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8th Annual Conference 'Belarusian Studies in the 21st Century'

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Dear colleague,

Many thanks for submitting your proposal to speak at the 8th Annual Conference 'Belarusian Studies in the 21st Century.'
This year had the highest number of high-quality proposals in the history of the conference and because of space restrictions, we, unfortunately, could not accommodate many submitted proposals.
Although we liked your proposal we could not find a panel, which it could fit or there were other more relevant proposals. Please note that we only considered proposals submitted by the deadline of 15 January.
We would encourage you to apply next year and hope you will attend the conference either in person or in online format. To attend the conference this year, please click [here](#).

Best wishes,
The Organising Committee

BELARUSIAN STUDIES
IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In Türkiye I was a chair of the session which I presented in at the conference, while in London they propose me to visit their event as an average visitor in the audience, and still to pay for it as a tourist. When that same paper of mine, which was refused by Belarusians in London, has already been published in a scientific volume with ISBN number in a peer-reviewed congress book.

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**COMPARING THE POLICIES OF STEFAN BATORY AND IVAN THE TERRIBLE:
AS FOR THE VICTORY OF THE EUROPEAN POLISH-LITHUANIAN
COMMONWEALTH OVER THE DESPOTIC MUSCOVY IN 1581**

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ABSTRACT

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the causes of the strengthening the mightiness of the state were as follows: A) the inner structure of the constitutional monarchy, because the parliamentary democracy of the noblemen in those times resulted more solid reliable state power, than the despotic dictature in the neighbouring Muscovy, which depended on the whim of a single ruler; – B) the cultural policy of King Báthory, because the highly educated people formed that narrow strata of the society, which the royal power may rely on, as clerks and diplomats; – C) the bourgeois development, which appeared in the evolving the Ukrainian brotherhoods, because these confraternities managed the schooling and printing, thus the intellectual level of the middleclass of the society could strengthen the state and the royal power; – D) the professional and excellent diplomacy of King Báthory, in which he could and did rely on excellently educated, gifted intellectuals. Albeit the personality of the King was not the only and mainly cause of strengthening the power of the state. In sum total, the structure of the state, thus the social, economic, and political aspects of development were the factors that resulted the heydays of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its mightiness. In this aspect the rethinking and revaluation of the earlier paradigm of the historiography are necessary, and a modern approach, which we call ‘decolonization’, may result better insights into the complicated questions.

The Duke of Moscow Ivan the Terrible invited book traders and a typographer to Moscow, with purpose to gain the fruits of the contemporary European culture, but the typographer was burned in Moscow for “heresy”. Thus, the Asiatic despotic state of Moscow was not able to achieve any fruit of European culture. On the contrary, the democratic Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (although of the nobility, the Szlachta) was unique at that time and controlled the power of the monarch. In a result, when the Sejm voted for an extraordinary tax and “manpower” for the second campaign of King Batory (his war consisted of three campaigns in 1579, 80, 81), the king was sure to have a strong background of his three countries (Polish Crown, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and Transylvania, as well). At the same time, the Muscovian ruler was not sure of his subjects; Ivan was tried to be poisoned. Hence the psychotic sickness of Ivan and his violent character were not the only causes of the failure of those wars, but the differences between the two states in the social and political structure. Due to the bourgeois development in the Polish Crown and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Orthodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had opportunities for developing in the European way, which resulted such a situation was similar to Protestantism in the West; taking into consideration the spreading of book-printing and evolving of the national consciousness which happened due to the Protestantism in West. The “military potential” of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was much great due to the social, cultural, political structure, too, including the national consciousness of the Orthodox inhabitants, too, while the Muscovian autocratic state did not have such sufficient conditions for the “military

potential”. This military potential of the modernized Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth defeated the Muscovian imperial expansion of Ivan IV, the Terrible, in that far historical past.

KEYWORDS: Ivan_Terrible, Batory, Polish_Lithuanian_Commonwealth, War, Parliamentarism

INTRODUCTION

Last year we can celebrate a sad jubilee: 250 years ago, 1772. on August 5, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had existed as a state union since the sixteenth century, were for the first time divided between the neighbouring great powers: the Russian Empire, The Kingdom of Prussia, and the Habsburg Empire. The fate of the pieces was different: in the Russian Tsardom a cruel repression and bestial destroying of anything remained from the society and culture of the Polish-Lithuanian state, thus not only the forced russification but also the evil and intentional smashing of the European heritage these territories brought from the former state which they developed in and decreasing the social development and lowering consciously to the level of Asiatic despotism. In the Kingdom of Prussia the first happened albeit the latter went exactly the opposite: the Germanification went “successfully” denying the literacy in local Slavic languages thus the Polish as well, at the same time the socio-cultural development made increasing impacts, in a result even in the recent Poland the “western” cultural regions are different in mentality, political culture, and interpersonal relations as well. The third, smallest part of the former Polish-Lithuanian State under the Habsburg rule, in Galicia, preserved to a relative extent, under the weight of contradictions of censorship, as the Polish as the Ukrainian cultural heritage, and the poor but possible opportunities for a nation-building in the Modern Age.

This resulted the anachronistic view back to the Early Modern Age, which false view demonstrates the European culture and society had been existing and developing on those territories show off the European heritage nowadays, thus in the former Prussian and former Habsburg territories. Albeit it is a projection of the recent conditions back to the past. In contrary, those territories were destroyed by the Russian Tsardom, had earlier been in the late Middle Age and mainly in the Early Modern Age not only “European” ones but parts of the largest and most powerful state of the contemporary Europe. This was, of course, a republic of the gentry only, and this gentry was in a significant part Polish. Albeit not entirely and not everywhere.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the largest state in the contemporary Europe, equally powerful with the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Sultanate. (Magocsi, 1991:46.) The erudite statesman, king Stephen Báthory, defeated the mad tsar of Moscovy, Ivan the Terrible, who was such a mentally sick as killed even his son. (Platonov, 1974. Cherniavsky, 1968. Keenan, 2006.) The Commonwealth reached its largest territory, covered the Baltic lands, too, up to the northern edge of Livonia, even the Estonian city Tartu (then Dorpat) belonged to this huge federative state (we use “imperium” only for Muscovy), while the Russian imperial expansion was repulsed.

1. THE MAIN FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED

1.1. Unfolding of the bourgeois society on the Ukrainian lands of the Commonwealth

We seek the causes and conditions lead to the heyday of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. First, the civil development reached a significant level due to the circumstances of the constitutional monarchy – albeit it seemed to be almost impossible within the frameworks of the Russian authoritarian state. The printing houses of Orthodox Confraternities and their schools were phenomena of the civil (bourgeois) society in the Commonwealth, building a free-market economy and capitalist society. (Földvári, 2021) They accepted European cultural influences (such as the “Confessionalization”, institutionalisation

of the cultural spheres) – as even some Russian historians are of this opinion (Sidoroff). From the centralized Muscovy the first printer, Ivan Fiodoroff, was to escape to Ukrainian lands where his activity flourished and lead to the publishing of the first complete printed Bible in Cyrillic letters in Ostrog 1581. Engraves of its title-page were identical with the title-engravings of the Lithuanian Catholic Postilla by Daukša, the Jesuit monk (1599) and of the Lithuanian Lutheran Postilla by Morkūnas in 1600, too. (Gronek, 2016. Makarenko, 1926.) The “confessionalization”, reflected in the printing, lead to the proto-national identification, as Anderson, 1991 stated out.

1.2. The essential divergences in social structure between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy

Thus, we have to overview the deep structural differences between the Commonwealth and Muscovy. The Polish king was elected by the parliament, the Sejm (and the Lithuanian Grand Duke elected by the “Little Sejm” (Rachuba, 2002.); he had been working as an “administrator”, primus inter pares, thus not a despotic almighty ruler as the Muscovian tsar who had right to cut the beard of his boyars. The efforts by Boris Godunov toward a European constitutional monarchy failed, and the anarchy continued under Shuysky. (Platonov, 1973.) Warlords in Muscovy were loitering ritters such the False Dmitry I and II, while in the Commonwealth they were statesmen (such as the Ostrogorsky princes were patrons of the confessional identification). King Bathory’s chief general of all troops in the Commonwealth Gáspár/Kasparus Békés came from the land of his earlier reign. (Bojtár, 1988.) The siege of Polock (the third greatest “mother-town” of the East Slavic “Ruś” after Kyiv and Novgorod) succeeded also due to 150 officers of Transylvanian origin and their troops, who fought against Muscovy, together the people of Grand Duchy of Lithuania (which covered the contemporary Belarusian lands as well).

1.3. The cultural policy of Stephen Batory

Last but not least, the cultural identification. Founding the Vilnius University (still as a Jesuit academy, 1579) was an act by Báthory as an enlightened hegemon of the GDL; it is worthy to note, another Jesuit academy was founded by him in the same 1579th year in Polock, the great town just recaptured from Ivan the Terrible with such much effort it was mentioned above – for the Slavic part of the GDL he established such a great educational and science center as for the Lithuanian part, being a good hegemon of the GDL, taking care on each component of the Duchy. No such case could occur in the Muscovian Tsardom.

After this general picture, let us take a closer look at these factors, giving some examples demonstrating our statements in particular. First of all, some methodical approaches appear as necessary to be considered.

2. THE METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE: “DECOLONIZATION”

2.1. Decolonization as paradigm in the historical sciences

Decolonization as methodological an approach appeared in the historical sciences lately as a new paradigm, resulted also requested the rethinking of earlier terms and values (Jansen, etc, 2017.) – and we strive to apply it in this paper for describing how the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Furthermore: *PL*) looked in its heyday. In a result, it appears that the structural divergences made the Commonwealth basically different from its Eastern neighbour, the Muscovian Tsardom, which were and have been essentially, *ab ovo*, structurally aggressive and expansive empire-state, as it has lately highlighted by Prof. Volodymyr Kravchenko, emeritus Director of CIUS in his lecture about the socio-cultural background of the Russian aggression against Ukraine (Kravchenko, 2022.) Therefore, the overvaluation of the Polish King and Lithuanian Grand Duke S. Báthory as a powerful ruler,

who defeated another hegemon, Tsar Ivan the Terrible, seems an outdated approach, which met the expectations of the “empires-paradigm” in the break of the 19/20 cc.

2.2. The empire-paradigm has outdated from the historiographical sciences.

That time the history was constantly regarded as the moving of empires, their dawn, heyday and decrease, according to the neohegelian German historiography dividing everything for the “Früh-, Hoch-” and “Spät-”, thus the styles in the arts, historical periods, history of countries, urbs, and any social phenomena, e.g.: “...or also in the same rhythm of smaller sections of art as in that rhythm of early, high, late of Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, etc.” (Hamann, 1916:104.) – “With distinctions from ‘early, late and after’ or ‘first and second’, all periods are related to one criterion” (Neuloh, 1960:63). – It seems already to be outdated.

The “empire-paradigm” made impacts on the historical sciences even more than a single though famous book by Gibbon (1832). Albeit it led to false conclusions in the case of Báthory, too. Not only by providing naïvely the Hungarian proudness about the “great ruler of Transylvanian origin” as if others were not capable to become such great statesmen -not rulers but statesmen-, but in a broader sense: in a result of the “empire-paradigm” in the Hungarian historiography the personal qualities of Báthory were overemphasized, though he was really an extraordinary and excellent statesman with European erudition. But Ivan the Terrible also sent envoys to Germany and German-contacted territories in the Baltic region, the Hansa-towns, and asked them to bring to Moscow printed books, which were a new phenomenon in that epoch; moreover, the Lutheran confession was spreading in Moscow and Ivan IV (The Terrible) himself visited those circles which the new confession and new ideas of the bourgeois cultural development were taught in. Albeit the person brought printed books from Germany, was burned in Moscow, and any new innovative cultural impact was evaluated as suspicious, heretic and evil thing (which pejorative approach to any western innovation remained up to nowadays), and later Ivan Fiodoroff, the initiating person in the East Slavic book printing, was sacked from Moscow, albeit he got a good home and providing his printing activity in Ukrainian terrines, thus in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which led to the printing of the whole Bible in East Slavonic terrains, the Ostrog Bible in 1581. (Sidoroff, 1979.)

2.3. The ‘paradigm’ as a model for description of development of sciences

The way in which paradigms in sciences are successively overturned has been introduced and presented in the avowed book by Thomas Kuhn (1962). All historians of science today are familiar with this seminal work by Kuhn, which provided insights which have guided our thoughts on this subject since the sixties. As for the decay and collapse of empires, ever since *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon (1832), those processes, apparently all following the same series of steps, have haunted the minds of all serious historians and are ever present in the anxieties of forecasters. Fortunately, these processes, although often ignored or put out of mind, have been clear to all thinking people for some time. Because the position of the King and the Grand Duke of Lithuania in the 16th c. was already much different, than the position of an almighty ruler in Moscow. Although the paradigm as a concept appeared in the Natural Sciences, it can be also must be applied for the description of development of civilizations in the historical sciences, as well. (Földvári, 2021a).

3. THE “CONFESSIONALIZATION” AS AN ESSENTIAL PHENOMENON AMONG THE BYZANTINE-RITE PEOPLES ON THE EASTERN LANDS OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH.

3.1. The concept of Confessionalization

The next point is the mostly mentioned role of brotherhoods, confraternities in the bourgeois development of the East Slavic territories of the Commonwealth. The ground of the confessionalization was the system of institutions, the institutionalization (Dmitriev, 2012:137). Thus, it is possible able to speak about the confessionalization there, where the autonomy of the civil religious institutions existed, about which one can speak in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but to a much less extent in the tsarist Russia. Also, the religious polemic is necessary to shape the dogmas in the controversies — it took place up to the bloody stage, as the controversies between the Uniates and Orthodoxies led to the martyrdom (Hoinackij, 1882; Kiprianovič, 2006). Also, it is necessary the impact of the to increase and decrease, too (depending on what may provide the building of institutions of the religious culture) – the increase was reflected in the providing the union by the king of Poland (providing the institutions of the Uniates; at the same time, the role of state was decreasing, too, by the activity of civil religious organizations, i.e., the brotherhoods, whose activity led to the spreading of the independent, thus to civil to some extent, institutions of the religious culture (Dmitruk 2015; Mironowicz, 2003). Hegemons and warlords will appear in this aspect, too. For instance, the archbishop Zhochowsky who maintained the typography and book-culture, or the aforementioned Ostrogorsky, or those were in debates and fighting with the confraternities.

3.2. The Confraternities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The origin of the confraternities on the Ukrainian lands is still unclear and subject of debates. Fact, these were secular associations, uniting members with purposes to keep the Orthodox culture, thus, to defend their confession and to strengthen it, albeit these were not ‘Church’ organizations in the very sense of the ‘church’ but secular groups, under only small formal control of the church, and the religious peculiarities appeared in the program of them. These were in reality citizens’ group, juridical persons, not some branches of the church. In contrary, in the West the so-called confraternities were more subordinated to the Catholic Church, albeit in the East, the Orthodox confraternities were not subordinated nor in their financial activity, neither in their cultural, printing activity to the church authorities, but to the market. Similarly, the Protestant communities in West, that elected their priests and managed their schooling and book-printing by their private capital, already not following some order given from above, as in the despotic, authoritarian states (such as Muscovy was in that time). Even some theorists maintain that the church union, thus the integration of a part the orthodox clergy into the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which went in Brest in 1596, occurred as a reaction of the clergy for the independency of the brotherhoods; because the brotherhoods did not accept any supremacy of the bishops but gained the “Stauropagy” from the Patriarch of Constantinople, which meant they were subordinated only to the Patriarch, who chaired at a much far distance and under the Ottoman Turkish rule. (Tymošenko, 2007.) Therefore, the confraternities meant the civic development and their schools and printing houses proved the institutionalization of the religious culture and managing it by civic hands. Similar phenomena in west meant the birth of the dawn of national cultures in the Early Modern Age, according to Anderson, 1991; and in our view, those processes and phenomena which were bond by Aronson to the unfolding of the Protestantism and the book-printing, could and must be bounded also to the Orthodoxy in those regions where the Orthodoxy played such a role as the Western Protestantism. (Földvári, 2021.) In this approach, the strives between the church

hierarchy as hegemony and the civic confraternities as such societies the church hierarchy wanted to subordinate, proves a bright case of the problems of hegemony in the church and society, and the union with Rome meant a retrograde step toward the maintaining the feudal hierarchy, according to aforementioned Leonid Tymoshenko. However, the Church union resulted a more complex situation, and the Uniate printing houses, were managed by the Basilian monks, gave a significant contribution to the Confessionalization, and the Europeanization, also the economic development toward the capitalization, too, by role of books in the trade and economy in general. (Földvári, 2021, 2021a.)

The Orthodox confraternities (the Ukrainian brotherhoods) and the Uniate Basilians, too, did much in the field of development along the European way, mainly in the field of printing and educational culture (Isaievich, 1990; 1996; 2006; Isaievič, 1962; 1966). This process is called “confessionalization”, that is, the construction of institutions, the formation of dogmas and the development of personal views and consciousness of citizens in the mass measure. And this did not happen on Russian lands, therefore, the European “citoyen”-culture in Ukraine has a five-hundred-year history —as well on all the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, albeit on any Russian lands it could not have happened at that time (Dmitriev, 1997:26-28; 2003; 2012; Brüning, 2008; 2008a; Moritz et al. 2001). As for this, in the lecture and the full-paper article there are to be revisited three aspects, as follows: A) the book-printing for the first; B) then the peculiarities of the society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for the second; C) and last but not least, the problems of “confessionalization” as of the civil, bourgeois culture. (Földvári, 2021.)

Therefore, we cannot share those views that refuse the confessionalization on the Orthodox lands at all. Because we highlight the divergences between the two types of the Orthodox lands. The Confessionalization could and did occur on the Orthodox lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but not on the Orthodox lands of Muscovy. The previously published works must be reevaluated, in the light of the development in historiographic research. On one hand, Professor Brüning deals with the topic from the point of view of the Catholic Theologian, since he is that; and hardly understands the Protestant forms and aspects of the Confessionalization, which resulted those great socio-cultural innovations, that were evaluated by Anderson (1991). These Protestant phenomena can and must be compared with the phenomena of the Orthodox Confraternities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the other hand, Dmitriev’s approach is that of a Russian professor in Moscow, although very enlightened, educated and lectured at western, American universities, such as he worked as a professor the Central European U in Budapest, Hungary, which was a real American university. His quoted here works are very good descriptions of the Confessionalization. A lot of enlightened Russian authors can recognize the different character of the Russian cultural development during the centuries, which differed it from the European culture. Albeit Russian colleagues never, never agree to recognize that the Russian cultural and social development was retarded, that left behind the European culture and society, mainly behind the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, the uniform character of the Orthodox Church and Orthodox culture did not exist, and the Muscovian Orthodoxy was much more different from the Kyivan Orthodoxy, from the Orthodox culture on the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands. Although it was already recognized by such enlightened Russian scholars in the 19th c. as Polevoy (1830). Nevertheless, the Orthodoxy was much different on the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands, than in Muscovy, for instance the ideology of the “Third Rome” which was elaborated in Muscovy in the 15/16 cc., was absolutely foreign to the Kyivan Orthodoxy, on the other hand, the Confraternities and their background, the bourgeois development was absolutely foreign to the Muscovian authoritarian state. Hence the cultural heritage of these two different regions of East Europe, and the development of the social structures, respectively, were much different and resulted significant divergences between the Orthodox

cultures in Muscovy and in the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. (Földvári, 2021, 2021a.)

As it has proved by academician Isaievich, impacts of the Polish baroque are much reflected in the books, printed on the Ukrainian lands, especially in the prefaces and afterwords, also in the ornamental elements, engravings, headers, and footers (Isaievich, 1990; 1992). Thus, in texts and ornaments, too. The level of the book-production was here much higher, than in the Muscovy – as even some Russian historians-academicians are of this opinion (Sidoroff, 1976: 5). Because the brotherhoods worked for the market, also because they were of small size, thus they easy and quickly reacted for the expectations of the market (in contrary to the huge “Printing House” in Moscow, the enormous “Pečatnyj dvor”, which worked along the orders of the Tsar). Even more, the printing houses of confraternities were not only able, but also likely to work for the market (while the giant behemoth in Moscow worked on the orders of the Tsar, to be highlighted by repetition) — in this we can see the phenomena of the “confessionalization”, too. (For the evolving of the brotherhoods: Mironowicz, 1996.)

On the Ukrainian lands, already in the 16 c., a local elite using Old-Ukrainian language had evolved, to some extent, it was the evolving of Ukrainian-consciousness, anti-Polish, Orthodox gentry, in a contrary to the Polish Catholic gentry, and this elite provided the building of Ukrainian identity, providing the book-printing, playing role in the early development of the Ukrainian language, and shaping the national consciousness. (Lytvynov, 2012.) The full translation of the Bible (apart from the early editions were partially translated) was a result of the processes of “confessionalization”: on the orthodox Ukrainian lands, by the activity of the orthodox bourgeoisie, together with the noble local elite, was translated and printed the whole Bible in Ostrih, 1581 (Isaievič, 1975; 1990; Kripyakevič, 1924; Boiko, 1972; 1980; 1981).

Here took place the real “confessionalization”, and it took place only here, but never on the Russian lands.

4. THE DIPLOMACY AS A CAUSE OF MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH.

4.1. The Turkish, Osman Empire in the aspect of the Polish-Russian war.

In the written above paragraphs, we demonstrated that the structural differences of the two states resulted, to a significant extent, the victory of the Polish King over the Tsar: the totalitarian state of Moscow was not able to achieve any fruit of European culture, while in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the parliament of the nobility, the Sejm was unique in the contemporary Europe. However, any victory in great wars occurs in a result of a lot of factors, and diplomacy is of great importance among them. Thus, now we continue to investigate the causes of victory with the external factors. The social and political structure of the state were internal factors, and the diplomacy was external. (Szakály, 1990)

The Turkish Sultanate played a special role among those European powers, who supported the Polish-Lithuanian Twin-State in its defencing war against the Tsar of Muscovy in 1579-81. On one hand, the first state of Stephen Báthory was Transylvania, a vassal-state of the Turkish Empire. Since the Turkish Sultan Suleiman I (the “Great”) conquered Buda, the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, he owned the central part of Hungary, which was integrated into the Turkish Empire, but Transylvania became a vassal-state of the Turkish Sultan and paid yearly tax to the Osman Porta for one and half of a century. Consequently, when Stephen Báthory was the Prince of Transylvania, who gained the Polish crown, too, he was obliged to ask the goodwill of the Turkish Sultan for using the Transylvanian soldiers in his war of the Polish Kingdom against the Muscovian Tsar. (Dopierała, 1986)

On the other hand, the Turkish Sultan was a counter-interested power to the Muscovian Tsar, thus the Turkish Sultan was interested in stopping the Russian expansion in any way.

Therefore, when the Polish King Stephen Báthory gathered the financial and political support for his war, it was logical to ask the Turkish Sultan for the support as well. The great diplomat of him was Márton Berzeviczy, a Hungarian noble, who served as Chancellor of Transylvania for Stephen Báthory in Poland. He married a Polish noblewoman, and got the Polish nobility, too, thus he was included into the Polish Szlachta. He was sent to the Turkish Sultan for gaining the material support for the war. Hence, Márton Berzeviczy was the keyperson whose diplomatic activity resulted the Turkish Sultan provided the Polish king Bathory also with material support, and with good will toward the role of Transylvania in the Polish war against the Muscovian state. (Veress, 1911) His personality and activity are to be described in our next paper, to be presented at the 11th international conference on social sciences & humanities of the ISPEC, to be held on March 04-06, 2023, in Muş, Türkiye, because his activity requires a new, full paper.

4.2. The Vatican diplomacy and the Jesuite Antonio Possevino.

The outcome of the Polish-Russian war occurred due to the activity of the Jesuite monk, Antonio Possevino. He appeared in the political activity of the Polish King with a close relationship. Both were born in 1533; both had studied at the University of Padua; both were cultured as humanists and had encyclopaedic intellectual interests. Báthory's great trust in Possevino is shown by a letter he wrote to the Roman Pope Gregory XIII. (Kuntze&Nanke, 1939: 419) Báthory entrusted him in such a measure that he asked Possevino for a mediating between him and the Habsburg King Rudolf II as for the debates about the fortress Szatmár, which was a personal possession of Báthory but put into the hands of the Habsburgs. (Donnelly, 2000) Hence it was logical to elect Possevino for the mediation between the Polish King Báthory and the Grand Duke of Muscovy, Ivan the Terrible. (Stökl, 1963).

It was a great failure, that the intelligent and gifted diplomate, such as Possevino, entrusted the promise of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, Ivan the Terrible, who proposed the peace and for a guarantee promised to convert the Roman Catholic confession. (Polčín, 1957) However, anyone who knew the real nature of the Muscovian empire, might know that the Roman Catholicism was regarded by the Russians for the greatest enemy to Muscovy, since the ideology about the "Third Rome was elaborated: the "First Rome", the Roman Papacy was put into the heresy and moral subsidence, by the opinion of Muscovians, and the "Second Rome", Constantinople was fallen under the rule of the Osman Empire of the Turks, hence the "Third Rome", that is Moscow, must be the real centre and defender of the Christianity—according to the Orthodox ideologists in Moscow. (Grigorieva, 2023) The imperial expansions by the Russian rulers (until Ivan IV – Grand Dukes, since Ivan IV – Tsars) were grounded by the ideology of the "Third Rome". (Strémooukhoff, 1953; Toumanoff, 1955; Oglobin, 1951) How could Possevino trust the words of such a despotic, paranoid, schizoid ruler, as Ivan IV, and in such an axial matter, as the conversion to the Roman Catholicism? His naivety was grounded in his theory about the "world evangelization" thus he wanted to convert the whole then-known lands into the Roman Catholicism. (Donnelly, 1988) Consequently, he believed the trigger words of the Muscovian ruler, Ivan the Terrible, and he believed that the mentally sick, mad dictator would confess his sins and become a lamb of the Roman Papacy.

Therefore, the Polish King Stephen Báthory did not gain Moscow, although he was already able to continue his victorious campaigns and defeat Ivan the Terrible forever. If the Holy See from Rome had not feared the too much power of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, then the Muscovian despotic dictatory could put into the hands of the constitutional monarchy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, therefore, the Muscovian Russia would be included into a European democratic state and could not threat by its imperial ambitions the western world. – Albeit it is not a task of historians, what had happened if this or that would occur.

We remain within the frameworks of the scholarly objectivity, hence we keep fulfilling our tasks of scholarly work. And these tasks are nothing else, but the interpretation and evaluation of those events that have happened, but not those that might have happened. Noteworthy, about the activity of Possevino, a new paper has lately been being completed by the solid Polish historian, Professor Antony Mironowicz at the Bialystok University, which is going to be published in the near future (as far as we know from a personal information from that colleague) and there will be given the most recent overview of the literature in the field.

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The Mediaeval alliance of Hansa-towns incorporated those towns that had special liberty and law and entered into alliance of trade. These German towns traded with the North Russian town-state Novgorod, too. Novgorod was a special urban republic, under the rule of the richest local merchants. Its democratic society and solid, countable policy acquired the western tradesmen. (Winckler, 1886) Albeit when Novgorod was fallen and subordinated to Moscow, the new despotic states stopped to continue their contacts with the despotic Muscovy, thus those contacts were earlier prolific with Novgorod. It was the cause of the failure of Ivan the Terrible's efforts for gaining the fruits of the new technology and culture: "*Ivan the Terrible... in 1548, sent a German agent, Hans Schlitte, a resident of Moscow, to Germany to hire a number of artisans, doctors, and engineers who were to come to Russia and instruct the people in western methods and ways.*" (Kirchner, 1944:42) Those envoys and agents were arrested or simply not allowed to return to Russia. Livonia was the territory meant a greatest problem for Ivan because the Livonian lands were in the most intensive trade contacts with the Russian lands earlier, and the refuse made by Livonia caused significant losses to the Muscovian economy. (Kirchner, 1954) Moreover, Livonia was the territory which could provide Muscovy by an exit to the sea. Struggles for the Baltic Sea were permanent programs of the Muscovian Tsars since these times. Therefore, Ivan IV decided to punish Livonia and advanced there with a large army and occupied many cities, where he settled Russians. (Esper, 1966) Much was written in Europe about the atrocities of the cruel Russian army at that time. (Bresslein, 1561)

When Stephen Báthory was elected for the Polish throne, he was to promise the continuing the war against Russia and recapture Livonia. (Pawiński, 1877; Bazyłow, 1948) Then three campaigns went in 1579, 81 and 89. The great success was the siege of Polock, which was a great strategic centre and a large, developed city. Just during the war, sitting on the battlefield, King Báthory established the Jesuite high school in Polock, 1580. About that year, he established such high schools in Tartu (now Estonia, then Livonia), Vilnius (now Lithuania, then Vilna in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) — three institutions of the higher education, founded during the war. (Swianiewicz, 1982) The military and political potential and of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was much more, than that of Muscovy, because -among others- the cultural and educational development went on much higher level, than in Muscovy. The learned elite in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was reinforced by the King Báthory, and it was already much stronger in this twin-state, than in Muscovy.

The cultural and social development occurred in the unfolding of the secular but confessional associations, the brotherhoods on the Ukrainian lands. While the confraternities in West-Europe were church organisations in order to develop the religious spirit and worked under the strict control of the Catholic church, in East-Europe, on the Eastern lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Confraternities were bourgeois organisations, which managed the schooling and printing by the civil capital, independent from the church and state. Although the Ukrainian brotherhoods worked with purposes to defend and strengthen the Orthodox confession, it was managed by private capital and under the umbrella of civil societies, thus the faith and religion were subjects of the civil bourgeoisie but not of the state

or the church. It was very similar to the Protestantism in West, for the protestant school were managed by the secular communities of citizens but not by the church hierarchy. The private capital appears in the spheres of printing and schooling, while in Muscovy the printing was controlled by the despotic state, without flexibility.

The development of the bourgeois, civil culture went to a significant extent in circumstances of the constitutional monarchy – albeit it was hardly possible in the Russian authoritarian state. While Peter the Great took the example from the bourgeois culture of Europe, in contrary, on those lands were heirs of the “Lithuanian Ruś”, the European culture already had been evolving because of the local traditions, thus of the own cultural heritage. For instance, the printing shops of the brotherhoods (confraternities) were phenomena of the bourgeois society. These processes are called for “confessionalization” in the historiography, which took place on the Ukrainian, Polish, and Lithuanian (in the broaden sense: “Litvin”, cf. Kuolis, D. 1999; Nasevič, 2006) lands but could not take place on the Russian lands. Consequently, the European bourgeois society has its own roots on the Ukrainian lands, albeit for the Russians it is a strange, foreign phenomenon: Russians may learn the European culture from Ukrainians.

The diplomacy was of great significance in the activity of Báthory as well. For the causes of his victory in the war, the support of the contemporary European powers was inevitable. His diplomat M. Berzeviczy worked much for the negotiations with the enemy, Ivan IV, and for the gaining the support and consent of the Turkish Sultan, too. Another diplomat, the Jesuit envoy of the Vatican, A. Possevino was not on such higher level. He entrusted Muscovian Tsar Ivan the Terrible, when the latter flattered him by promising the conversion to the Catholicism. Hence, the history had a great loss: the large and powerful Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was able to defeat and incorporate the Muscovian despotic state, too; in this case the parliamentary kingdom, that is, the constitutional monarchy, the bourgeois development in cultural life and education, the European structure of the Commonwealth, would able to be applied for the Muscovian state, too, such as the earlier development in Novgorod. Nor the Papacy, neither the western powers were interested in the growth of such a huge and strong state. That fact, the inner structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made much for the strengthening of the state, even more, than the personal qualities of the gifted king, Stephen Báthory.

As for our point of view, we cannot evaluate for a positive step the outcome resulted by the activity of Possevino, because he was not only naïve, but a blind person who did not want to see the threat of the Muscovian imperial expansion, and did not understand or did not want to understand that Ivan was not a European gentleman but a sick, mad dictator, who did not respected his partners even for a small speck of dust, and whose given word was not a promise but an evil tactic for deceiving his opponents. In contrary, King Báthory was a fair and intelligent ruler, such as Caliph Haroun al-Rashid at the Arabs. His victory appeared in a result of not only his personal qualities, but also the structural, social, and cultural development of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The right person worked on the right place. The tragedy of the History, that he with his powerful state did not continue his campaigns up to the totally incorporating the despotic Muscovy into some huge and multicultural European state. Two centuries later, the strengthened but despotic Muscovia, the dictatorship of the Russian Tsars, defeated the remains of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th c., destroyed its culture, repressed, and denied its languages, and the huge and long suffering began to the Ukrainian, Polish and other peoples. Albeit that must be a subject of another paper, and we deal with the Confessionalism in the Early Modern Age. Therefore, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the causes of the strengthening and getting more powerful state were as follows: A) the inner structure of the constitutional monarchy, because the parliamentary democracy of the noblemen resulted (yet in those times) more solid, more reliable state power, than any despotic dictature, which depended on the

whim of a single ruler, who was sick mad; – B) the cultural policy of King Báthory, because the high level of the education may strengthen the power of the state in such times, when the highly educated people form a narrow strata of the society, which the royal power may relay on, as clerks and diplomats; – C) the bourgeois development and evolving the Ukrainian brotherhoods, because these confraternities managed the schooling and printing, thus the strengthened bourgeoisie, with its private, secular capital, uplifted much the intellectual level of the middleclass of the society; and the strong and intellectually developed middleclass may strengthen the state and mainly the royal power; – D) the professional and excellent diplomacy of King Báthory, in which he could and did relay on excellently educated, gifted intellectuals. Hence, the personality of the King was not the only and mainly cause of strengthening the power of the state, although it was of great significance. The structure of the state, thus the social, economic, and political aspects of development were the factors that resulted the heydays of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its mightiness. In this aspect the rethinking and revaluation of the earlier paradigm of the historiography are necessary, and a modern approach, which we call ‘decolonization’, may result better insights into the complicated questions.

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İLGİLİ MAKAMA

9. Uluslararası Zeugma Bilimsel Araştırmalar Kongresi 19-21 Şubat 2023 tarihleri arasında Gaziantep, Türkiye’de (çevrimiçi olarak) 26 farklı ülkenin akademisyen/araştırmacılarının katılımıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Kongre 16 Ocak 2020 Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliğine getirilen “*Tebliğlerin sunulduğu yurt içinde veya yurt dışındaki etkinliğin uluslararası olarak nitelendirilebilmesi için Türkiye dışında en az beş farklı ülkeden sözlü tebliğ sunan konuşmacının katılım sağlaması ve tebliğlerin yarım fazlasının Türkiye dışından katılımcılar tarafından sunulması esastır.*” değişikliğine uygun düzenlenmiştir.

Bilgilerinize arz edilir,
Saygılarımla

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