

Routledge Research in Early Modern History

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

MICROHISTORIES

Edited by
Richard Butterwick and Wioletta Pawlikowska



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12 Terrible Reality?

Cannibalism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in Livonia in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries—Between Chroniclers' Invective and the Findings of Cultural Anthropology

Aleh Dziarnovich

What do the narrative sources of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries conceal when we read their descriptions of the losses and disasters suffered by the civilian population during wars and civil catastrophes? Are their accounts impartial statements, or do they reflect anger, outrage or deep sorrow? When describing the calamities of that time, the most emotional and impressive stories which historians can present to readers today tell of cannibalism. These narratives do indeed recall real events. However, should we always treat the information provided by the narrative sources of the seventeenth century at face value, as a record of actual facts? May we discern behind the apparently factual descriptions of cannibalism a reality best viewed from the perspective of psychology, cultural anthropology and physiology?

'Hunger Song'

The kind of imagery used in the texts under discussion to portray the disasters of the wars had already been developed in the earlier Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles. They share a fundamental feature in their description of events—the confrontation of Christians and pagans, or a comparison of the actions of other Christians with those of the pagans.¹

The *Suprasl'skaia letopis'* (one of the earliest redactions of the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicle of 1446) describes the catastrophic situation of starvation on a mass scale in the years 6944–46 (1436–38) in these terms:

In those years there was a great famine in Smolensk, animals ate humans in the forests and along the roads, and in the city dogs ate people, dragging the heads, arms and legs of the dead along the streets. And because of their great hunger people ate the flesh of small children and in the countryside and villages they ate carrion in

the Lenten Fast, and a quarter [of a barrel] of rye cost two schocks of groats. . . . And the people lying on the streets were cast into common graves.²

The chronicler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Maciej Strykowski writes of the famine that hit the country during the Livonian War in his *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiej Rusi*:³ 'A great famine befell Lithuania and Poland in 1570, so that the ordinary folk ate the carcasses of dead cattle and dogs, and finally they ate corpses that they dug up'. We should remember that Strykowski wrote his *Kronika* in the 1570s.

It would seem that the lines quoted above were taken over from Strykowski by the author of the seventeenth-century *Khronika Litovskaia i Zhmoitskaia*: 'On the great famine of 1571. There was a great famine in Poland and Lithuania. The poor ate the carcasses of animals and dogs, and finally dug up corpses from the ground, ate them and then died themselves'.⁴

These lines were transmitted further; we find similar information in the *Historiæ Lituaniæ* by Albertus Wiliuk Kojałowicz, published in two parts in 1650 and 1669: 'Lithuania was stricken by an unbelievably severe famine in the middle of winter; the more needy peasants fed themselves not only on the meat of dead animals, but also on the corpses of the dead that they dug up. The terrible situation eased with the passing of winter'.⁵

A visual depiction of this information can be found in an Augsburg single-leaf woodcut from the collection (the *Wickiana*) of Johann Jakob Wick (1522–88), a Calvinist pastor from Zürich. The pamphlet is entitled 'A frightening but true dreadful famine and pestilential plague that occurred in the land of Rus' and Lithuania in the year 1571' (Figure 12.1).⁶ The woodcut was printed in Munich in the publishing house of Adam Berger, a man truly devoted to the reform of the Roman Catholic Church, and funded by Hans Rogel of Augsburg.⁷ The detailed naturalistic description of a plague pandemic, mass cannibalism and other horrors in this pamphlet was accompanied by a picturesque woodcut measuring 182 by 234 mm, and portraying in a naïve yet vivid manner the main scenes of the tragedy—killing with the aim of cannibalism and eating corpses taken down from the gibbet.⁸ In the bottom left hand corner a man is using an axe to chop up a human body lying on a table; in the opposite corner a man and a woman are tearing the remains of a female body apart; another man is chewing a human leg; a third man is carrying the body of a child while a fourth is bearing a severed leg and hand skewered on a spear. In the background on the left hand side we can see human body parts on a spit being roasted over an open fire, and bodies—taken down from the gibbet or removed from the torture wheel—are being eaten. The house to the right of the picture is in flames. It would be hard to conceive of a more horrific picture being created by artistic means.



Figure 12.1 Augsburg single-leaf (1571) 'A frightening but true dreadful famine and pestilential plague that occurred in the land of Rus' and Lithuania in the year 1571'

Source: Wikimedia Commons. {{PD-Art}}

Another publication, similar in topic to the pamphlet mentioned above, is a newsheet with rhymed German text which could be sung to the melody provided there. It was written by Jost Sommer and printed in Basel in octavo in 1572 by Samuel Apiarius.⁹ The full title of the newsheet reads as follows: 'A pitiful story from Rus' and Lithuania is here set out to be sung; it was written by a learned gentleman by name Jost Summer, Pastor in Vilna [Vilnius, Vil'nia, Wilno], for the noble-born gentleman Johan Jörgen von Gleissenthal, Prelate in Spesshart in 1572. To the melody 'Come here to me says God's one Son'. There then follows a coloured woodcut depicting a scene in which a man is knifing a boy to death. Forward slashes '/' are used in the text to denote the rhythm of the song'.

Unlike books, such newsheets could be printed very quickly and were cheap. They were aimed at a very broad public—including people who could not read, but were nevertheless hungry for information; they would

listen to them being read aloud, and look eagerly at the illustrations.¹⁰ Therefore the methods of presenting information in such publications targeted a susceptible mass audience, and so served the popular culture of that time.¹¹ Hence the outer form of these pamphlets and newsheets was determined by their social function: the information was followed by lurid headlines, which often contained adjectives like 'horrific', 'atrocious', 'sinister' or 'wonderful'.¹² The coloured woodcuts which often appeared in them were selected in such a way as to lure potential buyers. By the end of the fifteenth century printed news had already become a commodity that sold well and brought in a fine profit.¹³ No wonder human disasters were among the most popular topics of the newsheets.

There also was a separate category of 'flyers' or leaflets, printed on just one side of the page. These were occasional publications, often containing engravings or coloured woodcuts. From the producers' and printers' viewpoint, such publications had a number of advantages. First, they were cheap to produce and easy to sell. In terms of graphics they catered for mass consumption, in which pictures played an important role. Sometimes these pictures resembled a nightmare.

The Swiss scholar Bruno Weber has made a detailed study of the *Wickiana*. He has this to say about images such as those described above: 'The worst, most horrific things that people could imagine, things that rendered them helpless, scared out of their wits and thoroughly wretched, and made them wave their arms about wildly, were precisely what was readily depicted in the fairy-tale like images on these leaflets. Truly horrifying events—involving bodies being torn apart and eaten—were depicted calmly and with obvious satisfaction'.¹⁴

However, we cannot explain everything in terms of the pursuit of commercial success and the availability of means to illustrate people's phobias. Even in the early modern period the consciousness of European humans still retained some syncretism, and the understanding of the existence of evil had a settled, legitimate place in it.

Evidence and rumours of the tragic events of the early 1570s in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania appeared in condensed form in the text of a Latin song which was found among the archival papers of Sophia Jagiellon, Duchess of Brunswick (1522–75): 'A new song translated from Polish into Latin concerning the most severe and hitherto unheard of famine which in a short time destroyed a large section of the common people of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1570–1571'.¹⁵ The work consists of eighteen quatrains. The anonymous author appeals to the mercy of God who has become enraged by 'our most heinous sins and wicked wrongdoing'. In a truly grotesque manner the author describes the horrors caused by the famine: 'a starving father cooks his own son, brother eats the body of brother, a man cuts up his wife's body, and woeful mothers roast their children'.¹⁶ Seeking to save themselves from starvation people eat the leaves of trees, even the meat of dead dogs, and they kill

one another fighting over a scrap of bread. The text concludes with a plea to God: 'Oh Lord! We beg Thee, deign to suppress Thy wrath, for Thou hast said that when Thy paternal punishment has been meted out Thou shalt show mercy to sinners. After these calamitous and terrible years grant us better times and we shall be saved. Amen'.¹⁷

The text of the 'Nova cantio' is thought to have been brought to Germany in June 1573 by Dr Barthold Reich († 1589),¹⁸ one of the envoys of Duchess Sophia to the session of the sejm (parliament) held in the village of Kamień near Warsaw between 5 April and 20 May of that year to elect a new king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. It was Reich who, in a letter to Duke Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1568–89), wrote of the extraordinarily high cost of living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1570–71, adding that he would send additional information on the topic: 'and I will send your Excellency news of the terrible rise in prices that occurred in Lithuania in the years 1570–71'.¹⁹ It is highly likely that the news source he mentions ('Zeitung') is the text of the 'Nova Cantio'.

The full title of the work demonstrates that it is a Latin translation of a Polish-language text. In general, songs about the plagues and famines which ravaged Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the sixteenth century are well known from printed cantionals (collections of religious songs).²⁰ However, we find no mention of the 'Nova cantio' in them. One possible hypothesis is that this particular work is a translation of a text that has not survived, 'Songs of the Famine in Lithuania' by the Calvinist polemicist Stanisław Sudrowski, who was elected senior preacher of the Calvinist congregations of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1573.²¹ Jan Pirożyński develops this hypothesis, suggesting that the 'Songs of the Famine in Lithuania' may have formed part of a collection of '*pieśni pospolite*' (popular songs/hymns) which has not survived and is known only through a bibliographical description of Sudrowski's works: 'A lesson and a confirmation of how a weak and feeble Christian should appear and give account of himself before God's majesty'.²² No hymns or religious songs whatsoever are included in the only known copy of this work, an edition of 1600.²³ Pirożyński notes that this does not necessarily mean that there were none in any previous edition(s).²⁴ In the 1600 edition, the 'lesson and confirmation' is given as one of the appendices to the Calvinist Catechism which had been previously published in Wilno in 1594 and 1598.²⁵ These appendices were prepared separately for publication, and their content differed from one edition to another.

We may also assert that the 'Nova Cantio' of 1573 and the newssheet 'Ein Erbermlich geschicht' of 1572, which we discussed earlier, have textual similarities that are more than mere coincidences. We find another similarity in the story of a Samogitian boy who killed and ate thirteen people; God's punishment for this was to have him perish in the fire that burned his house down. Is this not the house that we can see in

flames in the upper right hand corner of the coloured woodcut entitled 'Ein Erschröckenliche doch Warhaftige grausame hungers nott und Pestilenzische plag'? It should be noted that both 'Ein Erbermlich geschicht' and 'Nova cantio' echo the theological interpretation of the events: because mankind had sinned grievously, God sent punishment down upon them in the form of pestilence and famine. In such a situation the only way forward was for men to abjure sin and beg God for forgiveness.

It is therefore clear that various sources of the last third of the sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth century do indeed describe the disastrous consequences of the famine which devastated the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1570–71. There are also textual and plot links between these sources; later authors were able to use the information contained in earlier versions. The works mentioned above all share a moralizing element in their description of those horrible events.

The Age of Memoirs in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

In the second half of the sixteenth century, memoirists of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began to develop a new narrative tradition. As the previous analysis shows, significant images and epithets found in memoirs of the time match those from the Belarusian-Lithuanian chronicles. In fact, memoirists sought to model events that they had personally witnessed by using narrative methods developed in the Bible and by the authors of historical chronicles. We find in these memoirs that greater importance is attached to recording events that concern society as a whole than purely personal ones.²⁶ The selective representation of facts proves that memoirs transcend the field of documentary text and relate to the tradition of literary convention. However, these texts are not completely fictional. In memoirs we can find records of personal experience of events and a tendency to structure the author's own impressions according to conventional (and clear) rules.

In his memoirs (1682) the Calvinist Jan Cedrowski records a famine that struck in wartime:

On 21 March 1656 the Lord God permitted a huge number of field mice to infest various places in the palatinate of Minsk—including my house. They wrought havoc in the grain crop first in the open fields and then in the barns, granaries and lindhays. This divine punishment was followed by a great famine which lasted right up to August 1657. It was so severe that the starving ate cats, dogs and all kinds of carrion; towards the end people were killed and their bodies eaten. Even the dead were not allowed to rest in peace in their coffins; I myself, miserable wretch that I am, witnessed this with my own eyes. This misfortune afflicted both Belarus and Livonia.²⁷

Accounts such as this seem to be confirmed by the reports of administrative officials in the areas of Belarus that were under Muscovite control in the war of 1654–67, where ‘people ate human flesh as well as carrion and all manner of unclean things’.²⁸

A truly terrible picture is presented to us. It is, however, worth noting that Cedrowski’s description of the catastrophe that befell the civilian population in many respects resembles a scene in the *Diary* of Jazep Budzila, ensign (*chorąży*) of the town of Mazyr (Mozyrz). Aliaksandr Korshunaŭ, who translated the diary from Polish into Belarusian, has already drawn attention to the similarities.²⁹ According to Budzila,³⁰ fighting units formed by the nobility of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1612 found themselves besieged inside the Moscow Kremlin by the first and second militias during the Muscovite Time of Troubles,³¹ and in a situation of starvation

unprecedented and hard to describe, which cannot be found in any of the chronicles of human history. Where on earth could this happen, when under siege no grass, roots, mice, dogs, cats, carrion remained, prisoners were eaten, corpses were dug out of the earth and eaten, the infantry ate each other, and they also seized and ate civilians.³²

The detailed description that follows resembles a scene from the Apocalypse:

Truskowski, a lieutenant of infantry, ate his two sons, one *hajduk* (infantryman) ate his own son and another ate his own mother. There was a *towarzysz* (junior officer) that ate his servant. In short father showed no mercy to son, nor son to father; master was not safe from servant, nor servant from master. Whoever had the opportunity to eat someone took it; the stronger killed the weaker.³³

Budzila even describes a kind of hierarchy of rights to the body of a dead comrade:

There were instances when judgement was sought in cases where an individual claimed the right of inheritance after someone else had eaten the body of the plaintiff’s relative or comrade, and the plaintiff should have had first claim to eat the body. Such a case arose in Mr Lianicki’s company, where the *hajduki* ate one of their comrades; a relative of the deceased from another unit made a complaint to the company commander, saying ‘I, and no one else, should have been the first to eat him because he was a relative of mine’. The ones who had actually done the eating objected, saying ‘we had the right to eat him first, because he was on the same duty roster, in the same company and the same unit as we were’. The company commander did

not know what ruling he could make; he was also afraid that one of the parties would be offended by the ruling and eat the judge, so he fled from the court.³⁴

Budzila seems to present the following emotional assessment of the situation in a more realistic manner, most likely because we can feel that it arises from the author's own personal experience:

So it was that at that time of severe hunger we were also afflicted by various diseases, terrible deaths, such that one could not look upon a man dying of hunger except with horror and lamentation, and of this I was witness on many occasions. Some there were who would seek to eat the earth beneath their feet, arms, legs and bodies, and—what was worst of all—they would have been glad to die, yet they could not. They would attempt to bite into a stone or brick, begging the Lord God to turn it into bread, and they could bite nothing off. The sounds of men groaning and sighing could be heard everywhere in the castle, and before the castle lay imprisonment and death. Heavy indeed was the siege, and even heavier it was to remain steadfast. There were many who of their own free will went out to their deaths at the enemy's hands and surrendered.³⁵

The palatine of Minsk, Krzysztof Zawisza, in his memoirs written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, uses the same images of disaster as earlier memoirists.³⁶

During the year 1710 the plague in the Prussian cities continued, and Lithuania suffered cruel diseases and, above all, famine. People ate not only carrion, but in some places even humans, but scant attention was paid to this. Foreign and domestic armies devastated the stores of food, and when nothing was left, a great famine began. . . . The famine left many dead, and homesteads were covered with corpses which became food for wolves. The living ate human corpses, cats, dogs. . . . In Wilno, a hundred paupers a day died.³⁷

We also find in Zawisza's descriptions some new details that shed light on the attitude of the authorities towards cannibalism: 'and it happened that in some places mothers ate their own children, for which they were punished'.³⁸

Another narrative source of the middle of the eighteenth century illustrates just how information was transmitted from one work to another. The *Witebsk Chronicle* (*Dzieje miasta Witebska*) of Michał Pancerny and Stefan Awierka gives examples of famine in former times, and refers to the original source:³⁹

Because of the rains and widespread flooding three years were so terrible that people started to eat children and human corpses taken down from the gibbets. Evidence of Miechowita. Year 1315. . . . Because of the long, hard winter people cooked food from leaves and ate dead bodies, they went to the forests to be eaten by wild animals. . . . Evidence of Koiałowicz. Year 1570.⁴⁰

When analysing apocalyptic pieces such as these by various authors, we find a striking similarity, in both the style of description and the stories told. One such story, the profanation of human corpses, seems the most archaic. It is found in the Old Testament book of Jeremiah, 8: 1–2:

At that time, saith the Lord, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves;

And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, . . . they shall not be gathered, nor be buried; they shall be for dung upon the face of the earth.

In the New Testament (Revelation 19. 17–18) we find this prophecy:

And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

As we can see, the biblical *topos* is the most widely used means of portraying a catastrophe, or—as the Ukrainian scholar Natalia Iakovenko has put it—the World-Turned-Upside-Down syndrome.⁴¹

We may therefore speak of the source of archetypes and the practice of self-referencing in the memoirs of the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Yet how could that happen at the purely technical level? One of the ways in which great opportunities were created for memoirists to borrow from other sources was the practice of sending copies of diaries and memoirs to neighbours, relatives and people who played major roles in a particular text. On the estates of the nobility interesting passages were copied, or in some cases the texts were written out again in their entirety.⁴² In this way information was transmitted, and most importantly for us, so were the images and metaphors used to describe certain events of social life.

For the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the seventeenth century was truly an age of memoirs. As Władysław Czapliński, an expert on narrative sources of this type, has observed, 'there was indeed something to write about'.⁴³ The urge to write memoirs can be readily explained: history held a fascination for the nobility, who were ready to pore over chronicles and other news sources, and thereby satisfy their desire to fully grasp the significance of the events they and earlier generations had experienced—hence the success enjoyed by literature of this kind among readers of the time. Thanks to this success the authors acquired a measure of popularity and their social standing was raised.⁴⁴

We may draw now a following preliminary conclusion about the function of reports of misfortunes suffered in wartime within narratives of the kind discussed above. If the memoirist is describing events to which he wishes to give the status of an epic tale, he actively employs well-worked cliché expressions and images borrowed from other texts. However, we also find in memoirs and diaries a reflection of the principle of causality; a detailed description may demonstrate that the author does indeed present events in a realistic manner, but as seen through his own interpretation. In many writings of the time we find that facts are seen through the prism of the author's own perception and evaluation, rather than in the form of a straightforward description, thereby revealing his own personal attitude towards historical events.⁴⁵ It is for this reason that the historian must treat with great caution all instances where facts have been borrowed directly from narrative sources, but which have no direct bearing on the narrator's own life. Over time authors gradually developed their own individual styles for describing events; this in turn led to an increasing amount of information in what they wrote, as well as to a lesser dependency on the use of cliché descriptions.

When analysing memoir literature, including that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the researcher must bear in mind the complexity of the narrative structure. Robert Petsch has classified this particular problem as one of the mutual relations between the author and his sense of the 'epic' on the one hand, and between the author and what he considers 'real' on the other.⁴⁶ The wave-like manner in which the story unfolds and the way in which these two characteristic features of the author interact with each other leads to a situation where first one factor predominates in the narrative, and then the other.⁴⁷ The descriptions of the misfortunes suffered in wartime—including instances of cannibalism—which we find in the memoir literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries illustrate this process very well.

Hunger as a Physiological and Social Psychological Phenomenon

Hunger is a condition caused when a living organism consumes insufficient foodstuffs necessary to maintain homeostasis. Homeostasis refers to

the ability of an organism to maintain the stability of its internal environment within permitted limits by means of co-ordinated reactions.

The extent to which hunger can affect the human psyche and lead to an increase in antisocial activity has already been studied by sociologists. Under the influence of hunger the whole sphere of human consciousness becomes preoccupied with images and all kinds of ideas connected—directly or indirectly—with food. They burst uninvited into our sphere of consciousness and crowd out—or strive to expel—all other images and ideas; they do so independently of, and often contrary to, what we ourselves want.⁴⁸ Fundamental changes in mindset occur. In times of prolonged, severe famine what we might call the 'I' as a unity and totality of spiritual life,⁴⁹ gradually fragments and splinters into tiny pieces that interact poorly with each other: they resemble broken bits of a mosaic picture that are held together only by the frame in which they are set. At the same time the human will also 'breaks into pieces'. It ceases to be whole and complete, and instead flows fragmented and in disharmony with the 'frame' of the now uncontrolled human organism. A prolonged period of hunger—even a famine that could not be classified as 'severe'—leads to major changes in the constitution of the nervous system, and in particular the brain. The totality of human mental abilities becomes disorganized; the various parts that make up the whole cease to work together.⁵⁰ In this way the impact of a prolonged famine causes the individual to behave outside the framework of his normal life and customary moral compass. An individual's behaviour can take on extreme forms when famines occur regularly, depending on circumstances and the person's internal physical and psychological resources.

It is crucial to note that famine affects not only the behaviour of individuals but also that of human groups as a whole. A severe or even partial famine among the majority of members of a particular social aggregate will result in the appearance or strengthening of a particular kind of biological taxis (which Sorokin dubs '*pishchetaksis*'⁵¹—food taxis) in their behaviour, with the following consequences: a weakening and suppression of all reflexes that resist attempts to deny the sensation of hunger, and a corresponding development and strengthening of those reflexes which aid the acquisition of food.⁵² Even so we can observe a great deal of variety in the behavioural patterns of individuals and social collectives at times when famine prevails. Much depends on individual characteristics and, in the case of social collectives—on the degree of their cohesion.

'The Horrible History' of Livonia

Historical sources also record instances of deviant behaviour in periods of crisis among the civilian population of Livonia, a territory bordering on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and similar to it in climate and the experience of geopolitical upheavals. News of the dramatic events that took place in Livonia in the early years of the seventeenth century was brought

together in a single text by Pastor Friedrich Engelke in March 1603 in Mitau (Jelgava). The text is entitled 'Warrhafftige erschreckliche unnd unerhörte geschicht so sich in Lifflandt zugetragen in das einige Gebiethe Dünborch, geschrieben durch Herrn Friedriech Engell[cke], Pastorn daselbsten' ('The true, horrible and hitherto unheard of history of events that occurred in Livonia in the district of Dünaburg [Daugavpils], written by Herr Friedrich Engell[cke], Pastor thereof').⁵³ It deals with the famine that affected the region in the years 1601–02. Just as with the news of the famine of 1571 in Belarus and Lithuania, this text was printed in the form of a flyer, the easiest means of distributing information quickly in Europe in the early modern period. The 'History' was published for the first time in this form in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) in 1603. It was reissued several times in subsequent years; on occasion other authors had a hand in reworking it.⁵⁴ These publications never failed to arouse the interest of readers.

Pastor Engelke describes instances both of murder for the purpose of cannibalism and of using the remains of the dead as food. Here are just a few typical examples: 'On the estate of Mistress Plater . . . in January 1602 two women and a boy of 15 called Tzalit ate five people. They were all burned in the bathhouse' (case no. 1). Here is an instance of necrophagy: 'On the same estate a villager going by the name Dump ate a large number of dead bodies of people who had died of natural causes, or had been taken down from the wheel or the gibbet, or had died of hunger by the roadside, and the estate steward Jakob Granezolt is a witness to all this' (case no. 2).

Of the thirty-two different instances listed by the pastor, thirteen deal with murder for the purpose of cannibalism, in only three instances were the bodies of the dead eaten; two describe eating both murder victims and others who were already dead. According to Engelke the most widespread punishment for cannibals was to burn them alive in a bathhouse; there is one instance of a variant punishment, when the cannibals were burnt in a house. In only one case do we find another type of punishment for a crime of this kind:

An innkeeper . . . Jakob by name, quickly killed three men in the vegetable store of the inn that stood right on the bank of the river Dvina, and ate the corpses; when he learned of this, [the *starosta*—A.Dz.] Hartwig Sassen arrested him, ordered a hole to be made in the ice of the Dvina and drowned him without trial. This occurred just before Shrovetide in 1602.

(case no. 6)

The customary form of punishment used at the time—breaking on the wheel—was used only after trial in a court of law, most frequently in cases of murder, but only rarely where cannibalism was involved. In cases of

cannibalism people took the law into their own hands and used methods of punishment that resembled 'witch hunts'—holes in the ice or burning in bathhouses. It is precisely these punishments that offer evidence of the extent to which the image of those who had committed the crime of cannibalism was linked to folkloric tradition. The bathhouse, although not exactly a chthonic place, nevertheless had in the popular mind a kind of mediatory link with the world beyond the grave. The cold water that flowed beneath the ice possessed a purifying quality that made it one of the possible variants of 'Divine judgement'.⁵⁵ If—as in the case of the 'Horrible History'—we do indeed find recorded the statements of ordinary witnesses, then it is perfectly possible that we are dealing with information as perceived by contemporaries. It is therefore conceivable that in these instances we have a combination of descriptions of real facts and folkloric elements designed to instill fear. Apart from that Pastor Engelke's notes naturally contain motifs of Christian moralizing. This is apparent in his description of instances of cannibalism that took place during Lent: 'According to Kaspar Brocking who witnessed these events, forty people were eaten during Lent 1602 in the inn belonging to Zachary Weiss. In addition one tramp ate another. Johann Engelbrus is a witness to this' (case no. 26).

Doubts arise in this account as to the total number of victims. The number of instances in which strangers to the district were accused of cannibalism is indicative—it would be difficult for them to prove their innocence, as there may well have been no one to speak up on their behalf:

According to the witness Joachim Friedewoldt, a certain Lithuanian villager who the ran the inn on the ducal dam on the Olaf estate in the district of Born had been cooking human flesh in large quantities and selling it to villagers who lived on the other side of the river Dzvina [Daugava / Western Dvina].

(case no. 4)

The possibility cannot be excluded that this man was being victimized because he was seen as a commercial rival.

Some of what Engelke reports can be confirmed by research that has been undertaken in the fields of social and cultural anthropology, in particular when dealing with the illnesses that can be caused by cannibalism. Here is one such example offered by Engelke: 'A child died in the family of Eberhardt Timmen, owner of an inn in Illuxt (Ilükste), and was buried; soon afterwards a peasant on the Sieberg lands dug up the body, took it home, cooked it and served the flesh to five guests. Soon afterwards they all died' (case no. 32). There are no straightforward analogies here, but the story of the disease called 'kuru' is quite well-known to anthropologists; it is caused by eating the flesh of deceased relatives.⁵⁶ It is therefore possible for us to consider that something similar may have occurred in the instances, like the one above, described by Engelke.

Similar descriptions of misfortunes in Livonia at the beginning of the seventeenth century can be found in the *Livländische Chronik* of Franz Nyenstaedt.⁵⁷ He begins his tale of the events that occurred at that time with an emotional preamble: 'It now falls to my lot to relate the terrible misfortunes that I experienced in Livonia in 1601 and 1602'.⁵⁸ Nyenstaedt's description of the tragedy is briefer than that of Engelke; what is important is that both authors treat identical subject matter.

This is how Nyenstaedt treats an instance of suicide: 'A peasant killed and ate his wife and then invited her brother to come visit him. When the brother heard what had happened, the shock and horror of it caused him to stab himself to death'.⁵⁹ Here is how Engelke describes the same event:

A peasant named Janel and living on the estate of Lady Sieberg killed seven people, including his wife and children. Janel's brother called on him and asked him for something to eat, to which he replied 'I have no bread, but meat I can give you'. When the brother, after eating some, found out the meat he had eaten was the flesh of Janel's wife and children, he cried aloud 'Ach, ach!', seized a knife and stabbed himself to death.

(case no. 24)

The two versions differ in certain details, but the subject matter—involving a brother-in-law and his suicide—is essentially the same. It is quite possible to assume that the Riga burgomaster Franz Nyenstaedt, describing the events of 1601–02 later than Pastor Friedrich Engelke, made use of flyers containing Engelke's text. In that case we have here an important example of how news items were transported from other narrative sources in a late Baltic German chronicle.

Some of the events in the *Livländische Chronik* can be traced back to the tragic scenes in the *Diary* of Jazep Budzila, where we are dealing with how people behave under prolonged siege. This is how Nyenstaedt depicts their condition: 'On 4 March in the Dorpat [Tartu] market a peasant publicly fried and ate a human arm. A Swedish soldier tore flesh from his right arm with his teeth and ate it. During the same siege a woman ate her own children and then stabbed herself to death'.⁶⁰

In addition, the eighteenth-century Livonian historian Friedrich Gadebusch, writing about the famine of 1601–02, noted 'that Menius, in his Chronicle that remained unfinished, intended to list hundreds of instances of cannibalism caused by the famine. Some of these instances had already been mentioned by Nyenstaedt and [Engelke]'.⁶¹ It is most probable that we have here a reference to the Swedish scholar Fredrik Menius, who was appointed a professor of Dorpat University in 1632, and two years earlier had published a history of Livonia.

On the one hand, the descriptions of instances of cannibalism in Livonia are characterized by a wealth of detail, including names of the

cannibals themselves, witnesses and representatives of authority. However, when we come to detail concerning the huge number of victims, and to a consideration of the folkloric style of the narrative, we may perhaps be permitted to see these texts not so much as a documentary description of facts as a transmission of information about what has happened, set out according to certain traditional narrative rules.

The Findings of Cultural Anthropology

Research in the field of cultural anthropology has shown that the reality of cannibalism is the reality of something inhuman, outside the law, but nevertheless part of human experience. The cannibal is a non-person. His very existence on the outer edge of the social space is symbolic, right on the margins in relation to human consciousness and social order.⁶²

The accessibility and 'reification' of the corpse strips it of the qualities of being the human it once was. Viewing the corpse solely as a realistic object means limiting it to no more than a purely biological phenomenon. It is however possible to go further and recognize in the dead body all the attributes of a human individual.⁶³ The body is acknowledged to be a necessary condition for human self-identification, inasmuch as it quite literally embodies the individuality of its owner. The consumption of a body that belongs to another person amounts to the consumption of that person's individuality, but it also means a certain degree of rejection of the consumer's own individuality. In the semiotic sense the act of cannibalism establishes a relationship between the aggressor and the victim and therefore can be understood as an act of auto-cannibalism; there is clinical psychiatric evidence to show that this is indeed sometimes what occurs.⁶⁴ Those who eat other people eat themselves; this unity can be interpreted as ontological or natural.

Although cannibalism is located right on the very edge of society, it is thereby recognized as not being without precedent; quite the reverse—indeed there is reason to assert that there is a precedent as a norm in situations of social pathology.⁶⁵ In accordance with logic of this kind, it is not the case that a socially deviant individual might perhaps become a cannibal, but that he will *inevitably* become one; he would be socially deviant otherwise.

William Arens, in his influential book *The Man-eating Myth*, treats evidence of cannibalism mainly as the consequences of this axiom.⁶⁶ Accusations of cannibalism are, according to Arens, akin to accusations of witchcraft or the ritual murder of children; this is clear in the examples we have cited dealing with the history of Livonia. Such accusations are an essential element of civilized man's perception of the uncivilized world or the Christian's view of the pagan. In practice, however, cannibalism is to a greater extent imagined rather than actually witnessed. Many objections were raised to Arens's book, in particular by Daniel Gajdusek,

Nobel Prize laureate in medicine in 1976; the award was based on his work on finding a cure for the viral neurological disorder kuru in New Guinea. The aetiology of the disorder is to be sought in the practice of cannibalism.⁶⁷ It is impossible not to see as heuristic the functions of witness statements regarding cannibalism as a metaphor of identity.⁶⁸

Cannibalism, when functioning as an ideological metaphor, means breaking a taboo that marks the boundary between the social and the antisocial; at the same time we are reminded of the reality of the anti-social sphere itself. It is precisely from this functional point of view that cannibalism resembles incest—another of the most important taboos for the European world.⁶⁹ The common features of cannibalism and incest are rooted in a concept that can be applied to both phenomena, ‘human hematophagy’.⁷⁰ People eating the flesh of their unfortunate relatives in the besieged Kremlin, as reported by Jazep Budzila, is also a topic that is euphemistically linked to incest.

From the psychological and social viewpoint people’s interest in subjects that are socially taboo is the expression of their urge to question their own true nature. The ‘antisocial’ is thereby inextricably linked to views of an alternative society, or—to put it in more general terms—the world of *the other*, a world that cannot be conceived without continually distinguishing the norm from the deviation and accordingly without identifying the link between that which exists as a given fact, as ‘proper’, and that which exists as conceivable, as belonging to a particular individual.⁷¹ The reality of cannibalism for the human consciousness in the instances we discuss here can be explained as a manifestation of ‘an exception’ to all already familiar forms of social and cultural practice—whether it be aggression or something exotic or esoteric.

That still leaves the question—to what extent does the narrative textual canon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrate the veracity of the information it contains? At the moment we can do no more than assert that our knowledge of the narratives of the epoch rests on possibly deceptive foundations, especially if we believe these sources literally. If we do that we can find ourselves in a distorted, deformed world.⁷²

If we proceed from the actual contents of the sources we cannot flatly deny that there were instances of extreme deviant behaviour such as cannibalism. However, we have to recognize that there was a certain set of norms, a kind of ‘narrative formula’ for the description of the kind of dramatic events we find in those sources. The chroniclers, who were chancellery officials, and the memoirists of the time worked within the framework of the state political systems in which they lived, and of their own ethical views; one of their tasks was to accuse the opponent of transgressing Christian ethics. In addition, the practice of quoting other authors was widespread. We should therefore at least bear in mind that when sixteenth- and seventeenth-century narrative sources describe instances

of cannibalism, we are dealing with a traditional method of relating such stories, and not necessarily with a first-hand description of events. In any analysis of this topic the historian must make full use of anthropological and textological filters. 'Horrible histories' should be quoted in such a way as to show the style adopted for relating such events.

Another aspect of the problem is the need to differentiate clearly between individual crimes and mass criminal acts. From the criminological point of view cannibalism is a crime against both the individual and society as a whole; as such the act, when committed by one individual, has been known in all periods of history, and has already come to be regarded as criminal in law. Mass cannibalism can be said to have occurred when there is proof that several instances have taken place in one locality over a limited period of time. The nature of these two types—cannibalism as the act of an individual criminal and cannibalism as a widespread act committed by social deviants—must be rigorously differentiated.

Translated by Jim Dingley

Notes

1. For more details see Oleg Dziarnovich, 'Istochniki XV v.—nachala XVIII v. o bedstviakh grazhdanskogo naseleniia vo vremia vojn: mezhdru faktami, politicheskimi invektivami i stilisticheskimi klishe', in Artūras Dubonis et al (eds.), *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijos šaltiniai: faktas, kontekstas, interpretacija*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2007, pp. 339–54 (at pp. 339–40).
2. 'В тын же лета бысть глад великь во Смоленску, по лесомь и по дорогамь звери ядыше люди, а в городе и по улицамь пси ядаху люди, мертвых главы и руки и ноги влачаху пси. Ино и люди елико от малых детей от великого гладу, а во великое говение мяса ели, звирина, по волостомь и по селомь, а четвѣрка жита тогда была под две копе грошеи. И меташа во скудильничи людие емлющи по улицамь': 'Suprasl'skaia letopis', in N. N. Ulashchik (ed.), *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter PSRL), vol. 35, *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie*, Moscow: Nauka, 1980, pp. 59–60.
3. 'roku 1570 głód wielki w Litwie i w Polsce panował, tak iż ludzie prości ścierwy zdechłych bydłat i psów, na ostatek umarłych ludzi trupy wygrzebując jedli': Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmudzka i Wszystkiej Rusi. Wydanie nowe, będące dokładnem powtórzeniem wydania pierwotnego krolewieckiego z roku 1582, poprzedzone Wiadomością o życiu i pismach Strykowskiego przez Mikołaja Malinowskiego, oraz Rozprawą o latopisach Ruskich przez Daniłowicza, pomnożone przedrukiem dzieł pomniejszych Strykowskiego według pierwotnych wydań*, Warsaw: Nakład Gustawa Leona Glucksberga, Księgarza, 1846, vol. 2. p. 419.
4. 'О голодъ великом. Року 1571. Голодъ великий былъ в Полши и в Литвѣ, же убогие люди стерво здохлое и собак ѣли, наостаток трупы умерлых людей трупы выгребаючи з земли, ѣли и сами вмирали': *Khronika Litovskaia i Zhmoitskaia*, in PSRL, vol. 32, *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie*, ed. N. N. Ulashchik, Moscow: Nauka, 1975, p. 114.
5. 'Incredibilis a media hieme fames extreme Lithuaniam afflixit; egentiores agrestes non bestiarum modo extinctarum carnibus, sed hominum etiam exhumatorum cadaveribus pascebantur. Remisit malum cum hieme', Albertus

- Wiiuk Koiałowicz, *Historiæ Lituaniæ pars altera seu de rebus Lituianorum*, Antwerp: Jacobus Meursius, 1669, p. 491.
6. 'Ein Erschröckenliche doch Warhaftige grausame hungers nott und Pestilenzische plag so im Landt Reissen vnnd Littaw furgangen im 1571 Jar', Zentralbibliothek Zürich, PAS II 9/9 (engraving in manuscript F 21, pp. 192–3).
 7. Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1550–1600*, New York: Abaris Books, 1975, vol. 1, p. 102 (the date is read incorrectly: 1573 instead of 1571); Jan Pirożyński, *Z dziejów obiegu informacji w Europie XVI wieku: nowiny z Polski w kolekcji Jana Jakuba Wicka w Zurychu z lat 1560–1587*, an issue of *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 654, 1995 (*Prace Historyczne*, 115), pp. 237, 290 (no. 7). This publication is not listed in other catalogues: Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 19, Cracow: Druk Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1903; Antoni Walawender, *Kronika klasztorów w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450–1586*, part 1, Lwów: skł. gł. Kasa im. J. Mianowskiego—Instytut Popierania Polskiej Twórczości Naukowej, 1932 (*Badania z Dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych*, 10), pp. 98–101; Konrad Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII w. Bibliografia*, 3 vols, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977–90.
 8. See A. Biely, 'Strashny holad u Krainie Rus' i Litva', *Spadchyna*, 5, 1998, pp. 236–7.
 9. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms F 21, pp. 187–90.
 10. 'Ein Erbermlich ll geschicht aus Ruessen / vnnd ll Littaw / in gesangs weis verfast / ll vnnd ist durch den gelehrten Herren in vnser ll Teutsch Land geschriben worden / als mit na= llmen Jost Summer / Pastor in Vilnae [!—AD] / an ll den Wolgebornen Herren / Johan Jör= llgen / von Gleissenthal / Prelaten im ll Spesshart / im 1572. ll Im Thon / Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Son /rc.': Karl Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung*, Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt & Co., 1922; reprint Munich: Klinckschradt & Biermann, 1985, p. 16.
 11. For more details see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot: Wildwood, 1988, pp. 118–24.
 12. Pirożyński, *Z dziejów obiegu informacji*, p. 65.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
 14. Bruno Weber, *Wunderzeichen und Winkeldrucker 1543–1586: Einblattdrucke aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, Zurich: Dietikon, 1972, p. 31.
 15. 'Nova cantio Polonico ex sermone conversa in Latinum de gravissima et ante inaudita fame, qua in Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae iam magna pars communis populi brevi tempore est absumpta annis 1570–71': Wolfenbüttel, *Nieder-sächsisches Landesarchiv*, 1 Alt. 23, Nr. 52, Bl. 15 r—16 r. The document was discovered by Jan Pirożyński. See his 'Nieznaną pieśń o głodzie na Litwie w latach 1570–1571', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 541, *Prace Historyczne*, 101, 1993, pp. 37–42.
 16. 'Famelicus pater iam coquit filium
Fraternum corpus manducari a fretre ista non sunt nova;
Maritus uxorem iam discindit ac infelices matres
Assatos faciunt suos infants'. (fol.15v.)
 17. 'Iam iram Taum, Domine, dignare compscere,
Quoniam post castigationem paternam dixisti Te misereri
Peccatoribus velle; hoc calamitosos et gravissimos annos
In meliores convertere et sic incolumes manebimus.
Amen'. (fol.16v.)

18. Jan Pirożyński, *Księżna brunszwicka Zofia Jagellonka (1552–1575) i jej biblioteka: studium z dziejów kultury*, Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1986, pp. 98–9.
19. 'und thu E.F.G. ich Zeittung von der grausamen theürung in Littaw der verschinen 70. 71 Jare ereignet': quoted after Pirożyński, 'Nieznana pieśń', p. 38.
20. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 19, pp. 79–97.
21. *Bibliografia literatury polskiej 'Nowy Korbut'*, vol. 3, Warsaw: PIW, 1965, p. 300.
22. 'Nauka i utwierdzenie o tym, z czym się ma pokazać i popisać przed majestatem Bożym człowiek chrześcijański niemocą złożony', Wilno: Jan Karcan, 1580, 8°; Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 30, Cracow: Druk Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1934, p. 17.
23. Wilno: Jan Markowicz, 1600. 8°
24. Pirożyński, 'Nieznana pieśń', p. 39.
25. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 19, p. 185.
26. Piotr Borek, 'Obraz wojen kozackich za czasów Chmielnickiego w staropolskim pamiętnikarstwie', *Napis*, 7th series, Warsaw, 2001, pp. 201–18 (p. 201).
27. *Dwa pamiętniki z XVII wieku: Jana Cedrowskiego i Jana Florianą Drobysza Tyczyńskiego*, ed. and intro. Adam Przyboś, Wrocław and Cracow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1954, pp. 10–11: 'Anno eodem 21 martii. Dopuscił Pan Bog w wojewodztwie mińskim na różnych miescach i w moim domu straszną moc myszy polnych, tak że zboża wprzód w polach, a potom w puniach i świrnach i przepłotach strasznie psowali. Za którym dopuszczeniem Bożem zaraz głód straszny nastąpił, który trwał aż do żniw w r. 1657, tak że kotki, psy, zdechliny wszelakie ludzi jadali, na ostatek rznęli ludzie i ciała ludzkie jedli i umiarłym trupom ludzkie wyleżeć się w grobie nie dali, czegom się sam mizerny człowiek oczyma moimi napatrzał. Ta klęska grasowała na Białorusi i w Inflanciech'. Belarusian translation: Jan Cadroŭski, 'Uspaminy', in A. F. Korshunaŭ (ed.), *Pomniki mienuarnaj litaratury Bielarusi XVII st.*, Minsk: Navuka i Tekhnika, 1983, p. 128.
28. *Akty, odnosiaszchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi komissieiu, vol. 3, St Petersburg, 1863, pp. 576, 578, 582. A comparison of Cedrowski's reports with those of the Moscow administration can be found in Hienadz Sahanovich, *Nieviadomaia vaina 1654–1667*, Minsk: Navuka i Tekhnika, 1995, p. 71.
29. *Pomniki mienuarnaj litaratury Bielarusi XVII st.*, p. 144.
30. *Russkaia istoricheskaja biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoi komissieiu*, vol. 1, *Pamiatniki, odnosiaszchiesia k smutnomu vremeni*, St Petersburg: Pechatnia V. I. Golovina, 1872, cols 347–50.
31. For more detail see S. F. Platonov, *Ocherki po istorii Smuty v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI—XVII vv: opyt izucheniia obschestvennogo stroia i soslovnnykh odnoszenii v Smutnoe vremia*, 5th edn, Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 1995, pp. 358–60.
32. 'ktory nie slychany y do wypisania trudny, iakiego zadne kroniki y historie nie swiadczą, aby kiedy na swiecie w oblężeniu będący ktory go mógł, albo kiedy miał bydz, nastąpił, bo gdy iuz traw, korzonkow, myszy, psow, kotek, scierwa nie stało, więznie wyiedli, trupy, wykopując z ziemie, wyiedli, piechota się sama miedzy sobą wyiadła y ludzie łapaiąc poiedli'.
33. 'Truskowski porucznik piechotny dwu synow swych ziadł; hayduk ieden takze syna ziadł, drugi matkę; towarzysz tez ieden sługę ziadł swego; owo zgoła syn oycu, oiciec synowi nie spuscił; pan sługi, sługa pana nie był bezpecen; kto kogo zgoła zmoł, ten tego ziadł, zdrowszy chorszego pozbił'.

34. 'O powinnego abo towarzysza swego, iesli kto komu inszy ziadł, iako o własny spadek się prawowali, ze go był bliższy ziesc, niz kto inszy, która taka sprawa przytoczyła się była w szeregę p. Lenickiego, ze hayducy ziedli w swym szeregę umarłego hayduka; powinny nieboszczykowski z innego dziesiątku skarzył się przed rotmistrzem, zem go ia był bliższy ziesc, iako powinny, niz kto inszy; ci zas odpierali, zesmy bliżsi do ziedzenia iego, poniewaz z nami w iednym ordynku y szeregu był y dziesiątku. Rotmistrz, iako novum emergens (?) nie wiedział, iako decretu ferowac, obawiając się tez, aby która strona, będąc urazona decretem, samego sędzega nie ziadła, musiał z trzybunału umykac'.
35. 'W tak tedy okrutnym głodzie nastąpiły rozmaite choroby, smierci srogie, ze na człowieka z głodu umierającego patrzac z strachem y nie bez płaczu przychodziło, których wielem się napatrzył, ziemię pod sobą, ręce, nogi, ciało, iako mogli, zarł, a co naygorszy, ze choćby rad umarł, a umrzec nie mógł, kamien abo cegłę kąsał, prosząc p. Boga, aby w chleb przemienił, ale ukąsiec niemógł. Ach! Ach! Wszedy pełno w żamku, a przed zamkiem więzienie y smierc. Ciężkie obłężenie, cięższe wytrwanie było! Siła ludzi takich było, co dobrowolnie na smierc do nieprzyjaciela szli y przedawali się . . .'
36. Krzysztof Zawisza, *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721)*, ed. Julian Bartoszewicz, Warsaw: Nakładem Jana Zawiszy, potomka wojewody, 1862, p. 363.
37. 'Roku 1710 toż trwa po różnych miejscach pruskich powietrze, a w Litwie ciężkie choroby i nadewszystko głód, bo nietylko ludzie zdechlinę, ale na niektórych miejscach ludzi jedli, a na to wszystko mniej uwagi, wojsk i swoich i postronnych uciski wielkie, dla których gdy zjedzono ostatnie, głód nastąpił [. . .]. Zkąd taki głód, że po dworach trupów pełno było na pożywienie wilkom. Ludzie żywi trupy zjadali, kotki, psy [. . .]. W Wilnie ubóstwa po stu i więcej na dzień umierało'.
38. 'i zdarzało się że na kilku miejscach matki dzieci swoje pojadły, za co karano'.
39. *Letopis' Pantsyrnogo i Averki*, in *PSRL*, vol. 32, ed. N. N. Ulashchik, Moscow: Nauka, 1975, p. 203.
40. 'Z okazji deszczow y powodzi wielkiey trzy letni tak cienżki, że ludzie, dzieci ieść y trupow z szubienic zdientych. Test Miechowita. Roku 1315 . . . Z racyi cienżkiey y długiey zimy, ze ludzie z liścia sobie pożywienie robili i trupow iedli, szli do lasow na pożarcie bestyiom . . . Teste Koiałowicz. Rok 1570'.
41. Natalia Iakovenko, 'Skil'ky oblych u viiny: Khmel'nychyna ochyma suchasnikiv', in eadem, *Paralel'nyi svit: doslidzhennia z istoriyi uiaulen' ta idei w Ukrayini XVI—XVII st.*, Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002, pp. 208, 211, 224.
42. Adam Przyboś, 'Wstęp', in *Dwa pamiętniki z XVII wieku: Jana Cedrowskiego i Jana Floriana Drobysza Tyczyńskiego*, Wrocław and Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1954, p. ix.
43. Władysław Czapliński, 'Wstęp', in Jan Chryzostom Pasek (ed.), *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, Wrocław and Warsaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo De Agostini, 2003, pp. ix–x.
44. Jadwiga Rytel, *'Pamiętniki' Paska na tle pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego. Szkic z dziejów prozy narracyjnej*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1962, p. 41.
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59. 'Ein Bauer hat sein eigen weib geschlachtet vnd gekochet, vnd ihren Bruder darauff zu Gaste geladen, welcher, wie ere s gehöret, vor Angst vnd Zittern sich erstochen'.
60. 'Den 4. Martii hat in Dörpt ein Bauer eines Menschen Arm öffentlich auff dem Marckt gebraten vnd gefressen. Ein anderer verhungertes schwedischer Soldat hat das Fleisch von seinem rechten Arm mit den Zähnen zerrissen vnd gefressen. In derselben Belagerung hat ein Weib ihre eigenen Kinder gegessen, vnd darnach sich selbst erstochen'.
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