TRAVELLING TO THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA BY FOREIGNERS DURING THE 15TH-18TH CENTURIES

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The article describes the travelling to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by foreigners during the 15th-18th centuries. The article presents information about travelling and impressions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the diplomats, scientists and cultural figures, such as: adviser and chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy Gilbert de Lannoy; physician, alchemist, philosopher, mystic Paracelsus; diplomat and traveler Sigismund von Herberstein; composer and lute player Bálint Bakfark; writer and Austrian diplomat Daniel von Buchau; Italian historian Alessandro Guagnini; British diplomat and merchant Jerome Horsey; German traveler Samuel Kihel; poet and historian Grzegorz Barastus; diplomat Stefan Geiss; Italian architect Giovanni Maria Bernardoni; French traveler and writer Gaspard de Thand; Czech traveler and writer Leopold Francis Tanner; Austrian diplomat and traveler Johann Georg Korb; Swedish dignitary Gustaf Adlerfelt; Slovak religious and public figure Daniel Krman; French economist Nicolas Badot; Italian medical scientist Stefano Lorenzo Bisio; French mathematician, astronomer and traveler Johann Heinrich Müntz; French writer, Count Alphonse Fortia de Piles, whose travels, in accordance with modern tourismological methodology, are quite legitimately considered proto-tourism.
Since the XV century the intensity of tourist flows to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been increasing significantly. Both foreigners and residents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began to travel across the territory of the state. This had already been proven by individual articles of the Code of Law of Casimir IV of 1468. For the first time in national history, the rights of foreign nationals became protected legally, including travelers and merchants during their travels through the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Legal protection of travelers in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was also enshrined in the main law of the state – the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1529, 1566 and 1588). Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the French, Germans, Italians, English, Scots, Danes, Swedes, Dutch and representatives of other countries who first entered the land of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania usually described it favorably, often with admiration, and noted attractive features of local residents.

The most significant studies in this regard include monographs and individual publications in scientific periodicals by authors such as K. Andreychuk, I. Liakhov, F. Gundolph, J. Zaminskowsky, A. Dyachko, A. Wyrobisz, G. Sahanovich, F. Aduleng, V. Stanislavsky, V. Kalinin, V. Kieszkowski, A. Milinkevich, etc. The abovementioned studies, on the one hand, create the basis for analyzing the historical meaning of travelling across the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by foreign diplomats, scientists and cultural figures. On the other hand, the studies confirm the need for further research. The issues raised in the study did not find proper coverage either in domestic or foreign historical science. To date, there are practically no special comprehensive historical studies on that particular issue.

The goal of this study is to consider travelling in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by foreign nationals, primarily diplomats, scientists and cultural figures, in the 15th-18th centuries from the point of view of the modern touristological methodology as protouristic trips.

The geographic scope of the study covers the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as part of the Vilnius, Minsk, Navahrudak, Trakai, Brest, Polatsk, Viciebsk and Mstislaw voivodeships, as well as the Samogitia eldership, which roughly corresponds to the territory of the modern Republic of Belarus and the Republic of Lithuania.

Gilbert de Lannoy was an outstanding Flemish traveler, diplomat, memoirist of the 15th century, who traveled through the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and became an adviser and chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy Jean the Fearless, one of the 25 first holders of the Order of the Golden Fleece. From the age of 13, he led the life of a real knight – he participated in tournaments, crusades, numerous wars and civil strife. He traveled a lot to Germany, Spain, Syria, the Holy Land, carrying out diplomatic assignments of various monarchs. He made two trips to Eastern Europe in 1413-1414 and in 1421. The first trip took place after his participation in the crusader campaign against Poland and ran through the Grand Duchy of Lithuania along the Dinaburg (now Daugavpils) – Vilnius – Trakai – Kaunas – Memel (now Klaipėda) route. During this trip, Lannoy met with the Grand Duke Vytautas the Great. During the second trip, he was the ambassador of the English King Henry V to the Lithuanian Dukes Jagiello and Vytautas, as well as to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos with the aim of creating a broad coalition of states led by England for a crusade against the Ottomans. As a result, Lannoy’s diaries contained a lot of valuable information on the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including ethnographic information. He noted that the inhabitants of the Duchy had their own separate language, he recorded the existence of 12 dioceses in the Duchy, and he also confirmed the power and influence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, its hegemony from the Baltic to the Crimea. Lannoy’s mission drew a line under a long period of wary and hostile attitude towards Lithuania as a state of “pagans” and contributed to the spread of knowledge about it in Western Europe.

During the 1520-1525 period the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Prussia and Poland had been visited by the famous doctor, alchemist, philosopher, mystic, one of the most prominent representatives of the Renaissance, Paracelsus (whose real name was Philipp Aureol Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim). He collected information on medicine and discussed it with local doctors during his visits. According to Paracelsus himself, he had been defeated at the dispute in Vilnius and later he had been driven away from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania first, and then

from Poland and Prussia. Dr. Francysk Skaryna, who at that time lived in Vilnius, probably also took part in the Vilnius dispute with Paracelsus.

German baron, diplomat and traveler Sigismund von Herberstein passed through the territory of the Duchy several times. He repeatedly went on orders from Emperor Maximilian II and Archduke Ferdinand to Moscow, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Herberstein visited Minsk, Hrodna, Brest, Viciebsk, Polatsk, Barysaw, Orsha, Drutsk, Dubrownia and Kreva. In 1549, in Vienna, his work “Notes on Muscovite Affairs” was published in Latin. The work included the information of historical, ethnographic, political and cultural content about the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the occupations and everyday life of the population, religion and beliefs, rituals, trade, foreign relations, as well as large rivers, fortresses, etc. Herberstein described the trade and ambassadorial routes between Vilnius and Polatsk, but he left very little information about Polatsk itself.

The composer and lute player of the Renaissance, Bélint Bakfark traveled extensively in Europe at that time and spent a significant part of his life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At first he had worked in Transylvania, France and Italy, and in 1549 he received the position of the court’s lute player from the Grand Duke and King Sigismund II Augustus and came to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Bakfark lived and worked in Vilna from 1554 to 1565, where he prepared a collection of works dedicated to Sigismund II Augustus. After the King’s wife Barbara Radziwill death, he left for Königsberg to Duke Albert, and in 1566 he left for Austria, then Hungary, where he worked at the court of the emperor.

The writer and diplomat of the Austrian emperor Daniel Prinz von Buchau left a lot of interesting information about his travels. He knew German, Latin and Czech, and also read books in Belarusian and Ukrainian. Twice (in 1576 and 1578), Daniel von Buchau traveled as an ambassador to Moscow through the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1577, by order of Emperor Maximilian II, he compiled a report on the embassy (9 sections in Latin), which actually became a description of Muscovy during the Livonian War. It provided a lot of information about the territory of the principality, about the capture of Polotsk by Russian troops in 1563. From there, according to his information, several thousand inhabitants were taken to Moscow. The report included information about the battle of Orsha, widely known in Europe in 1514, where Prince Konstantyn Ostrogski defeated the several times superior Russian army. The work of Daniel von Buchau is considered sufficiently reliable with regards to the information in it.

“Chronicle of European Sarmatia” provides a lot of information on the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, descriptions of cities and fortresses, descriptions of material and spiritual culture, customs of the population of the 16th century. This work was published in 1578 in Krakow by the Polish historian of Italian origin Alexander Guagnini in Latin. He served as a captain in the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. From 1561 he participated in the Livonian War of 1558-1582, he also was the temporary commandant of Viciebsk. He later traveled to Venice, Rome, Sweden and conducted trade affairs. Despite numerous borrowings in the text, especially from Maciej Stryjkowski, who served under his command, the book also contained original materials related to the reign of Sigismund II Augustus in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Jerome Horsey, an English diplomat and businessman, is the author of several works on Russia and its foreign policy during the reign of Ivan IV and Feodor I. In 1573-1591, he repeatedly passed through the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, heading from England to Russia. When describing his travels through the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, he mentioned a meeting with Prince Radziwill, about the seizure of Polatsk by Ivan IV in 1563, etc.

In 1585-1589, the German traveler Samuel Kiehl, the son of a merchant from the city of Ulm, traveled to Europe and Asia. In 1586 he passed through the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia along the Hrodna–Vilnius–Riga route. In a report on the
results of the trip, he gave information about the occupation, lifestyle, trade of the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, noting their religious tolerance. In 1820, these reports were published in the journal “Archives of Geography, History, State Policy and Military Art”.

The poet and historian Grzegorz Barastus (real name Greger Larsson) was a representative of the Swedish family of the supporters of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund III, who also claimed the Swedish throne. At a young age, he fled from Sweden and went through Lithuania to Warmia, where he studied at the Brunsberg Jesuit Collegium. He studied at the Vilnius Academy from 1593, after which he went to study in Rome and Paris. Grzegorz Barastus was the author of panegyrics to the Prince Nikolai Christopher Radziwill and to the Lithuanian chancellor Lev Sapieha, which was a collection of religious verses. He defended Sigismund III from the attacks of the Swedish ambassador in London in his publications. He was in favor with the Polish-Lithuanian royal court and received numerous ecclesiastical and state posts for his works.

The secretary of the Embassy of the Holy Roman Empire to Russia, Stefan Geiss, compiled a diary of the embassy work, which moved from Warsaw through Vilnius to Moscow in 1593, where he described cities and towns: Hrodna, Maladzyechna, Lahoyks, Dubrowna, Orsha, etc. In his diary, he noted the devastation caused by the Livonian War to the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, noting their religious occupation, lifestyle, trade of the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, published in 1613.

Gaspard de Thand, a French traveler and writer of the 17th century, served at the court of King Jan II Casimir. In 1668, after the king’s abdication from the throne, he returned to France and in 1674, already as the secretary of the French ambassador, he visited the Grand Duchy of Lithuania again. In 1684 he published the book “The History of the Relation about Poland” in Paris. The book provided information about the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the point of view of a traveler. For example, Thand advised travelers who would visit this country to take food, wine, bowls, spoons and knives with them, as “... travelers often have to spend the night under a canopy, next to horses, cows and barrels of cabbage ...”.

The Czech traveler and writer of the second half of the 17th century, the Jesuit Leopold Francis Tanner served at the court of the governor Michal Jerzy Czartoryski, together with whom in 1678 he participated in the embassy to Moscow. The embassy’s route ran through Brest, Ruzhany, Nyasvizh, Minsk, Barysaw, Krupki and Mahilyow. The embassy returned through Orsha, Minsk, Koidanova, Mir, Slonim, Pruzhany and Brest. Tanner kept a record of the journey, describing local cities, lands and roads. He noted that in these cities there are many stone houses and shops, and the wooden houses are of good work; that merchants and wealthy townspeople had precious vessels and even paintings. Tanner noted the hospitality of the residents of Mahilyow and Minsk, according to him, “the city is attractive, there are many churches, the lifestyle and clothing of residents, especially women, is more beautiful than other cities ...”.

Tanner liked the Minsk City Hall, surrounded by many shops, but he didn’t like

16 Ганский В.А., Андрейчик Е.В. История путешествий и туризма: в 2 ч. Новополоцк: ПГУ, 2015. Ч. 2. 304 с.
17 Таннер Б.Л.Ф. // Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона: в 86 т. (82 т. и 4 доп.). Санкт-Петербург, 1890-1907.
Orsha very much (at that time it was still in ruins after another war with Moscow). In 1689 Tanner published his travel notes at Nuremberg.

In 1700 a book in Latin was published in Vienna by the diplomat and traveler, secretary of the embassy of the Austrian emperor Leopold I to Russia, Johann Georg Korb, “A Travel Diary to Muscovy”. It also contained information about Vilnius, Ashmyany, Baruny, Minsk, Barysaw, Drutsk, Shklow and other cities and villages of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the way of life of their residents, monasteries, communication routes, etc. Also, Augustin Meyerberg, who was the envoy of the Austrian Emperor Leopold I to Muscovy, spent about 9 months in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (May 1662 – February 1663) on the way back home and drove along the Dnieper from Smolensk to Mahiliow and through Minsk and Barysaw to Vilnius from there. In 1663 he published a book “Journey to Muscovy” with a description of his embassy and a detailed historical account. The book provided information on the architecture, life of residents and the nature of Dubrownia, Orsha, Kopys, Shklow, Bykhaw, Minsk, Barysaw, Mahiliow, etc. Meyerberg noted that White Rus’ or White Ruthenia in Russia itself is understood as the territory between the Dnieper, Pripyat and Dvina, with the cities of Viciebsk, Mahiliow Mstislaw and Smolensk, which is outside the Russian state and has nothing to do with it.

The Swedish courtier Gustav Adlerfeld traveled extensively throughout Europe. Since 1701, whilst being at the court of Charles XII, he had accompanied the King in military campaigns in Northern and Eastern Europe, repeatedly passing through the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Adlerfeld kept a diary of military operations while taking part in the Northern War of 1700-1721. The diary was supplemented with the official documents and other sources. This diary was partially published (anonymously) in 1707 in Hamburg, and later, it was revised by the son of Gustav Adlerfeld and published in French, English and German.

The other matters described in the diary were – the state of the economy, culture, natural and national features of modern Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova, Slovak religious and a public figure by the name of Daniel Krman, who was part of the Protestant embassy to the Swedish king Charles XII and accompanied him on military campaigns 1708-1709 across the expanses of Northern and Eastern Europe.

French economist Nicolas Badot in November 1768 came to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the invitation of the Vilnius bishop Ignacy Jakub Massalski in order to get acquainted with the economy and education in the region. And in February 1769, following the instructions of Masalsky, he went to Petersburg to agitate for the establishment of an agreement between France and Russia in order to facilitate the conclusion of an internal peace in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Failing to achieve success, Badot left for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in July 1769, and in the fall – he came back to France. Nicolas Badot published the books “Essays on the current state of Poland and the causes of its troubles” and “Economic views of citizens on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth” two years later in Paris.

The architect of the second half of the 18th century, Jan Samuel Becker came to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Saxony and worked for the Sapieha family. He built a palace in Dzireycyn near Zelva, the Trinity Church of the Dominicans and Peter and Paul Basilian Church in Ruzhany, etc. The architect received a life pension of 2,520 zlotys from the Sapieha family for his work on the palace. Thanks to Samuel Becker, palace and park art in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania reached a high-quality European level, and his works became an example of local classicism. Another famous architect who had visited many cities and towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is Carlo Spampani. In 1770-1783 he participated in the creation of the palace in Shchorsy. In 1778-1779, Spampani worked intermittently in Niasvizh; in 1778-1783 he built the Radziwillmonty Palace, as well as a palace in Zaslawye, a manor and an outhouse in Benica near Maladzyecha, in which he combined features of classicism and folk architecture. He built a bridge and a chapel in Kukhnichy, and in 1773 in Vilnius he supervised the construction of a wing of the Jesuit collegium building and an extension to the university observatory. In 1782 he renovated the St. Casimir chap-


el of Vilnius Cathedral\textsuperscript{25}. Another representative of the Italian Baroque, the architect Giusepe Fontana, worked mainly in Hrodna and Vilnius, but also visited other cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He built the church of the monastery of the Nativity of the Mother of God (1720-1756) in Hrodna, the church of the Discalced Carmelite Monastery (1738), the Sapieha Palace (1741-1744); as well as the Church of the Assumption Monastery in Viciebsk, the Church of the Carmelite Monastery in Hlybokaye and made a project for the Stalavichy Church of John the Baptist, etc.

The Italian medical scientist Stefano Lorenzo Bisio, at the invitation of Anna Jabłonska (mother of King and Grand Duke Stanislaus II Augustus), arrived from Italy to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1763 and became the family doctor of Prince Karol Stanislaw Radziwill (nicknamed “My Beloved Sir”). In 1770 Bisio conducted a pathological and anatomical section in Niasvizh, which he described in a special brochure. Around 1772 he moved to Vilnius, where he worked as a doctor at the Vilnius Academy, but quickly returned to his homeland in Italy. His other journey to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was connected to the establishment of the Vilnius Medical College in 1781, where Bisio had been invited as a professor\textsuperscript{26}.

The famous Swiss mathematician, astronomer and traveler Johann Bernoulli made his first trip to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1777. In 1778 Bernoulli visited Gdansk, Torun, Königsberg, Mitava (modern Jelgava), Libava (Liepāja) and Dorpat (Tartu) on his way to St. Petersburg, and during his return – Hrodna, Białystok and Warsaw. During his travels, Bernoulli kept a detailed diary, where he recorded information about the nature, economy, art and architecture of the places where he had been. Bernoulli described Hrodna manufactories, theater, medical academy, menagerie, as well as his meetings with Giuseppe de Sacco, Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert and Antoni Tyzenhaus\textsuperscript{27}.

T. Downorovicz, who served as the envoy of the Hrodna governor A. Tyzenhaus at the time, invited Jean-Emmanuel Gilibert, a French naturalist, surgeon and anatomist, to organize a medical school in Hrodna in 1775. After A. Tyzenhaus had been dismissed from the position of the Hrodna governor in 1780, J.-E. Gilibert moved to Vilnius in 1781 together with his students, where he created a medical faculty on the basis of the Hrodna Medical Academy at the Main School of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with the support of Marcin Odlanicki Poczobot and Joachim Chreptowicz, and later presided over the department of natural history and botany, and created a botanical garden at the school. In 1783 he returned to his homeland in Lyon. J.-E. Gilibert studied the nature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during his numerous travels together with his students. He also collected herbariums in the vicinity of Hrodna, Brest, Białystok, Niasvizh, Navahrudak, Vilnius\textsuperscript{28}. The result of this was the work “Flora lithauonica inchoate”, in one of the sections of which J.-E. Gilibert described 95 types of medicinal plants. The work provided information about the time of their flowering and discussed the medicinal properties of herbs and their use in everyday life.

Twice the English historian and traveler William Cox, who is the author of the work “Travel through Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark” (London, 1784), passed through the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where he describes the appearance of local cities: Hrodna, Navahrudak, Mir, Minsk, Barysaw, Orsha; local villages of the XVIII century and the life of their inhabitants.

For military and business affairs, Johann Heinrich Müntz, landscape painter, traveler, and since 1782 – Major of the 2nd Hrodna Foot Guard Battalion, traveled throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During his travels, he made sketches of cities, castles, villages, types of the population, landscapes, etc. He resided in Spain in 1748, in 1749-1752. – in Italy, where he studied art, in 1753-1777 – in France, England, Greece, Holland, etc. In 1779 he entered the service of Józef Poniatowski, nephew of the King and Grand Duke Stanislaus II Augustus. In 1783, on the way from Ukraine to Lithuania, he made sketches of villages in Polesia and Białowieża Forest. He described the appearance of the villages, the living and working conditions of the local population, noting that the Polesian bogs were suitable for land reclamation on the model of Holland. He gave a characterization of their inhabitants: “... the local inhabitants are generally good-natured people, good patriots, well-tailored and strong in work ...”\textsuperscript{29}.

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\textsuperscript{29} Zaporizhzhia Historical Review. 2021. Vol. 4(56)
The French writer, Count Alphonse Fortia de Piles, the governor of Marseille, traveled extensively throughout Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia and Poland during the Great French Revolution and the Jacobin terror in France. In 1794 he had returned to France and in 1796 he published 5 volumes describing his European voyages. During the trip from Russia to Poland in 1792, he drove together with Pierre-Marie-Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu through the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Smolensk through Orsha, Talachyn, Kupelki, Barysaw, Smalavichy, Minsk, Hrodna. Talachyn was described by him as “...a big village, which is called a city”; the road from Talachyn to Smolensk was “good, lined with trees, further – bad ...”. In Hrodna, he noted “a good guest house and houses of German merchants who had received various foreign goods along the Neman river and sold them here ...”30.

Thus, the history of the travelling by foreign travelers provides a convincing confirmation of the manifestation of an extraordinary interest in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by many states and people in Europe, and the descriptions of these visits contain valuable information about the historical, geographical, economic and cultural features of these lands during the Renaissance and Modern times.


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