reduced staff, were impediments in the development of relations between Romania and the four European states. In fact, these realities show the Bucharest administration’s blatant disinterest in the Nordic states. For instance, in 1924, Pâclianu was dissatisfied with the fact that the legation was “burdened with work” and only had one secretary and one translator. In spite of his demands, Pâclianu did not have a more numerous staff at his disposal. This is why, it was necessary that the chief of mission and the legation secretary collaborated closely. During his time in the Nordic countries, Pâclianu collaborated with Mihail Arion (1920), Ion Condurachi (1920-1922), Gheorghe Lecca (1922, 1923-1927), Alexandru Gurănescu (1927-1928), as well as C. Flondor (chargé d’affaires in Denmark, for a while).

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26 See the description of the two accreditation ceremonies made by Mihail Pâclianu (AMAE, fund 77, Mihail Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. IV, unpaged).
27 Mihail Pâclianu together with Nicolae Gracoski, the delegate of the Romanian Red Cross in Switzerland, corresponded with the Swedish Red Cross on the situation of Romanian prisoners in the Central Powers states. See Archives of International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneve, CG 1 A 15-32 - Romanian Red Cross (1914-1918).
28 Popescu, 51.
Under these circumstances marred by staff shortages, Pâclianu tried to develop the honorary consulate system in the Nordic countries and build a close connection with the honorary consuls\(^\text{29}\). The honorary consuls of Romania in Norway, for example, had the mission to monitor the defamatory articles about Romania in the Norwegian press, as well as of keeping M. Pâclianu informed. For example, in the summer of 1923, the honorary consul from Oslo informed Pâclianu on the publication of an article favoring Hungary’s revisionist policy in “Aftenposten”. The honorary consul responded by publishing an article co-written with Pâclianu in the same newspaper\(^\text{30}\).

In fact, one of M. Pâclianu’s constant directions in his diplomatic activity was to promote the image of Greater Romania in the Nordic Countries and especially to correct the negative information about the Romanian state. We could say that Pâclianu’s attitude was rather ‘reactive’ before this type of news, than ‘proactive’\(^\text{31}\).

Despite all this, the Romanian diplomat sought to forge the best possible relations in the Swedish society, as well as close connections with the royal families and political leaders from the other Northern states where he officially represented the Romanian state. For example, between 1923 and 1924, Pâclianu organized ‘a series of lunches’, some followed by balls, which the Swedish minister of Foreign Affairs, members of the diplomatic corps as well as the Swedish king’s brother, attended\(^\text{32}\). Such events, despite being part of the diplomatic life’s daily routine, prove that Romania’s legation in Stockholm made an effort to play a pro-active part in its ‘social milieu’. We think that these events must, however, be connected to the actions taken by other Romanian diplomatic missions at the same time. This ‘image assault’ is closely connected to the Romanian-Soviet dispute which, around the time of the Vienna negotiations (March-April 1924), took the shape of the propaganda dispute manifesting in the European press, in academic milieus, as well as ‘drawing rooms’. Not incidentally, Pâclianu was carefully keeping track of the intelligence

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 50.


\(^{31}\) Ibid., 183, 197.

coming from the USSR, bearing in mind that the Stockholm legation was an observation point for the Soviet space\textsuperscript{33}.

At this time, Pâclianu tried to recruit the honorary consuls’ support in the publication of articles in which they would affirm the legitimacy of the Romanian state’s claim to Bessarabia. Accepting Pâclianu’s suggestions, Romania’s honorary vice-consul in Trondheim published a few articles on the topic\textsuperscript{34}. Other members of Romania’s consular network in the Nordic countries followed him. Pâclianu himself intervened in the Swedish press, giving interviews on the topic of Bessarabia and dispatching propaganda materials, conveyed to him from Bucharest, to Swedish newspapers\textsuperscript{35}. The press interventions in the Nordic countries of Romania’s chief of diplomatic mission, as well as those of the honorary consuls, occurred in the context of the Tatar-Bunar protest trial\textsuperscript{36}. Thus, in the last months of 1925 and the beginning of the following year, Pâclianu coordinated a press campaign which aimed at emphasizing the Romanian authorities’ perspective on the case\textsuperscript{37}, thus countering Bolshevik and communist propaganda.

The collaboration with honorary consuls, however, was not always satisfactory to Pâclianu. This is why he asked, in 1926, that the Romanian government would replace the Romanian honorary consul in Oslo. Additionally, after the Trondheim honorary vice-consul’s resignation in 1926, a consul with whom he had not collaborated closely, Pâclianu requested that the Bucharest authorities should close the consular office\textsuperscript{38}. Consequently, despite Pâclianu’s involvement, the Romanian honorary consulate network did not reach the desired scope, nor did those appointed for the honorary representation of the Romanian interests fulfil their mission as expected by the chief of the Stockholm legation.

From the perspective of the economic relations between Romania and the Nordic states, Pâclianu’s efforts focused on regulating the terms of

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 18-21.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., fund 71/1920-1944, Norvegia, vol. 4, 197-198.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 199.
\textsuperscript{36} The riot occurred in September 1924 and the participants’ trial took place between August and December of 1925.
\textsuperscript{37} AMAE, fund 71/1920-1944, Norvegia, vol. 4, 211, 214.
commercial exchanges. In 1923, for instance, a provisional commercial agreement between Romania and Denmark was signed. At the same time, given that the Romanian-Norwegian commercial agreement had lapsed in April 1922, Pâclianu pleaded for the signing of a new document. This goal was met in October 1924, when the exchange of notes provisionally regulating the commercial relations between Romania and Norway took place.

His diplomatic mission in Northern Europe ended on February 1, 1928, as a result of a ‘renewal’ at the top level of Romanian diplomatic representations. Two other generational colleagues ended their career at the same time as Pâclianu: Alexandru Emanoil Lahovary and Constantin G. Nanu. The minister of Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Titulescu, prepared however an honorable exit for them, as the trio were members of the Superior Diplomatic Council. Unlike Lahovary and Nanu, he worked briefly in the Superior Diplomatic Council as he passed away on July 12, 1928.

What is Pâclianu’s heritage after his diplomatic mission in the Nordic countries ended? Alexandru Gurănescu, Pâclianu’s collaborator and the diplomat who headed the Stockholm legation as ad-interim chargé d’affaires at the end of 1927 and the beginning of the following year, was quite critical of the Swedish diplomatic mission’s activity. In a report sent to Bucharest on October 1, 1927, the diplomat assessed the relations between Romania and the Nordic countries, as well as the way in which the Romanian state was perceived by the public opinion in these countries. He thought that ‘(...) the cultivated public opinion, without showing straightforward hostility, sees us in a false, imprecise way. As a state, we are considered unstable and without substance and, as individuals, unreliable and incorrect in the current affairs, be them political, economic or private’. Gurănescu thought there were two causes explaining this phenomenon: ‘enemy propaganda’ and the lack of organization of the

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39 Popescu, 89.
40 Despa, 67-68.
41 AMAE, fund 77, Mihail Pâclianu’s personal file, vol. IV, unpaged.
diplomatic mission and consular offices\textsuperscript{43}. Gurănescu’s criticism was not only directed at Romanian diplomats in the Nordic countries, but also at those who led the destinies of the Romanian diplomacy. ‘We didn’t do anything against this new propaganda for we did not foresee these countries’ importance and the role they are called – though eccentrically placed geographically – one by one or together, to play both in the League of Nations or as simple pawns in the international politics game’\textsuperscript{44}. He thought that, since Finland was a member of the League of Nations’ Council, the Romanian diplomacy had to pay greater attention to the collaboration with the Helsinki authorities\textsuperscript{45}. In conclusion, Gurănescu considered that a reorganization of Romania’s representation in the Nordic countries was necessary, as well as the creation of a ‘propaganda office’\textsuperscript{46}. A consequence of Gurănescu’s suggestions was the appointment of a press attaché in Stockholm who was to manage the analysis of the press in the Nordic countries\textsuperscript{47}. This move must also be understood in the context of the changes in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs leadership after Nicolae Titulescu took over.

\textbf{Conclusions}

From the perspective of Pâclianu’s career, it is difficult to say whether it is the Swiss period or the Nordic one that was the peak of his diplomatic career. One can claim that his mission in Switzerland, especially during the war, was more visible to the authorities in Bucharest than his activity in the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, his position as legation chief in the Nordic countries was, still, quite convenient for a diplomat lacking specific skills. It was a remote, but quiet post for a diplomat at the end of his career. Although he was the longest standing chief of diplomatic mission in Romania in the Nordic countries, the 1919-1928 years were a time when Romania’s connections to the four Northern European states went through a period of stagnation and even involution. It was as late as

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 26 v.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 27.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 27 v.
\textsuperscript{47} Despa, 65-66.
1927 that the new minister of Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Titulescu, sought to revive Romania’s relations with the Nordic states. To implement such a policy, however, he decided he needed new staff.

Mihail Pâclianu made, however, a good impression in the four capitals he was accredited in. This was visible when his mission came to an end, as well as a few months later, on his demise. In the context of this unhappy event, his family and the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs received letters of condolence from the four Nordic states, and Pâclianu’s work was mentioned in positive terms in the press.
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Finnish Language Teaching through Improvisation - Conforming the Educational Values within an Improvisational Frame

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Abstract
In my article, I examine the moments of gaps or pauses in improvisational scenes used in a Finnish language as a foreign language class. In my research I use different improvisational exercises and techniques (e.g. Johnstone 1981; 1999) when teaching Finnish as a second language. My pedagogical aim is to improve Finnish students’ communicational skills in different kind of improvised settings. My research focuses on teaching Finnish as a foreign language in a Romanian university using improvisation theatre as a method in language teaching.

I start from some values of Finnish educational system, such as equity, flexibility, creativity, teacher professionalism and trust (Sahlberg 2007). I compare how these values are conformed within an improvisational frame in a second language class. I present three examples from two different drama courses and I show through these examples how students contemplate with delicate, shameful and radical moments or pauses within their improvisational interaction in the classroom.

My aim is to show how the teachers repeatedly accept the students’ ideas based on the rules of improvisation (Johnstone 1981; 1999) and how this positive freedom of improvisation (Peters 2009) shows similarity with the values of the Finnish educational system.

Rezumat
În articolul meu cercetez momentele breșelor sau pauzelor din scenele de improvizare folosite într-o oră de limbă finlandeză ca limbă străină. În cercetarea mea folosesc diferite exerciții și tehnici de improvizare (de exemplu, Johnstone 1981; 1999) în predarea finlandezei ca a doua limbă. Scopul meu pedagogic este de a îmbunătăți abilitățile de comunicare ale studenților de finlandeză în diferite tipuri de scene improvizate. Cercetarea mea se concentrează asupra predării limbii finlandeze ca limbă străină într-o universitate română, folosind teatrul de improvizare ca metodă de predare a limbilor străine.

Încep prin a enumera câteva valori ale sistemului educațional finlandez, cum ar fi echitatea, flexibilitatea, creativitatea, profesionalismul profesorului și încrederea (Sahlberg 2007). Compar modul în care aceste valori se potriveșc unui cadru de improvizare dintr-o oră de limbi străine. Prezint trei exemple din două cursuri de dramă diferite și arăt prin aceste exemple cum studiază studenții cu momente sau pauze delicate, rușinoase și radicale în interacțiunea lor improvizională din clasă. Scopul meu este să arăt cum profesorii acceptă în mod repetat ideile studenților pe baza regulilor de improvizare (Johnstone 1981; 1999) și cum această libertate pozitivă de improvizare (Peters 2009) prezintă similitudini cu valorile sistemului educațional finlandez.
1. The Finnish miracle and Finnish educational system

For the last 20 years Finland has been recognized as the country of remarkable good educational system\(^1\). One indication of good educational system has been based on the success in PISA tests, in which Finland has been ranked high since 2001\(^2\). One explanation for Finnish students’ good performance in PISA tests has been suggested to simply be the high congruence between the objectives of PISA and of the Finnish basic school reform from the early 1970s, which led to the adoption of comprehensive 9-year education for all.

However, two of the latest Finnish governments reduced almost 1.5 billion euros from the Finnish educational system between 2011 and 2015\(^3\). The results can be seen in the increasing differences between different schools in Finland as well as the decreasing results in the PISA success Finland has been well-known for\(^4\). Since 2011 the cuts in education have been made in all educational levels starting from early childhood education.

In this article I compare the values of the Finnish educational system according to Pasi Sahlberg’s (2007) research about the key factors behind the education policies in Finland and how these values are parallel with the values of improvisational theatre practices. I am currently researching the use of improvisation as a tool of practicing Finnish communication and language skills. The rules of improvisation emphasize the freedom and

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3 (The government of Jyrki Katainen (Kok) and Alexander Stubb (Kok) between 2011 and 2015 and the term of prime minister Juha Sipilä 2015 - 2018) (Lindholm 2018 in *Suomen Kuvalehti* 17/2018).
4 Lindholm 2018.
student-based learning to encourage the students to use Finnish in a life-like situation in communication with others.

2. The values of the Finnish educational system

According to Kupiainen, Hautamäki and Karjalainen (2009) the Finnish educational system has followed the other Western countries in the last decades, but the biggest difference lies in two big distinctions: Finland hasn’t accepted the consequential accountability with national testing and the Finnish educational standards are open to flexibility and diversity. The Basic School Law was accepted in 1968 and implemented between 1972 and 1977, which has led in Finland to a system where the values are based on flexibility and diversity instead of standardization, broad knowledge instead of emphasis on literacy and numeracy and trust through professionalism instead of consequential accountability⁵.

According to Pasi Sahlberg the Finnish educational policy has been built upon sustainable leadership led by commonly accepted values and shared vision⁶. The values can be divided into three main values as stated by Sahlberg:

1. Flexibility and loose standards (not standardization)
2. Broad learning combined with creativity (not focusing only on literacy and numeracy)
3. Intelligent accountability with trust-based professionalism (not consequential accountability)

Finnish teachers and students are encouraged in schools to try new ideas and methods, learn through innovations and raise creativity, meanwhile still respecting schools’ pedagogic legacies.⁷ The important part of the education system is the culture of diversity, trust and respect of the educational system. The focus in the Finnish system is not to prepare students for the tests, but instead the learning itself, which causes that teachers use quite freely different teaching methods throughout the school.

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⁵ Kupiainen et al. 2009, 11-12.
⁶ Sahlberg 2007: 150.
⁷ Sahlberg 2007: 152.
What is also seen as one of the differences in the Finnish educational system is the freedom in the teaching methods. Especially primary school is seen as a ‘testing-free zone’, where the students are encouraged to learn by doing and sustain their natural curiosity. It also applies to teachers when they plan their lessons, and it enables them to apply the curriculum freely. Freedom in the classroom also applies to the use of school theatre that has a strong and long-term position in the Finnish educational system. Even though drama and theatre haven’t acquired an official position in the curriculum, they have been a part of the Finnish educational system since as early as the 1550’s in the first monastery schools in Turku, and they are still used in the Finnish National Core Curricula for Basic Education (2004) under the subject ‘mother-tongue and literature’. The objectives of using drama as part of teaching are mainly interactional.

### 3. What are the values of improvisation?

By improvisation I refer to improvisational theatre that is a form of theatre, which is unplanned or unscripted and happens spontaneously by the performers in interaction and in situ.

I have divided some key rules and values of improvisation theatre into four different rules according to the philosophy and methodology of improvisation by Viola Spolin (1963), Gary Peters (2009) and Keith Johnstone (1981; 1999). These rules are chosen based on their accountability with Finnish language teaching among students who haven’t practiced drama and theatre before.

**Improvisation is suitable for everyone**

As one of the key founder of improvisation has written: *Everyone can do improvisation or theatre. Everyone can act. Everyone can improvise. Anyone who wishes to play in the theatre and learn to become "stage-worthy"* (Spolin 1963, 3).

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9 Sahlberg 2007: 156.
11 Toivanen 2012: 228.
According to Spolin everyone can learn whatever they choose to learn and the environment of improvisation will teach the students everything available. Even though the language and the action taking place in an improvised scene are unpredictable even to the teachers themselves, the environment permits the student to learn from the material being provided by the other participants and the life-like communication that happens in interaction. The environment will teach the students whatever there is to learn. As Spolin has stated, ‘talent’ or the lack of it has nothing to do with the ability to practice improvisation.

Mistakes are not errors but points to learn and increase confidence. In accordance with Gary Peter’s Philosophy of Improvisation (2009) mistakes or pauses within improvisation are necessary and provide possible moments of learning within the improvisational frame. In general, the philosophy of improvisation doesn’t see mistakes as errors, but as a particular articulation of a distance from the truth. For teachers it is important and liberating to lose the strict following of the grammar rules of language and instead see the gaps and pauses within improvisation as possibilities to learn new words or strategies to stay in the communicational frame with the other improvisators. Beside this, teachers cannot always solve the problem being at hand. As Spolin has stated, there is not always one way to surpass an awkward pause within an improvisational scene. “A teacher of wide past experience may know a hundred ways to solve a particular problem, and a student may turn up with the hundred and first. This is particularly true in the arts.” In improvisation trying and failing are seen as merits, since the students are meant to be guided to learning-by-doing. The only moments of contemplating with new words or other kinds of struggling within an improvised scene can come visible to the researcher only through pauses during the improvisation.

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13 Spolin 1963: 3.
14 Peters 2009: 162.
15 ibid.
Acceptance and saying “Yes” to all the ideas that show up in the improvisation.17

According to Bergen et al. (2002) and one of the founders of improvisation, Keith Johnstone (1981; 1999), acceptance/saying ‘yes’ to every idea in the course of the improvisational scene is the most important rule of improvisation. This rule also applies to the teacher when students provide their ideas and suggestions to the improvisational scenes. Acceptance also means regarding the other participant’s ideas as always better than your own. This means letting go of your own idea when the other participant comes up with a continuation of the scene. When students or teachers don’t end up blocking each other’s ideas, the scene goes on continually to the common goal.18

The scene disappears and becomes unattainable to the participants afterwards

The teacher provides possibilities to learn and to practically engage with the language being learned but leaves as well the students without any concrete results of their learning when the improvised scene disappears19. The phenomenon being taught to the students via improvisation opens itself to the teacher and improvisators only afterwards.20 In this way improvisation is not necessarily a systematic way of teaching grammar for example. The focus of learning is on the communicative skills and learning happening in interaction. Improvisation hasn’t set the goals of the class visible, and the learning and strengthening the Finnish communication skills happen through playing and trying. The frames of improvisational scenes are broad and students can try different strategies to seek for help in a moment they feel stuck. Behind the ideology of improvisation an error and creative rebellion against the educational system are rather seen as merits than as a source of conflict in the classroom.21

18 These games between actors Keith Johnstone called offer-block-accept games (Johnstone 1981).
19 Peters 2009: 73.
4. Improvisation in Finnish language as a foreign language
The following examples occur in a Finnish language as a foreign language class in a Romanian university. The students have studied Finnish for 2.5 years and they improvise in an optional language course, in which they practice improvisation and drama in Finnish language for 3 months. The group had five students of Finnish language, two assistants from Finland and one Romanian volunteer, who knows Finnish and two teachers.22

In my research I view the philosophy and values of improvisation to conform the same creative and student-based values of the Finnish educational system, but as well provide an area of safe play, whereas students challenge the hierarchy and their own thinking while still practicing Finnish language in interaction. Even though improvisation happens in the frame of so-called school theatre, it also enables an area of safe anarchism against the system compared to cognitive language teaching. As Adorno puts it, art has its own rules. “Expression nowadays lives on only in art. - - Art is thus able to speak in itself. This is its realization through mimesis”.23

I focus on the pauses or gaps in the improvisational scene and how limitations appear within the frame of the improvised scene and with students’ gestures. During these scenes and specific gaps in the communication a student has a pause in the scene, which is caused by hesitation, word search or even insecurity or shame about the subject or the theme of the improvised scene. The pauses indicate that the students set their own limitations to the improvisation whereas the teacher accepts even the most audacious ideas.

a. Talk show with Nazis
A student, Ana, comes with an idea that the improvised talk-show should be about neo-Nazis and the teacher accepts the idea according to the rules of improvisation.24 The teacher accepts the idea even though the subject is

22 I will refer to the teachers as Teacher 1 and Teacher 2.
24 Acceptance and saying “Yes” (Johnstone 1998; Bergren, Cox, & Detmar, 2002).
sensitive and questionable. The point is to always approve someone else’s idea no matter what. The improvisational game is built as a talk-show. The three students were sitting on the chairs and Teacher 1 is going to be the talk-show host, where she’s interviewing the guests of the show.

**Teacher:** We would like to know, what do you think about Nazis?

What kind of ideas? Let’s start with you, Erlend. Do you like Nazis?

**Ana:** aa, hmmmm, a little.

**Teacher 1:** OKAY! A little? Why?

**Ana:** mmommmm because.....hmmmm

**Teacher 1:** Are you a Nazi?

**Ana:** No!

**Teacher 1:** So, you’re not. Okay. What good can you find...

**Ana:** But, my family is really Nazi.

**Teacher 1:** Okay, so your mum and dad?

**Teacher 2:** Booooo!

**Teacher 1:** Hey, hey, hey, no comments! So, your family is very Nazi.

**Ana:** covers her face

**Teacher:** Okay, let’s leave this for now. Let’s talk more about this later. It was a very interesting point. Well, hey...

The improvisation starts with Ana saying that she likes Nazis a little, right afterwards denying firmly that she’s a neo-Nazi. However, she strives back to the topic by saying that her family was really Nazi. The moment of hesitation and pausing within the improvised role can be visibly seen when the student covers her face and turns away from the interviewer and does not answer the question about her parents. Improvising and creating the scene with the sensitive topic of Nazism is in the hands of the students and their teacher. The teacher allows the scene to go on and approves the student’s idea no matter the sensitivity and off-limits the topic and the conversation might be.

Ana covers her face during the improvisation, right after hearing the booing from the audience. The booing comes from the other teacher,
which the student might also find coming as a negative feedback from the other authority in the drama course. The hesitation causes the reaction of covering the face and stepping out of the role for a moment, which might be an indicator of shame or insecurity continuing within the role or the sensitive topic. This stepping out of the fictional role can be called a change in footing, which indicates to a change in the role of the participant during the interaction.\footnote{Goffman 2012: 261–299.}

The student is allowed to set his/her limits in the improvised scene but they also have the ability to stop the improvised scene and interaction, where they feel the subject is getting unsafe for them or they’re crossing the line. Gaps within improvisational interaction might also derive from word searches in a foreign language, which are causing a pause in the improvisational frame. Word searches are rather common when communicating in foreign languages and the participants generally trust those with more knowledge or professionalism to solve the word search.\footnote{Keränen 2018; f.e. Eskildsen & Majlesi 2018: 5; Kim 2012: 721, Brouwer 2003: 535–536.}

b. Drunken Man in the Car

In the following scene the students are placed as in a car with four chairs for four participants. One of them is the driver while the others are passengers. One student joins the others as a hitchhiker and improvises a visible role that others in the car start to imitate. The idea is that everyone in the car changes into the same person with the same body language, gestures, language and personality. The passengers change constantly in the car when a new hitchhiker with a new role steps in and one passenger leaves the car. Also the roles and personalities of the passengers change through the role of the hitchhiker.

Teacher (to the students): No, no, no! It doesn’t matter. You can improvise it on the way here.
Maija: aaaargh
Sandor: Hey! I want to go (pause) in the stadium (sic).
Teacher: To the stadium! Yeah good! Football god damned!
Maija: To the stadium!

In this scene Sandor improvises and uses his body gestures to indicate the behavior of a person under the influence of alcohol or other substances. The person walks unbalanced and uncontrolled and his language is inarticulate and unclear. The pause appears when he is looking for a word to express his will to go to the stadium. The student uses an incorrect suffix after the pause (fin. ‘stadionissa’ \rightarrow \textit{in the stadium} when the correct form would be to the stadium, fin. ‘stadionille’). In this scene the pause within the improvisation might indicate a word search rather than hesitating about the questionable role of being drunk and later driving the vehicle under the influence of alcohol. However, the word search is not directed clearly to the teacher nor to the colleagues in the class even though the teacher and the assistant teacher repeat the word \textit{stadion} with its right suffix after (fin. ‘stadionille’). The error in choosing the suffix with the word ‘stadium’ indicates that the student was hesitating about the continuation, but one cannot assume the pause in the improvisation happening necessarily because of the sensitive nature of the scene. The teacher’s feedback and conforming to the right form of the suffix comes right after the student’s turn. However, the teacher and the other participants in the car accept the drunkenness theme by imitating Sandor’s language and gestures and continuing the scene as four drunken people in the car. In this way, the accepting and saying ‘Yes’ can happen through conforming the initial idea of Sandor.

c. Flirting in the gym
In the following scene, the students start to play in a fictional and improvised scene that is located in a gym. The teachers haven’t given any location or any instructions on how to build the scene, but they were supposed to start improvising based on physical activity. Tibor starts the scene by lifting a mimetic weight with his left hand while sitting in a chair. Clara joins him in the scene and starts the conversation.

Clara: how are you?
Tibor: hahahaha
Clara: you are very (turns to the teacher) cum se zice?
Teacher 1: strong
Teacher 2: strong
Tibor: my arm is.... big
Clara: can you help me.. to (turns to the teacher) exercise?
Teacher 1: to exercise (harjoitella)
Clara: to exercise (harjoitella)
Tibor: yeah that
Clara: I am a little bit sexy but I wanna be really sexy.
Tibor: it’s not hard, it’s not hard.

In this scene moments with the delicate nature of flirting and sexualism can be seen. The other student Clara pauses within the improvisation to ask for the word strong (fin. ‘vahva’) and exercise. She turns away from Tibor for word searches and changing the participation framework\textsuperscript{27} from Tibor to teacher and back to him. Besides Clara also returns to the improvised role and the flirty character of her fictional role. One can witness that for example from when she raises her hand in a gesture that can be considered ironic and can be seen to play with the concept of femininity and superficiality. After the second returning to the role after a word search from the teacher, she touches her breast and says that she feels sexy but that she wants to become really sexy\textsuperscript{28}. After this Clara starts laughing and hits her knees with her hands turning away from Tibor. It also cuts the contact between the two actors and makes them turn back to their student roles. The improvised scene has a bold start which is erupted by the laughter of the audience and Tibor and ends with Clara turning herself towards the audience and laughing and hitting her knees. The changes are apparent when Clara talks to Tibor and when she talks to the teachers. One can see from how she changes her gestures and body language and the change in footing. The changes indicate a shift between

\textsuperscript{27} Goffman 1981: 128.
\textsuperscript{28} in Finnish Clara says ‘seksi’ which is not the correct form of ‘seksikäs’ which would mean sexy, but from the utterance it can be assumed that she means the adjective ‘sexy’ instead of ‘sex’.
the student’s role and the fictional role she has created inside the improvisational scene. The change in footing and the change in participation framework. Clara moves between her student’s role and her fictional role and changes the participation framework between the teacher and Tibor.

It might be a consequence after the bold and sensitive start of the improvisation which Clara didn’t feel comfortable continuing. The feeling of hesitation and shame is easier to be released with laughter with the audience. In addition, the word search inside the sensitive and bold scene might be a way to signal to the others that the fictional role is not her real role, but she displays the difference between the student’s role and her fictional role.

5. The Results

To which extent can the Finnish educational system and its values be applied to the values of improvisation theatre? In Finland the flexibility and creativity have been built upon all aspects of society including the educational system and that has led to the success of a small nation. The similarity with the philosophy of improvisation comes to the freedom and flexibility allowed to the students considering the themes and roles within the improvisational frame and proceeding in the communication based on their own pursuit inside the interaction.

The teacher is not aware of where the improvisational scenes lead, but accepts different kinds of ideas and suggestions without a hesitation. The students are also taught to accept each other’s ideas besides their own conceptions by conforming even the questionable topics coming in the course of the improvisation. However, the students set their own limits inside the improvisation, which becomes visible in the moments of pauses during the improvised scene. The students stop the improvisation and step out of their role when they search for a word or they simply stop proceeding the communication like student Ana did when covering her face during the interaction within the fictional talk-show. As well as the

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32 Sahlberg 2007: 166.
Finnish school class the improvisational scenes are testing-free zones, where all the ideas and suggestions are treated with a positive response. However, it doesn’t mean that improvisation within a class is without rules or a space of total anarchy. The standards are very loose and even the goals of learning are genuinely open to the teacher and to the students themselves. The only objective is just to use the language the students have studied and practiced for 2.5 years. Practicing communicational skills, presentation skills and a different kind of language strategies are additional merits that might be practiced and improved during the course. Besides, the students are encouraged to use creativity in addition to their language learning process. Improvisation has its own rules of accepting others’ ideas and continuing the scene and the story in interplay. Working all the time in changing pairs and teams also increases the equity among the students, which is considered to be one of the values of the Finnish educational system. Besides the trust the students have for each other, the trust has to concern the teacher as well. According to Spolin (1963) improvisation has no authority, but the players freely choose their self-discipline by accepting the rules of the game. This helps the individuals to make group-based decisions with enthusiasm and trust. Nonetheless, in the examples the students trust the professionalism of the teacher in solving the word searches and passing the gaps like it happened with Clara doing the word searches with the word ‘training’. It has been proven that in an interaction where the other part is considered a professional or authority, their professionalism is rarely questioned. Therefore, the trust in the teacher can be seen as a positive and empowering feature in the classroom, but on the other hand, it might set its limitations when the student hesitates regarding the continuation of the scene — as it happened with Ana when she improvised in the fictional talk-show about neo-Nazis.

The improvisational flow can be interrupted when the students hesitate with a view to the language or foreign word they search for (a word or the right suffix) or when they feel insecure or confused regarding the

33 Sahlberg 2007: 154
34 Spolin 1963: 6
continuation of the scene. Nonetheless, it’s hard to prove whether the pause indicates a word search or discomfort about the on-going scene. The pauses (changes in footing and word searches) are quite frequent when improvising with a foreign language, but they should be seen as moments that are signaling moments of learning new words instead of mistakes within the improvisational scene.

The improvisation and more extensively drama in school give the learners the possibility to study the phenomena operating in different roles and at the same time create more new ways of using Finnish language and altering situations in interaction. According to Toivanen (2012) using drama method can even improve the results in PISA tests when it comes to thriving in school, which have been unfortunately low end of the scale in the tests. Nonetheless, using improvisation in language teaching does not give fast answers to pedagogy or language teaching, but instead it should be seen as one pragmatic method among others in language learning. As seen, the students might have to struggle with questionable, different and delicate themes and hesitation as well as stopping the scene for searching for a word or a suffix inside the improvisation, but on the other hand, the possible moments of learning and posing questions come visible to the teachers. The potential of the improvisation in different language learning classes is worth testing.

References:

Bergren, Cox, & Detmar 2002. Improvise this!: How to think on your feet so you don't fall on your face. Improvise this! New York: Hyperion.

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kahdeksan-vuotta-ja-puolitoista-miljardia-euroa-nain-koulutus-ja-kasvatus-on-karsinyt/


Traveling in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th–17th Century. Mobility Conditions and Travellers’ Everyday Life

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<th>Abstract</th>
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<td>The article analyses traveling conditions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th–17th century. It is aimed at establishing the reasons for the mobility of the GDL citizens in the period in question which were affected by social and economic changes as well as those related to the development of the urban network in the country. Several types of journeys have been distinguished which is indicative of the intensity of population mobility. The general road condition was far from excellent which affected their usability, particularly in wet spells. Attempts to ensure road maintenance and repairs were not equally distributed and not always timely. This was one of the factors accountable for the pace and comfort of traveling. The research also dwells on the everyday life on the road that both the citizens of the country and its visitors experienced as well as issues related to attacks on travellers and highway robberies.</td>
<td>Articolul de față analizează condițiile de călătorie în Marele Ducat al Lituaniei din secolul al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea. Acesta are ca scop stabilirea motivelor pentru mobilitatea cetățenilor din Marele Ducat în perioada această în vederea care au fost afectate de schimbările sociale și economice intervenite, precum și de dezvoltarea rețelei urbane din țară. Au fost identificate câteva tipuri de călătorii, ceea ce indică intensitatea mobilității populației. Starea generală a drumurilor a fost departe de a fi excelentă, ceea ce a afectat capacitatea de utilizare a acestora, în special în perioadele cu umiditate accentuată. Asigurarea lucrărilor de întreținere și reparații a drumurilor nu a fost realizată într-o manieră unitară iar muncile nu au fost întotdeauna efectuate în timp util. Acesta a fost unul dintre factorii responsabili pentru ritmul și confortul călătoriei. Cercetarea investighează, de asemenea, viața de zi cu zi pe traseele pe care s-au deplasat atât cetățenii țării, cât și vizitorii acesteia, precum și aspectele legate de atacuri asupra călătorilor și șafuri la drumul mare.</td>
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**Keywords**: Grand Duchy of Lithuania, historical geography, traveling, roads, guides, robbers.

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European historiography can boast of a wealth of research on the concept of traveling in the Middle Ages and the early modern period\(^1\). Both – trips to faraway lands and the mobility of local population have been studied. The late 15th c. marked the beginning of Europeans’ trips to unexplored regions in search of new continents and trade routes. Renaissance witnessed the formation of the concept of the “Grand Tour” when well-off and most often rather young people would go on sightseeing or educational trip or a pilgrimage\(^2\). Thus was their way of testing themselves and learning more about the world. In the contexts of the worldview of those times travel accounts were a kind of mental maps which allowed other people or travellers to form a clear view of the lands they had not yet visited\(^3\). Traveller’s memoirs and itineraries offer ample information on traveling in the 16th-17th c.\(^4\). They convey not only the

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traveller’s impressions but also traveling related everyday routines which were subject to the climate and geographic conditions in a particular region. In the 16th-17th c., European countries and cities attracted people from peripheral regions of the continent; however, trips from Western Europe to Eastern Europe were rather rare. For the most part these were business trips, which included envoys of the Pope and foreign monarchs and merchant trips to purchase goods. In such cases the destination usually was capital cities of the region, such as Vilnius or Moscow.

At that time, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) covered a vast territory, therefore travellers would often have to visit or cross it. Nevertheless historiography contains little data on trips to the GDL, their conception, and circumstances. Therefore this information has undergone little adaptation in historical accounts. The reason for this most probably being the fact that very few integrated sources, i.e. travel itineraries or journals, which would facilitate the research of the scope of traveling in the GDL and speak about the travellers themselves, have been preserved. Thus European traveling related historiography sheds little light on traveling realities in the GDL. It seems that a greater variety of sources, for example, court files, might facilitate a more thorough analysis and reconstruction of everyday life on the road. Although relevant data recorded therein are rather episodic, coupled together they may lead to valuable conclusions. This particular approach is used in the article whose object of research is the everyday life on the road in the territory of the GDL in the 16th-17th c.

The research aims at implementing the following objectives: 1) identifying the reasons for people mobility in the GDL in the 16th-17th c. and typologyzing trips; 2) dwelling on the communication – road condition in the GDL as it was accountable for the pace and comfort of traveling; 3) reconstruction of traveller’s everyday life in the GDL; 4) establishing threat

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and risk factors when traveling – was it dangerous for people to travel in the country?

The geographic area of the research matches that of the GDL in the 16th-17th c. This was determined by the sources as travel accounts and other sources bespeak of the country as a whole. There were few traveling related regional peculiarities in the GDL in the 16th-17th c. as communication infrastructure was more or less the same nationwide\(^6\). The only limitation, however, would be the uneven population density accountable for road condition and various facilities (more inns, safer journey)\(^7\). Similar reasons have determined the chronology of the research – the 16th-17th c. – as this was the period that saw the maturity of the country’s communication infrastructure and development of the most important mobility routes.

The viability of the research is suggested by the state of historiography. As it has already been mentioned, European historiography on traveling in the 16th-17th c. is ample, whereas studies that would similarly regard people mobility and traveling in the GDL are few and far between. One of the most comprehensive analyses was written by historian Antoni Mačzak\(^8\). It dwells on traveling in Europe in the early modern period with a more extensive account of mobility in the Kingdom of Poland and beyond, touching upon traveling related topics in the GDL. In his research of the image of Lithuania in French and Italian writings of the 16th-17th c. historian Rustis Kamuntavičius dwelled on the experience and impressions of foreign travellers that were recorded following their visits to the GDL\(^9\). Historians Raimonda Ragauskiene\(^10\) and Deimantas


Karvelis\textsuperscript{11} touched a little upon the topics of the traveller’s everyday life. Whereas historian Seweryn Wysłouch\textsuperscript{12} in his book dwelled on such issues as travel arrangements, road maintenance, duties imposed on transported goods, and provision for travelling officials in the GDL in the 15th-16th c. Tomas Čelkis has also published several similar articles on the topic\textsuperscript{13}. The lack in historiography suggests meager explication of the topic. This might be accountable for the fact that there is little data on traveling in the GDL in the works of scholars working on traveling and mobility related topics.

The analysis of the research subject is based on the primary archival and published sources. Relevant information can be expected in documents of more or less all categories. The author makes a wider use of narrative sources – memoirs of 16th-17th century diplomats containing traveling data and travel accounts – as well as relies on the archives of the GDL Chancellery, the so-called Lithuanian Metrica, as materials pertaining to court matters contained therein is a source of information on people mobility: complaints about attacks on the roads are recorded, traveling related circumstances indicative of reasons and nature of mobility are...


\textsuperscript{11} Deimantas Karvelis, Iš Radvilų istorijos: Biržų kunigaikštystė ir jos visuomenė 1547–1655 m. (Vilnius: Lietuvos edukologijos universiteto leidykla, 2010): 85–111.

\textsuperscript{12} Seweryn Wysłouch, Posugi komunikacyjne w miastach W. Ks. Litewskiego na prawie Magdeburskiem do połowy XVI w. (Wilno: Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy Europy Wschodniej, 1936).

described. Similar data can also be detected in the court books of the administrative units of the GDL. Although the said information is rather formal, taken as a whole it allows certain insights into mobility in the GDL.

Reasons for People Mobility in the GDL in the 16th-17th Century

In the 16th-17th c. people mobility in the GDL increased significantly as compared to previous centuries. This was due to changes in their social life. The country’s administration in the 16th c. was for the most part based on the powers of officials traveling around the country, rather than the practice of the traveling sovereign\textsuperscript{14}. The former were tasked with the administration of local territories on behalf of the sovereign. However, the links between these officials and the sovereign’s court had to be rather tight\textsuperscript{15}. And not only for the good of the proper functioning of the executive power but also because of the aspiration of the noble officials to maintain close relations with the sovereign as the nobility were concerned with their career, expected favors and privileges from the sovereign. The territorial administration of the country and the emergence of the local administration encouraged people to move around the territory for practical reasons. They had to take tribute to the sovereign’s manors or fulfill certain traditional obligations which included maintenance of the sovereign’s castles, shipment of construction materials or transportation of the sovereign’s officials and their luggage from one place to another\textsuperscript{16}. The functioning of courts also encouraged mobility of local population as people would appeal to judges and local officials (administrators) to


execute justice. The codification of the First Statute of Lithuania (1529) resulted in the inclusion of the generally accepted norm that if the court required evidence and reasoning, written documents were considered better and more trustworthy evidence than witness statements. Therefore people tended to conclude property related agreements and conflict resolutions in writing and have them legally approved by a judge or a local official. Written documents acquired legal power. This way closer contacts between local people and officials were established, thus resulting in the need for a more intense mobility. On the other hand, no structural government of the country would have been possible save for such connections. Here the established network of overland roads came in handy as inland waterways were more intended for trade than for public life.

Another important factor that induced mobility in the GDL in the 16th c. was changes in the social life. An increase in the functions that the nobility had developed in the 15th c. was observed. The clergy, whose representatives were in charge of pastoral care in their parishes and participated in the public life, is also attributable to the nobility as most of its representatives were from noble descent. In general, at that time the basis of the nobleman’s status was landownership which in the 16th-17th c. underwent significant expansion as it was accompanied by the processes of peasants’ enslavement which started back in the times of Grand Duke Vytautas. As a reward for military service, the latter would give noblemen

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19 For more information on the network of highways see Tomas Čelkis, ‘vieškelio tinklo struktūra Lietuvos Didžiojojo Kunigaikštystėje XVI–XVII a.’: 33–60.

lands with the peasants that inhabited them which in their own turn became legally “bound” to that land – not free but owned by the landlords. Thus in the 16th c. it became established that one of the centers of public life in a local area was the nobleman’s manor with dependent lands and peasants’ villages.

The 16th c. witnessed an intense process of internal colonization in the GDL – forested lands were cleared and used for peasants to settle. Changes in the historical landscape were for the most part affected by the Volok Reform implemented in 1547 (in order to increase the effectiveness of agriculture 21.4 ha size farms with a strict three-field system for crop rotation were established)\(^{21}\). The Reform had an impact on the country’s urban structure – highlighted the distinction between rural and urban areas\(^{22}\). Changes in the network of settlements resulted in changes in the system of communication with the emergence of private roads around manors\(^{23}\). A new network of cities and towns was established in the GDL in the 16th-17th c.\(^{24}\). The cities, however, were rather agrarian in their nature as alongside “urban” businesses most citizens kept their “rural” businesses. The example of towns in the Duchy of Biržai suggests that townsmen owned land outside the town and would go to work on it\(^{25}\). Thus, to meet the demand for such short-distance trips the network of local roads in the


\(^{23}\) Tomas Čečelis, ‘Vieškelio tinkle struktūra Lietuvos Didžijoje Kunigaikštystėje XVI–XVII a.’: 44.


\(^{25}\) See Deimantas Karvelis, Iš Radvilų giminės istorijos: Biržų kunigaikštystė ir jos visuomenė 1547–1655 m.: 164–180, 403–412.
area was established. The parish was an important axis of public life in the GDL. Not only people would go to churches, clergymen were also quite mobile. At that time there was a shortage of priests in the GDL parishes, therefore quite a few of them had a visiting priest who would serve two or more churches.

Such local trips can be denominated as “minor trips” when only short distances were covered moving around the local area – going from towns (settlements) to mills, marketplaces, courts or churches. Whereas another type of traveling – long trips when long distances were covered and highways were used to travel from one urban centre to another – may as well be called “major trips”. Such were travels that transcended the local spaces or state boundaries. Not only citizens of the GDL but also foreigners would set out on such journeys. They were mercantile in their nature – local and foreign merchants were trading in the towns and cities of the GDL. However, this type of traveling also applies to diplomatic envoys tasked with certain foreign affairs related missions as well as educational trips (grad tur) when well-off noblemen would leave the GDL for foreign universities or cities. There were travellers – the so-called roamers (usually from abroad) who would travel the world without any clear pragmatic or educational purposes, driven by a certain quest of adventure. It seems that the trip itself was their goal and hobby especially when the financial circumstances would allow that.

**The Better the Road the More Comfortable the Journey – the State of Overland Roads in the GDL**

Travel possibilities in the GDL were subject to climate and geographic conditions which had a great impact on the local mobility of the

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28 For example, Samuel Kiechel’s visit to Vilnius: *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel. Aus drei Handschriften*: 99–103.
population as well as the whole of their everyday life. As suggested by travel accounts, in the 16th-17th c. foreigners from Western Europe viewed the GDL as a densely forested marshy land of harsh climate. The research carried out by historian Wolfgang Behringer suggests that back in 1965 Hubert Lamb had established that a certain warming was observed in Europe in the High Middle Ages (around 1000–1300) (source data were compared to the statistics of 1931–1960). At that time the climate that prevailed on the continent was characterized by hot and dry summers and mild winters which on average were 1–2°C warmer and further to the north might as well have been warmer up to 4°C. However, in the late 13th (early 14th) c. the climate all around Europe started to change – it was getting cooler and wetter and in the 14th c., with the beginning of the so-called Little Ice Age which continued up to the 19th c., was becoming even colder. It is believed that the peak of the cold spell was reached in the 17th c.. The said climate changes were characteristic of all Europe. However, foreigners who visited the GDL in the 16th-17th c. noted cooler and damper climate in the country. Another feature that would catch their eye was tenebrous, densely forested, and barely urbanized landscape. What amplified these negative impressions was the obvious economic underdevelopment as compared to Western Europe. For example, in the early 17th c. British traveller Fynes Moryson wrote that Lithuania was extremely marshy and densely forested with settlements up to 20 German miles apart, therefore it was not recommended to travel around the country


in summer, only in winter when everything froze\textsuperscript{32}. In fact, the quality of traveling and mobility in general in the region was subject to the existing system of roads. As it has already been mentioned, changes in the social and urban life in the GDL contributed to the maturity of the communication infrastructure. The network of roads that existed in the 16th-17th c. was well-established and rather dense\textsuperscript{33}. Its smallest links were short-distance roads connecting villages and farmsteads which served the local community but were not particularly comfortable and the bridges across the rivers were poorly constructed and rather unstable. Other roads covered longer distances as they connected settlements with towns and played an important role in the country’s public life. Most of them were used by traveling merchants. These roads were of much better condition as the powiat’s local authorities were in charge of their maintenance. The emergence of major landownership and the network of economic centres, i.e. manors, was accompanied by the construction of long-distance private roads commissioned by noblemen. The principal arteries of land communication were public roads, otherwise known as highways. These were long-distance routes that connected urban, economic, and political centers. Smaller roads would lead to highways. Highway routes were used by the absolute majority of the population and foreign visitors. For example, at times merchants would be purposefully instructed to take certain highway routes so that they would trade and purchase wherever the authorities wanted them to, and this practice was regulated by law\textsuperscript{34}. Today, it would be logical to assume that the distances of traveling routes should be based on the time-distance proportion so that the traveller reached the destination as fast as possible. However, in the period under consideration this logic was not always applied. For example, in the 16th c.

\textsuperscript{32} Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeors Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland, t. 4 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons Publishers to the University, 1908): 68.


the city of Trakai – the old capital of the GDL – was off the important trade route between the two metropolises – the Vilnius-Kaunas highway. Therefore in his privilege to Trakai issued in 1516 the sovereign of the GDL instructed all merchants traveling from Vilnius to Kaunas to make a detour to Trakai and trade there\textsuperscript{35}.

Foreign diplomats and envoys of certain states would take the largest and at times some of the smaller roads. In the 16th c., certain routes even had special names suggesting of their abovementioned function, for example, the “Old Envoy and Foot-messenger Route”\textsuperscript{36}, the “Great Envoy Route”\textsuperscript{37}, etc. In fact, highways were favored by travellers as most of them were controlled and guarded by the sovereign’s officials\textsuperscript{38}. Highways were traditionally regarded as roads that served the sovereign’s needs\textsuperscript{39}. Therefore the sovereign had to ensure that envoys and travellers would safely reach their destinations. Despite the dense network of roads their condition was rather poor, thus slowing the pace of traveling and making trips less comfortable. First of all, this was due to the GDL being a swampy and wet land. Cartographic sources of the 18th c., though for the most part focusing on the better cultivated landscape, evidence that the country was densely forested and rather marshy\textsuperscript{40}. This again is suggested by the sources that make a distinction between seasonal “summer” and “winter”

\begin{footnotes}
\item[37] Ibid, nr. 849: 360: здана дорога гончая великая з Вилни до Новагородка лежала на Каменку, и на Колодези а на имени его милосты на Керанины Мурованы.
\item[38] Tomas Čelkis, „Valdovo keliai” Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teritorinės struktūros sandarotoje XV–XVI amžiuje‘: 247–259.
\item[40] See Giovanni Antonio Rizzi-Zannoni, map of Poland 1772 m., in igrek.amzp.pl/details.php?id=11764710 (last viewed: 14/07/2019); Lietuva žemėlapiuose. Sud. Bieliūnienė A., Kulnytė B., Subotniekienė R. (Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2002): 120 (A 19th century map of the eastern part of the former territory of the GDL, a number of swamps marked on its north-eastern part).
\end{footnotes}
roads, thus adjusting to the relief. Summer roads were more enduring, mostly used in the warm and wet season, however, they were longer as the road had to lead around the impassable wetlands. Winter roads would emerge in the cold season, after the marshes and rivers had frozen. For example, if local people were unable to transport the resources they had accumulated (feeds, wood) during the summer, they would leave them where they were and wait for the winter to take them home. It can be noted that most foreign diplomats would travel in the region in the cold season as traveling then was faster and easier. They claim that in winter the beds of frozen rivers would turn into perfect “motorways” with no uphill or large obstacles and that by taking one you could be sure to always reach the intended destination. For example, in 1516–1517 Sigismund von Herberstein was crossing the GDL in winter to get to Moscow, whereas the envoy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Bernard Tanner travelled to Moscow in February-March of 1678. However, there were cases when travellers would not take the season into consideration, for instance, the visit of German traveller Samuel Kiechel in 1586. In any case, envoy trips were planned with regard to the political situation when certain urgent state-related issues had to be resolved. Similarly, merchants’ trips could also not wait for a more comfortable season.

41 Tomas Čelkis, ‘Vieškelio tinklo struktūra Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVI–XVII a.’: 43.
State officials were tasked with monitoring the condition of the most important roads and highways of the GDL, as this was the decisive factor in the intensity of the country’s public life as well as efficiency of territorial administration and trade. If a road was in a bad state, merchants would refuse to travel along it to visit a town and would rather take a nearby more comfortable road. At times the sovereign would encourage the town community to fix their roads as it was obvious to his administration and the townsmen that such situation was to the prejudice of their trade-related interests. The central authorities also made efforts to ensure proper road and bridge maintenance. Usually repair works on local roads were carried out on the initiative of local officials. There is evidence that in the 16th-17th c. the GDL voivodeships employed bridgemen. Their function was to fix bridges and to rally people for such tasks. However, it is obvious that they were unable to take care of all the bridges, they focused their attention on the most important ones. Wooden bridges across rivers (which were in an overwhelming majority across the country) were most likely to suffer in spring when the floating ice would severely damage or even destroy them. This caused inconveniences not only to travellers but also to the locals. For instance, in 1529 parishioners complained to the priest that their way to Dubičiai (outside Varėna) church had been extremely dangerous and professedly several had even drowned while crossing the river.

In spring, swollen rivers would often flood passages. For example, in the 16th c. envoy Sigismund von Herberstein indicated that while

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47 In 1647 the sovereign of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Władysław IV Vasa ordered the citizens of Simnas to cut some trees in his forest and make pavements around the town as the town was located in a hollow where roads after the rain were impassable. Lietu vos magdeburginių miestų privilegijos ir aktai, t. 8. Lazdijai. Sim nas. Sud. Drungilas J. (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2013), nr. 48: 179–180

48 A few examples: bridgeman Mr. Jan Mayczak is mentioned in the instruction of the Brest sejm of 1670, see Акты, издаваемые Виленской археографической комиссией, т. 4. Акты Брестского гродского суда (Вильна, 1870), № 249: 84; bridgeman from Polotsk Jonas Boleslovaitis Svyriškis is mentioned in a court file of 1566, in: Lietu vos Metrika (1565–1566). 50-oji Teismų bylų knyga. Parengė Steponavičienė L., Valikonytė I. (Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2014), nr. 70: 171–172.

Traveling from Vilnius to Moscow they had to take an uncomfortable and difficult road through melting snow and ice, among pools and lakes and near Opokai, in order to continue their journey, they even had to build a bridge across some pools and a river (colonorum nimirum multitutudine praemissa, qui quaelibet impedimenta arboresque incidendo submovere, paludes ac fluvios pontibus sternere coguntur). There were no possibilities to fix all the bridges in time and at times the works would not start due to unresolved financial issues as no one wished to pay for the repairs. Such disputes would at times even end up in court. For example, in 1547 the sovereign’s subjects from Sudervė volost (outside Vilnius) complained to the vicegerent in Vilnius that the noblemen residing in the area refused to help them with the maintenance of a bridge (exact location not indicated) as it was time to clean the silt, fix the bridge, and provide materials. An attempt was made to lay the noblemen under the obligation to take a hand in the bridge maintenance works as they were also using it. In other cases, when there were no bridges, rivers were crossed at fords or passings where floats were used to get to the other bank of the river.

Passage through marshes was even more difficult. Here medgrindos – laid out reinforced logs wide enough for two carriages to pass – proved very helpful. Such structure would stretch for dozens of kilometers. The evidence can be found in the account of the Emperor’s diplomat Francesco Da Collo’s trip to Moscow in June of 1518 where he stated that having passed Brest they found themselves in the vast moorland which they

crossed going along the “wooden road” for the rest of the day. In other cases, in less marshy locations wet places were passed using less expensive techniques, i.e. by laying down bunches of tree branches, the so-called kamšos. In particularly livery places embankments with log flooring in the width of two horse-driven carriages and stretching for up to 200 meters were erected. Structures that facilitated communication were expensive, therefore they would mostly be built on central roads and highways where the traffic was heaviest. They would catch the travellers’ eye not only because of their architecture but also because of the duties that were often collected in order to pass.

**Everyday Life on the GDL Roads**

It has already been mentioned that 16th-17th c. trips in the GDL can be classified as “major trips” and “minor trips”, based on their distances, destinations, composition of traveling groups, and other distinctions. However, when an attempt is made to understand the practical side of a trip and its everyday routine, it is necessary to speak about these trips in general, as if synthesizing the available data, as everyone who travelled at that time would sooner or later face most of the peculiarities of such journeys. Such approach to the reconstruction helps avoid distorting the general image of the research, moreover, makes it more thorough, discloses

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54 See Rustis Kamuntavičius, ‘XVI a. pirmosios pusės imperatoriaus pasiuntinys Frančeskas Da Kolas, Lietuva ir tarpininkavimo misija Maskvoje’: 264.

55 The document dating back to the 1540s issued to the noblemen of Skarulai of Kaunas powiat to confirm their dominion and define its boundaries, makes a reference to a swampy section on the road which is called kamša: привели насъ тою дорогою на мостак, Комъшею зовуть, от тое Комъшы привели нас на дорогу Соленицкую. See Lietuvos Metrika (1540–1543). 12-oji Teismų bylų knyga, nr. 177, p. 158; Laimontas Karalius, ‘Tiltai, pervažiuojamieji perkolai, kamšos, pagrando, mediniai grindiniai, pylimai Lietuvos Didžiosios kunigaikštystės sausumos keliuose XVI amžiuje’: 16–17.

56 Latvijas Valsts vēstures archīvs, Rīga, F. 7404, Apr. 1, l. 2193, p. 27. See also Tomas Čelkis, ‘Stan drog lądowych i struktura systemu połączeń w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w końcu XV–XVII wieku’: 39–61.

preparations made before traveling, the proceedings, and various obstacles that travellers would face.

Local people who would take short-distance (“minor”) trips left no accounts of the same as it was a part of their everyday life that no one would give much prominence. Whereas foreign envoys and merchants who travelled across the GDL would record their experience and part of their texts have been published. Such accounts were popular in Western Europe as they helped learn more about little explored lands and travellers’ experiences. Meanwhile, detailed travel descriptions prepared by diplomats served as a kind of methodological means in the diplomatic work of their successors. Thus one learned about geography, traditions, and possible dangers in remote countries.

Diplomats who would go on long-distance cross-border trips were usually people of higher social status, mostly noblemen. In their everyday life they were also more mobile as periodically visited their manors scattered across the GDL. Based on R. Ragauskienė’s calculations, at that time, if needed, some noblemen would cover up to 600 or even 1000 km. Whereas common people of the GDL, such as peasants, lead rather sedentary lives and would only move in their local area. Although there were exceptional cases when they were required to fulfill the duty and offer a lift to the sovereign or a lord (carry tributes, goods), thus visiting more remote towns and castles situated as far as 120 km. Townsmen

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59 See Rustis Kamuntavičius, *Lietuvos įvaizdžio stereotipai italų ir prancūzų XVI–XVII a. literatūroje*: 33. There is a manuscript booklet stored at the Manuscript Department of Vilnius University Library (written in 1615–1620), listing various roads across Europe, including those leading to the GDL, for example: Warsaw – Vilnius, Riga – Vilnius, and indicating distances in miles. See *Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Rankraščių skryius*, F. 3–2429, l. 286–311.
60 Raimonda Ragauskienė, ‘„Dingę istorijoje“: XVI a. LDK privačių archyvų dokumentų dinamika’: 104.
(tradesmen) were much more mobile as they would take long-distance journeys covering 150–600 km.\(^{62}\)

The size of the escort was subject to the purpose of the trip and the status of the traveller – the higher his status, the larger his escort. Diplomats would be escorted by security guards and servants. Security guards would also escort noblemen’s carriages. Merchants made attempts to form larger groups.\(^{65}\) An additional security option when traveling abroad was to request a guarantee letter – the safe-conduct document (Freies Geleit) – from the sovereign of the country you were about to visit, thus ensuring security in the lands under his rule.\(^{66}\) These documents could be secured at the highest level – monarchs (their chancelleries) would address each other to request one. An eloquent example could be the safe-conduct document issued in 1560 in the environment of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I in favor of diplomat Valentin Saurman who went to the GDL and lived there for a while. It includes a request: *we strictly instruct our subjects and those of the Holy Roman Empire and benevolently urge and kindly request all others not only to let the aforementioned envoy together with his escort and servants, horses, carriages, and all their items to freely, safely, and without any hindrance go, pass or stay at any place or location, but also to assist him and mediate in the provision of security guards, guides, horses, carriages, and...*

\(^{62}\) Raimonda Raguaskienė, ‘„Dingę istorijoje”: XVI a. LDK privačių archyvų dokumentų dinamika’: 94.

\(^{63}\) In some cases, for example in the Grand Envoy of Lew Sapieha of 1600–1601 the escort consisted of nearly a thousand men, see Elijas Pilgrimovijus, Didžioji Leono Sapiegos papiuntinybė į Maskvą, 1600–1601 m. Parenė Kiaupienė J. (Vilnius: Žara, 2002): 5–14.

\(^{64}\) Raimonda Raguaskienė, ‘„Dingę istorijoje”: XVI a. LDK privačių archyvų dokumentų dinamika’: 99.


\(^{66}\) The permit issued in 1469 by the King of England and Ireland Edward to Aleksandras Soltanas from the GDL to freely travel around the country, see Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Rankraščių skyrius, F5-A25-4489. 1496 m. (?); the safe-conduct document issued by the sovereign of the GDL to the envoy of Moscow with the description of the route across the GDL: Žródła dziejowe, t. 10, Sprawy Wołoskie za Jagiellonów. Wyd. Jabłonowski A. (Warszawa, 1878), Nr. 10: 65. In the 1580s GDL nobleman Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (the Orphan) when making preparations for his trip to Jerusalem also had a safe-conduct document. See Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, F. 354 (Archiwum Radziwiłłów), D. 11–97, l. 1.
all other items necessary to accelerate the journey for which he will pay the required and proper price67. This reveals a lot about the preparation for the trip. Protective letters were issued not only to diplomats, but also to merchants trading on a larger scale. In 1528, merchant from Constantinople Gaslan Karamant indicated at the Brest castle court that he had a guarantee letter signed by the King of Poland allowing him to safely transport goods across the GDL to Vilnius68.

There is a reference to guides in the above-cited Emperor’s letter. These people were much needed and very helpful. They knew the correct and safe route and places where travellers could stop overnight, replenish their supplies, and feed the horses. There was a great risk of getting lost if one did not know the way. Therefore diplomats would accurately describe the routes they followed so that other envoys traveling later might use them69. According to R. Kamuntavičius, at the end of the 17th c. texts describing traveling peculiarities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and even indicating distances between cities were published around Europe70. This material was very handy to merchants who were constantly on the move. In the 17th c. the city of Riga – a major commercial port on the Baltic Sea – was concerned with speeding up merchants’ journeys, therefore special signs – several meters high wooden poles indicating distances and directions – were erected alongside the major roads71. They would feature Riga’s coat of arms and indicate the distance left to the city.

68 Akty, izдаваемые Виленскою археографическою комиссиею, т. 5: Акты Брестского и Гродненского гродских судов, с присовокуплением привилегий на землевладение в Брестской и Кобринской экономиях (Вильна,1871), № 424: 12.  
71 Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs, Rīga, F. 2909, Apr. 1, l. 91, p. 2. See also Tomas Čelkis, ‘Stan drog lądowych i struktura systemu połączeń w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w końcu XV–XVII wieku’: 51.
However, in order to avoid getting disorientated in the network of roads, one needed a guide. Unfortunately, they were rarely mentioned in travellers’ itineraries, most probably due to the fact that few resolved to travel unexplored roads without a guide. The letter written in 1561 by the GDL envoys in Moscow to the King of the GDL Sigismund Augustus once again suggests that traveling without guides was complicated. It was stated in the letter that following unsuccessful negotiations the envoys were urged to leave the territory of the state of Moscow in twelve days. Although the envoys of the GDL asked the Muscovites to assign a guide, their request was disregarded. The time allocated to cross the border of the GDL was insufficient, therefore the crazy haste resulted in the horses falling exhausted along the way, as the envoys risked their lives if they failed to leave the country on time.

It was not only the guides that were part of the escorts of some important people. Cooks are at times mentioned among other servants. The secretary of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Petras Veževičius in his travel account written in 1635 makes numerous references to meal times as well as what and where he ate each day. In 1678 the envoy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to Moscow B. Tanner also had a cook. They were not only tasked with cooking but before setting out had to make an estimate of how much supplies they would need as in the sparsely populated GDL, especially its eastern regions, there were no possibilities to regularly replenish supplies. Therefore travellers had to carry larger amounts of provisions. Foreign envoys who travelled across the GDL in the second half of the 15th c. would note that the country was densely forested with few settlements. Alongside the roads they would spot camps with bonfires and firewood left by those who travelled before them. There were

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72 Valentino Saurmano laiškai imperatoriui Ferdinandui I iš Žygimanto Augusto Vilniaus dvaro (1561–1562 m.): 43.
73 Археографический сборник документов относящихся к истории Северо-западной Руси, т. 4 (Вильна, 1867), № 51: 92–100.
75 See Rustis Kamuntavičius, Lietuvos įvaizdžio stereotipai italų ir prancūzų XVI–XVII a. literatūroje: 34, 36.
tramps on the roads, so guards were keeping watch when camping overnight. The sources offer no information on how and what the horses were fed during the trips, though an assumption can be made that travellers would carry hay and oats purchased in villages and inns along the way.

In his itinerary Sigismund von Herberstein, who in 1516–1517 crossed the GDL to get to Moscow, would more often than not indicate distances in miles between towns and settlements\textsuperscript{77}. For example, eight miles across a forest separated Narew (Podlachia) from Krynki, where the officials of the GDL sovereign were awaiting him to accompany to Vilnius. This envoy described the GDL as densely forested. It was also indicated that on his way from Vilnius to Polotsk he passed numerous lakes, swamps, and vast forests stretching for fifty German miles\textsuperscript{78}. Nevertheless, the traveller noted that, judging by the vegetation, the soil in this part of the country should be quite fertile. The road from Vilnius to Moscow was uncomfortable and difficult, covered in melting snow and ice and leading across pools and lakes\textsuperscript{79}. Not only the trip was tiresome but the travellers had difficulties finding proper shelter to spend the nights. German traveller Samuel Kiechel visited the GDL in 1586\textsuperscript{80}. On his way from Konigsberg he came to Grodno and then continued to Vilnius. He wrote that when the city was about three hours away they entered a dense and tenebrous forest, the road suddenly started winding uphill and from above the travellers could see a long valley punctuated by numerous towns and villages, around thirty of which were inhabited by Tartars. He spent eleven days in Vilnius and made friends with a merchant who was on his way to Riga. The merchant had hired two Tartars for four guilders to carry his goods. The traveller, however, pointed out, that the Tartars did not inspire much confidence neither in him nor in the merchant. Therefore, for confidence

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid: 451.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid: 452.
reasons they were asked for a guaranty – an oath, which, it was claimed, was a common practice in such cases.

In the 17th c. the GDL was still viewed as a country offering little convenience to travellers. In 1636, apostolic nuncio Mario Filonardi described the trip from Vilnius to Warsaw as difficult and noted that the road winded through forests of high pines with few villages along the way. An almost identical account is offered by Philippe Avril who in 1687–1689 transited to Moscow, whereas in 1688, French serviceman François Paulin Dalairac made a remark about the harsh climate in the region (c’est un climat trop rude). The abovementioned envoy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth B. Tanner had a very difficult journey to Moscow in February-March of 1678. It was constantly raining along the way and with the melting snow it was so damp that the travellers had difficulties making fire. At times the road was impassable and horses would stick in the mud. It is no wonder that these travellers were trying to keep warm by consuming alcohol – beer and vodka with honey – when spending the nights at inns owned by local Jews. It is no secret that to set out on a trip like that one required a great deal of stamina and good health. Even more so as there were few possibilities to have a rest and spend the night at an inn as they were few and far between even at the central highways. According to R. Kamuntavičius, inns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were rather poor, not at all times serving food, therefore travellers tried to take as much provisions as they could. To ensure better

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comfort, even beds were at times carried when traveling. In his account *Apie kelionę per Lietuvą* (About the Trip across Lithuania) issued in 1560 the GDL intellectual and priest Petras Roizijus (Pedro Ruiz de Moros) mockingly noted that spending the night at an inn was not much different from spending the night in a cattle-shed\(^86\). Moreover, alcohol consumption at inns would at times lead to fights and thefts\(^87\). The journal of P. Veževičius’ envoy to Moscow of 1635 dwells not only on the lodging conditions in wayside inns but also on the possibilities to change horses\(^88\). Tending for horses and giving them the possibility to rest was very important as this was one of the conditions of a successful journey. This is well revealed in merchant Martin Gruneweg’s,\(^89\) who in 1584–1585 travelled from Poland to Moscow via Kiev, account of the trip as he would time and time again emphasize the horses’ rest and describe their pastures.

Little is known about horse-drawn carts and sledges which were used as a means of transport. The sources offer little information on their construction, though most probably wooden four-wheel carts were used\(^90\). According to R. Ragauskienė, various carts were usually locally produced, though noblemen would at times purchase carriages made by foreign craftsmen\(^91\). Some of the carriages were robust in construction, iron-

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\(^89\) See Мартин Груневег (отец Венцелеслав): духовник Маринны Мнишек. Записки о торговой поездке в Москву в 1584–1585 гг.: 151–246.


\(^91\) Raimonda Ragauskienė, ‘„Dingę istorijoje“: XVI a. LDK privačių archyvų dokumentų dinamika’: 95.
trimmed, fully or partially covered\textsuperscript{92}. Based on the analogy with Poland, it is obvious that in 16th-17th c. journeys the most popular means of transport were four-wheel fully covered carts and carriages pulled by several pairs of horses\textsuperscript{93}. Drawings produced by the Emperor’s envoy Augustin Freiherr von Meyerberg, who in 1661–1662 travelled across the GDL to Moscow, depict towns and villages as well as one-horse four-wheel peasants’ carts and fully covered carriages pulled by a team of horses and accompanied by groups of horsemen on the roads\textsuperscript{94}. In winter horse-drawn sledges were used\textsuperscript{95}. Horses were driven by the driver sitting in the sledge, though there were cases when the driver would sit on horseback. Vehicle breakdowns and wheel breakages were considered a great misfortune when traveling\textsuperscript{96}. This would require repair works or would even lead to purchasing new carriages.

In general, it can be stated that traveling in the GDL was far from easy. Road condition was rather poor and travellers were not always lucky to find a place to spend the night. Those who set out on a trip had to be particularly patient and ready for the unexpected.

\textbf{What Could Not be Foreseen – Dangers and Adventures on the Roads of the GDL}

The experience of West European travellers suggests that it was not only the objective difficulties, such as hardly passable road sections, that awaited them on the roads – robber attacks were a common feature of traveling in the 16th-17th c.\textsuperscript{97}. That was the time when the phenomenon of


\textsuperscript{95} Герберштейн и его „Записки о Московии“. Ред. Ругел Ю. (Санкт-Петербург: Алетейя, 2010): 162.

\textsuperscript{96} See Raimonda Ragauskienė, ‘„Dingę istorijoje“: XVI a. LDK privilegijų archyvu dokumentų dinamika’: 100.

\textsuperscript{97} For more information on the topic in historiography see Michael Billett, \textit{Highwaymen and outlaws} (London: Arms and Armour, 1997): 152; Erin Mackie, \textit{Rakes, Highwaymen, and Pirates}. 
the so-called highwaymen came into existence. Most probably this can be coupled with the increasing mobility of better-off people (merchants, landlords, etc.) as the early modern period in Europe is associated with economic growth and increasing standard of living\(^98\). The GDL also underwent similar changes, though less intensive. Unfortunately, no consistent investigation into the criminogenic situation and the phenomenon of highway robberies in the GDL at that time is available. This would really facilitate the analysis of risks that travellers faced on the road. However, the available sources (court cases) suggest that there were certain dangers. Even more so as the country, especially its eastern territories, was sparsely populated and nature in those days was considered a source of mysteries and danger\(^99\). Therefore, travellers had to brace themselves for the unexpected.

The legislation of the GDL – the First Statute of Lithuania (1529) – defined the assault and robbery committed against a traveller as a specific crime as the most important roads and highways were a place of public life\(^100\). For example, in 1540 Senka Pavlovičius brought an action against Ofanasas Ivaškevičius in the land court of Grodno. The former claimed that at night he heard that the accused Ofanasas was driving across his ray field beside his homestead (in Labenskiai village). His attempt to reduce the trespasser to discipline resulted in a fight. Senka himself took a hit or two but when his wife and neighbors raced to rescue him, Ofanasas ran away leaving his horse and cart. Ofanasas, however, testified in front of the court that he got lost at night and accidentally drove off the highway into the fields, but was desperately looking for his way back to the highway. That was when he was attacked and even robbed by Senka. The judge, having

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\(^100\) Pirmasis Lietuvos Statutas. Tekstas senaja baltarusių, lotynų ir senaja lenkų kalbomis: 204–206 (7 skyrius, 16 straipsnis), 206 (7 skyrius, 18 straipsnis), 208 (7 skyrius, p, 21).
heard the statements, observed that the incident occurred on private land rather than on a highway (public space). Thus the landlord could manage his possessions as he wished and the claim had to be heard as a dispute with regard to damaged property, rather than a highway robbery (which would have been prejudice to public interest)\textsuperscript{101}.

No information about attacks on diplomats and foreign merchants traveling along the GDL roads and highways when on their “major trips” can be detected in the sources. Most probably due to the fact that they would travel in groups, accompanied by security guards, and carrying the sovereign’s guarantee letters. In his memoirs nobleman Teodoras Jevlašauskis claims that when in 1586 he was traveling from Vilnius to Kaunas and spending a night at a wayside inn he was attacked by robbers. Fortunately, a group of merchants soon arrived at the inn and scared the robbers away\textsuperscript{102}. The ample materials related to the 16th-17th c. court matters suggest that there was almost no serious organized robbery on the roads of the GDL as preventive measures were implemented against such criminal activities. Sources dating back to the 15th c. indicate that there was a special obligation in place for the noblemen to ensure security on the most important roads\textsuperscript{103}. Whereas an inscription in the Brest castle book of 1693 suggests that following merchants’ complaints with regard to highway robbery, captains of horses (Rittmeister) were appointed to guard the roads and catch offenders\textsuperscript{104}.

\textsuperscript{101} Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическою комиссию, т. 17, Акты Гродненского земского суда (Вильна, 1890), № 568: 210.

\textsuperscript{102} Teodoras Jevlašauskis, Atsiminimai: 52.

\textsuperscript{103} In 1449 the sovereign of the GDL Sigismund Jagiellon laid the noblemen of Vilkaviškis under the obligation to guard the roads as it was done in Vytautas’ times, the squad consisted of ten people; see Литовская Метрика. Книга третья записи, Русская историческая библиотека, т. 27 (С. Петербург, 1910), № 26: 104. The ruling of the sovereign of 1499 also makes a reference to road guarding, stating that the road was guarded for weeks and once supplies were provided for traveling officials. See Акты Литовско-Русского государства (1390–1529), вып. 1. Изданные Довнар-Запольским М. (Москва, 1899), № 69: 93–94; Литовская Метрика. Книга вторая судныхъ дель 1506–1523, Русская историческая библиотека, т. 20 (С. Петербург, 1903), № 109: 144.

\textsuperscript{104} Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическою комиссию, т. 4. Акты Брестскоагродского суда, № 302: 208: panów rotmistrzów, obywatelów województwa tego po traktach naznaczamy: w trakcia Kamienieckim – wielmożnego imi pana Ludwika Pocieia – podkomorzego.
Sources provide little information on dangers that travellers faced when on their “major trips”, but there are ample data on attacks and robberies during short-distance trips. This might be due to the fact that the latter trips were made almost exclusively by the locals who would travel alone or in very small groups. Therefore they had fewer chances to hold the field against a larger group of better-prepared attackers. At times these assaults were pre-planned as one had to know who, when, and where was carrying valuable goods. For instance, the court case of 1566 suggests that at the land court of Slanim two ladies – Nastasija Meleškova and Nastasija Vasiljevna Tškoviča together with Andriejus Jackovičius (driver) lodged a complaint against gentlemen Abramovas Danilevičius Meleška, Stanislovas Raguvskas and their accomplices\textsuperscript{105}. The claimants testified that at dusk they were traveling in Slanim powiat from Devetkovičiai to Buserai carrying two chests of money and valuables (gold pieces, pearls, luxury clothes) and were attacked on the highway by the aforementioned individuals. They were beaten up, injured, and robbed of the cart, horse, and all the valuables. It was obvious that information about the victims had been collected, they had been followed. Undoubtedly, negligence of the noblemen was also to blame as it was irresponsible to travel a remote road at dusk carrying valuable things. Another example is the complaint of Duke Petras Timotiejavičius Puzina of 1559 stating that when traveling from Bistryčia (outside Astravas) to Vilnius at midnight he and his servants were attacked by Duke Lukas Bolka and his numerous accomplices who beat them up and chased when they tried to run\textsuperscript{106}. Information derived from court files suggests that most often such attacks were carried out by noblemen with their accomplices making use of subordinate peasants. In a more general contexts, however, major robberies were rare.

\textsuperscript{105} Akty, izdavаемые Виленскою археографическою комиссию, т. 22. Акты Слонимского земского суда (Вильна, 1895), № 302, c. 297–298.

Not all the offences had been pre-planned, there were cases of spontaneous conflicts between travellers who would accidentally meet on the road. Despite being strangers, they would almost always start a conversation\textsuperscript{107}. These conversations would oftentimes escalate to quarrels and then fights which resulted in the losers being robbed of their valuable possessions. Usually people under the influence of alcohol would get involved into such conflicts. Most of them would be on their way home from towns and cities, mills and markets and having paid a visit to the local inn. The fact that most such incidents would happen at weekends and in broad daylight suggests of the same. Material derived from court matters also allows the assumption that people at that time were rather hot-tempered, did not avoid conflicts and displaying arrogance or superiority – this is especially true when speaking about the nobility. For instance, a case of 1556 in the land court of Grodno where foresters of Navahrudak powiat gentlemen Sebastojanas Dybovskis and Motiejus Želegovskis claimed that on the highway leading from Grodno to Naujadvaris on the Nemunas they were attacked by the sovereign’s Tartar from Grodno powiat Milkomanas Miskovičius and his accomplices who injured not only them but also their

\textsuperscript{107} An extract from the book of Brest castle court of 1621: official of Brest voivodeship Mr. Kristupas Briūkas Slavinskis filed a complaint against Zemanas Orlė Abramovičius and other Jews from Šerševas stating that on St. John’s Day he was traveling in a cart along the Prūžanai – Šerševas highway being heavily drunk. Not far from the church of Starovol he met the Jews and asked where they were going. Whereas the Jews, seeing that he was under the influence and quite wealthy, without saying a word came up to his cart, started beating him with poles and took away his sword worth seven auksinas. See Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическою комиссиєю, т. 5. Акты Брестского и Гродненского гродских судов, с присовокуплением привилегий на землевладение в Брестской и Кобринской экономиях: № 426, 16–17. In 1540 the land court of Grodno was hearing a case where the subject of the sovereign Mykolas Jankavičius filed a complaint against another subject of the sovereign Jonas Kukulavičius stating that the latter came up to him travelling along the road at night, stopped him, climed into his cart, started searching his pockets until he found a sack of 40 groschen. The defendant took the sack and started punching and pushing the claimant about. The claimant started shouting and the people who were nearby came to his rescue. The defendant, however, tried to defend himself by lieing that he did nothing like that and was himself attacked and beaten up by the claimant. See Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическою комиссиєю, т. 17. Акты Гродненского земского суда: № 491: 181.
white horse\textsuperscript{108}. Tartar Milkomanas, however, testified that he was waiting for his people at the roadside near the bridge as he noticed the two claimants coming towards him. As he was standing there mister Želegovskis urged his horse directly at him and when he asked why he was doing that he urged the horse even harder. That was why the Tartar unsheathed his sword to protect himself and his wife. Such spontaneous and unpredictable behavior was part of everyday life on the road.

Violence and attacks were rather common during “minor trips”. Travellers could be beaten up or even murdered. At times the assaults were associated with revenge and travellers were attacked but not robbed\textsuperscript{109}. The timing when the target was on the road was chosen purposely as the victim was far from home and could not quickly find help, so the offenders would hit and run. Travellers would usually be robbed of horses, carts, money, valuable items, and clothes\textsuperscript{110}. For example, in 1542 Jonas Vaitkevičius testified in court that his daughter and her carriage driver were traveling along the road and near Karklėnai village were attacked by Griška Mikolajevičius’ people who beat them up and took their horse and cart\textsuperscript{111}.

\textsuperscript{108} Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическoю комиссию, т. 21, Акты Гродненского земского суда (Вильна, 1894), № 291: 180–181.
\textsuperscript{109} A complaint to the elder of Drahyčin of 1532 stating that citizens of Drahyčin Feliksas and Mikaloujos Prigotskis suffered Baltramiejus Poniaivoskius’ wrongdoings. As it can be seen, the latter had trespassed the boundaries of their lands, thus igniting a conflict. Moreover, the conflict escalated to such extent that Baltramiejus Poniaivoskius, most probably in a fit of range and seeking revenge, attacked the third brother of the former two Stanislovas when he was traveling along a highway and beat him to death. See Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 17 (1533–1536). Užrašymų knyga 17. Parenė Karalius L., Antanavičius D. (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2015), nr. 172: 195.
\textsuperscript{110} The report of the investigator at the court hearing of the Brest castle court in 1625. An incident in the dominion of Mr. Jonas Verešiakas in the village of Podolė where on the highway outside the village of Stryjai his subjects were attacked by the King’s peasants from Kobryń and beaten up following a fight. The fight was a severe one as there were not only injuries inflicted but wisps of hair torn out and women were beaten up. Various items and pieces of clothing were taken away, including overcoats and expensive caps that cost 6 groschen each, and one aukšinas. See Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическoю комиссию, т. 6. I. Акты Брестского гродского суда (поточные); II. Акты Брестского подкоморского суда; III. Акты Брестской магдебургии; IV. Акты Кобринской магдебургии; V. Акты Каменецкой магдебургии (Вильна, 1872), № 78: 113–115.
Another example indicates that in 1575 people of the canon of Vilnius carrying animal pelts were ambushed by a company from Olizaravas manor, beaten up and robbed of their carts with the goods and money\textsuperscript{112}. Documents of the castle court or the land court which dealt with criminal cases always described the loss suffered and detailed the lost items. A curious robbery testimony can be found among court documents of 1541\textsuperscript{113}. Noblemen of Vitebsk voivodeship claimed that they were carrying tribute to the sovereign – eight and a half barrels of flour. On the highway in the vicinity of Rūdninkai (outside Vilnius) drunk officials of the sovereigns’ forests Petras and Martynas left an inn and together with their accomplices attacked them, beat them up, took three horses and carts and even took off one nobleman’s boots. The defendants, however, in response presented a different side of the story. They claimed that the noblemen of the Voivode of Vitebsk stopped at a ditch beside the road and made a fire thus waking a bear that was sleeping in the ditch. One can presume that the beast got out and attacked them so they ran away leaving the carts behind. All the accused admitted that they could not resist the temptation to rob the unattended carts but swore to God that this was their only wrongdoing. Thus the bear not only became one of the “eyewitnesses” but also a kind of a scapegoat for all the harm suffered. Foreign travellers would note that in the densely forested GDL there were lots of wild beasts that travellers should beware.

Traveling in the territory of the GDL was not dangerous. There were no organized gangs of robbers that would rampage in the country. Although there is evidence of isolated cases when merchants would complain about the threat of being robbed, most attacks on the roads become evident from court files when dealing with the locals’ complaints with regard to injuries suffered when traveling. These offences, however, were rather spontaneous in their nature, instigated by accidental conversations, quarrels, and conflicts among fellow travellers.

\textsuperscript{112} Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, Rankraščių skyrius F43-17268, l. 1.
Conclusions

1. Public mobility in the 16th-17th c. GDL was rather intense. Territorial government and local administration encouraged people to move around the area due to practical needs. Another factor that stimulated mobility was the functionality of local courts. The said period witnessed the emergence of the network of land roads that connected settlements with noblemen’s manors (economic centers) as well as newly established towns and cities. Roads connecting urban centers with their surroundings were established. The axis of public life in the GDL was the church visited by all the inhabitants of an area.

2. The local movement of people inhabiting a certain area and covering short distances to travel from settlements (towns) to mills, markets, courts or churches can be denominated as “minor trips”. Journeys of a different kind – “major trips” – would include traveling long-distances along highways, crossing not only the local areas but, if needed, even state borders. Not only citizens of the GDL but also foreign merchants and diplomats would set out on such journeys. Educational trips when well-to-do noblemen would leave the GDL to go to foreign universities and cities can also be attributed to this type of journeys.

3. The quality of traveling in the GDL in the 16th-17th c., was subject to the climate and geographic conditions. Visitors from Western Europe viewed the GDL as a gaunt, densely forested, marshy, and little urbanized country. The locals, however, left no similar comments. Traveling conditions were subject to the state of the road network which in the period in question was well-established and quite dense. It consisted of four types of roads. The smallest local roads connected villages and served the needs of the local communities. Longer-distance roads connected settlements and towns, were part of the public life and thus better maintained. With the formation of the network of manors, noblemen would build private roads. The most important roads were the large highways.
that connected distant urban centers and that had other roads leading towards them.

4. Road condition in the GDL was rather poor and caused travellers certain inconveniences. Wet weather made traveling difficult, there even existed seasonal “summer” and “winter” roads. The latter would emerge when the swamps froze, thus allowing travellers to shorten distances by taking a more direct route along a swamp or another water body. The central government was concerned with the state of the roads and was engaged in their maintenance and repairs. Reinforced structures of logs were laid down and embankments were erected in impassable boggy sections. In spring, the floating ice would damage most and destroy some of the bridges. Repair works were slow, so travellers faced lots of inconveniences and at times even had to build their own bridges.

5. Better-off and higher-ranked people would travel with large escorts: security guards and service staff (servants, cooks, etc.). Oftentimes additional security when traveling abroad would be the guarantee letter issued by the sovereign of the destination country which served as legal protection. Guides who knew accurate and safe routes, safe places to spend the night, and wayside inns as well as settlements where travellers could replenish their supplies and feed the horses were very important.

6. In the eyes of foreign visitors the 16th-17th c. GDL was a traveller-unfriendly country – densely forested, with few settlements, and harsh climate. Local people would not note these factors as shortcomings. However, they would also indicate that in spring part of the roads were impassable. Foreigners would complain about poor quality of inns as they were few along the highways and rather poor and cold. At times they would serve no food, only spirits. Alcohol consumption would often result in fights and thefts, therefore such inns were not a very safe place.

7. It was not particularly dangerous to travel in the GDL. There is no evidence in the sources about attacks on diplomats and merchants who crossed the GDL during their “major trips”. The most
important highways were guarded. However, there are data about attacks and robberies of the locals during their “minor trips”. Most probably this was due to the fact that they were traveling alone or in small groups, thus being an easy target. At times highway robberies were pre-planned as one had to know when, who, and where would be carrying valuable goods. There is evidence of spontaneous conflicts that would arise following an accidental encounter of travellers. In most cases such conflicts involved people under influence on their way home from inns.

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Dissent and Conformism: Individual Posture and Search for Universal Criteria – Possibilities of Choice

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Abstract
The aim of the report is to introduce the author’s point of view concerning the dilemma between dissent and conformism based on Lithuanian investigations and archival documents. The prevailing chronological frames are defined by the fifth decade of the twentieth century up to second decade of the twenty-first century. The report seeks to answer the following questions:

1) is it possible to define universal criteria for dissent and conformism investigation? Is it possible to draw a clear line between such converging meanings as resistance and dissent, dissent and conformism, conformity and obedience, conformity and surrender, conformity and betrayal, conformity and self-sacrifice? Do such dividing lines exist at all?

2) what kind of category dissent and conformism are – legal or moral? In case their nature is legal – then first of all we should talk about (dis)obedience to certain legislative norms and qualify certain activities or stand in the light of law. In case their nature is moral – then we have the case of individual or collective choice in between human values.

Though in Lithuania like in a number of other occupied countries dissent and conformism are directly related both: to individual freedom as well to nation and state independence aspirations, the nature of these phenomena lies

Rezumat
Scopul acestei analize îl reprezintă elaborarea punctului de vedere al autorului cu privire la dilemma disidență versus conformism pe baza investigațiilor lituaniene și a documentelor de arhivă. Cadrele cronologice predominante sunt definite de deceniul al cincilea al secolului al XX-lea și al doilea deceniu al secolului al XXI-lea. Raportul urmărește să răspundă la următoarele întrebări:

1) Este posibil să se definească criterii universale pentru investigarea disidenței și conformismului? Este posibil să se stabilă o linie clară între semnificații atât de convergente precum rezistența și disidența, disensiunea și conformismul, conformismul și supunerea, conformismul și predarea, conformismul și trădarea, conformismul și sacrificiul de sine? Există astfel de linii de diviziune?

2) ce fel de categorii sunt disidența și conformismul - juridice sau morale? În cazul în care natura lor este legală, atunci în primul rând ar trebui să vorbim despre (ne) ascultarea de anumite norme legislative, despre o anumită perspectivă asupra unor anumite activități sau despre supunerea în fața legii. În cazul în care natura lor este morală - atunci avem cazul alegerii individuale sau colective între valorile umane.

Deși în Lituania, ca și în alte țări ocupate, disidența și conformismul sunt direct legate
in the person and his or her personal relationship with the values. Such a choice should be treated like an inevitable existential exam to every human generation, to each of us.

atât de libertatea individuală, cât și de aspirațiile de independență ale națiunii și ale statului, natura acestor fenomene constă în persoana și relația sa personală cu valorile. O astfel de alegere ar trebui tratată ca un examen existențial inevitabil pentru fiecare generație umană, pentru fiecare dintre noi.

Keywords: Dissent; Conformism; Lithuania; Lithuanian case; personal choice; resistance;

The aim of the report is to introduce the author’s point of view concerning the dilemma between dissent and conformism based on Lithuanian investigations and archival documents. The prevailing chronological frames are defined by the fifth decade of the twentieth century to the second decade of the twenty-first century. That means that preponderant materials concerning dissent and conformism are first of all directly related to the occupational Soviet regime. The report does not pretend to give a comprehensive analysis of the “Lithuanian case”, though it seeks to answer the following questions:

1) Is it possible to define universal criteria for dissent and conformism investigation? Is it possible to draw a clear line between such converging meanings as resistance and dissent, dissent and conformism, conformism and obedience, conformism and surrender, conformism and betrayal, conformism and self-sacrifice? Do such dividing lines exist at all?

2) What kind of categories dissent and conformism are – legal or moral? In case their nature is legal – then first of all we should talk about obedience or disobedience according to certain legislative norms and qualify certain activities or standings in the light of law. In case their nature is moral – then it means that we are dealing with individual or collective choice between human values.

Once we agree on the treatment of these questions/answers common and acceptable for each and all only then we’ll be ready for a comprehensive analysis of this problem.
Relevance of the topic. Evidences and examples that could be qualified as classic ones concerning dissent and conformism are widely known. Already one of the earliest human written testimonies - Bible - provides lots of examples when a person – let it be a prophet or just a righteous individual (man or woman) – has been persecuted for either critics against authorities, representatives of those times’ ruling regime, or simply for their commitment to certain values. Another example is Socrates, the Greek philosopher (469-399 B.C.), who confessed and proclaimed ethical values, laid the foundations for so-called moral philosophy. Socrates stands for the idea that the prospect of death does not absolve the person from following the path of goodness and truth. Actually, Socrates was condemned to death because of his commitment to his beliefs and moral values.

New Testament also gives us lots of examples of dissent and conformism. John the Baptist was beheaded for his criticism against the tetrarch Herod for his personal unmoral (but not illegal!) behavior. Jesus Christ was condemned and crucified because of his teaching that contradicted to prevailing traditional one. Jesus’ disciples and followers were persecuted for their beliefs.

One more widely known example is Thomas More (7 February 1478 - 6 July 1535) case. As we know, Thomas More was a person of value and beliefs: as a catholic priest he remained faithful to the Pope and refused to acknowledge the king of England Henry VIII as the Supreme Head of the Church of England; he did not welcome annulment of king’s marriage to his fifth wife Catherina of Aragon and his marriage to the sixth one, Anne Boleyn. As we know, his refusal to attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn as a Queen of England was the final pretext for sentencing him to death in spite of the fact that he was friend to the king. It would have been enough to him to come to his friend’s “evening party“, pay respect to him and his new wife, and then to be one of the most important guests and remain friends with the most mighty person in the kingdom. In spite of all this he preferred to die, to leave his family, his loving and beloved wife and children, but to remain committed to his values.
Search for universal criteria. Converging meanings, dividing lines. Neither Old Testament prophets, nor Jesus or his followers, nor Socrates or Thomas More called for fighting or even disobeying the ruling regime. Nevertheless, they all were sentenced.

Here in Lithuania we have rather simple and clear prevailing, but not necessarily entirely correct division lines between resistance, dissent and conformism. Most probably it developed out of Lithuanian nation experience of occupations and losing its freedom that go back at least to the end of the 18th century. Because of this occupational experience our researchers usually qualify resistance to have two levels: active resistance (usually understood as armed resistance) and passive resistance (usually understood as non-violent resistance) or dissent. In 1795, right away after Lithuania’s occupation by Russian Empire an armed uprising led by general Tadeusz Kościuszko broke out; during the 19th century armed uprisings took place in Lithuania in 1831 and in 1863-1864. It means that amid unsuccessful uprisings, which each time were suppressed, there were periods that are usually qualified as passive resistance or dissent. Nevertheless, here in Lithuania both of them were directed against occupational regime and had clear independence aspirations. Later, in the middle of the 20th century, we witnessed the same story, soon after accepting the ultimatum conditions imposed by the Soviet Union on 15 June 1940 against the Lithuanian Government and the incorporation of Independent Lithuanian State within the USSR, Lithuanian liberation movement broke out. During the first Soviet Russia occupation that lasted a little more than one year (15 June 1940 – 23 June 1941) the resistance expressed itself by preparation of an armed uprising which burst out on the 23 June 1941, i.e. the day when the German troops entered the territory of the Soviet occupied Lithuania. Of course, it should be emphasized that the Lithuanian Government’s position of accepting the ultimatum and urging Lithuanian residents and soldiers not to resist against incoming Red Army1 is usually qualified ambiguously: either as hesitation, cowardice,

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conformism or even betrayal of state and nation interests. Incidentally, similar challenges faced Czechoslovakian Government in October 1938 – March 1939, Austrian Government in March 1938, Estonian and Latvian Governments – in June 1940, Romanian Government – in July 1940, etc.

With the beginning of the second Soviet occupation in July-August 1944 Lithuanian nation made a heroic attempt of armed resistance against conquering Soviet regime which lasted for nearly ten years (1944-1953). In Lithuania it is widely accepted that since 1953, when the armed resistance was suppressed, the nonviolent resistance stage of Lithuanian liberation movement started. This nonviolent resistance movement is usually called in Lithuania as passive resistance or dissent. In turn, dissent is usually used as synonym to dissidence, especially when we are talking about societies which were/are under explanation of dissent as derived from Latin dissentire which means „differ in sentiment“ and defines dissent as following: „To hold or express opinions that are at variance with those commonly or officially held“. And what concerns the word dissidence Oxford dictionary gives us explanation as derived from Latin dissident which means „sitting apart, disagreeing“ (from dis – ‘apart’ + sedere – ‘sit’) and defines dissidence as opposition to official policy. According to the Oxford dictionary, dissident is a person who opposes official policy, especially that of an authoritarian state.

One more remark - we should pay attention to the difference between „occupied country dissidence“ and „occupant country dissidence“. Dissidence in occupied countries is usually related to the aspirations of self-determination of nations. However, dissidents in Soviet Russia did not urge to overthrow or even disobey the ruling Soviet regime, did not seek to resist government or existing order. They just demanded that the authorities followed the Constitution and other legal acts. The dissidents declared that their aim is not to act against the ruling system but to improve it. Prominent Soviet Russia dissident Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in his famous article entitled “To Live Without Lie” written in 1974 expressed

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his concern that Soviet society was in danger of spiritual collapse. According to him, this collapse could not be stopped because people did not have enough strength to do it. Compulsion is strong, much stronger than dissidents are. And it may seem that there was no way out. Nevertheless, according to Solzhenitsyn, the compulsion needs lie for its existence and demands from us our obedience to lie, our individual participation in lie in our everyday life. And particularly this, according to A. Solzhenitsyn, prompts the way out. Solzhenitsyn gave an advice – let the lie prevail, let the lie rule. Nevertheless, let it exist without one’s personal participation in this. Once we are afraid or just not ready to speak the truth, to speak what we are thinking in public, loudly, let us refuse to speak lie, let us refuse to speak what we do not have in our minds. According to Solzhenitsyn this should be the true and perhaps the most effective way of dissent. To refuse to support lies consciously.4 This article might be qualified as a certain moral manifesto of dissent.

Prominent Lithuanian opponent to the ruling Soviet regime Antanas Terleckas has mentioned in his memoirs that the regime tolerated their activities until they would not cross a certain line of tolerance. Everybody perceived that such a line of tolerance exists though where and what that line was nobody knew for sure. Each time it depended on a particular case and on those who had the power to make a decision. It means that both „occupied country „occupant country dissents“ could have acted within a legal framework and did not exceed a certain line. And, of course, all the dissident activities were to be controlled by appropriate government structures.5 The other well-known representative of Lithuanian dissent movement Julius Sasnauskas recalls that during his interrogations a KGB interrogator used to repeat him: „We do not care what You think. We do care that You stay loyal.“6

As we can see, contrary to the active resistance movement, members who were *a priori* qualified as enemies to the ruling regime, the members of the dissent movement might be tolerated up to certain relatively wide limits. Definitions „dissent“ and „conformism“ are not included perhaps in any country’s Criminal Code, thus should be evaluated and defined first of all as moral categories. That’s why especially from the end of the fifties – beginning of the sixties of the 20th century, when active resistance was suppressed, Lithuanian dissidents and dissents usually have been prosecuted, punished or repressed either without applying any Code, without any legal basis, only by oral order - so called „phone right from above“ (for example, they were being dismissed from their jobs or studies) either applying certain articles of the Criminal Code in order to show dissidence as some kind of violation of public order and dissidents themselves as small scale criminals or simply hooligans. Or, at last, by widely using psychiatrics as an effective means against dissidents. In many cases dissidents were acknowledged as „mentally ill“ and closed in strict regime in psychiatric hospitals in order to be healed from „wrong thinking“.  

Such was the case of Romas Kalanta, who self-immolated in protest against the Soviet regime on 14 May 1972 in Kaunas Musical Theatre Park. As he had written in his diary „For my death Soviet Regime is to be blamed“. He was recognized as mentally ill by a medical psychiatric commission composed of psychiatrists loyal to the Soviet regime. The commission made the conclusion that a „....normal person cannot be dissatisfied by the Soviet system.“

We have several diaries written by post-war active resistance movement participants that have preserved until our days. For example, entries of a diary, written by prominent Lithuanian post-war resistance movement member Justinas Lelešius-Grafas reveal his evaluation of

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8 Look in: *Baudžiamoji byla Nr. 20-2-036-72 dėl Romo Kalantos mirties fakto.* T. 1-2. - Kauno regioninis valstybės archyvas (KRVA), f. R-1724, ap. 1, b. 33-34.

9 Justinas Lelešius-Grafas, Lionginas Baliukevičius-Dzūkas. *Dienoraščiai* (Kaunas, 1994), etc.
conformism. He reproached that Lithuanian intellectuals would wash their hands with thousands of excuses, that was, so to say, not yet the time for resistance, that active resistance is senseless and that they would devote their knowledge and efforts for the sake of their Homeland after it becomes free and so forth.\(^{10}\) Opposing to such a position the author preferred „...to die, but meaningfully, to die, but not to remain a slave.”\(^{11}\) According to Lelešius-Grafas, the most vulnerable, the least resistant to conformism social layer are particularly the intellectuals, who would prefer to serve the occupants and renounce their Homeland in order to survive and secure their own well-being. And then, when Lithuania would eventually regain its Independence, they would start speaking loudly about their love to their Homeland, about how they had been sacrificing themselves for the sake of their Homeland despite threat and risk of being deported to Siberia or imprisoned.\(^{12}\)

One more well-known story in Lithuania is also from the post-war resistance period. It is about two talented poets, Kostas Kubilinskas-Kapsas and Benediktas Labenas-Kariunas. Kapsas was full of ambition to realize himself as a poet and was eager to secure his well-being. So, Kapsas made his choice: for the promise to be provided with all the conditions for his devotion to poetry and for granting his well-being he betrayed his friend, other talented poet and the Commander of Lithuanian Partisans of Dainava District Benediktas Labenas-Kariunas and tens of other partisans, active resistance members. Later Kapsas really became a well-known childrens’ poetry writer.\(^{13}\) Other poet and resistance fighter, Bronius Krivickas, emphasized that, of course, conformism does provide more possibilities to experience less losses and sufferings. Nevertheless, according to him, it is much better to remain honourable and at any cost not to give up one’s values, human dignity and beliefs.\(^{14}\)

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 162.
\(^{11}\) Ibid., 114.
\(^{12}\) Ibid., p. 107.
So, what concerns conformism in Lithuania we usually operate with formal and simple definition: conformism covers and includes those, who eagerly and voluntary agreed to collaborate with the occupational regime, who took various social, political, administrative level positions in that time occupational Soviet regime and were loyal to it. In a certain sense here in Lithuania terms such as collaboration and conformism, conformism and collaboration, collaboration and betrayal acquired very similar meanings and in certain cases are used as synonyms. For example, how should be treated the daughter of a prominent political and public figure from 20-30-ies of the 20th century Lithuania who agreed to write a publication about “Soviet Paradise” to the United State newspapers in exchange for release from deportation to Siberia?15 Also, there are lots of cases when collaboration is compared to betrayal and conformism to passive obedience. On the other hand, there are discussions concerning certain cases, when, for example, certain individuals try to prove that they took a certain position not for their own welfare but for the sake of others. The question if conformism is really easier than dissent or resistance, analysis of such cases when and under what circumstances conformism should be treated as betrayal or altruistic action for the sake of others or even personal sacrifice for the sake of others might be the theme of a separate special investigation and discussion as well as graduation of dissent and conformism phenomena’s variety according to different fields of activities – cultural, political, social, public, etc.

Conclusions:

1) Dissent is a phenomenon which is tolerated to a certain extent. In contrast to the resistance movement members who were a priori qualified as enemies to the ruling regime, the members of dissent movement might be tolerated up to certain relatively wide limits. However, it is hardly possible to draw clear universal dividing lines between resistance and dissent, disobedience and obedience, dissent and conformism, conformism and collaboration, conformism and betrayal;

15 Look in: Birutės Tursienės baudžiamoji byla. – LYA, f. 58, ap. 1, b. P-4747.
2) In Lithuania like in a number of other former occupied or still occupied countries dissent and conformism were and are directly related not only to individual freedom but to nation and state independence aspirations as well;

3) Dissent and conformism phenomena are as old as the mankind is and will remain actual until the mankind exists;

4) Contrary to the resistance whose members were a priori qualified as enemies to the ruling regime, dissent and conformism are not included in any country’s criminal code and should be evaluated and defined as moral categories. That’s why the solution key of the dilemma between dissent and conformism is rather simple: it depends upon each of us. On our personal stand in the face of choice. Every time when confronting a certain reality each of us is making his personal choice in between dissent and conformism based on his individual stand depending on his personal commitment to certain values.

Instead of epilogue. As we see, here in Lithuania we are often used to treat the definitions dissent and conformism within the context of occupation. On the eve of regaining of Lithuania’s Independence we were sure that once we become free these definitions would disappear from our public life agenda and would remain solely as scientific investigation categories. Unfortunately, the reality of life soon proved that it was a false imagination. Nowadays the phenomena of dissent and conformism do flourish and the dilemma between them is not less actual than it was decades or even centuries ago. Who knows – maybe nowadays widely spread inability to distinguish real things from fake ones, moral blindness and loss of sensitivity in liquid modernity is the price for those decades and centuries of humble obedience, lie and fear of commitment to natural human values and truth? Of course, every time it is not easy to choose in between. Nevertheless, though we hardly have universal criteria, in each case we do have the possibility of personal choice. Such a choice should be treated like an inevitable existential exam to every human generation on the whole and to each of us in particular.
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