

EDITED BY SIMON DREHER
AND WOLFGANG MUELLER

FOREIGNERS IN MUSCOVY

WESTERN IMMIGRANTS IN SIXTEENTH-
AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA



FOREIGNERS IN MUSCOVY

Between the late fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries, the State of Muscovy emerged from being a rather homogenous Russian-speaking and Orthodox medieval principality to becoming a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire. Not only the conquest of the neighbouring Tatar Khanates and the colonisation of Siberia demanded the integration of non-Christian populations into the Russian state. The ethnic composition of the capital and other towns also changed due to Muscovite policies of recruiting soldiers, officers, and specialists from various European countries, as well as the accommodation of merchants and the resettlement of war prisoners and civilians from annexed territories. The presence of foreign immigrants was accompanied by controversy and conflicts, which demanded adaptations not only in the Muscovite legal, fiscal, and economic systems but also in the everyday life of both native citizens and immigrants.

This book combines two major research fields on international relations in the State of Muscovy: the migration, settlement, and integration of Western Europeans, and Russian and European perceptions of the respective “other”.

Foreigners in Muscovy will appeal to researchers and students interested in the history and social makeup of Muscovy and in European–Russian relations during the early modern era.

Simon Dreher is a member of the Institute for Comparative Urban History (IStG) in Münster. He is a PhD candidate at the University of Münster with a project on Western European immigration into urban spaces of Muscovy in the seventeenth century.

Wolfgang Mueller is Full Professor of Russian History at the University of Vienna and a corresponding member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He was the founding deputy director of the Institute of Modern and Contemporary Historical Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences; a visiting professor at the Universities of Rostock/Germany, Torun/Poland, Nice/France, and Bern/Switzerland; and a visiting fellow at the Russian Academy of Sciences and Stanford University. He was awarded the R. Plaschka Prize, the L. Kunschak Prize, and the Austrian State Prize of History.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

FOREIGNERS IN MUSCOVY

Western Immigrants in Sixteenth-
and Seventeenth-Century Russia

Edited by Simon Dreher and Wolfgang Mueller

Designed cover image: *Foreigners in western clothing in the streets of Moscow* (originally published in: Adam Olearius, Des Welt-berühmten Adami Olearii colligirte und viel vermehrte Reise-Beschreibungen, Hamburg 1696, Digitalisat der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale): Ob 175, 2°(1-5), URL: <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:3-49179>), 93. Edited by Simon Dreher.

First published 2023
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2023 selection and editorial matter, Simon Dreher and Wolfgang Mueller;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Simon Dreher and Wolfgang Mueller to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Dreher, Simon, editor. | Mueller, Wolfgang, editor.

Title: *Foreigners in Muscovy : western immigrants in sixteenth and seventeenth century Russia* / edited by Simon Dreher and Wolfgang Mueller.

Other titles: *Western immigrants in sixteenth and seventeenth century Russia*

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, [2023] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022028683 | ISBN 9781032330891 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032330914 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003318156 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Muscovy (Grand Duchy)—History. | Europeans—Russia—History—16th century. | Europeans—Russia—History—17th century. | Noncitizens—Russia—History—17th century. | Immigrants—Russia—History—17th century. | Noncitizens—Russia—History—16th century. | Immigrants—Russia—History—16th century.

Classification: LCC DK100 .F67 2023 | DDC 947.310040509—dc23/
eng/20220712

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022028683>

ISBN: 978-1-032-33089-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-33091-4 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-31815-6 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003318156

Typeset in Bembo

by Apex CoVantage, LLC

CONTENTS

European Immigration to Muscovy in the Early Modern Era: An Introduction <i>Simon Dreher and Wolfgang Mueller</i>	1
SECTION 1 Immigration, Settlement, and Integration	25
1 From Individual Destinies to an Emergent Community: Latins in Sixteenth-Century Moscow <i>Iulia Nițescu</i>	27
2 Back in Moscow: Repatriation of Muscovite Emigrants in the Political and Legal Culture of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Russia <i>Konstantin Erusalimskii</i>	42
3 Foreigners on Moscow’s Housing Market: Legislation, Practices, and Administrative Handling of Foreign Residence Ownership in the Decades before Its Prohibition in 1652 <i>Simon Dreher</i>	62
4 Muscovite Ideology and the “Other” in the Town: Articles of the 1649 Law Code and the Impact of Local Initiative <i>Endre Sashalmi</i>	80

SECTION 2	
Interaction, Conflict, and Cooperation	97
5 Foreign Mercenaries and the Russian Population, 1631–1634: Conflict and Coexistence <i>Oleg Rusakovskii</i>	99
6 The Jesuit Mission and the Local Catholic Community in Smolensk: The First Years after the Treaty of Eternal Peace 1686 <i>Kirill Kochegarov</i>	115
7 Perustration: The Opening of Foreigners' Mail in Muscovy <i>Daniel C. Waugh</i>	133
8 Foreign Engineers, the Conquest of Azov, and the Building of Taganrog <i>Iskra Schwarcz</i>	152
SECTION 3	
Communication and Perception	165
9 A Foreigner in Early Sixteenth-Century Muscovy: Duke Mikhail Glinskii at the Muscovite Court <i>Uladzimir Kananovich</i>	167
10 Playing Chess with Boris Godunov and Living in a Guesthouse: Attitudes to Armenian Merchants in Early Modern Muscovy <i>Alexandr Osipian</i>	188
11 Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Family Networks in Dutch Trade with Russia, 1590–1750 <i>Jan Willem Veluwenkamp</i>	206
12 Halfway between the Kremlin and the <i>Sloboda</i> : The Catholic Physician Carbonarius and the Social Networks of Foreign Specialists in Muscovy <i>Sabine Dumschat</i>	224

<i>Appendix 1: Maps</i>	237
<i>Appendix 2: Glossary</i>	240
<i>Appendix 3: Acronyms and Abbreviations</i>	243
<i>Notes on the Authors and Editors</i>	245
<i>Index</i>	250



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION TO MUSCOVY IN THE EARLY MODERN ERA

An Introduction

Simon Dreher and Wolfgang Mueller

In comparison to other European states in the early modern era, Muscovy is considered to have been one of the most secluded and isolated. Nonetheless, from the late fifteenth century, the destination of migrants from many parts of Europe was Muscovy. Much of this migration was actively supported by the Muscovite government. Moscow's rulers sent diplomatic envoys and professional recruiters to Western European countries with instructions to hire experts such as mercenaries, technical specialists, artists, and physicians. At the same time, foreign merchants travelled through Muscovy, where they lived in designated guesthouses and even maintained their own residences in various towns. And occasionally, prisoners of war and inhabitants of occupied or annexed territories were forcefully relocated to Moscow and other towns for temporary or permanent settlement. Indeed, the overall demographic composition of Muscovy also changed due to the conquest of territories populated by non-Russian and non-Orthodox ethnic and religious groups. But it was the settlement of immigrants from foreign states in the capital and the towns of Muscovy's core – the north-eastern territories of the former Kyivan Rus' – that primarily impacted social structures. Their integration into society and everyday life demanded adaptations in the legal, fiscal, and economic systems.

While the tsars and some members of the Muscovite nobility were eager to recruit foreign experts, their presence in Muscovy was accompanied by controversies and conflicts, between both immigrants and the native population, and among the immigrants themselves. Representatives of the Orthodox Church as well as Orthodox believers were suspicious of foreigners, whom they regarded as spreaders of impure influences. And native merchants and certain Muscovite aristocrats saw foreigners as economic and political competitors. Contemporary reports about Muscovy that were published and circulated in Western Europe mention

widespread xenophobia, discrimination against non-Orthodox communities, and Western immigrants being repeatedly the target of popular violence, above all during wars and uprisings. Recent research, however, has offered a more circumspect view of the interaction between natives and immigrants.

The contributions to this volume are based on papers presented at an international workshop held in Vienna in December 2019. They examine the structural basis for foreigners immigrating to early modern Russia, interactions between foreigners and the Muscovite population and authorities, how foreigners communicated within and beyond the borders of Muscovy, and the perceptions held by foreigners and natives of each other. The volume focuses on the time span between the emergence of Moscow as the dominant part of the former principalities of the medieval Kyivan Rus' and the establishment of the Russian Empire in 1721 with Saint Petersburg as its capital. Consequently, we use the terms Muscovy and State of Moscow to describe the Grand Principality of Moscow of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and the Tsardom from 1547 to 1721.

On terminology to describe foreigners

The connecting aspect of this volume is immigration to Muscovy, including comparisons of the different groups of foreigners in society and the roles they held in it. However, in the history of European migration to Muscovy, the terminology used to describe foreigners varies. Especially in studies written in Russian, there have been many suggestions for a concise yet clear term for the diverse group of immigrants who lived in Muscovy. These include the modern Russian words for immigrants (*vykhodtsy*), foreigners (*inostrantsy*), and Western Europeans (*zapadevropeitsy*), as well as historical terms such as *inozemtsy*, with its literal meaning “people of a different land”, and *nemtsy*, a term used in Muscovite sources to identify persons of Western origin.¹

Nemtsy, which in modern Russian literally means “Germans”, derives from the word *nemoi* (“silent”) and originally applied to non-Slavic speaking persons to the west. The term *nemtsy* is used in Muscovite sources primarily for Protestants but also sometimes for Catholics. The latter were also called *latiny*. Although modern historians have used the term *nemtsy* in a more general way to refer to all immigrants and their descendants,² the term disregards how diverse the group of immigrants actually was. It not only included Catholic and Protestant Europeans, Orthodox Greeks and Ukrainians but also Armenians, Jews, Muslims, and others. In addition to the term's narrow meaning and the possible confusion with the still narrower modern Russian word, the term *nemtsy* provides no differentiation between immigrants to Muscovy and inhabitants of Western European countries.

The word *inozemtsy* is the term most commonly found in Muscovite sources and historical research. However, the term *inozemtsy* is also problematic, since it refers in general to any non-Orthodox person subject to Muscovite law, including Europeans and their descendants living in Muscovy, as well as other non-Orthodox inhabitants of Muscovite territories annexed over the centuries. Under the same conditions, the

term *inovertsy* with the meaning “of other faith” was applied in religious contexts. There is thus a practical problem when doing historical research on immigration to Muscovy: to find a clear and legitimate way of referring to these immigrants, since the sources and earlier research use various terms providing no clear distinctions.

Connected to the problem of terminology are the controversies in historical studies about what defined a Muscovite subject or, more specifically, whether immigrants were considered subjects of Muscovy. Early contributions by Aleksei Muliukin and others tied the status of being a subject of the tsar to the Orthodox faith and, as a consequence, considered conversion to Russian Orthodoxy as the only way a person could become a full member of Muscovite society. Thus, foreigners were identified as anyone not of the Orthodox faith. Conversion to Orthodoxy, however, made it next to impossible for immigrants to leave the country; indeed, non-converted immigrants occasionally received tsarist permission to return to their homelands. Nonetheless, as Margarete Woltner has pointed out, this does not necessarily mean that non-Orthodox persons were not considered legal subjects of the Muscovite State.³ The oaths taken by foreigners entering tsarist service and the incorporation of references to foreigners in Muscovite law codes indicate that, at least legally, foreigners were more closely subservient to the State of Moscow than to their native countries. This applied even more to the descendants of immigrants. While still identified as foreigners by Muscovite authorities, they did not necessarily have any connections to a foreign country. Moreover, Muscovite law rarely differentiated between the legal status of immigrants and other non-Orthodox peoples in Muscovy’s expanding realm. Accordingly, research on immigration to Muscovy is closely connected to the history of Muscovite policy towards non-Russian subjects in conquered territories and religious tolerance in early modern Russia in general.⁴

Immigration to Muscovy in the context of European–Russian relations and perceptions

The following overview examines the constants as well as turning points in the history of immigration to Muscovy between the late fifteenth century and the early eighteenth century, a time span of more than two hundred years. While in certain respects incomplete, it attempts to provide a broader context for the contributions to this volume. This includes early modern Russian–European relations, how immigration was based on mutual dependencies between Europe and Muscovy, as well as perceptions of the respective other.

Depending on the group of foreigners under examination, there were various relevant turning points regarding the immigration and presence of Europeans in Muscovy. While Russian sources are often limited to a vague differentiation between Orthodox Russians and people of other faiths, contemporary visitors of Muscovy as well as modern historians have categorised immigrants either by their places of origin, religious confession, or profession. The largest groups of foreigners were people of German, Polish, English, and Dutch origin. However, as both

contemporary authors and historians tell us, there was great diversity among the inhabitants in Muscovy's foreign settlements and communities; there were also residents of Swedish, French, Swiss, Greek, Armenian, Ottoman, and other origins. In the last third of the sixteenth century, the largest religious group among the foreigners living under Muscovite jurisdiction were Lutheran and Calvinist Protestants; towards the late seventeenth century, there were increasing numbers of Catholics from Poland-Lithuania. The professions of these foreigners can be categorised into four groups: (1) military officers and mercenaries, (2) professional specialists, including physicians, (3) merchants, and (4) artisans, clerics, and others – many of them with relatives and household members. Most of the members of the first and second groups were employed by the tsar and were in tsarist service. The third group, merchants, also relied on tsarist privileges and grants. In contrast, the members of the fourth group were economically dependent on others, in the case of clerics, on income from abroad.

There were various motivations for foreigners to immigrate, including Muscovite promises of profitable trade privileges for merchants and of high salaries and religious freedom for specialists and mercenaries entering tsarist service. Since religion was the main means used by authorities to differentiate between the native population and foreigners, non-Orthodox immigrants were legally and often physically separated from the majority of the population. Thus communities of mixed confessions and religions formed. Relevant for the majority of immigrants coming to Muscovy from the second half of the fifteenth century was further the ambivalent relationship between the Orthodox Church's resentment against Western confessions and Muscovy's diplomatic relations with European states. Thus, how these two issues developed pre-shaped the general circumstances of European immigrants coming to and living in Muscovy in the following two centuries:

- 1 When representatives of the Orthodox clergy voted for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1439 at the Council of Ferrara and Florence, the Grand Prince of Moscow not only rejected the union but a new Metropolitan was also nominated in 1448 without consent from Constantinople. With the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottomans in 1453 and the dynastic wedding between Moscow's Grand Prince Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) and the Byzantine Princess Zoe Palaiologina (Sof'ia Paleolog, 1448–1503) in 1472, the closely intertwined government and Church leaders of Moscow considered themselves the highest remaining authority in matters of the Orthodox Church.⁵ This in turn reinforced campaigns against non-Orthodox influences, which were declared to be "impure". Moreover, non-Orthodox followers were considered "unclean". The Orthodox Church supported the Muscovite government in some of its actions, such as the war in 1471 against Novgorod, which due to its contacts with neighbouring Western states and the Hanseatic League was considered a gateway for ideas considered heretical in anti-Latin Church polemics.⁶ Anatolii Sakharov has argued that the Muscovite government rarely adopted Orthodox polemics in its own rhetoric in the fifteenth century.⁷

However, in the sixteenth century, Tsar Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584) participated in theological discussions on Protestantism and legitimated his military campaign in the Baltic by Livonia's adoption in 1524 of Lutheranism.⁸

- 2 As diplomatic relations and mutual embassies with various European courts were established, this also brought a growing number of foreigners to Muscovy, including Greek and Italian specialists who arrived in Moscow with Sof'ia's entourage from Rome. The earliest known instructions for Muscovite diplomats to recruit foreigners during journeys to Western European countries date to the late fifteenth century. A well-known example is Ivan's invitation of Italian architects to work on Moscow's churches and the fortifications of the Kremlin.⁹ After King Maximilian I (r. 1486–1519, proclaimed emperor from 1508) and Grand Prince Ivan III attempted to negotiate a dynastic connection between the Habsburgs and the Rurikids, albeit unsuccessfully, the Holy Roman Empire became a new target for Muscovite diplomats and agents, who were instructed to recruit foreigners.¹⁰

The perceptions made by these foreigners thus found entry into early modern descriptions of Muscovy. The new immigrants became informants for Western diplomats, and also travellers passing through Muscovy were often eager to describe the current circumstances of foreigners living under tsarist rule. The most influential sixteenth-century work on Muscovy was written by the Habsburg diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein, who travelled to Moscow twice, in 1516 and 1525. He names foreigners living there as his sources of information and provides anecdotes about their life in Muscovy. His *Moscovia*, first published in 1549, also describes what today is assumed to have been the first settlement reserved for foreign mercenaries, a district in Moscow that existed during the reign of Prince Vasili III (r. 1505–1533).¹¹

Besides the recruitment of foreign specialists and soldiers, two other groups contributed to the establishment of permanent foreign settlements in Muscovy: foreign merchants and prisoners of war. Until the annexation of Novgorod by Moscow in 1478 and the closing of the Hanseatic *kontor* there in 1494, foreign merchants had not travelled further than Novgorod.¹² But not only the centralisation of Muscovite administration and economic structures brought more and more foreign merchants to the capital. Another major turning point was the discovery of a sea route around Scandinavia to the White Sea by the English navigator Richard Chancellor in 1553. Via this route, English and later other foreign merchants began regular sea trade with Moscow. Since European merchants not only travelled to Moscow but on to Persia and other destinations, permanent residences, foreign settlements, and storehouses were established for foreign trading companies in the capital, as well as in other places such as Vologda and the new harbour town of Arkhangel'sk, founded in 1584.¹³

In addition to invited specialists and the accommodation of merchants, permanent immigrants to Muscovy also included former prisoners and deserters from Moscow's wars with neighbouring states. The Livonian War (1558–1583),

launched by Vasiliï's successor Ivan IV, can be considered a turning point for foreign presence in Muscovy. During the war period, citizens of Dorpat and other Livonian towns were repeatedly deported from their hometowns and in part forcefully resettled in Moscow and various Muscovite towns. After earlier settlements near Moscow were destroyed in a Tatar attack in 1571, a new settlement known as the *Nemetskaia sloboda* formed. The settlement is the first known example of a civilian community of foreign immigrants in Muscovy. While some former prisoners returned to Livonia, many stayed, thus establishing the settlement's predominantly Protestant character. It had its own churches and was granted special privileges, such as a permit to brew alcoholic beverages. The community soon became a recruiting ground for specialists, mercenaries, and officers for tsarist service, thus emerging as the main destination for Western immigration.¹⁴ A few immigrants even joined Ivan's *oprichniki*, a special military unit under direct tsarist control that soon became known for violent raids against Ivan's political targets and some parts of the population. At some point between 1578 and 1581, soldiers raided the foreigners' settlement and burned down the Protestant church.¹⁵ In the following two decades, Protestants were not allowed to have churches.¹⁶

Western reports about Muscovy of the late sixteenth century were generally negative with the Livonian War, the *oprichnina*, and Ivan's tyranny in general becoming the main themes.¹⁷ Some of these reports were written by foreigners after their departure from tsarist service, such as Elert Kruse, Johann Taube, and Heinrich von Staden.¹⁸ And yet, there were foreigners who emphasised the generosity towards foreign immigrants of Ivan and his successors (especially Boris Godunov, r. 1598–1605) and the religious freedoms enjoyed by Protestants and Catholics. One of these was Conrad Bussow, who spent ten years in Muscovy, including five in military service. Bussow's 1613 chronicle is an invaluable source on the "Time of Troubles" (*smuta*, 1598–1613), the period of civil war between the end of the Riurikid dynasty and the establishment of the Romanov dynasty on Moscow's throne. It provides many insights into the views of Western immigrants in the capital at this time.¹⁹

The seventeenth century saw various periods of growth and decline in the number of foreigners living in Muscovy as well as in the level of their involvement in local matters. During and after the Time of Troubles, former prisoners of war were integrated into military and other tsarist services and thus remained in Muscovy. During the period of Polish control of Moscow's throne, from 1610 to 1613, the number of foreigners from Poland, Lithuania, and Sweden settling in Muscovy grew. The foreign suburb, however, was raided in 1610, with what was left of the Protestant community dispersing. Under the first Romanov on Moscow's throne, Tsar Mikhail (r. 1613–1645), restrictions were again placed on the religious freedoms of Catholics in response to Polish claims for the tsarist title.²⁰ But when the recruiting of foreign specialists, military officers, and soldiers was resumed in the following decades, Catholics again entered tsarist service, as well as Protestants, Orthodox Christians, and others. However, although there were exceptions, Jews were forbidden to enter Russia until the reign of Peter I (r. 1682–1725).²¹

The invitation of foreign officers and mercenaries significantly increased in times of war such as the Smolensk War (1632–1634) but was followed with immigration restrictions to reduce the costs of supplying of unemployed mercenaries and other foreigners for which the tsarist government had no further need. Thus, the numbers of foreign immigrants and their acceptance in Muscovite society fluctuated. As Lindsey Hughes has stressed, in the mid-seventeenth century, three factors merged in the attitudes of natives towards foreigners in Muscovy: (1) xenophobia fanned by foreign interventions during the Time of Troubles; (2) Orthodox reform movements with a “heavy anti-foreign bias”; and (3) local protests against financial burdens and reforms which draw attention to the privileged status and influential positions of some foreigners.²² The *Sobornoe Ulozhenie*, the law code adopted one year after the Moscow uprising of 1648, prohibited foreigners from buying land or building churches in the capital. Moreover, in response to the execution of King Charles I in 1649, British merchants were removed from all Muscovite towns but Arkhangel’sk in the same year.

While the homes of most immigrants were scattered around Moscow, two areas within the city walls had concentrations of foreigners, one with mainly Polish and Swedish former prisoners, another with Greeks. Following disputes between the capital’s Orthodox and non-Orthodox inhabitants, in 1652 Muscovite authorities ordered the building of a new foreign suburb, the *Novo-Nemetskaia sloboda*, outside the city walls. It was to be for both Protestants and Catholics. However, only Protestants were allowed to have ministers and churches. In the same year, a ban on foreigners wearing Russian clothing was instated.²³ The author of the most influential seventeenth-century account of Muscovy was Adam Olearius, who visited Moscow in the 1630s during a mission sent from the German state of Holstein to explore an overland trade route with Persia. He maintained contact with many local foreigners, some of whom had also been part of the Holstein mission. In the revised version of his account, published in 1656, he described how foreigners in Moscow viewed the *Novo-Nemetskaia sloboda*: they considered it a “town of their own”.²⁴ Although suburbs designated for foreigners also existed in other Muscovite towns, the policy in Moscow of segregating foreigners from the city’s native population was exceptional. In the 1640s and early 1650s, in the context of a broader anti-foreign campaign by the Orthodox Church and the government, this segregation was seen as a threat by local foreign residents, such as the Swedish diplomat Johann de Rodes.²⁵ However, the plan to surround the suburb with a guarded palisade was never implemented, and there were also some exceptions allowing some foreigners to live in the city. As Moscow expanded in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the suburb became an incorporated part of the capital.²⁶

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the influence of foreigners on the Muscovite nobility grew. There was also growing influence of Ukrainian scholars among the Muscovite elite after Kyiv came under Muscovite jurisdiction following the peace treaties with Poland-Lithuania in 1667 and 1686.²⁷ There was also an increase in foreigners being involved in domestic conflicts and social unrest. For example, the Muscovite diplomat Artamon Matveev (1625–1682), head of the

Ambassadorial Department (*Posol'skii prikaz*) from 1671, maintained close relations with foreigners. It was on Matveev's suggestion that the Lutheran pastor Gottfried Gregori (1631–1675) was allowed to organise a theatre performance for Tsar Aleksei (r. 1645–1676).²⁸ However, after Aleksei's death, Matveev's political ambitions to establish Tsarevich Pëtr Alekseevich (later Peter I, r. 1682–1725) on the throne were not only answered by boyars supporting Aleksei's successor Fëdor Alekseevich (r. 1676–1682) and Matveev's banishment to Siberia but also with the dismissal of some foreigners from tsarist service in 1677.²⁹ In the following years, the new patriarch Ioakim (r. 1674–1690) provoked further anti-foreign sentiment against non-Orthodox immigrants. After returning to Moscow in 1682, Matveev was killed by revolting Muscovite soldiers (*strel'tsy*),³⁰ who also raided the *sloboda* to seize a foreign physician, the converted Jew Daniel von Gaden, who was suspected of having been responsible for the death of Tsar Fëdor in 1682. According to the Danish resident Heinrich Butenant von Rosenbusch, the inhabitants of the *sloboda* believed von Gaden innocent but were nevertheless relieved, when the violent searches by the *strel'tsy* ended after Gaden and another foreign physician were arrested and finally executed.³¹

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, we find influential foreigners in contact with the highest representatives of the Muscovite elite. For example, the Scottish officer Patrick Gordon (1635–1699) not only discusses military operations in his diary but also reports his conversations with Boyar Vasiliï Golitsyn (1643–1714), the favourite of Regent Sof'ia (r. 1682–1689), and her political opponent, Tsar Peter I. Both Peter and Golitsyn maintained numerous contacts in the *Nemet-skaia sloboda*. However, while Peter showed great interest in European societies and implemented Western-oriented reforms, anti-foreign actions continued after he forced Sof'ia to end her regency in 1689 and secured the throne for himself. The defeat of Russian troops under the command of a foreign officer during campaigns against Crimean Tatars in the same year led Patriarch Ioakim to include demands in his testament that any interactions between Orthodox persons and foreigners should be forbidden, and no Western traditions should be adopted.³² The Jesuits, who had been tolerated by Sof'ia since 1684 and erected a church in the *Nemet-skaia sloboda*, were expelled in December 1689, although Jesuit missionaries were again allowed to enter three years later.³³ Especially during religious feasts and political upheavals, foreigners reported being the target of violence from Muscovite townspeople. The secretary of the Imperial mission to Moscow in 1698 and 1699, Johann Georg Korb claimed that “the main delight of the Muscovite populace is to rob and run riot against the Germans” and that natives insulted and threatened foreigners on the street for being privileged by the tsar and for “robbing” Russians.³⁴

Indeed, Tsar Peter made regular visits to the *sloboda* and promoted foreigners like Patrick Gordon and François Le Fort (1656–1699) to high positions. Peter continued to use the same methods of his predecessors to recruit foreigners, either relying on his diplomats abroad or the mediation of other foreign immigrants. However, he was also personally involved in recruitment during his journeys through several European countries in 1697/1698 and 1716/1717. Simultaneously, Peter sent

Russians abroad to study and learn artisanal skills. Additionally, his government issued a decree in 1702 to recruit foreign mercenaries and other specialists. For the first time, recruitment not only relied on individual diplomats and agents but was supported by a document published in various languages assuring religious freedoms, financial benefits, and the possibility for those accepting employment in Muscovy to return to their home country.³⁵ In the context of the Great Northern War (1700–1721), the recruitment of foreigners was met with countermeasures by Muscovy's neighbouring states, which blocked routes for transient migrants and encouraged specialists and soldiers formerly employed by the tsar to publish pamphlets about the alleged mistreatment of foreigners in Muscovy.³⁶ Responding to these accusations, Heinrich Huyssen (1666–1739), the schoolmaster employed by the tsar for Tsarevich Aleksei (1690–1718), initiated a debate via printed pamphlets with his expelled predecessor Martin Neugebauer (1670–unknown). Points of contention between the two authors concerned violence against foreigners and the reliability of the promises in Peter's decree.³⁷

Simultaneously, Western polymaths such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) were shaping a positive picture of the “changed Russia”, the expression used by the Hanoverian diplomat Friedrich Christian Weber (ca. 1690–1739).³⁸ Changes in the status of foreigners in Russia are not only visible in the facilitation of recruitment and cross-border travels during the reigns of Peter I and his successors, but were also connected to the annexation of new territories in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The legal status established for the Protestant inhabitants of the Baltic provinces that fell under Russian jurisdiction in the Peace of Nystad (1721), ending the Great Northern War, and the tolerance towards Catholic and Jewish inhabitants of parts of Poland–Lithuania, which were annexed in the eighteenth century, also had an effect on the situation of Western immigrants in Muscovy. The era of selectively admitting foreign specialists, soldiers, and merchants, as well as the isolation policies motivated by religion, ended in 1763, when Empress Catherine II (r. 1762–1796) invited Western settlers, an invitation followed by great numbers of immigrants.³⁹

Historiography: origins and tendencies

To a significant extent, the historiography of foreign immigration to Muscovy is dependent on contemporary reports written by foreign travellers and immigrants. Moreover, most of the first historical studies on immigrants were written by foreigners or descendants of foreigners who lived in the Russian Empire. Influential studies were written by Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724–1793),⁴⁰ Johann Christian Grot (1733–1800),⁴¹ Andreas Wilhelm Fechner (1825–1887),⁴² and Hermann Dalton (1833–1913).⁴³ All of these figures were German priests at one of the Lutheran or Reformed parishes in Saint Petersburg, either before or while writing their histories. Their reports concentrate on Muscovite legislation concerning religious tolerance and the internal affairs of the foreign communities. Studies by other authors of German origin who were born in the Russian Empire were similar,

including works by Joseph Christian Hamel (1788–1862),⁴⁴ Alexander Brückner (1834–1896),⁴⁵ and Erik Amburger (1907–2001).⁴⁶ In the nineteenth century, historians such as Vasilii Kliuchevskii (1841–1911) showed an interest in the role of foreigners at the tsarist court and their cultural influence on Muscovite nobility in general.⁴⁷ However, most detailed research on immigration to Muscovy remained focused on confessional aspects and was quite biased in nature, as for example Dmitrii Tol'stoi's (1823–1889)⁴⁸ study on Catholics in Muscovite and Imperial Russia, and the many studies on Protestants by Dmitrii Tsvetaev (1852–1920).⁴⁹ Both Tol'stoi and Tsvetaev interpreted the historical role of non-Orthodox immigrants in the light of the nineteenth-century debates between Slavophiles and Westernisers about Russian identity.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, Russian and Soviet historians, such as Kliuchevskii, Sergei Platonov (1860–1933),⁵⁰ and others followed the discussion of Sergei Solov'ev (1820–1879) about the Western impact on Muscovy⁵¹ and re-evaluated the role of foreigners in Muscovite society. Kliuchevskii and Platonov argued that Muscovy and the West were more closely intertwined than was usually perceived and that processes of “Europeanisation” started earlier.⁵² Kliuchevskii also put the reports of Western travellers and observers of Muscovy into the context of its century-long alienation.⁵³ Early Soviet historians like Sergei Bogoiavlenskii (1872–1947),⁵⁴ Evgenii Zviagintsev (1869–1945),⁵⁵ and Vladimir Snegir'ev (1882–1961),⁵⁶ however, dismissed the influence of foreign immigrants on the development of the Muscovite state and society. Others such as Aleksandr Muliukin (b. 1873)⁵⁷ and Nina Vershinina, with her 1948 dissertation on foreigners and foreign suburbs in seventeenth-century Moscow,⁵⁸ widened the perspective, providing structural analyses of legislation, immigration procedures, and urban settlement.⁵⁹

In the post-war era, Soviet scholars stopped doing research on foreign immigrants in Muscovy, since from 1948 any research on foreign influences in Russia was politically repressed.⁶⁰ Western historians who lacked access to Soviet archives shifted their focus to matters where sources were still accessible, such as continuing earlier Soviet research on Moscow's *Nemetskaia sloboda* in the seventeenth century. The most notable contributions are those of Erik Amburger,⁶¹ Samuel H. Baron (1921–2017),⁶² and, more recently, Martha L. Lahana.⁶³ Baron also published on the history of the Muscovy Company and trade via Arkhangel'sk,⁶⁴ a topic that since the nineteenth century was also regularly examined by Russian, British, and Dutch economic historians.⁶⁵ Marc Szeftel and Aleksandr Muliukin published works on the legal conditions of foreign merchants in Muscovy,⁶⁶ and at the end of the 1990s and in the early 2000s, Iurii Bespyatykh edited several volumes of collected papers that were loosely connected to trade history as well as to social aspects of the presence of foreigners in Russia's far north.⁶⁷

Research on immigration to Muscovy has often stood in the shadow of the closely related history of the mass immigration to Imperial Russia that took place after the establishment of the Volga colonies by decree of Catharine II in 1763.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the 1990s saw a growing interest in the history of Russian Germans,

and various scholarly cooperation agreements also supported research on earlier stages of immigration to Muscovy. Among many publications, the ones most invested in linking research on Russian Germans with the history of immigration to Muscovy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the several edited volumes by Iurii Petrov and the many related articles by Ol'ga Kurilo.⁶⁹

At the turn of the current century, a number of studies were published that can now be counted as essential works on Western immigration to Muscovy. The seventeenth-century *Novo-Nemetskaia sloboda* has been the subject of several publications, including Vera Kovrigina's 1998 monograph,⁷⁰ the 2011 dissertation of Vladimir Del'vig,⁷¹ and a volume edited by Vladimir Alekseev and others in 2004.⁷² The same year, Sergei Orlenko published a study on the legal status of Western migrants in seventeenth-century Muscovy; it contrasts legislation with numerous cases of administrative practices that the author found in Russian archives.⁷³ In her 2007 monograph on foreign physicians in Muscovy, Sabine Dumschat provides a thorough analysis of their immigration and employment structures.⁷⁴ Tat'iana Oparina's monograph containing biographies of several foreigners in Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflects on the diversity of the life paths of immigrants and their descendants in Muscovy.⁷⁵ Further, in 2006 Aleksei Levykin published a volume on foreigners in Muscovy that includes contributions by both Russian and international historians.⁷⁶

Foreigners have been a focus of Russian military history in connection with their role in establishing so-called new regiments formed on the model of Western armies, their contribution in military campaigns, and their social competition with *strel'tsy*. Recent contributions include those of Oleg Rusakovskii, who has analysed the development of legal foundations of foreign mercenary troops in Muscovy and their internal organisation,⁷⁷ of Oleg Skobelkin, who has written on the Time of Troubles,⁷⁸ and William Reger's research on the later decades of the seventeenth century.⁷⁹ Studies on foreign influence at Russia's imperial court over the centuries have also shed light on the life of individual foreigners during the reign of Peter I. In addition to the biographies of foreigners in military service published in the nineteenth century, such as those about François Le Fort⁸⁰ and Patrick Gordon,⁸¹ there are a number of more recent biographies, including about the Lutheran pastor Johann Ernst Glück (1654–1705),⁸² and the tsarist advisor Heinrich Huyssen,⁸³ as well as several biographic handbooks.⁸⁴ In connection with the vast literature about foreign influence on the reforms of Peter I, recent studies have also focused on the structures of employment of foreigners at the tsar's court.⁸⁵ Regarding the role of foreigners in the transfer of information and knowledge, several recent publications have examined how foreign news was acquired in Muscovy, the role of foreign immigrants as informants, and the influence of foreign translators and teachers on Muscovite authorities.⁸⁶

To summarise, the historiography of immigration to Muscovy has long focused on six aspects: (1) the legal status and administrative integration of immigrants; (2) the establishment and development of foreign settlements and the history of the different confessional communities; (3) the parameters of religious (in-)tolerance

and interreligious controversies; (4) immigrants and foreigners occasionally becoming targets of stigmatisation, repression, and violence, particularly during times of social unrest; (5) economic, technological, and military factors in recruiting foreign specialists and mercenaries; (6) international trade and competition between foreign and native merchants. Research during the last two decades has widened this spectrum, with interdisciplinary studies on aspects such as communication, interpersonal networks, and biographical narratives of immigrants. Research on foreigners in Muscovy is above all embedded in the historiography of Muscovy itself.⁸⁷ Interestingly, the historiography of immigration to Muscovy shows little overlap with the historiographies of two other major aspects in European–Russian relations: the history of European–Russian diplomatic contacts and the perception of the respective other in contemporary literature.⁸⁸

As shown in the previous section, the overall characterisation of Muscovy and its inhabitants in accounts written by contemporaneous foreign authors was strongly influenced by political relations and the circumstances under which the local minorities lived. How local foreigners viewed Russia and Russians has therefore always been an integral part of research on European–Russian perceptions.⁸⁹ In contrast, how immigration to Muscovy influenced the native population's perception of Europe has rarely been examined. While in some cases hostile attitudes towards the representatives of Latin Christendom can be found in Muscovite sources, few offer value judgements as extensive and detailed as those in foreign accounts. Indeed, to a certain extent, reports of European visitors to Muscovy can be used for research on the Muscovite view of Europe, Western religions, and foreign immigrants. And yet, for a deeper understanding of how natives and immigrants interacted as well as their attitudes towards the respective other, historians must also undertake a detailed investigation of Muscovite sources. This volume is an attempt to provide a step in this direction.

Overview of this volume

The authors of the contributions to this volume cover areas and aspects going beyond just the Protestant communities and foreign suburbs in Muscovy, topics that have been well researched. They shed light on communication structures and methods, on forms of interaction and cooperation, and on conflicts between foreigners and natives, as well as among various groups of foreigners. Moreover, the contributions offer insights not only into the early modern outside view of Muscovy but also into the Muscovite view of European immigrants.

The volume has three parts. In the first, the contributions examine processes of immigration and settlement, as well as the legal and administrative basis for integrating foreigners into Muscovy. Central questions focus on legal, economic, and political circumstances that supported or hindered the integration of non-Orthodox persons into society, and how authorities and the native population handled their settlement.

In the first chapter, Iulia Nițescu examines how Roman Catholic immigrants during the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries had to adapt to predominantly Orthodox surroundings. The ongoing interest of pontifical and Habsburg representatives in the reunification of the Western and Eastern Churches increased anti-Latin sentiments in Muscovy. Thus, prior to Protestants becoming the largest group of foreign immigrants under tsarist rule in the second half of the sixteenth century, the main response to the arrival and presence of Western foreigners in Muscovy was fear of Latin influence. The second contribution to this volume, by Konstantin Erusalimskii, analyses cases of emigrated noblemen, town dwellers and peasants and their descendants, who had fled to the neighbouring realm of Poland-Lithuania. Upon their return to Muscovy, many were accused of being compromised by Western influences. Under Ivan IV in the mid-sixteenth century, emigrated subjects were considered traitors and executed if they returned to Muscovy. By the late sixteenth century, the handling of reimmigration had shifted, with Muscovite authorities inviting former subjects to reintegrate into tsarist service. The third chapter, by Simon Dreher, evaluates the settlement of foreigners in Moscow in the first half of the seventeenth century, when foreigners in the capital lived directly in the neighbourhoods of native inhabitants. Everyday interactions often involved tension and conflicts. By the middle of that century, the authorities responded by physically isolating foreigners in a segregated settlement outside the city walls. As examined by Endre Sashalmi in the fourth chapter, local attitudes towards foreigners influenced the Muscovite legal groundwork in the same period, as was manifested by the 1649 law code (*Sobornoe Ulozhenie*). In contrast to earlier law codes, the *Ulozhenie* included many articles dealing with the integration of foreigners into Muscovite society, with several articles direct adaptations of judicial trial decisions made during the preceding decades.

In the second part of the volume, the contributions examine, on the one hand, various types of interaction, conflict, and cooperation between foreigners and Muscovite authorities and the native civil population, and, on the other hand, between foreigners themselves. Oleg Rusakovskii examines the circumstances of foreign mercenaries in tsarist service during the Smolensk War from 1632 to 1634. Their contacts with the local population on their trek from the capital to the periphery of Muscovy varied between violent looting and peaceful trading activities. The authorities strove to reduce interactions altogether by improving the supplies and infrastructure for the mercenaries. Later in the seventeenth century, Smolensk became the site of an unofficial Jesuit mission. In the sixth chapter, Kirill Kochegarov examines the contacts and attitudes of the government and local authorities with Roman Catholic foreigners in Smolensk after the treaty of Eternal Peace between Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania in 1686. In his examination of the role of foreigners in the government's attempts to acquire foreign news, Daniel C. Waugh investigates a form of involuntary cooperation between foreigners and the authorities. In addition to bringing foreign newspapers and being interrogated on current events when entering tsarist service, foreigners in Muscovy were a source

of information through their correspondence with their homelands, which was opened, read, and translated by Muscovite officials. The importation of Western knowledge is also the focus of the next chapter, by Iskra Schwarcz, who discusses the role of foreign engineers in the siege of Azov and the construction of Taganrog during the reign of Peter I.

The focus of the last part of the volume is how foreigners communicated with each other, with their local contacts in Muscovy, and with the outside world. Also examined are perceptions of the other as can be found in both Muscovite and foreign sources. Uladzimir Kananovich's chapter deals with the life of Mikhail Glinskii, who emigrated from Lithuania to Muscovy in the early sixteenth century. Before becoming an advisor to Grand Prince Vasiliï III, Glinskii found himself isolated from the majority of Muscovite society, but he maintained contacts with other exiles, family members, and other foreigners. Although foreign merchants often had direct contact with high-ranking officials and enjoyed the freedom of travelling within and beyond Muscovy, for the most part they lived isolated from the Orthodox population. In the tenth chapter, Alexandr Osipian examines the accommodation of Armenian merchants in Muscovy, as well as their social and religious freedoms and restrictions. While Muscovite authorities made great efforts to minimise contacts between foreigners and the Orthodox population, foreign merchants and trading companies were able to establish efficient networks of communication with their contacts abroad and foreign residents in Muscovy. Jan Willem Veluwenkamp analyses how Dutch merchants relied on family networks to compete with Muscovite and other traders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To conclude, in the final chapter Sabine Dumschat uses the example of the Catholic physician Gregorius Carbonarius von Bisenegg to show how foreign specialists in Muscovy used communication networks, including post and travellers, that went beyond their own personal and professional circles to include members of other confessions in their neighbourhoods, officials at the tsarist court, and persons in distant places.

Acknowledgements

The editors would like to express their gratitude to all those who helped make this volume possible. This includes the University of Vienna and its Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies for generously sponsoring the workshop as well as the editing of this volume. At the workshop, Kerstin Susanne Jobst kindly welcomed all participants to the Department of East European History, Ulrich Hofmeister and Kristina Wittkamp served as even-handed moderators, and Anita Biricz, Angela Marhold, and Michaela Strauss took care of all organisational matters. Max Novick at Routledge served as a friendly point of contact through the two years that this volume was in the making, and Michael Greenwood and Louis Nicholson-Pallett helped us during the final phase of the publication. The manuscript was carefully proofread by Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek, and Daniel C. Waugh provided us with insightful comments on this introduction. Last but certainly not least, we would

like to thank all of the workshop participants and the authors of this volume for providing their pieces to the puzzle of the history of foreigners in Muscovy.

Notes

- 1 The transliteration of Belarussian, Russian, and Ukrainian words follows the simplified Library of Congress conventions, dropping diacritical marks.
- 2 See, for example, Orlenko, *Vykhodtsy iz Zapadnoi Evropy*, who apart from the title tends to use *nemtsy* in quotation marks for all kinds of immigrants.
- 3 Muliukin, *Ocherki*; Woltner, "Zur Frage der Untertanenschaft."
- 4 Nolte, *Religiöse Toleranz*; idem, "Verständnis und Bedeutung der Religiösen Toleranz"; Steindorff (ed.), *Religion und Integration*; Werth, *The Tsar's Foreign Faiths*.
- 5 Martin, "The Emergence of Moscow (1359–1462)," 178–186.
- 6 On campaigns against "Latin" influences around 1500, see: Sacharov, "Über den Kampf gegen das Lateinertum." In Kyivan chronicles and Orthodox literature, Catholicism was held responsible for the Schism. Catholics were not considered Christians. Stökl, *Das Bild des Abendlandes*, 10; 21; Müller, "Das Bild vom Deutschen." The complementary volume on Western perceptions of this Russia project, as inspired by Lev Kopelev, is Keller (ed.), *Russen und Russland*.
- 7 Sacharov, "Über den Kampf gegen das Lateinertum," 102–103.
- 8 Ronchi de Michelis, "The Reformation in Muscovy"; Donnert, "Begegnung von Luthertum und russischer Orthodoxie."
- 9 Fasce, "Gli architetti Italiani"; Nițescu, "Marrying an Orthodox Tsarevna from Rome."
- 10 Amburger, *Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte*, 16–17.
- 11 Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, 214–215.
- 12 Rybina, *Inozemnye dvory v Novgorode*; Angermann, "Deutsche Handelsverbindungen mit Moskau."
- 13 Baron, "The Muscovy Company."
- 14 Wedel, *Deutsche Schicksale*, 71–79.
- 15 Sommer, "Die Anfänge der Moskauer Deutschen Sloboda," 433–435.
- 16 Nolte, *Religiöse Toleranz*, 97–98.
- 17 See Filjushkin, *Ivan the Terrible*, 243–257.
- 18 Benoit, "Johann Taube and Elert Kruse"; Skrynnikov, *Reign of Terror*; Staden, *Aufzeichnungen*; idem., *The Land and Government*.
- 19 Bussow, *Moskovskaia khronika*, 296–307.
- 20 Tolstoi, *Rimskii katolitsizm*, 99–108.
- 21 Gessen, *Istoriia Evreev*; Burmistrov (ed.), *Moskva evreiskaia*.
- 22 Hughes, "Attitudes towards Foreigners."
- 23 SNO 7, № LXXII, 97 (20 October 1652).
- 24 Olearius, *The Travels*, 281.
- 25 SNO 7, № LXXII, 97–99 (20 October 1652).
- 26 Lahana, *Novaia Nemetskaia Sloboda*, 92–93.
- 27 Okenfuss, *The Rise and Fall*, 45–62.
- 28 See also Jensen, Maier, Shamin and Waugh, *Russia's Theatrical Past*.
- 29 Rüb, "Moskauer 'Westler' und 'Dissidenten,'" 207–212; Dumschat, *Ausländische Mediziner*, 267–268.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 212.
- 31 Rosenbusch, "Warhaftige Relation," 341–346. Cf. also Kazakov, *Die Moskauer Strelitzen-Revolt*, 50, 98–106.
- 32 Ioakim, "Dukhovnaia Patriarkha Ioakima," 472–475.
- 33 Kuvshinskaya, "'Garten der kaiserlichen Missionare,'" 163–164.
- 34 Korb, *Diary*, 247–248.
- 35 *Ihro Zaristischen Majestät Plakate*.
- 36 Amburger, *Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte*, 76–77.

- 37 Korzun, *Heinrich von Huyssen*, 43–55.
- 38 Weber, *Das veränderte Rußland*. See also: Klonowski, *Im Dienst des Hauses Hannover*.
- 39 Brandes, “Einwanderung und Entwicklung der Kolonien.”
- 40 Büsching, *Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden*.
- 41 Grot, *Bemerkungen über die Religionsfreyheit*.
- 42 Fechner, *Chronik der evangelischen Gemeinden*.
- 43 Dalton, *Geschichte der reformierten Kirche*; idem., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*.
- 44 Gamel', *Anglichane v Rossii*.
- 45 Brückner, *Die Ausländer in Russland*.
- 46 Amburger, *Geschichte des Protestantismus*; idem, *Die Pastoren*.
- 47 Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii*. Cf. also Lappo–Danilevskii, “Inozemtsy v Rossii.”
- 48 Tolstoy, *Le catholicisme romain*; idem, *Rimskii katolitsizm*.
- 49 Tsvetaev, *Polozhenie protestantov*; idem, *Veroispovedal'noe polozhenie protestantskikh kuptsov*; idem, *Protestantstvo i Protestanty*.
- 50 Platonov, *Moskva i Zapad*; idem, *Moscow and the West*; idem, “Inozemtsy na Russkom severe.”
- 51 Solov'ëv, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremën*, book 3, vol. 8, 797–804.
- 52 Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii*; Platonov, *Moskva i Zapad*; Kazakova, *Zapadnaia Evropa*.
- 53 Kliuchevskii, *Skazaniia inostrantsev*.
- 54 Bogoiavlenskii, “Moskovskaia nemetskaia sloboda.”
- 55 Zviagintsev, “Slobody Inostrantsev.”
- 56 Snegirëv, *Moskovskie Slobody*.
- 57 Muliukin, *Priezd inostrantsev*.
- 58 Vershinina, *Inozemtsy i inozemnye slobody*. See also her studies on foreign language learning in Muscovy, published under her married name Savich: N.G. Savich, “Iz istorii russko-nemetskikh kul'turnykh svyazei v XVII v.”; idem, “Izuchenie inostrannykh iazykov russkimi v XVII veke,” 35–79.
- 59 See also Nechaev, “Inozemcheskie slobody”; Liubimenco, “Trud inozemtsev”; Pypin, “Inozemtsy.”
- 60 Cf. Lahana, *Novaia Nemetskaia Sloboda*, 28–30.
- 61 Amburger, *Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte*; idem, *Die Familie Marselis*. See also the database of biographic information on foreigners in Russia that is based on Amburger's notes: *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank*.
- 62 Baron, “The Origins.”
- 63 Lahana, *Novaia Nemetskaia Sloboda*.
- 64 Baron, “The Muscovy Company.”
- 65 Ogorodnikov, *Ocherk Istorii goroda Archangel'ska*; Page, *The Russia Company*; Willian, *The Early History of the Russian Company*; Dëmkin, *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo*; Veluwenkamp, *Archangel*; Kotilaine, *Russia's Foreign Trade*; Arel, *English Trade*.
- 66 Muliukin, *Ocherki*; Marc Szeftel, “La condition légale”; idem, “The Legal Condition.”
- 67 Bespiatykh (ed.), *Russkii Sever*; idem, Veluwenkamp and Popova (eds.), *Niderlandy i severnaia Rossiia*.
- 68 See for example Slavgorodskaia (ed.), *Nemtsy v Rossii*.
- 69 Kurilo, *Ocherki*; idem, *Liuterane v Rossii*; idem, *Die lutherische Gemeinde*; idem, “Protestanten im Moskauer Reich.”
- 70 Kovrigina, *Nemetskaia sloboda Moskvu*.
- 71 Del'vig, *Vliianie inozemtsev*.
- 72 Alekseev, Miklshevskaiia and Tsepliaeva, *Nemetskaia sloboda na Iauze*.
- 73 Orlenko, *Vykhodtsy iz Zapadnoi Evropy*.
- 74 Dumschat, *Ausländische Mediziner*.
- 75 Oparina, *Inozemtsy*.
- 76 Levykin (ed.), *Inozemtsy*.
- 77 Rusakovskiy, “Das erste russische Militärrecht für fremde Söldner?”
- 78 Skobelkin, *Zapadnoevropeitsy*; idem, “Sluzhilye ‘nemtsy.’”

- 79 Reger, “Baptizing Mars”; idem, “European Mercenary Officers.”
- 80 Posselt, *Der General und Admiral Franz Lefort*; Blum, *Franz Lefort*.
- 81 Brückner, “Patrick Gordon”; idem, *Patrik Gordon i ego dnevnik*.
- 82 Glück and Polanska, *Johann Ernst Glück*.
- 83 Korzun, *Heinrich von Huyszen*.
- 84 Karev et al. (eds.), *Nemtsy Rossii*; Makarov, *Gollandtsy v Rossii*; Rzhetskii and Guzevich (eds.), *Inostrannye spetsialisty*.
- 85 Firsov et al. (eds.), *Rossii i zapadnoevropeiskoe provshchenie*; Hughes (ed.), *Peter the Great and the West*; see also Collis, *The Petrine Instauration*.
- 86 Mengel' et al, *Alternativnye puti*; Rjeoutski, “Migrants and Language Learning”; See also the entries by Waugh and Maier in: Franklin and Bowers (eds.), *Information and Empire*; Beliakov, Gus'kov, Liseitsev and Shamin, *Perevodchiki i perevody*; idem, *Perevodchiki Posol'skogo prikaza*. See also Angermann, “Deutsche Übersetzer und Dolmetscher.”
- 87 For a general overview of recent publications on Muscovite history, see Szvák and Sashalmi (eds.), *Historiographies of Moscovia*.
- 88 For critical remarks, see Raeff, “Russia’s Perception.” On Muscovite and Russian state ideology and elite discourses, see Neumann, *Russia and the Idea of Europe*.
- 89 See for example: Donnert, “Skazaniia inostrantsev”; Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyi*; Leitsch, “Westeuropäische Reiseberichte”; Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*; Poe, “*A People Born to Slavery*”; Rauch, “Moskau und der Westen”; Scheidegger, *Perverses Abendland – barbarisches Russland*.

Works cited

Sources

- Bussov, Konrad, *Moskovskaia khronika: 1584–1613*, ed. by I.I. Smirnov, Moskva/Leningrad 1961.
- Butenant von Rosenbusch, Heinrich, “Warhaftige Relation der traurigen undt Schrecklichen Tragedy hier in der Stadt Moscau furgelallen auf Montag, Dienstag undt Mitwochen, den 15, 16 undt 17 May jetzigen 1682-ten Jahres,” in: *Istoriia tsarstvovaniia Petra Velikago*, ed. by N. Ustrialov, vol. 1, Sankt-Peterburg 1858, 330–346.
- Herberstein, Sigismund von, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii, Synoptische Edition der lateinischen und der deutschen Fassung letzter Hand, Basel 1556 und Wien 1557*, ed. by Frank Kämpfer, München 2007.
- Ioakim, Patriarch of Moscow (Savelov, Ivan P), “Dukhovnaia Patriarkha Ioakima, 17 marta 1690,” in: *Istoriia tsarstvovaniia Petra Velikago*, ed. by N. Ustrialov, vol. 2, Sankt-Peterburg 1858, 467–477.
- Ihro Zaristischen Majestät Plakate betreffend die Einrichtung dero Militar-Etats Anno 1702*, Moskva 1702 (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, website, URL: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id331502070/1>).
- Olearius, Adam, *The Travels of Olearius in 17th-Century Russia [1656]*, ed. and trans. by Samuel H. Baron, Stanford 1967.
- SNO 7 – *Sbornik Novgorodskogo obshchestva liubitelei drevnosti*, vol. 7, Novgorod 1914.
- Staden, Heinrich von, *Aufzeichnungen über den Moskauer Staat*, ed. by Fritz T. Epstein, 2nd ed., Hamburg 1964.
- , *The Land and Government of Muscovy: A Sixteenth-Century Account*, trans. and ed. by Thomas Esper, Stanford 1967.
- Weber, Friedrich Christian, *Das veränderte Rußland in welchem die ietzige Verfassung Des Geist- und Weltlichen Regiments [. . .] In einem Biß 1720. gehenden Journal vorgestellt werden*, Franckfurth 1721.

Secondary literature

- Alekseev, Vladimir N., Miklshevskaia, Elena P., and Tsepliaeva, Marianna S., *Nemetskaia sloboda na Iauze: Istoriia v litsakh*, Moskva 2004.
- Amburger, Erik, *Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte für die Wirtschaft Rußlands vom 15. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen. Reihe I: Gießener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens 42), Wiesbaden 1968.
- , *Die Familie Marselis: Studien zur russischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte Russlands vom 15. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, Gießen 1957.
- , *Die Pastoren der evangelischen Kirchen Rußlands*, Lüneburg 1998.
- , “Erik-Amburger-Datenbank: Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland,” *Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung, Regensburg*, 2007 (website, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de>).
- , *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Rußland*, Stuttgart 1961.
- Angermann, Norbert, “Deutsche Handelsverbindungen mit Moskau im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 125 (2007), 121–142.
- , “Deutsche Übersetzer und Dolmetscher im vorpetrinischen Rußland,” in: *Zwischen Christianisierung und Europäisierung. Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Nitsche zum 65. Geburtstag* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 51), ed. by Eckhard Hübner, Ekkehard Klug and Jan Kusber, Stuttgart 1998, 221–249.
- Arel, Maria Salomon, *English Trade and Adventure to Russia in the Early Modern Era: The Muscovy Company, 1603–1649* (Diss. Yale University 1996), Lanham 2019.
- Baron, Samuel H., “The Muscovy Company, the Muscovite Merchants and the Problem of Reciprocity in Russian Foreign Trade,” *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte* 27 (1980), 133–155.
- , “The Origins of Seventeenth-Century Moscow’s Nemeckaja Sloboda,” *California Slavic Studies* 5 (1970), 1–17.
- Beliakov, Andrei V., Gus'kov, Andrei G., Liseitsev, Dmitrii V., and Shamin, Stepan M., *Perevodchiki i perevody v Rossii kontsa XVI – nachala XVIII stoletia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii Moskva, 12–13 sentiabria 2019 g.*, Moskva 2019.
- , *Perevodchiki Posol'skogo prikaza v XVII v. Materialy k slovari*, Moskva 2021.
- Benoit, Alexandre, “Johann Taube and Elert Kruse: A Broken Window on Ivan IV’s Oprichnina,” *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 54 (2020), 329–386.
- Bespiatykh, Iurii N. (ed.), *Russkii Sever i Zapadnaia Evropa*, Sankt-Peterburg 1999.
- Bespiatykh, Iurii N., Veluwenkamp, Jan Willem [Veluwenkamp, Ia.V.], and Popova, Liudmila D. (eds.), *Niderlandy i severnaia Rossiia*, Sankt-Peterburg 2003.
- Blum, Karl Ludwig, *Franz Lefort: Peter's des Großen berühmter Günstling*, Heidelberg 1867.
- Bogoiavlenskii, Sergei K., “Moskovskaia nemetskaia sloboda,” *Izvestiia AN SSSR: Seria filosofii i istorii* 4 (1947), № 3, 220–232.
- Brandes, Detlef, “Einwanderung und Entwicklung der Kolonien,” in: *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Rußland*, ed. by Gerd Stricker, Berlin 1997, 35–111.
- Brückner, Alexander G., *Die Ausländer in Russland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Culturhistorische Studien 2), Riga 1878 (repr. Cambridge 1972).
- , “Patrick Gordon: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Rußlands im 17. Jahrhundert,” *Historisches Taschenbuch* 6 (1879), 63–173.
- [Brikner, Aleksandr G.], *Patrik Gordon i ego dnevnik*, Sankt-Peterburg 1878.
- Burmistrov, Konstantin Iu. (ed.), *Moskva evreiskaia*, Moskva 2003.
- Büsching, Anton Friderich, *Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden im Russischen Reich*, Altona 1766–1767.

- Bushkovitch, Paul, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, New York 1992.
- Collis, Robert, *The Petrine Instauration: Religion, Esotericism and Science at the Court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725*, Leiden 2012.
- Dalton, Hermann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Rußland*, vol. 4, Gotha/Berlin 1887–1905.
- , *Geschichte der reformierten Kirche in Russland*, Gotha 1865.
- Del'vig, Vladimir S., *Vliianie inozemtsev iz stran Zapadnoi Evropy na razvitie rossiiskogo obshchestva v 1652–1740: Na primere Novoi Nemetskoi Slobody i Lefortova v Moskve* (Diss. Ivanovo State University), Moskva 2011.
- Dëmkin, Andrei V., *Zapadnoevropeiskoe kupechestvo v Rossii v XVII v.*, vol. 2, Moskva 1994.
- Donnert, Erich, “Begegnung von Luthertum und russischer Orthodoxie im Moskauer Reich um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in: *Zwischen Christianisierung und Europäisierung: Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Nitsche zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Eckhard Hübner, Ekkehard Klub und Jan Kusber, Stuttgart 1998, 179–200.
- , “Skazaniia inostrantsev o Rossii XVI v.,” in: *Vostochnaia Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, Moskva 1978, 329–335.
- Dumschat, Sabine, *Ausländische Mediziner im Moskauer Rußland* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 67), Stuttgart 2006.
- Fase, Ekaterina Karpova, “Gli architetti Italiani a Mosca nei secoli XV–XVI,” *Quaderni di Scienza della Conservazione* 4 (2004), 157–181.
- Fechner, Andreas Wilhelm, *Chronik der evangelischen Gemeinden in Moskau: Zum dreihundertjährigen Jubiläum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen St. Michaelis-Gemeinde*, Moskau 1876.
- Filjushkin, Alexander, *Ivan the Terrible: A Military History*, London 1988.
- Firsov, Vladimir R. et al. (eds.), *Rossii i zapadnoevropeiskoe prosveshchenie: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, Sankt-Peterburg 2016.
- Franklin, Simon, and Bowers, Katherine (eds.), *Information and Empire: Mechanisms of Communication in Russia, 1600–1850*, Cambridge 2017.
- Gamel', Iosif Kh., *Anglichane v Rossii v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh*, Sankt-Peterburg 1865.
- Gessen, Iulii I., *Istoriia Evreev v Rossii*, Sankt-Peterburg 1914.
- Glück, Helmut, and Polanska, Ineta, *Johann Ernst Glück (1654–1705): Pastor, Philologe, Volkssauflärer im Baltikum und in Russland*, Wiesbaden 2005.
- Grot, Joachim C., *Bemerkungen über die Religionsfreyheit der Ausländer im Rußischen Reiche: In Rücksicht auf ihre verschiedenen Gemeinen, ihre kirchliche Einrichtungen, ihre Gebräuche und ihre Rechte*, Sankt-Peterburg/Leipzig 1797.
- Hughes, Lindsey, “Attitudes Towards Foreigners in Early Modern Russia,” in: *Russia and the Wider World in Historical Perspective: Essays for Paul Dukes*, ed. by Cathryn Brennan and Murray Frame, London 2000, 1–23.
- (ed.), *Peter the Great and the West: New Perspectives*, Hampshire 2001.
- Jensen, Claudia R., Maier, Ingrid, Shamin, Stepan, and Waugh, Daniel C., *Russia's Theatrical Past: Court Entertainment in the Seventeenth Century*, Bloomington 2021.
- Kappeler, Andreas, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Rußlandbildes*, Bern 1972.
- Karev, Vladislav M. et al. (eds.), *Nemtsy Rossii: Entsiklopediia*, vol. 3, Moskva 1999–2006.
- Kazakov, Gleb, *Die Moskauer Strelitzen-Revolt 1682: Diplomatische Spionage, Nachrichtenverkehr und Narrativentransfer zwischen Russland und Europa* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 91), Stuttgart 2021.
- Kazakova, Nataliia A., *Zapadnaia Evropa v russkoi pismenosti XV – XVI vekov*, Leningrad 1980.