ALEXANDER I. PERESWETOFF-MORATH

Petitions, Letters, Wills, and Receipts*

A First Road Map to The King's Russian-Writing Subjects in Swedish Ingria, 1617–1656

Rossica sunt, non leguntur.

——*M. Rostovtzeff*

In memoriam Ľubomír Ďurovič (1925–2022)

In its eighth clause, the Treaty of Stolbovo stipulates that, within a fortnight after its promulgation, all *monks* and *gentrymen*,[1] but also the *burghers* of the towns and boroughs near the fortresses of 'Iwangorod, Jamo, Coporie, and Nötheborg' should leave the province with their families and belongings or else stay forever on this new Swedish soil.[2] Orthodox *parish priests* and *peasants*, on the other hand, were simply to stay on and in this they had no choice.[3]

* The research for this paper has been conducted within the research project Rossica Ingrica: The Paths of Native Written Russian in Swedish Ingria, 1611–1704. A Sociophilological Study with a Digital Edition, which has been generously funded at the Department of Slavic and Baltic languages, Finnish, Dutch, and German, Stockholm University, by the Marcus and Amalia Wallenberg Foundation. I am also much indebted to the Åke Wiberg Foundation, the Lars Hierta Memorial Foundation, and the Magn. Bergvall Foundation for travel and research grants which have allowed for me to work on the Torčakov papers at Tartu (see n. 55 below). Open access charges were graciously defrayed by the Department of Modern Languages, Uppsala University.

1 'Dweräne/Bayor Söner' or 'Dweräner/Dietibayorsker', i.e. *dvorjane* and *děti bojarskie*, different classes of gentry servicemen.

2 'Jamo' was a common alternative for 'Jamgorod'/'Jam'/'Jama' in seventeenth-century Swedish; Caporie/Coporie is 'Kopor´e' in modern transliteration from Russian; Nöteborg was known in Russian as Orešek, 'the nut'. I shall call the four fortresses Ivangorod, Caporie, Jamgorod, and Nöteborg. The fenced boroughs outside of the fortress walls were known in Russian as *posady* (singular *posad*) and in Swedish as *hakelvärk* (singular *hakelvärk*).

3 *Fredzfördragh Emillan Swerige och Ryßland, Oprättadh åhr 1617*, Stockholm *s.a.* [1633–1663], unfoliated; *Sverges traktater*, v.i, 249–50. These stipulations notwithstanding, the new border would turn out to be quite porous and, during times of duress or crop failure, large numbers of Orthodox

Sweden, Russia, and the 1617 Peace of Stolbovo, ed. by Arne Jönsson and Arsenii Vetushko-Kalevich, Acta Scandinavica, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), pp. 235–286
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.AS-EB.5.133607

My aim in this paper is to identify and explore areas where literacy in Russian and Russian/Slavonic book-learning retained a role in the Swedish province of Ingria between the 1617 Treaty of Stolbovo and the Russo-Swedish 'War of Rupture' of 1656–1658. Practically, I shall do this by looking mainly at the above categories of pre-1617 'Ingrians' — in as far as they remained in the province after 1617 — and at any written *Nachlass* in Russian.[4] The result, I hope, will be a first road map to native or near-native written Ingrian Russian (WIR) in this province of Sweden.[5] No attempt has been made to provide a full survey of the archival riches consulted, and only in one case of singular importance shall I allow myself to go into some details of archival history and organization. I focus on the documented use of Russian in writing by Ingrians other than Swedish/German administrators, militaries, and interpreters.[6] Questions of ethnicity, then, are largely external to the paper even though future research on *Rossica Ingrica*

---

peasants as well as some representatives of the other categories would abscond to Muscovy (see: Селин, *Русско-шведская граница* [Selin, *The Russian-Swedish Border*], pp. 138–281, and several works by Veijo Saloheimo; cf. Kujala, 'Sweden's Russian Lands', pp. 559–63).

4 I shall use the noun/adjective 'Ingrian' for what pertains, geographically, to Ingria (Sw. Ingermanland; Fi. Inkeri/Inkerinmaa; Ru. Ižorskaja zemlja). The indigenous Fennic people for which the word is occasionally used in English I shall call 'Ižorians'. Ingria is understood as comprising the counties (Sw. *län*) of Ivangorod, Jamgorod, Caporie, and Nöteborg. Before the 1610s, the term 'Ingermanland' had a much more restricted denotation, which is not always appreciated (cf. Дмитриев, 'Административно-территориальное деление Ингерманландии' [Dmitriev, 'The Administrative and Territorial Division of Ingria']). The adjective 'Russian' is used in this paper to characterize language, linguistic identity, and (more seldom) ethnicity, while I use 'Muscovite' for things having to do with seventeenth–early-eighteenth-century Russia as a state.

5 A recent collection of papers on the languages of the Swedish dominions in the seventeenth century contains an excellent paper on Russian by Ulla Birgegård (Birgegård, 'Ryska'). This is a survey of the state of the question and does not, therefore, treat Ingrian Russian, the extant specimens of which have remained largely unknown to scholarship. Instead, it focuses on Swedish interpreters, administrators, and scholars, but also on the seventeenth-century Slavonic/Russian catechisms printed at Stockholm and intended, mainly, for catechesis in Ingria. Very few translators or interpreters from Russian were ethnic Russians, and I am not aware of extant written materials in Russian from any of them. On them, see also: Tarkiainen, 'Venäjäntulkit ja slavistiikan harrastus Ruotsin valtakunnassa vv. 1595–1661'; Tarkiainen, 'Rysstolkarna som yrkeskår 1595–1661'.

6 The material has remained almost unknown in scholarship, even though parts of the Bělous codex, now in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg, were edited in the nineteenth century and mid-twentieth century (*Акты, собранные в библиотеках и архивах Российской Империи* [*Documents Collected in the Libraries and Archives of the Russian Empire*], IV, 112–13, 183–85, 200; Лихачев, 'Плач о реке Нарове 1665 г.' [Lichačev, 'A 1665 Lament for River Narova']). Otherwise, except for some use made of it by the present writer, Ingrian documents in Russian have been drawn on — mainly in what concerns the 1610s — by the St Petersburg historian Adrian Selin (e.g. 'Таможенная книга Невского устья 1616–1618 гг.' ['Customs Book of the Neva Estuary 1616–1618']; 'Балтийские писцовые книги — часть Каммар-архива в Государственном архиве Швеции' ['The Baltic Cadastres: A Part of the Kammararkiv at the Swedish National Archives']; *Смута на Северо-Западе* [*The Time of Troubles in the North-West*]; but compare also, e.g., Selin's edition of a 1636 document in *Русско-шведская граница* [*The Russian-Swedish Border*], 789–90), and, following him, Jakov Rabinovič (Рабинович, 'Крепость Копорье и помещики Дягиленского погоста' ['The fortress of Kopor´e and the landowners of Djagilenskij *pogost*']).

might lead to results of interest for such subjects, too.[7] Likewise, I shall not dwell here on the entire process of communication. That might in these cases have included translating from Russian to Swedish/German (or, perhaps, interpreting from Ižorian/Votic to Russian) or the authorities' producing and conveying written messages to users of WIR. The few concrete examples of reading or writing in (near) Church Slavonic are not separately discussed; that language will be treated, pragmatically, as a highly literary Russian.[8] I attempt to include a prosopographic perspective and to highlight, albeit briefly, some relevant aspects of the biography and service history of the 'authors' treated.

Aspects of Joint Administration: Assistant Lords Lieutenants, Secretaries, and Scribes

Following the subjugation of the various Novgorodian fortresses by Swedish or Swedish-Novgorodian forces in the early 1610s, including those of future Ingria, a system of joint Russian and Swedish/German lords lieutenants (Sw. *ståthållare*, Ru. *voevody*) is introduced at most of the houses on the pattern of Novgorod itself, which was administered by Baron (from 1615 Count) Jacob De la Gardie and Prince Ivan Nikitič Bol´šoj Odoevskij. In the rank-and-file administration, similar duplications with one 'Swede' (in actual fact often a Baltic German nobleman) and one Russian in parallel or comparable positions were usual. No doubt, most important decisions were in the hands of the Swedish administrators, but many documents were decided on and signed jointly. Beginning in late 1615 and early 1616 a modified system is introduced at the Ingrian fortresses proper (including Gdov [Sw. *Augdow*]), where Russian lords lieutenants or assistant lords lieutenants (*ryska ståthållare*, *underståthållare*) are sworn in who are particularly loyal to the King and not merely to the Novgorod administration. However, until 1617 they serve alongside, or rather under, Swedish counterparts.[9] At their disposal and at the disposal of the Swedish administration are Russian scribes, secretaries, and — at times — bailiffs; and although, with the exception of Ivangorod, the Russian lords lieutenants are discharged within months of the Stolbovo Treaty, the scribes and secretaries are not.[10] At Ivangorod there are

7 The exception being some cases of possible assimilation into a Swedish/Baltic German identity which may be reflected in the choice of written language.

8 On Church Slavonic in this connection: Ďurovič, 'Kyrkslaviskan — svenskt missionsspråk på 1600-talet'.

9 Cf. Пересветов-Мурат, 'Из Ростова в Ингерманландию' [Pereswetoff-Morath, 'From Rostov to Ingria'], pp. 368–70. On their growing discontent with the way they were treated by their Swedish peers in the King's absence, see their undated (early 1616?) petition in German translation in: NAS. Oxenstiernska samlingen, vol. E 601: Hans Flörich. The petition was originally appended to a letter from H. Flörich to A. Oxenstierna.

10 There remained leading administrators in the province with at least a smidgen of Russian, such as Nils Assersson Mannersköld and Claes Galle, or persons who knew the language very well indeed,

Russian chancery secretaries (*ryska kantzliskriffware*, usually calling themselves *pod´jačie* in Russian) until 1645,[11] at Jamgorod until *c.* 1627, at Nöteborg until at least the early 1620s but possibly into the 1630s and even the 1640s. At Caporie, a Russian chancery secretary on the state payroll is known only until *c.* 1618. At Jamgorod we have some information from the early 1620s on the Russian chancery (*Ryske Skrifuerij*) at the fortress, where the chancery scribe worked and kept his books and acts under lock and key.[12] The 'Russian chancery' (*Rÿsche Cantzeliet*) at Ivangorod, known throughout the 1620s,[13] is always mentioned in Swedish sources in connection with sentences passed there by C. Galle, but it takes no great stretch of the imagination to assume that it was here that day to day affairs in Russian were discharged and the Russian chancery secretary sat. Russian scribes in lower positions, of which there were particularly many at Ivangorod in the 1620s and '30s, were often employed at the Ingrian fortresses later than these dates may imply. They are, generally, not enumerated in this paper, but it should be mentioned that a Russian corn scribe has his salary at Jamgorod as late as 1639,[14] while at Nöteborg — and occasionally at Nyen — a scribe is confirmed on the payroll (including as a school teacher) at least as late as 1647 and is still employed at least occasionally in 1648.[15] At Caporie, a scribe does service for his homestead, until at least 1640 (see Appendix A). Adrian Selin has pointed out a tendency for clans of *pod´jačie* to be formed in the Novgorod lands at the beginning of the seventeenth century,[16] and that is a development suggested by the Ingrian material as well (viz. the Budynskoj and the Ryžkov families). At least the Budynskie and the scribe I. S. Věrin appear to have sprung from the local minor landowning class known as *(svoe)zemcy* (in Swedish: *sem(t)zer* or *halfbaijorer*; on them, see below).[17]

---

such as Erik Andersson (Trana), who had formerly served as an interpreter. At various times in the 1610s and '20s, there were former translators or interpreters, part ethnic Russians, serving in minor administrative positions, too.

11 On the specifics of the *pod´jačie* in Swedish Ingria 1617–1656, see Appendix A.

12 MAS. Militieräkningar 1623, vol. 25. Appendices L, M, N.

13 e.g. NAF. 428a, p. 239, for 1628/9.

14 EAA.278.1.XXIV-80, fols 226, 682. There may not always have been one in the immediately preceding years.

15 EAA.278.1.XXIV-83, fol. 363; see further: Пересветов-Мурат, 'Урбан Йерне как нюенец и ингерманландец' [Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Urban Hierne as a Nyener and an Ingrian'], pp. 119–20, 123–24. This is Timofej Timofeev syn Popov.

16 Селин, *Смута на Северо-Западе* [Selin, *The Time of Troubles in the North-West*], p. 456.

17 Ivan Věrin at Nöteborg expressly so (NAS. Livonica II, vol. 723. Krigsrätt i Nöteborg 1616). Dmitrej Fedorov (?) syn Budynskoj, is mentioned as a *zemec* in the 1630s (NAS. Kammararkivet. Östersjöprovinsernas räkenskaper, vol. 40, fol. 186^{v}). Unfortunately, neither of the *pod´jačie* Semen and Petr Budynskoj is known by a patronymicon (but cf. Appendix A on Petr Budynskoj) and the exact degree of relationship between them and Dmitrej Budynskoj is unknown. Selin categorizes the brothers Ryžkov as Jamgorod *svoezemcy* (e.g. Селин, *Смута на Северо-Западе* [Selin, *The Time of Troubles in the North-West*], p. 441; Селин, 'К изучению персонального состава землевладельцев Северо-Запада Новгородской земли' [Selin, 'A Contribution to the Study of Who Made Up the Landowning Class in North-West Novgorodia'], p. 127), but it should be pointed out that they had

Figure 12.1. *Alfabetum Rutenorum*, a Church Slavonic primer (pp. 1–7) and catechism (pp. 8–28) for Swedes. After the acquisition of Ingria and Karelia (Kexholms län), the Swedish authorities made attempts to Lutheranize the Orthodox Russians and had educational aids produced. Printed by Peter van Selow in Stockholm, probably between 1638 and 1645 (Maier, 'Wer war der Autor von *Alfabetum Rutenorum*?', pp. 351–56). Uppsala University Library (via alvin-portal.org).

In extant sources from the 1610s–40s, partly the 1650s, we find a great many signatures and receipts (for themselves or in lieu of others) from almost all of these minor Russian administrators. It is unfortunate that their accounts and other books in Russian have been lost almost entirely.[18] They were probably deemed redundant when sums or conclusions had been entered into the Swedish balance sheets; hence, they were only exceptionally sent on to Stockholm. There are, however, anomalies which betray their existence, such as the yearly Russian extracts of fines from the court rolls (*'is sudnych knig'*) at the Russian town hall (*ratuša*) at Ivangorod by Stepan Ryžkov. These were appended to the Swedish accounts in the 1630s and 1640s[19] but are found from time to time at earlier dates, too.[20] Other books are occasionally mentioned, such as the accounts that the *pod´jačej* Tarasej Ivanov (who could not read Swedish and thus could not have

been sent to Jamgorod from Moscow as late as the first decade of the seventeenth century, and Stepan Ryžkov calls himself a native (*uroženec*) of the Muscovite side of the border (RGADA. F. 141. Приказные дела старых лет. [The Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. F. 141. Prikaz acts from older times] 1646 г. No. 113-a, fols 1–28, at fol. 3 (? unfoliated); cf. Appendix A). *Linguistic note:* This paper has its origin in a philological project on the Russian of Ingria, and I make no excuse for employing, on several occasions, not the modern standardized forms but ones closer to those in actual use at the time, thus 'Dmitrej', *not* 'Dmitrij'; 'pod´jačej' (or, in quotations, 'pod´jačei'), *not* 'pod´jačij'; 'Mikita', *not* 'Nikita', etc. Full consistency is not attainable, however. I write, e.g., not Oleksandr, but Aleksandr. Furthermore, I have aimed both at some level of standardization — not mere transcription — and at 'fuller' names rather than hypocoristics. I use the East Slav *-skoj/-skoi* in the masc. nom. sg. of geographical adjectives, not the Slavonic/modern *-skij*. In addition, since Ingrian Russian was not used within the hierarchical system of Muscovy, it admitted a more liberal use of honorific patronymics in *-ovič* and *-ovna*. If a person is accorded either of these suffixes in Ingrian sources, I accord them, too.

18 The most important exceptions are early, namely the duty records of Nyenskans for 1616 and 1618, and of Nöteborg for 1619–1620. These records were kept in parallel in Russian and German/Swedish. They were primarily meant for the local administration, and not, even before Stolbovo, for that in Novgorod. The duty revenues were thus entered directly to the credit in the accounts of the fortress in question. More detail will be given in a future edition of the Nöteborg rolls; the Nyenskans/Nevskoe ust´e ('Neva estuary') records have been edited by Selin in: 'Таможенная книга Невского устья 1616–1618 гг.' [Selin, 'Customs Book of the Neva Estuary 1616–1618'].

19 e.g. EAA.278.1.XXIV-76, fol. 39.

20 Ingrian judicature in Russian is a particularly interesting area, which awaits reconstruction. Apart from the Ivangorod town hall (see below), judiciary procedures were conducted in Russian at the Russian chancery during the first decades of Swedish rule (cf. above). In other cases as well, and in other places, witness statement and minutes could be taken down in Russian. However, such written statements have been preserved only in German or Swedish translation but for a few exceptions (such as Herder-Institut [Marburg]. DSHI 560 LHG, Bü Nr 5, pp. 559–61 [microfilm; the lost original was from 1629]).

produced accounts in that language) delivered upon leaving service some time before 1650,[21] or the Russian Jamgorod accounts of Isaak Torčakov, which Erik Andersson Trana reviewed, both in draft and in revised form, in 1626/7 after serious suspicions had arisen as to their accuracy.[22]

Freedom of Worship

The King's Orthodox subject in Ingria enjoyed a certain freedom of worship which constitutes a surprising element in the bulwark of professed Lutheran unity that was seventeenth-century Sweden. This is generally thought to have been guaranteed by the Stolbovo Treaty, but that is true only in so far as it follows from the prohibition for Russian parish priests and their peasant congregations to leave the province, to which I referred at the beginning of this paper. However, many official statements show that this was the current understanding in the seventeenth century as well.[23] As a result, any superintendent — as the head of the Lutheran diocese of Ingria and Narva was to be called — or other functionary who violated this freedom generally felt the need to show that he was not actually doing that. The burghers of Ivangorod, on the other hand, had negotiated formal freedom of worship from J. De la Gardie's representative — and their own assistant lord lieutenant — the Russian gentryman Fedor Grigor´evič Aminev in 1617. This Russian document has been lost but it is quoted in original at some length in two Swedish petitions from the Ivangorod burghers to two of the Privy Councillours (*riksråd*) in the early 1630s.[24] The gentry, too, appear to have received personal guarantees of freedom of worship.

---

21 'Nu sädan iagh intet meera för min ålderdom kunde tijena öfwergifwit tiensten och mijna richtige Rechningar ifron migh leffwererat (: som böckerna uthi Cammaren wäll utwijsar:)' (NAS. Livonica II, vol. 209. Skrivelser om gods); on his language skills: 'Contractet […] lätt Herren Generalen skrijfwa på Swenska, som hanß herligheet sielff wille, der utaff iagh icke ett ordh förstodh, och befalte migh sädan skrifwa under, der det doch hafwer bordt war<et> på ryska skrifwit, huilcket Contract iagh då underskreff oansedt iagh det intet förstodh' (ib.).

22 NAS. Kammararkivet. [*Oordnade handlingar*, vol. 213]. Act: Anlangandes fougten Jacob Pärßon ifrån Narfwen Sampt Rÿske Skrifuaren, etc. This entire collection, whose existence had been forgotten at the NAS, was located by me in 2014. There is still no new designation in the open archival database, but its physical shelf location at Riksarkivet Marieberg, Stockholm, is 2566. Cf. on the case: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 88–91, which was written before the original act was rediscovered.

23 Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Otiosorum hominum receptacula"', pp. 106–07.

24 '[We] have vouchsafed the residents of the Ivangorod suburb and ordered [*that they shall?*] live by their old Christian faith of the Greek Law, [and] that they shall have and hold, freely and without hindrance, in all things and as previously, their faith, their churches and any church buildings, and Divine service' (*ivanegorodski(ch) posadski(ch) ljudei požalovali veléli im´´ žiti pri drevnei svoei christjansko(i) věre grečeskago zako(n)u čto im´´ věra svoja i cerkvi svoi i vsjakoe c[e]rkovnoe stroen´´e i božestven(n)aja služba volno (i) be(z) poměški po svoe(i) věre iměti i deržati vo vse(m) po prežnemu*) (NAS. Livonica II, vol. 207. Ivanogorod till Kongl. M:t. Ivangorod's burghers to J. De la Gardie (undated, early 1630s)). In this short text, *požalovali veléli im* is open to more than one formal

'Noblemen'

The military servicemen of the gentry who chose to 'remain' in the province after the first fortnight had passed, and who are often referred to as the Russian 'bayors' (*ryssba(i)jorerne*),[25] were not quite what they have seemed in some historiography.[26] It was probably only a handful of these families of servicemen — the Kalitins, the Chomutovs, the Klement´evs, and the Lugvenevs — who could lay claim to any traditional land-holding in what would become Ingria, even though others had lived for generations in the nearby Pskov and Gdov area. If we study Swedish administrative sources proper from the Ingrian counties in the 1610s, we find that all members of the local gentry that have traditionally, or even only recently, owned land there, other than these particular *bayors*, are more or less ignored from *c.* 1615, a time at which the King orders a review to be carried out in Ingria, apparently in preparation for a time when the province would be a part of Sweden.[27] To a considerable degree, the Russian élite families of Swedish Ingria after 1617 are relatives and in-laws of those representative of the gentry who have recently served as assistant lords lieutenants at the Ingrian fortresses (and two of them have served as audit officers in the 1615–6 review). These servicemen are: F. G. Aminev (serving as assistant lord lieutenant at Ivangorod and Gdov) and his son I. F. Aminev (at Gdov) and son-in-law M. P. Karpovskoj (at Ivangorod); V. S. Čebotaev (at Caporie); and M. I. Kalitin (at Jamgorod). Several of the liaisons between the families were no doubt recent, but the information at our disposal does not allow us to tell whether marriages were entered among those who had

---

interpretation but the general meaning is clear; the infinitive with accusative is traditional northern. Here, as in other examples of continuous seventeenth-century Russian text, letters within round brackets render the superscript (*vynosnye*) letters of the original. Letters within square brackets have been supplemented by the editor in abbreviated words, which are usually indicated in the original by an abbreviation mark (*titlo*). Diacritic marks as such are not retained.

25 From a distortion of the word *bojarin* ('boyar'), known in Swedish at least since the late-fifteenth century, see: Толстиков, 'Бояре по-шведски' [Tolstikov, 'Boyars in Swedish']. It should be pointed out that *boyars* these mainly minor gentrymen most definitely were not, even though some had seen better days.

26 On them, see: Lind, 'De Ingermanlandske "Ryss-Bajorer"'; Пересветов-Мурат, 'Из Ростова в Ингерманландию' [Pereswetoff-Morath, 'From Rostov to Ingria']; Kepsu, *Mellan Moskva och Stockholm*; Селин, *Русско-шведская граница* [Selin, *The Russian–Swedish Border*], pp. 532–34; Селин, *Смута на Северо-Западе* [Selin, *The Time of Troubles in the North-West*], pp. 300–01, 344–46, 375, 533; on the Chomutovy: Селин, *Новгородские судьбы Смутного времени* [Selin, *Novgorodian Fates in the Time of Troubles*], pp. 112–14; on the Barohns: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Straddling Cultural and Political Borders in Swedish Ingria'; on the deep genealogy of the families Aminev and Peresvětov: Кузьмин, *На пути в Москву* [Kuz´min, *En Route to Moscow*], II, 61–82, 277–83. Swedish and Finnish traditional genealogical works on all these families are completely untrustworthy for the period before *c.* 1650 (with the exception of some works on the Aminoff family, and then only for the times after 1609) and often quite misinformed for the period before 1721. Even in the very latest literature old faulty notions have turned out to die very hard.

27 Cf. Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Otiosorum hominum receptacula"', pp. 108–09. The administrative sources in question are NAS. Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper, vols 167–69, 171, 174, 183, 187–88.

decided to 'stay' in Ingria, or if those who already had become in-laws decided, as extended families, to become Swedish subjects. All in all, we are talking of twenty or so families (including some 'newly baptized' Tatar and some 'Polish' — probably Orthodox Ruthenian — military men). Very soon and for various reasons, they are heavily decimated, and by the 1640s not even half of them survive on the male line.[28]

One of the reasons why the Swedish government had wished for Russian noble families to settle in Ingria was no doubt the need of an Orthodox élite with some legitimacy in the eyes of the local peasantry and some cultural understanding of their life but with an undisputed allegiance to, and dependence on, the Crown.[29] This has often been standard colonial procedure and it was unavoidable in a country such as early-seventeenth-century Sweden, where able low and middle administrators were still scarce. Much might be said about the gradual Lutheranization and assimilation of the *bayors* into the German/Swedish culture of their noble peers.[30] This process was different in different families and different branches of families and usually needed two or three generations to be completed. (By the hearth, and especially among unmarried women, it appears to have been particularly slow). It was in many ways reminiscent, e.g., of the voluntary self-Russification of many local élites in the Russian empire or of the self-Polonization of the Lithuanian/Ruthenian nobility in Poland. Even though the decisions to make this cultural transition were made voluntarily, they were incited by the needs and expressed wishes of representatives of the state and, in the end, necessary in order for these élite families to keep and develop their position in society.

As a rule, the sons of these nobles were brought to Lutheranism and German Baltic culture by private preceptors or by way of entering military service early on. Young members of the families Aminev, Kalitin, and Klement´ev were first

28 See Appendix C.

29 This allegiance was relative. Members of the Aminev and Kalitin families, who were, ostensibly, the most zealous advocates of the Swedes in the years leading up to Stolbovo and the first to be matriculated at the Swedish House of Nobility, turned to Muscovite authorities at the beginning of the 1620s and offered to inform on their new masters. At least in one case this resulted in a reward from the Tsar (Кобзарева, 'Отсвет Смуты' [Kobzareva, 'A Reflection of the Time of Troubles'], p. 86).

30 Cf., eg.: Kepsu, *Mellan Moskva och Stockholm*, pp. 77–89. My article on the assimilation of the *bayors*, '"Chantries where no clerks sing": On the Russianness of the *bayors* of Ingria, 1617–1704', was accepted for publication by *Slavistica Vilnensis* in 2008 and has had some distribution in manuscript form, partly unbeknownst to me. The rich material which became available to me that same year as I had the occasion to work at the NAS on a more permanent basis, made it difficult not to wish for a thorough overhaul of the argument. This I have still not carried out and the article remains unpublished.

sent to study the printed Stockholm catechesis in Russian at the feet of its original corrector I. S. Torčakov in Ivangorod.[31]

One of them, Grigorej Isaevič Aminev (Sw. *Aminoff*; *c.* 1630–1673), grandson of Fedor Aminev, would be proficient enough to take down his father's longish last will in Russian in the early 1650s, but he used to sign his letters neatly in German and had a reasonably good military career, apparently managing to strike a middle way between old and new.[32] Another, Kuz´ma Michajlovič Klement´ev (Sw. *Clementeoff*; *c.* 1620–1669), son of Michajlo Afanas´evič Klement´ev in his last marriage and almost certainly born in Swedish Ingria, signs a Swedish affidavit in Russian as late as 1668. He is at the time a corporal in the Ingrian Banner of Nobles but unable to read the Swedish text of the document he has just signed; this has to be read — and, possibly, translated — for him. More importantly, we have a Russian letter he has autographed in the 1660s in a beautiful fluent hand to the Narva merchant P. I. Torčakov, which bears all the marks of being only one item of an ongoing correspondence [Fig. 12.3].[33]

In 1668, his half nephew, Petr Mikitič Klement´ev († aft.1674), like his uncle a pupil of I. S. Torčakov's and a corporal since 1662, signs his name in Russian in a less refined hand.[34] It is tempting, but perhaps too facile, to juxtapose the latter, a corporal writing in Russian, and his (younger?) brother Fedor Mikitič ('Fridrich', *c.* 1633–aft. 1700), a cornet by 1658, who signs his name in German in 1663 as a member of the board of noble trustees at the Lutheran church of Moloscowitz (and who is not known to have studied at a Russian school).[35] However, the

31 NAS. Oxenstiernska samlingen, vol. E787. Narva; Ryska borgerskapet och medlemmarna av grekisk-katolska kyrkan därstädes. I. S. Torčakov's undated (1650?) petition to A. Oxenstierna; cf. Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 104–05.

32 Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 104–05 n.

33 Although Klement´ev was almost certainly born in Swedish Ingria in the years after Stolbovo, his only extant full letter and his known signatures under other documents are all in Russian. As a boy, he had been sent to Ivangorod or Narva to learn to read from the 1628 Lutheran Slavonic and Russian Catechism with its corrector, a former monastery scribe and Torčakov's father, who taught at the Ivangorod/Narva school. This may explain why he turns to Torčakov as his *kum*; the word archetypically designates a relation through godparents or godchildren, but it might also be used for friends from different kinds of fraternities or coteries — here, perhaps, from the Ivangorod or Narva schoolroom. The handwriting is pleasantly fluent with some calligraphic qualities, and the author clearly uses his pen frequently.

34 *'Petr Kleme(n)t´ev | kapra(l) po(d) ryde(r)fanu'*, i.e. 'corporal under the Riddarfana/Ryttarfana [here: the Banner of Nobles]' (LVVA. 109.f., 2.apr., 921.l. Appendices B and C to the *Exceptio* of 3 April 1668). Cf., LVVA. 109.f., under K. M. Klement´ev's Cyrillic signature: 'Denne skrifts kontenta hafver jag undertecknad granneligen och noga oppläst och förhållet korporalen av Ingermanländska Adelsfanan, välborne Kuisma Klementioff; och han tillstod så alldeles sant och skett vara, betyger | *Eric Gollsteen*'. K. M. Klement´ev's undated letter (1660s) to P. I. Torčakov is EAA.3287.1.206. Folder 'Mitmesugused venekeelsed kirjad', fol. 53. An unsigned note to the merchant Ivan Osipovič (Rochnov) in the same collection *may* be from Grigorej Isaevič Aminev (on whom, see above) but this is not certain (EAA.3287.1.206. Folder 'Mitmesugused venekeelsed kirjad', fol. 70).

35 For example: NAS. Livonica II, vol. 176. Appendix A to S. G. Helmfelt to the Crown, 15 December 1663.


КАТНХНΣІΣ
сѝ ёсть грⷯческое слово.
Ѧпрѣски їменуетсѧ.
ХРТЫѦНСКОЕ ОУ
ченїе пѣречнеⷬ что члкⷭ по
добѣ. прежесего оучитисѧ имⷦ
дати. ѻписѣнїи дш
своей;
Ѧпечѧтлѣⷭ ѕетоколие мѧ
стеръ петеръ фаи
селавъ.
Лⷦтаѿвоплощенїѧписанїшего їсаха
ѧ х к и.
1628
Jonas Petri Bothn
Sudermannus

Figure 12.2. The Church Slavonic/Russian translation of Luther's Catechism with comments and other texts (all in all 144 pages), published in Stockholm in 1628. Isak Torčakov was for a long time taken to be the translator, but Anders Sjöberg showed that the work originates from the famous translator Hans Flörich and might only have been corrected by Torčakov (Sjöberg, 'Hans Flörich och Isak Torcakov'; cf. Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk diak', pp. 81–82, 91–94, 104–06). Photo: Jens Östman, Kungliga Biblioteket.

Figure 12.3. Undated letter (1660s) from the Ingrian nobleman and corporal Kuz´ma Klement´ev (Clementeoff; *c.* 1620–1669) to the merchant Parfen(ej) Torčakov in Narva. (EAA.3287.1.206 (Tartu). Folder 'Mitmesugused venekeelsed kirjad', fol. 53r).

difference in rank between the brothers may be unrelated to questions of language and relative assimilation. They were both married into landowning familes of German descent.

The Finnish historian Eirik Hornborg was essentially correct in his claim that the *bayors* were more or less Germanized within a couple of generations,[36] even though it should be mentioned that one or two families, owing to the specifics of their service conditions, were linguistically and, perhaps, culturally more Swedish than the rest. Nevertheless, in the second generation of even the most 'de-Russianized' families, various conversations are recorded to have taken place in the 1650s, which could only have been conducted in Russian.[37] Many women in these families, who are bound to have been less often to Sweden, or even Narva, and probably left their estate much more seldom as well, appear to have kept both Orthodoxy and the Russian language longer. This concerns not only representatives of the first generations — who, in a couple of cases lived until fairly late in the seventeenth century.[38] Now, a continuum of languages in an extended family, where, in times of language shift, the oldest and the youngest almost lack a common language, whereas a middle generation is variously fluent in the old *and* in the new, is by no means a unique situation. But an instructive incident from a 1684 court case tells us how the eldest (unnamed) daughter of the *bayor* Wasilij Callentin (V. P. Kalitin) — granddaughter, then, of the D. A. Chomutova mentioned in the previous footnote — is called to witness through an interpreter ('Rätten lät igenom Tolcken förfråga') of an occurrence at the house of the Russian priest at Gorka, where she had been a guest with her manservant. Various interpretations of this situation are possible, but the most natural one is that this great-granddaughter of the first 'Swedish' Kalitin was, even in the 1680s, both Orthodox and mainly Russian-speaking.[39] Unfortunately, there appear to be no extant examples of written Russian from the women of the *bayor* families. However, as we have seen, signatures and receipts in Cyrillic are quite common from the men at least until the 1660s. Still, it is plain that, from an early stage, important petitions even from first-generation *bayors* to the Crown tend to be written in Swedish or German and signed with calligraphic pretentions in Latin

---

36 Hornborg, *Karolinen Armfelt och kampen om Finland*, p. 36. Sepp's claim, in his survey of seventeenth-century Ingria, that the *bayor* families were especially prone to become (linguistically?) Swedish or Finnish is hardly borne out by seventeenth-century sources (Sepp, 'Bidrag till Ingermanlands historia under 1600-talet', p. 86).

37 For example LVVA. 109.f., 2.apr., 458.l., fol. 12^{r}; LVVA. 109.f., 2.apr., 921.l. Appendix B to the *Exceptio* of 3 April 1668.

38 See on D. A. Chomutova, widow of P. M. Kalitin and S. F. Aminev: NAS. Livonica II, vol. 203. J. Gezelius to the Crown. 4 September 1686 with appendices; on P. G. (?) Skudina, widow of I. F. Aminev, see NAS. Livonica II, vol. 203 and LVVA. 109.f., 2.apr., 1384.l., fol. 39^{v} (from 1683). In the 1680s, both women are Orthodox and, the latter at least, to all appearances a Russian monoglot.

39 NAF. Häradsrätternas renoverade domböcker. Koporie domsaga. Vinterting på Obscowa Håff, 5 March 1684, p. 61. The interpreter is probably *dispatched* to her, since she is not present at the moot; it can therefore not be excluded that the task was entrusted to him by chance. To my mind, however, this is not what follows the most naturally from the wording of the document.

letters, no doubt by scribes/secretaries and not the *bayors* themselves.[40] Some second-generation *bayors*, while maintaining the old ties of their families with the Russian merchants of Ivangorod and Narva, still prefer to write to them in German or Swedish.[41] This may be a way of showing social superiority or merely a sense of propriety but they may also never have learned to write longer Russian texts. A few passing remarks are known from/of younger generations of *bayors* referring to 'the papers' of their fathers,[42] suggesting something like estate archives. Next to no specifics of these are known, however, and they would probably almost all have perished during the conflagrations of 1656–1657, 1700, and 1702–1704.

A Note on the *zemcy/semtzer/halfbaijorer*

There was also in Swedish Ingria a class of very minor landowners or homestead tenants much more numerous than the *bayors*, namely the *(svoe)zemcy* (in Swedish *semtzer* or *halfbaijorer*), who usually did service at or for the fortresses, mainly as couriers and minor envoys (Ru. *rassyl´ščiki, pristavy*, terms normally retained in contemporary local Swedish usage). They have been briefly mentioned above, since some scribes and secretaries at the fortresses were from their ranks. Adrian Selin appears to be correct when he deduces that the Jamgorod and Ivangorod *zemcy* tended quickly to merge with the rest of the townspeople after Stolbovo.[43] In Caporie and Nöteborg counties, however, where the *zemcy* were the most numerous, and particularly in the country, it is difficult to make out such a process and many *zemcy* tend to live on their homesteads out of town for at least a couple of decades after 1617 without quite becoming either burghers or peasants. As late as 1641 the Narva governor admits that it is impossible to do quite without the day-to-day service of *zemcy* in Caporie county.[44] After the 1640s, however, they are very rarely referred to, and I am aware of no mention of

40 Examples in NAS. Biographica. Aminoff; NAS. Biographica. Clementeoff; NAF. Biographica-kokoelma I. Aminoff.

41 e.g. EAA.3287.1.190. D. Rubzoff († 1670) to P. I. Torčakov, 3 April 1663 (in German). An interesting situation is suggested by a Swedish letter to Torčakov from another second-generation nobleman, since Torčakov's answer has been written on the reverse in Russian (EAA.3287.1.190. A Morahtt [† 1687] to P. I. Torčakov, 29 April 1665). We cannot be certain, however, that this Russian answer was not translated from Russian before being sent to his correspondent, then in Sweden, since the extant copy is still among papers of the Narva merchant.

42 LVVA. 109.f., 2.apr., 311.2., fol. 28^{r} (on the 'papers' – *'schrifften'* – of M. I. Kalitin); EAA.3287.1.190. A. Morahtt to P. I. Torčakov and P. P. Bělous, 21 October 1665 (on the 'old documents' of M. A. Peresvětov).

43 Селин, 'К изучению персонального состава землевладельцев Северо-Запада Новгородской земли' [Selin, 'A Contribution to the Study of Who Made Up the Landowning Class in North-West Novgorodia'], p. 133.

44 NAF. 9658, fol. 252. With time, the Swedish *semetz* tends to be used only for those *zemcy* who do service.

them as a category after the War of Rupture. A wealthy country family of *zemcy* origin such as that of D. F. Budynskoj, possibly after entertaining thoughts of church careers, manage to introduce themselves as Ivangorod/Narva merchants after the war.[45] However, apart from them and from known professional scribes, it is uncertain whether any written material has been preserved in the hands of *zemcy* after the very early 1620s.[46] Yet, the history of this class in Ingria remains to be written and the situation may change.

'Burghers'[47]

The real cynosure for most Ingrian Orthodox was not the noblemen, however, and certainly not the *zemcy*, but the Russian town of Ivangorod and its burghers. (In 1648–1650 they and their town were displaced to a new suburb north of the Narva city wall, west of river Narova, which is why it will often be more expedient to talk of 'Ivangorod/Narva').[48] We have seen that its burghers enjoyed

45 The vicissitudes of this branch of Budynskie cannot be treated here.

46 If the few petitions in the names of individual *zemcy* in the Ingrian *Specialräkenskaper* — cf. the section on abatement petitions below — do not, in fact, turn out to be autographs.

47 A note is called for on the word *burgher*. The better-off townspeople of the Ingrian suburbs, especially those of Ivangorod, are regularly called *borgare* in contemporary Swedish sources (when not merely *hakelvärkare*) and that is also the word used of them in the Stolbovo Treaty. However, no formal procedure for the granting of burghership is known until Ivangorod is incorporated with Narva in the late 1640s, no matter that it was recognized as a town (*stad*) as early as 1617. In Russian, the traditional term *posadskie ljudi* (*posad* people) is normally used, but with time the loanword *borgary* gains some currency in their own Russian idiom.

48 The inhabitants of the far less important boroughs of Caporie, Jamgorod, and Nöteborg cannot be given much space here. Even though they were not recognized as towns with full privileges, minor trades and crafts were practiced along with farming and fishing (for some general information, see: Soom, 'De ingermanländska städerna och freden i Stolbova 1617'; cf. on Jamgorod: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', p. 83). The boroughs of Jamgorod and Caporie will remain in place until the Great Northern War and retain their Russian character, while that of Nöteborg will never recover after the Muscovite attack of 1656; even when mentioned at a later stage, as a very small settlement, it is no longer inhabited by Russians. Soom — as well as some other scholars — is not quite correct, however, in assuming that the relative depopulation of Nöteborg in 1617 was to characterize it from that point on (Soom, 'De ingermanländska städerna och freden i Stolbova 1617', p. 44, cf. p. 38). In the 1640s, the Caporie and Jamgorod boroughs were enfeoffed to Swedish noblemen together with the fortresses. There are, as far as I know, no extant petitions in Russian and no correspondence in the language originating with the inhabitants of these three boroughs, and only minor examples of other writing. A possible testimony to 'higher' written Orthodox culture can still be cited, namely a mid-seventeenth-century St Nicholas icon with a Caporie donor's inscription (see figure 4). The donor mentioned on the icon itself, Petr Mazichin (*also* Mozichin) was one of the local laymen who asked for a new church of the Assumption to be built in Kopor´e borough (*posad*) in 1715–1717 in lieu of the chapel standing on the place where, in 1703, an earlier church of the Assumption had burnt down (See: *Историко-статистические сведения о С.-Петербургской епархии* [*Historico-Statistical Information on the St Peterburg Diocese*], x, 106). He can be identified with some confidence with the moderately affluent merchant Petr Dmitriev known in Caporie borough in the 1680s and '90s; even in 1698 he had close enough

a basically unchallenged — but not unproblematic — freedom of worship, and for the period under discussion they had access to a minimum of two Orthodox churches with clergy; furthermore, they were in close contact both with Muscovy and with Sweden proper.[49]

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus their star was falling, even though individual merchants retained considerable wealth. The burghers, variously on the left and the right bank of the river, remain thoroughly Russian throughout the Swedish period, however. Until the late 1640s, as we have seen, they conduct court cases in Russian at their own — quite unpretentious — town hall and are governed by their own town council, even though an ethnic German mayor is designated for them, probably in 1644.[50] At their disposal is, in 1619–1642 at the very least, a town scribe (*zemskoj posadskoj d´jačok*), but they may also have had recourse to Russian scribes/secretaries on state payroll, at least for town hall business.[51] Basic literacy appears to have been comparatively high among the merchants, if we are to judge from the total number of people whose signatures are known from various documents.

Beginning in 1617, or even earlier, the most influential merchants (F. F. Lebed´, A. M. Babin, Ž. Nasonov, A. N. Dokučaev, A. F. Namastyrščin/

---

contacts with the church of the Assumption for his manservant to leave and take service with the priest of that place of worship (cf., e.g., NAS. Ericsbergsarkivet. Bengt Oxenstiernas samling, vol. 35:2. Vpsatz uppå dett Spanmahl […] Appendix to petition from the Caporie *hakelvärkare* of 28 August 1686; NAF. 9790, 363^{v}; NAF. Häradsrätternas renoverade domböcker. Koporie domsaga. 1698, pp. 685–86). It is uncertain, then, if he offered the icon to the pre-1703 church in Swedish Ingria or to the 1717 church in Petrine Ingria.

49 On Ivangorod and 'Russian Narva', see: Soom, 'Ivangorod als selbständige Stadt 1617–1649'; Кюнг, 'Русские купцы и граждане Нарвы' [Küng, 'Russian Merchants and Citizens of Narva']; Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Ryska köpmän och diktare i stormaktstidens Stockholm'; cf. *Исаков, Путь длиною в тысячу лет* [Isakov, *A Journey of a Thousand Years*], pp. 49–55.

50 Soom, 'Ivangorod als selbständige Stadt 1617–1649', pp. 295–97.

51 The town scribe is Stepan Matvěev (see Russian documents in his hand from 1619 and 1642: NAS. Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper, vol. 167.5. Counterfoil of 30 June 7127 [1619]; NAS. Kammararkivet. Livonica II, vol. 202. Surety bond of Ivangorod burghers, 4 November 7151/1642, appended to H. Stahlius to the Crown, 5 November 1642). The chancery scribe Stepan Ryžkov signs a (translated) Ivangorod court report in 1644 as a *pod´jačej* (EAA.632.1.16, fol. 13^{v}), but we do not know if he has been appointed by the Swedes or by the Russian town council (cf. above on his earlier extracts from the Ivangorod court rolls). In late 1646, after Ryžkov has moved to Muscovy with his manservant (*malyj*), a similar report is signed by I. S. Torčakov, characteristically designating himself *ratuškoi dija(k) ivanegoro(d)ckogo posadu*, 'town hall *d´jak* [scribe] of the borough of Ivangorod', using not *d´jačok* but the somewhat grander or more formal unsuffixed noun (EAA.632.1.19, fol. 91^{v}; cf. 121^{r} [from 1647]). If Soom is correct in dating some now presumably lost town hall minutes — not necessarily judiciary — to 1645, their Torčakov signature (as *ivanegoro(d)ckoi ratuši dijak*, 'Ivangorod town hall *d´jak*' — see photograph in: Soom, 'Ivangorod als selbständige Stadt 1617–1649', p. 205, fig. 4) suggests that the Russian town council may have chosen to hire a scribe who was somewhat less tied up with the Swedish administration for this important municipal position even before Ryžkov was relieved from state service in January 1646 (cf. Appendix A). It is not always clear to what extent other Ivangorod scribes — mill scribes, customs scribes, etc. were maintained by the state and to what extent by the Russian community.

Figure 12.4. Nationalmuseum (Stockholm). NMI 166. Icon of St Nicholas of Zarajsk with Scenes from His Life (mid-seventeenth century). Votive gift from the Caporie burgher Petr Dmitriev syn Mazichin to the Orthodox Church of the Assumption at Caporie/ Kopor´e. (see: Abel and Moore, *Icons*, pp. 90–91, illustration on p. 90). Dr Ulf Abel has confirmed his assessment of the icon as mid-seventeenth century in a personal message – with the proviso that the painter may have been elderly and painted in a somewhat conservative style at a later point in the seventeenth century (email to the author, 31 January 2016).

Monastyrščin, P. L. Bělous, and others, and in several cases their sons and grandsons) tend to broaden their economic activities beyond mere trade, leasing

important functions from the state (fishing-rights, mills, etc.) and, in two or three cases, going on to lease country estates from noblemen. They also tend to act forcefully in defence of Ingrian Orthodoxy, as we see from a long series of petitions to the crown for various 'freedoms' and privileges.[52] They organize, or co-organize with the authorities, their own Russian school(s), and single merchants appear to protect the remaining Ingrian monasteries.[53] Each one of the well-to-do merchants must have had his own archive,[54] sometimes reflecting the activities of more than one generation, but from the first thirty or so years of Swedish rule what is left is mainly signatures and receipts of a mere couple of lines of Russian each. From the second and third generation, however, the comparatively rich archive of the merchant Parfenij Isaakov Torčakov has survived, no doubt because it was incorporated, at some point, into the Narva city archives, now at Tartu. Of great importance for understanding the use of WIR is the fact that Torčakov was almost certainly born *after* 1617 and had no direct experience of pre-Stolbovo Ingria.[55] Here, we find some two hundred incoming Russian letters from the 1650s and '60s to him from Ingrian, and to some degree Muscovite, business associates and relatives along with a smaller collection of incoming letters in German.[56] There is, however, a collection of other papers, too: accounts, contracts, other correspondence, in some rare cases going back to his father's time — although at times quite fragmentary.[57] Of considerable interest is the existence, among Torčakov's papers, of a series of letters from his wife Fedos´ja Ivanovna. Apart

52 See, in particular: NAS. Livonica II, vol. 202. Ivanogorod till Kongl. M:t.

53 Soom, 'Ivangorod als selbständige Stadt 1617–1649', pp. 242–44; Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Ryska köpmän och diktare i stormaktstidens Stockholm', p. 207; Пересветов-Мурат, '"Епископ Ингомерлянский и всего помория полунощного оцеана"' [Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Bishop of Ingomerlandia and all the seaboard of the septentrional ocean"'], pp. 55, 58, 76–78; Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Den siste munken i Ingermanland', p. 151. On the school, see: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 95–97 (there also on a Russian school at Jamgorod in the 1630s [?]).

54 Cf., the Narva merchant Ja. P. Bělous's cache (*'gömmor'*) of letters and other papers confiscated shortly after the outbreak of war in 1656 (Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Ryska köpmän och diktare i stormaktstidens Stockholm', pp. 207–08). The town of Ivangorod — by that time re-established as a suburb north of Narva — was burnt to the ground by Muscovite troops in 1657. The new Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity had already burnt with the town archive in 1653 (Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Ryska köpmän och diktare i stormaktstidens Stockholm', pp. 219, 214); the Jamgorod borough had burnt in 1642, and with it the church in which the communal archive was claimed to have been kept (NAF. 9658, fol. 180^{r}; NAS. Livonica II, vol. 207. Jamo. Undated petition). In addition, all the minor Russian boroughs were probably incinerated during the War of Rupture.

55 Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', p. 85.

56 EAA.3287.1.190. Though properly catalogued in the archives as being to 'Parfei Tortšakov', in contradistinction to the papers referred to in the next footnote, these letters have remained almost unknown to scholarship. Except from my own use of them, I am aware only of the short mention in *Роман Вилимович в гостях у Петра Игнатьевича*, ed. by Стефанович & Морозов [*Roman Vilimovič at Petr Ignat´evič's*, ed. by Stefanovich and Morozov], pp. 56, 157 (as I write this note, however, I do not have have access to Кюнг, 'Русские купцы и граждане Нарвы' [Küng, 'Russian Merchants and Citizens of Narva']). I am now editing a major portion of them.

57 EAA.3287.1.206.

from them, no documents in WIR penned by women are known, although there are some petitions written *in the name* of Russian women both in Russian and in German/Swedish. It is to be hoped that further analysis of them will tell us more of the scribal, intellectual, and social milieux in which they learned to write and in which they put these skills to use.

As far as we know, in their dealings with one another these merchants and their descendants kept using Russian for the entire Swedish period, both orally and in writing. Not surprisingly, this Russian contained a fair amount of loanwords for concepts and things peculiar to their new surroundings. The letters to P. Torčakov also occasionally exhibit short doodles in a calligraphically acceptable German and Swedish, bearing witness to attempts at mastering the culturally dominant languages as well. Furthermore, the traditional right of the Ivangorod burghers to purchase commodities in the Ingrian countryside (so-called *landköp*), although curbed in 1643,[58] as well as other kinds of dealing with peasants and merchants from the province, no doubt necessitated a working knowledge of the languages spoken, although perhaps not in their purest form. We find an illustration in a 1656 incident involving Ja. A. Babin, then a merchant of the Narva suburb. He speaks some Finnish but mixes it shamelessly with Swedish and Russian to the mirth of the Orthodox clergy present at the house.[59] I have seen few non-trivial signs of linguistic or religious assimilation among the burghers, however, and in this the merchant élite differs significantly from the bulk of Russian gentry. No doubt, it was partly as a consequence of this that second-generation *bayors* enjoyed the full trust of the authorities and were engaged as officers on the Swedish side when the war of 1656 erupted, while, e.g., the leading Russian burghers were put under arrest and sent to Stockholm.

The burghers retain some Russian book-culture, and there are, at Uppsala University Library, one or two Church Slavonic codices that have belonged to representatives of Ivangorod/Narva families. More noteworthy, however, is the codex of Torčakov's in-law, the merchant P. P. Bělous (b. 1626–1630, † 1666), now in the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In it, Bělous has copied the Russian translations of various correspondence between the Crown and Narva's Russian burghers but also some poetic and semipoetic texts of his own, such as *Oplač narovesk*, 'A Lamentation over [River] Narova', probably written in the 1660s at Stockholm.

The sole full copy is in a 1665/6 codex penned apparently by Pëtr Pavlovič and his son Leontej Petrovič (to whom the poem has traditionally been ascribed). The codex contains, among other things, semipoetical texts celebrating the bonds of family and friendship linking the merchant families Jargin and Bělous. In the

58 Soom, 'Ivangorod als selbständige Stadt 1617–1649', pp. 222–23, 227, 235–39.

59 'tå offta be:*tt Babin*, hadhe på Finska vtfeh<..>t, begÿnnar han munnen bruka på Rÿska, Städße deem Swänskom och Rÿskom på tungan hafuandes. Öffuer huilkit hanß tal, hanß Egen Präst och Klåckare /: hoß honom *Babin* tå tijll måltidz warandeß:/ hafue leet och grinet' (EAA.632.1.2a, fol. 3 $^{r-v}$. O. M. Elgfoot to A. Möller. 1 April 1656).

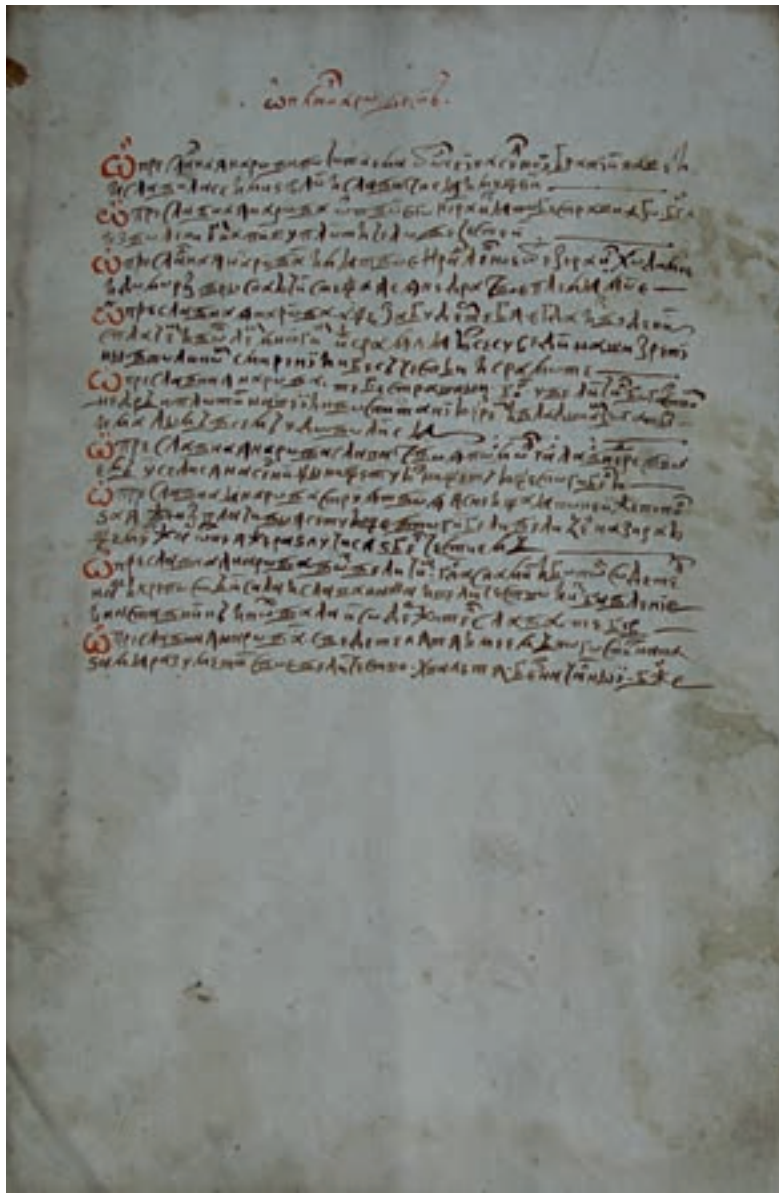

Figure 12.5. P. P. Bělous (?). *Oplač narovesk* ('Lamentation over Narova', *c.* 1665). BRAN (St Petersburg). Cod. 32.5.7, fol. 89^{v}. Published by kind permission of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

poem, which appears to be inspired by Orthodox liturgical hymns such as the Akathist(os), the author turns in solemn language with much parallellism but with no clearly discernible metre, to Naròva. This is the river that had traditionally separated the German and Swedish Narva from the Russian Ivangorod. As mentioned above, the Russian merchants of Ivangorod had recently had to abandon their town and move to a northern suburb of Narva, but following the 1656 Muscovite attack on Ingria, the Narva Orthodox church council, on which the Bělouses served, was deported to Stockholm. A year later, their Narva suburb was burnt down by Muscovite troops and most of its inhabitants were carried away or fled. In 1666, by their own choice, the Bělouses still resided mainly at Stockholm and for a short spell Pëtr Pavlovič was Stockholm's first Russian merchant enjoying full burghership. The year the lamentation was written down or copied, Pëtr Pavlovič had asked the Crown for a lease on the profitable fishery from important sections of Narova, curiously bringing to mind the mentions of the riches of the river in the poem. There are several allusions in the lamentation to the vicissitudes of the Narva Russians, but it is not clear whether, for example, the wretched 'residers' should be thought of as Swedes or as the Ivangorod Russians who have had to move across the river. At times, the author's use of Slavonic grammatical constructions and forms that are not part of his natural language leads to solecisms which make the meaning opaque.

Lamentation over Narova

O most glorious Narova, revered by all our brothers here residing and greatly glorified by them, certain to be glorified withal.
O most glorious Narova, from your bed,[60] on the bidding of our awe-inspiring God, food has been drawn for (*or*: from) human flesh.
O most glorious Narova, your name is 'Awaited' (*nravlennoe*), for you depart from the lake and rush into the sea, merging your bed and my race (*plemja*).
O most glorious Narova, shall we forget you, when we have been expelled with weeping and much howling, such as to mortify our neighbours by the sight of us in great humbleness, disgrace, and mortification?
O most glorious Narova, our awe-inspiring God has magnified you with the wealth of your bed and of our flesh, and you provided sustenance for wealthy kings and lords and servants all.
O most glorious Narova, your glory has gone silent. In your bed residers have settled, dejectedly dejected in their wretchedness (?).

60 Here: *nedro*. When possible, the peculiar repetition of key words and roots has been kept in the translation. 'Bed' was chosen for *nedro/nedra* ('bosom'; 'depth(s)'), since in English the *bosom* of a river refers not to its depth, but its surface. *Nravlennoe*, a past passive participle in the neuter singular and, as it appears, a folk etymology of *Narova*, has been translated as 'Awaited' on the basis of northern Russian transitive use of the verb *norovit´*, with meanings like 'love'; 'await'.

> O most glorious Narova, so clear is your stream, along which mournful women stumble (*or*: stumbled), lamenting in great wretchedness, watching her [!] husband separated from her in disgrace!
> O most glorious Narova, we praise the Lord [*who is*] with us, for he is our maker and strength and our power and glory and greatness and delivery and counsellor and praise and guardian. Glory to Thee!
> O most glorious Narova, you are our witness, but [!] the Lord has taught me to understand his greatness. Praise be to Thee, God of no beginning!

He shows himself dexterous at reproducing document illuminations and heraldry, and also renders — somewhat naïvely — an image of the Holy Wisdom full-colour in a traditional Orthodox iconography.

Other attempts at a loftier, heavily Slavonicized Russian are exemplified by an anonymous piece of oratory to Charles X Gustavus composed for the construction of a second Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity in the Narva suburb in April 1654, which survives in the Torčakov papers.[61]

'Monks'

One of the most surprising exponents of Russian culture in Swedish Ingria, given the Swedish policy of religious unity and, particularly, the official aversion for religious houses, was the five or six small Orthodox monasteries that remained for the first twenty-odd years of Swedish rule. These diminished continually since they were forbidden to accept novices. Nonetheless, by order of Gustavus Adolphus, still obeyed in the late 1630s, some state support in victuals was extended to at least one of these foundations. Unfortunately, a receipt of such corn, signed by the monk Jonah, is the only known piece of extant writing by a Swedish-Ingrian monk (not counting a hieromonk of Nöteborg county). It cannot be doubted, however, that there was some reading and writing activity in the monasteries; when Jonah and possibly yet some of his brethren had died in 1642 and the property of their hermitage was finally confiscated and itemized, a list was drawn up of the thirty-five manuscript books held in its library.[62] (These were to be sent on to Stockholm but it has proved impossible to trace them further

61 On the Bělous codex (BRAN [St Petersburg]. Cod. 32.5.7) — usually attributed to P. P. Bělous's son Leontej — see: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Ryska köpmän och diktare i stormaktstidens Stockholm'. The lamentation is edited there, p. 234, and in Лихачев, 'Плач о реке Нарове 1665 г.' [Lichačev, 'A 1665 Lament over River Narova'], p. 336 (with other texts). To the Uppsala codices and the 1654 oratory I intend to return in another publication.

62 Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Otiosorum hominum receptacula"'; Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Den siste munken i Ingermanland', pp. 150–52, 159–60. There was no Ivangorod convent surviving after the 1610s despite what is hypothesized in the first of these papers. On the hieromonk: Пересветов-Мурат, 'Ингерманландский криминал, XVII век' [Pereswetoff-Morath, 'An Ingrian Crime Story of the Seventeenth Century'].

Figure 12.6. P. P. Bělous (?). Sophia. The Wisdom of God. BRAN (St Petersburg). Cod. 32.5.7, fol. 80^{r}. Published by kind permission of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

and they may all have perished). We may, then, regard the Ingrian monasteries as local cultural centres of sorts. I have already mentioned the protection extended to the religious houses by Russian merchants. To this may be added the tendency both among merchants and gentrymen to make testamentary bequests at least to monasteries east and south of the border, and the respect in which the sites of former religious houses were held, in one case leading to a curious layman community being instituted by a local prophet at the site of an abandoned Cuiwas monastery *c.* 1640.[63]

'Parish Priests' (and Minor Clergy)

Of incomparably greater importance were the parish priests and their assistants in the various Ingrian *pogosty*.[64] The number of Orthodox parishes gradually

63 See on bequests and on ceremonies on the site of the Elisěj skete: Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Otiosorum hominum receptacula"', pp. 120, 125 (there also on the custom for some *bayor* widows to enter — as it has since turned out, Muscovite — convents); on the brotherhood (and sisterhood) established in or by the Cuiwas monastery: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Den siste munken i Ingermanland', pp. 159–63.

64 These were the traditional Novgorodian Orthodox parishes, which were retained in Swedish Ingria for certain administrative purposes. The Orthodox churches that continued to function after the first post-Stolbovo years most often stood at the traditional *pogost* centres and there was a tendency for only one Orthodox church to remain in each historical *pogost*.

Full sources for this section would demand a great deal of space and I must refer to my unpublished paper '*Cui cognitionem Elementorum Linguæ Moscoviticæ debeo*: Om ryska församlingar och präster i det svenska Ingermanland och några av Bergius' sagesmän', read at the symposium 'Nicolaus Bergius, Baltikum och den ryska kyrkan', Uppsala University Library, 20 November 2014, and the monograph I am preparing on Orthodox clergy and parishes in Swedish Ingria. See also Appendix B. The scholarly literature to date has primarily treated seventeenth-century *discussions* regarding the clergy as reflected in memoranda of the Ingrian Lutheran superintendents, decisions made by the Government, petitions from the Ivangorod burghers and the ensuing privileges to them, etc. Only very rarely does it 'touch the ground' and deal with the actual priests and parishes, which are still very poorly understood. Numbers, furthermore, when given, appear almost always to be incorrect or not actually from Ingria but the county of Kexholm. A recent general outline of the vicissitudes of the Orthodox in their continuous battle for their parishes and priests, which was an important factor behind the exodus of Orthodox peasants from the province, can be found in Kujala, 'Sweden's Russian Lands', which has the advantage of being informed by recent Finnish scholarship; see also: Isberg, *Svensk segregations- och konversionspolitik*. On the level of specific Orthodox churches, Heikki Kirkinen has extracted some of the Ingrian data for 1499/1500, mainly from archimandrite Sergij's 1905 study of the Vodskaja pjatina in that year (Kirkinen, 'Inkerin keskiaika ja uuden ajan alku vuoteen 1617', pp. 59–60; cf. Сергий (архим.), *Черты церковно-приходского монастырского быта* [Sergij (archim.), *Features of Everday Parochial and Monastic Life*], esp. pp. 250–52). The situation in 1643 and 1656, although difficult for the Orthodox, was not quite as gloomy as suggested by Saloheimo's unique — but incomplete — enumeration of Orthodox clergy for those years (Saloheimo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus ja väestö 1618–1700', p. 71). The growth and development of Lutheran parishes in seventeenth-century Ingria is much better served in scholarship, see in particular: Väänänen, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland*, I; Luther, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland*, II, pp. 560–76 (containing corrigenda and addenda for Väänänen's first volume), and the recent and well-referenced Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko'.

dwindled during the entire Swedish period, for factors having to do both with the Orthodox being actively discouraged (or, in the case of the Ižorian and Votic faithful, prohibited) from practicing their faith, on the one hand, and with the great difficulties of finding new priests to replace deceased or disabled ones under the rules set up by Swedish authorities, on the other.[65] It has been estimated, however, that the Orthodox remained a — small — majority in western Ingria even as late as the 1670s.[66] Orthodox churches remained operational until the very end of the Swedish period, particularly in western Ingria, and the province was completely lacking priests only during the first years following the War of Rupture. For all their problems and relative disconnectedness from Swedes and Muscovites alike, the parish churches no doubt served, for the rural Orthodox, as important hubs of cultural life and identity as well as of Russian scribal activity. We can follow the church staff in the different parishes fairly closely in 1618–1623 and then in 1637–1696 (in 1624–1636, too, a number of sources provide us with important, but sporadic, data). And while forty-some churches had their own priests *c.* 1618 but only about eleven in 1696, we may still marvel at the resilience of the system as we realize that eight or so Orthodox Ingrian priests can still be identified in our sparse sources for 1701/2 — after the Swedish victory at Narva but before Ingria is again overrun by Tsar Peter's troops in 1702/3. At that time, Orthodoxy had been regarded as a second-rate faith by the powers that be for almost ninety years.

---

65 Only for a few years, shortly after Stolbovo, was the Swedish Government willing to accept the arrival of new priests (from Ingria or not) ordained by, and hence dependent on, Muscovite hierarchs. The plans, sometimes entertained by the Government and the Ivangorodians — although these parties were not always synchronized — to create a separate Ingrian diocese under Constantinople or Kyiv, could not in the end be realized, and in any event the Ingrian Orthodox did not wish to sever their ties with the Moscow church (Kujala, 'Sweden's Russian Lands', pp. 551–55; cf. Пересветов-Мурат, '"Епископ Ингомерлянский и всего помория полунощного оцеана"' [Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Bishop of Ingomerlandia and all the seaboard of the septentrional ocean"'], pp. 55–58, 60–63, cf. 73–77; see Pereswetoff-Morath, '"Otiosorum hominum receptacula"', pp. 110–11, on an earlier attempt by Gustavus Adolphus at organising a separate Ingrian Orthodox church). The Ingrian Orthodox, never quite trusted by their Swedish overlords and never quite trusting *them*, found themselves between a rock and a hard place; in Muscovy, they were often suspected of heresy and apostasy (Жуков, '"Еретики и отметчики"' [Žukov, 'Heretics and Apostates']). The utterly insensitive plans, developed in the 1640s, to have 'Orthodox' priests ordained by the Lutheran superintendent at Narva, were occasionally implemented (Isberg, *Svensk segregations- och konversionspolitik*, pp. 43, 67–68; the decision temporarily suspended in 1651, Isberg, *Svensk segregations- och konversionspolitik*, p. 78), but only in a few cases is this firmly documented.

66 Cf. Saloheimo's estimate for the numbers of Orthodox and Lutheran inhabitants in each Ingrian *pogost* in 1623, 1643, and 1675. Not including Nöteborg county, where Orthodoxy diminished rather quickly, both in absolute and in relative numbers, the ratios for the remaining three counties is 95.8 % Orthodox in 1623, 80.9 % in 1643, and 54.2 % in 1675 (cf. Saloheimo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus ja väestö 1618–1700', pp. 72, 81). See also: Forsström, *Kuvaus Inkerinmaan oloista*, pp. 47–49, where an estimate is given for 1695 as well.

A rural Orthodox parish in those days would not work properly without a traditional triad of clergy: the priest (*pop*), the *d´jačok*, and the *ponomar´*.[67] We might have translated the latter two as, e.g., *lector* and *sexton* respectively, but I shall retain the Russian terms here for these church officers. In contemporary Swedish, the *d´jačok* was usually known as a *diak* or, more seldom, *(kyrcko)skriffuare*, i.e. '(church) scribe'. The *ponomar´* was almost universally known as *klockare*, i.e. bell-ringer.[68] Their exact function in ceremonies and church life at this time is not easily established and we shall here only note the strong link between the *d´jačok* and reading and writing, and that of the *ponomar´* and the safeguarding of church property and the lighting of candles. In some parishes these three men might be supplemented by a *prosphora* baker, a *proskurnica* or *proskurnik* (*prosphora* being the leavened bread used for Communion). There was a marked tendency for the offices of priest and *d´jačok* in a parish to be passed on in one family in such a way that the priest was a former *d´jačok* and the son or younger brother of a former priest (or *d´jačok*).[69] At times, the *ponomar´* was another junior family member, but more often that office appears to have been passed on within separate 'dynasties'. There were, then, a dozen or so Orthodox churches working more or less throughout the Swedish period, occasionally cared for only by a *d´jačok* but in many such cases no doubt visited for services by priests from nearby parishes.[70] Another dozen had functioned only until the 1640s/'50s (even a church of as central importance as that at Kipina/Kipen´, which was burnt down during the War of Rupture never to be re-erected). Before this, between 1618 and the early 1630s (mainly early in this period) yet another dozen churches had fallen into disuse, not counting the fortress churches.[71]

An important portion of the Orthodox herd in many or most parishes consisted of Ižorians or Votes, but it is difficult now to tell quite how large a portion they made up in the first half of the seventeenth century, and whether this constituted a majority or not.[72] The clergy in these parishes, when they

67 I shall use the term 'clergy' here, even though two of the three persons in this triad were, at this time, usually unordained. In Swedish accounts all three were usually defined as *kyrckotienare*, literally 'church servants' (cf. the traditional, broad understanding of Ru. *pričt*).

68 Both seventeenth-century Lutheran churchmen and twentieth/twenty-first-century historians have tended to believe, mistakenly, that the *d´jački* (Sw. *diaker*) were deacons (Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', p. 84).

69 This was no peculiarly Ingrian trait, and the system in, e.g., East Karelia on the eastern side of the border was similar in this respect. Parishes with a priest, a *d´jačok*, and a *ponomar´* were also typical for the Muscovite side in the sixteenth–seventeenth century, cf. Суслова, *Церковно-приходская система в Карелии* [Suslova, *The System of Parishes in Karelia*], p. 21.

70 There is little documentary evidence of this, however, for the time before the War of Rupture, and at times the *d´jačok* was specifically tasked with somehow ministering to his flock (Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Den siste munken i Ingermanland', pp. 157, 162). This situation was highly uncanonical. However, Ingria, with her unique plights, can hardly be spanned with the ordinary Orthodox yardstick.

71 See Appendix B.

72 Notwithstanding, e.g., Sivonen, *'Me inkerikot, vatjalaiset ja karjalaiset'*, pp. 41–43 (otherwise a good and nuanced discussion of ethnicity in Swedish Ingria as far as I can judge), and Kujala, 'Sweden's

themselves were not local,[73] would have found it difficult to communicate with, and effectively minister to such parishioners; services as such would have been conducted in Church Slavonic, as would scriptural readings (sermons playing no or next to no role). Partly out of genuine pastoral concern and a Protestant understanding of the absolute centrality of the 'word of God', but partly, no doubt, for other kinds of zeal, this situation was actively and at times ruthlessly combated by Lutheran authorities. That was particularly the case from the 1680s, when the Fennic Orthodox were forced to attend Lutheran church services.[74] As a result, we have more reliable information on the actual ethnic and linguistic situation in Ingria from that time. We should, however, refrain from merely backtracking from there and assuming identical proportions within the Orthodox population before and after the War of Rupture and the preceding outflux of peasants from Ingria. The linguistic situation is further complicated by the fact that the actual Russian

---

Russian Lands', p. 564 n., just to mention two recent proponents of the view that Fennic peasants were clearly in majority. Evidently, the tacit understanding of several Soviet historians and some modern Russian authors that the Ingrian population around 1617 was overwhelmingly Russian-speaking is even less convincing. There is still evidence to cull, and I prefer, at this stage, to remain noncommittal and not speak of 'clear majorities' in either direction. I do not, however, exclude the possibility that the Finnish scholars might, in the end, turn out to be correct. (Since this was written in 2017, I have identified and published a unique source which reveals that Ižorian/Votic was spoken, or at least well understood, in the absolute majority of villages in western and central Caporie county in the mid-1620s (Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Ulwichius' lista och rösterna från Caporie län'). It also allows for some cautious conclusions *e contrario* as to villages in this area where Russian dominated, namely in much of Ratzinschoi and Samoschoi *pogosty*. For the purposes of this paper two things might then be noted: 1) this is where two of the most resilient Orthodox country parishes in Ingria, Gorka and Ratzina, were located, even though there were Ingrian speakers in both parish centres; 2) Samoschoi *pogost* — and areas even further to the east in the county — is where most of the fiefs of the Russian gentry would be situated. On churches and gentry, see Appendix B and Appendix C. The situation in Jamgorod county was probably analogous to that of Caporie county, and the overweight of speakers of Ižorian/Votic in the countryside of Ivangorod and Nöteborg county may have been even more pronounced).

73 Priest families of long standing in their parish are likely to have known the languages of their parishioners. It is open to question, e.g., whether the 'Finsch[e] Sprache' (i.e. Finnish language), from which Grigorej Ivanov interpreted into Russian during the Muscovite siege of Jamgorod in 1658, was not grounded in one of the local Fennic languages, even though it clearly sufficed as an effective means of communication with the lieutenant and the *amtman* at Jamgorod, both, no doubt, Finnish (Petition from 'Griska Iwanoff' appended to S. G. Helmfelt to the Government. 15 October 1661. NAS. Livonica II, vol. 175). Grigorej was the grandson, son, and brother of three consecutive priests of the Opolie church of the Exaltation of the Cross and most probably raised in the village of Opolie himself. Some mutual understanding between the local Fennic Orthodox — in Opolie probably Votes (cf. Köppen, *Erklärender Text zu der ethnographischen Karte des St Petersburger Gouvernements*, pp. 22–23) — and the parish clergy can perhaps be gleaned from the fact that, *c.* 1618, the brother of Ivan Michajlov, long-time church *d´jačok* and possibly father of the successor of Grigorej's brother as Opolie priest in the 1650s, had made a '*čutka*' (i.e. a local Fennic woman) in the village pregnant (NAS. Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper, vol. 167:5. S. Ryžkov's list of revenues from Jamgorod county for 7126/7 [1618] (in Russian)).

74 Isberg, *Svensk segregations- och konversionspolitik*, pp. 89–120; Sivonen, *'Me inkerikot, vatjalaiset ja karjalaiset'*.

proficiency of Ižorians and Votes is bound to have been greater for the generations formed before and shortly after Stolbovo. Up to that time, leading villagers and *pogost* representatives, at the very least, probably had some working knowledge of Russian regardless of their native language.[75] For younger generations, the role of Russian in Ingria would have changed fundamentally and so, arguably, would interaction between Fennic and Slav peasants.

It is somewhat surprising that comparatively little written material has been preserved from the Ingrian priests. Here, too, we have at our disposal mainly signatures and receipts, at times written by the priests in lieu of their parishioners. In addition, at Ivangorod/Narva the priests often witness various deeds, but early extant examples are few. Orthodox priests in Ingria appear at least occasionally to have been tasked with examining their parishioners during the annual census but, again, there is precious little concrete evidence except from the very first Swedish years and then again in the 1680s and 1690s. In the latter period, we once more find the occasional signature of an Orthodox parish priest together with that of the Lutheran minister after the part of the census list that concerns their parish or district. It is unclear whether only the poor preservation of local sources is the reason why such signatures, so common in comparable cases in the Novgorod area before Stolbovo, should be so rare after 1617.[76] In the few cases when fairly large documents produced in Russian by the 'parish administration' are still extant, the main text tends to be written by the parish *d´jačok* and then only signed by the priest with a traditional formula.[77] The main documented exceptions known to me are a couple of last wills that were taken down in full — and not only authenticated, as was usual — by the confessor of the testator.[78] (When considering the relative silence of the acting priests, we should remember, however, that, in the course of a life-time, many priests would have passed through

75 It would be a mistake to think of Russian as an official state language in a modern sense. Before the eighteenth century, the Muscovite state was often quite happy to communicate with its non-Slav subjects through interpreters and local élites (see, e.g.: Pavlenko, 'Linguistic Russification in the Russian Empire', p. 335). For some observations on possible Russian proficiency in an Ižorian (?) family in the 1610s–1630s, see: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Den siste munken i Ingermanland', pp. 152–53, 156.

76 For the 1610s, cf. Селин, *Смута на Северо-Западе* [Selin, *The Time of Troubles in the North-West*], p. 110; at the end of the century, see (the copies of) the priests' Cyrillic signatures in 1696 in: NAF. 9790, fols 335^{v}, 346^{v}, 356^{r}, 374^{v}.

77 First and foremost: NAS. Kammararkivet. *Strödda kamerala handlingar*, vol. 40: Kameralia. Bugislaus von Rosens Ingermanländska arrenderäkningar. Fheel och Beswär …, fols 67–72.

78 None is extant in the Russian original, however. A. P. Amineva's 1634 (?) will, written by her confessor, is preserved in a Swedish translation. The same is true for parts of F. G. Aminev's 1628 will, which was taken down by, F. Ja. Popov, the son of a priest and a priest-to-be, but at the time an Ivangorod merchant (both at NAS. Genealogica, vol. 120. Aminoff – No. 456). We know that the 1649 will of the wealthy merchant A. Namastyrščin/Monastyrščin was written by two Orthodox priests (cf. EAA.1646.1.78, p. 43). There is some evidence of the use of last wills in Russian even among the Ingrian peasantry, but it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to how common this practice was.

a *d´jačok* stage with all the chores connected with that position). A small number of books once belonging to Ingrian parish churches have been preserved at Uppsala University Library, but these have yet to be analysed from an Ingrian point of view.[79]

A Note on *pogost* Scribes — an Unsolved Problem

It is at times difficult to differentiate between church scribes and secular scribes not on the government's payroll (and thus not employed at one of the fortresses), and, consequently, between the various tasks performed by the two categories. They were all called *d´jački* or, in Swedish, *diaker*. Possibly, after the first decade of Swedish rule, there were exceedingly few exclusively secular scribes; with any reasonable certainty we know only of Stepan Matvěev at Ivangorod (on whom, see above) but we may in the end be wrong even about him. Immediately after Stolbovo, each Ingrian *pogost* appears to have a *pogost* scribe, and to all appearances almost all of these are Russian, even though the extant list is not absolutely clear on this point.[80] At least one is almost certainly a church *d´jačok*. From time to time, later sources will mention such *pogostskrifware/pogos[ts]kie d´jački* — the Russian term is occasionally used for self-designation, e.g., by Ja. P. Budynskoj at Caporie borough or by Vasilej Grigor´ev at Gorka — and at least in the 1630s we again get the impression that there are *pogost* scribes in each *pogost*. In Nöteborg county, the posts were at this time generally held by men with Swedish Lutheran names, i.e. probably ethnic Finns, who appear to have held homesteads for their service.[81] Meanwhile, all known '*pogost* scribes' in Caporie county are Russian and they can almost all be credibly tied to Orthodox parishes as church *d´jački*. Even when this is not documented, they generally belong in a village with an Orthodox parish church.[82] Was there a special need, at least in Caporie county, of

79 The database of the project 'Digitalized Descriptions of Slavic Cyrillic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Swedish Libraries and Archives', produced by a group of four Swedish Slavists (including the author of this paper), is now largely available via alvin-portal.org. There, marginalia from all Uppsala codices have been registered by Prof. I. Lysén, which has allowed me to identify the volumes in question. I intend to return to this subject within the framework of the project *Rossica Ingrica*.

80 NAS. Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielms samling, vol. E 3767. Vorzeichnis aller Pagosten in Caporischen vnd Jammischen Lehn, Auch derienigen, so darein Reuisiren sollen.

81 For a suggestion of *pogost* scribes ready to assist the Crown in each Caporie *pogost* in the 1630s, see, e.g.: NAS. Livonica II, vol. 361, fol. 116^{r}. N. A. Mannersköld's memorandum for H. Rokus and J. Persson, 13 August 1636. Several letters in the same volume refers to Nöteborg scribes. Even though in Nöteborg county, the Russian factotum T. T. Popov — for all his many other functions (cf. above and Appendix A) — is referred to as a *pogost* scribe in a Russian counterfoil for mill duties from the peasants of Loppis (Lopskoi) and Jaroselskoi *pogosty* as late as 1638 (NAF. 9647, fol. 203^{v}, cf. fol. 212^{r}).

82 Most of the time our information on one kind of employment is not from the same year as that on another kind. We cannot therefore, in theory, exclude the possibility that any such secular scribe *becomes* an ecclesiastical scribe or the other way round. For Jamgorod and Ivangorod counties, we still

Russian scribes and intermediaries who might be given tasks both by the Narva administration *and* by the Orthodox peasants, and were the only candidates then parish *d´jački*?[83] We can pose the question, but not, as yet, answer it.[84]

The specific sets of records sent annually from the Narva gubernatorial administration to the Exchequer (*Kammaren*) at Stockholm[85] evince that, step by step, a new system of administration and accounting is introduced in Ingria in 1634–1636, at least in relation to the Exchequer.[86] This must be a direct consequence of the introduction of the Form of Government of 1634.[87] Exactly how the latter was implemented in Ingria, however, and precisely what requirements the local administration now had to satisfy is far beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, what is of importance is the introduction, for the accounting year 1635/6 (1 September 1635–1 September 1636), of a more or less mandatory yearly volume of 'Special accounts' (*Specialräkenskaper*). These volumes provide us, for the years 1635–1641, with a rich stream of petitions in Russian from the peasantry of Ingria, all in all more than 150, and most abundant for the first year. They are written in the names of local peasants, especially of Caporie county, but probably never penned by the peasants themselves. (Apparent exceptions always involve people of somewhat higher standing, such as the *zemcy*, but even here it is not quite clear whether those petitions are autographs). An analysis is bound to uncover important aspects of Russian literacy and scribality in Swedish Ingria, but

---

know too little to say even this much of who the *pogost* scribes were. A full discussion of the evidence must be postponed.

83 It was not unheard of in Muscovy that church *d´jački* and the secular *zemskie d´jački* of rural communities were the same people (Богословский, *Земское самоуправление на русском севере* [Bogoslovskij, *Rural Self-Government in the Russian North*], I, 298). We still do not know, however, even who chose or designated secular Russian *d´jački* in Swedish Ingria, and we must as yet be cautious not to apply a word such as *zemskoj*, which is quite rare in Ingrian documents after 1617. Stepan Matvěev (on whom, see above, n. 50) is one of few Ingrian scribes to use the adjective of themselves.

84 In order not to beg the question, I have chosen not to address the question of which precise class of Ingrian *d´jački* were entrusted with teaching Orthodox children Luther's catechism in Russian and Church Slavonic (on which, for example: Öhlander, *Bidrag till kännedom om Ingermanlands historia och förvaltning*, I, 181). While these particular *d´jački* can also usually be linked to an Orthodox church, several of them are also the very persons who, on other occasions, style themselves *pogost* scribes, including the aforementioned V. Grigor´ev and Ja. P. Budynskoj, the latter of whom was quite successful a teacher and is referred to the Caporie borough clergy in Swedish censuses from the 1650s (e.g. MAS. Militieräkningar 1655, vol. 9, fol. 1555^{v} [from 1655]; successful teacher: NAF. 9674, fol. 724 [from 1648]).

85 NAS. Kammararkivets ämbetsarkiv t.o.m. 1921. D II. Serie I:1. Generalregister över landskapshandl. m.m. 1628 (*henceforth:* GL).

86 With very few exceptions, those full Ingrian account books known to be extant today — whether now in depositories in Sweden, Finland, or the Baltic republics — were all at some point kept at the Exchecquer. As far as I am aware, no locally kept full duplicates have been preserved.

87 Cf. the normal setup of accounts for Finland in 1635–1808 as opposed to earlier times in Paloposki, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte Finlands*, p. 53.

to the best of my knowledge they have never even been mentioned as a discrete category in scholarship.

Table 12.1. Petitions (or inquiries) in Russian/total number of extant petitions from (or inquiries regarding) crown peasants in the Ingrian *Specialräkningar*, 1635/6–1640/1.[88]

Year	*Ivangorod county*	*Jamgorod county*	*Caporie county*	*Nöteborg county*
1635/6	0/0	9/12 (75 %)	82/95 (86 %)	0/0
1636/7	1/1	0/0	13/15 (87 %)	0/0
1637/8	1/1	0/0	0/0	0/1
1638/9	1/1	0/0	3/5 (60 %)	0/0
1639/40	0/2	0/0	19/24 (79 %)	0/0
1640/1	0/0	0/0	27/32 (84 %)*	0/0
[**1641/2**	*accounts lost]*			
In sum:	3/5	9/12	144/171 (84 %)	0/1

*This year, there are also two petitions from the landowner Isaj Aminev (Sw. Esaias Aminoff) on his peasants' account, these are in German and Swedish but signed by him, as always, in Russian (NAF. 9653, fols 607–08) [Jamgorod], 713–14 [Caporie]), and a Russian petition from the landowner Aleksandr Rubcov (Sw. Alexander Rubzoff) (NAF. 9653, fol. 704 [Caporie]). The latter may, however, have been drawn up by a *d´jačok*.

The petitions have been appended as verifications to the yearly *abatement register* (*affkortningzlängd*, at times *specialaffkortningzlängd*) of each Ingrian county. This register specifies which crown peasants are exempt from paying taxes owing to fire, crop failure, absconsion, or other reasons. An analysis of their wording and dates shows that abatements were sought at the *häradsting* (in Ingria, the

88 Ingrian *Specialräkningar* | for 1635/6: EAA.278.1.XXIV-76 (Tartu), at the Exchequer originally numbered (GL): Lifland 1636, no. 3; | for 1636/7: NAS. Kammararkivet. Östersjöprovinsernas räkenskaper, vol. 40 (Stockholm), at the Exchecquer (GL): Lifland 1637, no. 3; | for 1637/8: NAF. 9647 (Helsinki), at the Exchecquer (GL): Lifland 1638, no. 7; | for 1638/9: EAA.278.1.XXIV-80 (Tartu), at the Exchequer (GL): Lifland 1639, no. 5; | for 1639/40: NAF. 9651 (Helsinki), at the Exchecquer (GL): Lifland 1640, no. 6; | for 1640/41 — but parts of the volume are for the calendrical year of 1641: NAF. 9653 (Helsinki), at the Exchecquer (GL): Lifland 1641, no. 3. The 'Special Landz Räckningar' for 1641/2 (or only 1642?) are lost — they were (GL) Lifland 1642, no. 10, at the Exchequer. In 1642/3, in a book no longer called *Specialräkningar* (NAF. 9658 [Helsinki], self-designation: 'Ingermanlandz Betalningz Zedler, quitt<e>ntier […] no. 1', at the Exchecquer [GL]: Lifland 1643, no. 4), there are only five or so petitions, two of which are in Russian — one from Caporie and one from Nöteborg county. After 1643 Russian petitions are few and far between in the consulted accounts; simultaneously, *Specialräkningar*, thus designated, disappear from the records and are surplanted by, or renamed as, other kinds of books, mainly the *Affkortningzbook*. No attempt has been made here to analyse the partial overlap between the books for 1641.

moot at the level of the county). In the years concerned, the Russian petitioners address the monarch directly. Petitions in Swedish tend to be to the governor or governor-general, and we shall see presently that this difference may be telling. The governor, present at the Caporie county moots during the first years, then rules on the petitions, at times explicitly following an examination carried out by the body of recognitors (*nämnd*), the designated (or elected?) elder of the *pogost* peasantry (*starost*[*a*]),[89] or the county bailiff. At times, we shall find only the abatement registers, signed by the county judge (*häradzhöffding*) in his own name and in the name of the recognitors with no verifications or petitions appended, either in Russian or in Swedish. It should probably be assumed, at least in Caporie county in the late 1630s and early 1640s, that this is a surface phenomenon having to do with the extant sources and that, locally, petitions were tendered in the same way as usual, only not sent on to Stockholm. For the period 1617–1635, almost no comparable sources are available for Ingrian tax abatements, but the sources that we do have suggest that written petitions may have been produced at this stage as well, at least in Caporie county.[90] There is another continuity, however, which particularly strikes the prepared reader. In their formulas, the petitions of the 1630s and 1640s reproduce the kind of standard language and clichés which we also find, for example, in Russian petitions from peasants in the occupied territories of Novgorodia in the 1610s, addressed, in addition, to 'Grand Duke Charles Philip' — that is, here too, not to the Novgorod lords lieutenants who actually make the decisions.[91] The Ingrian petitions are, then, not merely a reaction to the demands of Swedish administrators and judges and their insistence on verifications, but a continuation of a scribal world — and a world of words — reaching back before Swedish times but still reproducing itself and fulfilling a purpose for the local peasantry in the 1630s and 1640s. Since they are penned, as a rule, not by secretaries at the fortresses with access to fuller archives and genre models, but by local rural scribes in local centres (see below), and at least not only by particularly aged scribes who remember how it was done long ago, these scribal habits turn out to have been deeply entrenched in local society and to have been put to use often enough.

---

89 On the Ingrian *starosty*, see: Öhlander, *Bidrag till kännedom om Ingermanlands historia och förvaltning*, I, 159.

90 Cf., in particular, the very detailed information on the specific peasants asking abatement in the Caporie lord lieutenant B. Rosen's long lists for 1627 (MAS. Militieräkningar 1628, vol. 13) and 1628 (NAF. 428a, pp. 398–442). A mysterious volume of *Specialräkningar* for 1633 is mentioned in the nineteenth century among the Ingrian accounts to be sent from Stockholm to Helsinki (NAS. Kammararkivet. Kammararkivets ämbetsarkiv – 1921. FIIb:4), but I have not been able to verify its existence. It was not included in the usual series of *Landskapshandlingar* at the Exchequer in the seventeenth century (GL; cf. NAS. Livländska donationskontoret, FIVa:2. No 3. Register på Ingermanlandske Böcker och Handlingar).

91 See, e.g.: NAS. Ockupationsarkivet från Novgorod. II:50, fol. 98 (from 1613); NAS. Ockupationsarkivet från Novgorod. II:63, fols 3–4 (from 1615)). I am indebted to Dr Elisabeth Löfstrand, Stockholm, for drawing my attention to the presence in the Novgorod Occupation Archives of petitions from peasants to their nominal sovereign.

The Russian petitions are never signed by the actual scribe. However, twelve of the 1635/6 and 1636/7 documents listed above are, in fact, not petitions but inquiries (*rannsakningar*, *obysknye pamjati*) which, as I have mentioned, might be requested by the governor or bailiff in order to establish the facts in an appeal for tax abatement.[92] As a rule, these documents contain a decision by the governor or bailiff on the reverse of an inquiry in Russian, carried out by the *pogost starosta* but written and signed by the *pogost d´jačok* (cf. above on *pogost* scribes). The hands of the latter can then often be traced in the unsigned petitions from a particular location as well. While the ruling of the governor or bailiff is generally in Swedish, there are at least five documents, all from 1635/6, where it is in Russian and not in the recognisable hand of a *pogost d´jačok* but rather that of a *pod´jačej*.[93] Here, we appear to be witnessing the bureaucratic and scribal encounters between a Russian representative of sorts (cf. below) of the Ingrian peasants and a Russian representative of the Narva administration twenty or twenty-five years into Swedish rule.

The clearest lines of difference in administrational practices between the Ingrian counties can usually be drawn between the three west Ingrian counties and Nöteborg county — this went back to the formative first dozen years of Swedish rule, when the latter was leased to Count Jacob De la Gardie. Yet, in this particular instance we observe a distinct difference between Caporie county and the rest. What differs is not that Russian petitions as such are missing or scarce in the other counties, but that next to no petitions are appended to their accounts, regardless of language. (Possibly, the 1635/6 figures from Jamgorod county bear witness to an earlier practice which was similar to that of Caporie county, but this is conjectural). It is too early to speculate as to the reasons for these differences. It is also too early to decide whether peasants turned to their trusted church *d´jačok* or to a *pogost d´jačok* who may have been prescribed by the Swedish authorities at the moot. We have seen that these might often be the same persons, which makes our inquiry the more difficult. With time, palaeographic and prosopographic analysis may provide answers and simultaneously provide us with better access to the world of Ingria's peasants.[94]

92 EAA.278.1.XXIV-76, fols 163, 164, 165, 176, 179, 206, 232, 236, 243, 246, 254; NAS. Kammararkivet. Östersjöprovinsernas räkenskaper, vol. 40, fol. 207.

93 EAA.278.1.XXIV-76, fols 166, 175, 180, 218, 224. Some of these are written in a hand reminiscent of that of the Ivangorod/Narva *pod´jačej* in gubernatorial service, S. S. Ryžkov, but some palaeographic traits make me hesitant to attribute them to him.

94 A large part, possibly the majority, of these petitions will be edited within the project mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

Concluding Remarks on Petitions

As we have seen, we still have at our disposal several petitions to the Crown from the burghers of Ivangorod/Narva, and a few from other boroughs as well. These are all in Swedish, even though some traits (and in a few cases, partially parallel Russian documents) may in the future allow us to do some recontructional work on how, linguistically, they came into being. Similarly, we have petitions to the Crown from single Russian gentrymen in Ingria, which, but for the very first years, are also all in Swedish or German. We know that a couple of wealthy *bayors* had secretaries knowing one or both of these languages, and others may have procured the services of such secretaries or translators as they were needed. No doubt, there were, in the first decades of Swedish rule, plenty of petitions and pleas in Russian to the local administration at Narva from burghers and noblemen alike, but despite sporadic mentions of such writings we have precious little *direct* evidence. Petitions going back to the Orthodox peasants, on the other hand, are, for several decades, mainly in Russian and very conservative in style, but by the 1650s, at the very latest, they will be almost entirely replaced by appeals in Swedish. By that time, most Russian scribes and secretaries serving the local Swedish administration are gone, and sporadic communication in Russian with the Orthodox of Ingria is conducted by Swedish translators, when town or country scribes or clergy are not hired to solve problems *ad hoc* (these, however, are all matters beyond the scope of this paper). Also by this time those administrators who had had some experiences of Sweden's intervention in the Muscovite Time of Troubles and had a cultural understanding and, in some cases, knowledge of at least a little Russian, were dead or no longer in service. Yet, communicating in written Russian, *writing Russian*, was not an abandoned practice in the province; it only became gradually confined to more private — and commercial — spheres or, in the public sphere, to the mere signing of documents.

In the 1650s, it was probably clear to everyone that writing appeals in Russian to the Swedes was no longer an effective means of achieving one's goals. As early as *c.* 1640, this had been realized not only by noblemen and burghers — and, obviously, by Russian translators — but also by the most entrusted Russian scribes themselves. When the chancery secretary Stepan Ryžkov, whom we have met on several occasions in these pages, turns to the General Governor Bengt Oxenstierna in 1641 and asks for a salary increase, he does so in Swedish. Similarly, the Caporie scribe Vlasej Kornil´ev, usually signing receipts for Caporie workers and burghers in an idiosyncratically geometric Cyrillic hand, turning to Governor Nils Mannerskölds and asking, in 1640, for an abatement, has engaged a Swedish scribe to pen his petition.[95] Experience of 'what works' must have made him opt for that language even when addressing that veteran of the Russian wars. Swedish petitions such as these are preludes to the world of post-1658 Ingria,

95 NAF. 9653, fol. 56; NAF. 9651, fol. 148.

where much of the Russian civil society — whether we understand 'Russian' as applying mainly to scribal practices or to more indiscriminately linguistic matters, or even to 'ethnicity' — will have been swept away or greatly diminished. The subject of written Ingrian Russian and its use and users at that later stage I hope to tackle in another work.

Works Cited

Manuscripts and Archival Sources

BRAN = Библиотека Российской академии наук (St Petersburg)

cod. 32.5.7

EAA = Eesti Ajalooarhiiv (Tartu)

fund 278: Liivimaa Rootsi-aegne kindralkuberner
fund 632: Ingerimaa ja Käkisalmi kindralkuberner
fund 1646: Narva magistraat
fund 3287: Narva Ajalooselts

Herder-Institut (Marburg)

DSHI 560, Livländisches Hofgericht

Lund University Library

De la Gardieska arkivet, Topographica, Ingermanland och Kexholms län, vol. 3, 7

LVVA = Latvijas Valsts Vēstures arhīvs (Riga)

fund 109: Vidzemes virspilstiesa (Hoftiesa)

MAS = The Military Archives of Sweden (Krigsarkivet, Stockholm)

Militieräkningar 1623, vol. 25
Militieräkningar 1628, vol. 13
Militieräkningar 1655, vol. 9

NAF = National Archives of Finland (Kansallisarkisto, Helsinki)

Biographica-kokoelma I, Aminoff
Fogderäkenskaper, Allmänna handlingar, 428a: Räkenskaper för Ingermanland och Kexholms län 1628
Häradsrätternas renoverade domböcker, Koporie domsaga
Länsräkenskaper, Allmänna handlingar, 6826: Ingermanlands kopiebok 1615–1653
Länsräkenskaper, Räkenskaper för Kexholms län och Ingermanland
9641: Jordebok för Ingermanland 1634
9647: Räkenskapsbok och mantalslängd för Ingermanland 1638
9651: Räkenskapsbok och mantalslängd för Ingermanland 1640

9653: Räkenskapsbok och mantalslängd för Ingermanland 1641
9658: Specialräkning för Ingermanland och Kexholms län och mantalslängd för Ingermanland 1643
9674: Verifikationsbok för Ingermanland 1648
9790: Verifikationsbok och mantalslängd för Ingermanland och Kexholms län 1696

NAS = National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet, Stockholm)

Biographica. Aminoff; Clementeoff
Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielms samling, vol. E3767: Godshandlingar – Gods i Ingermanland
Diplomatica Muscovitica, vol. 26: Kommissarierna till fredsfördragets konfirmation, brev till Kungl. Maj:t och rikskanslern 1617–1618
Ericsbergsarkivet. Bengt Oxenstiernas samling, vol. 35:2
Genealogica, vol. 120
Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper, vol. 167–69, 171, 174, 183, 187–88
Kammararkivet. Oordnade handlingar, vol. [213]
Kammararkivet. Strödda äldre räkenskaper. Ny serie. Fogdarnas förslag, vol. 29: Förslag avseende Östersjöprovinserna 1614–1627
Kammararkivet. Strödda kamerala handlingar, vol. 40: Avräkningar med kronoarrendatorer, militärer och andra
Kammararkivet. Östersjöprovinsernas räkenskaper, vol. 40
Kammararkivets ämbetsarkiv t.o.m. 1921
Livländska donationskontoret, series FIVa, vol. 2
Livonica II, vol. 175: Skrivelser från Simon Grundel Helmfelt 1659–1661
———, vol. 176: Skrivelser från Simon Grundel Helmfelt 1662–1663
———, vol. 202: Skrivelser från konsistorium i Narva 1641–1685
———, vol. 203: Skrivelser från konsistorium i Narva 1686–1704
———, vol. 207: Skrivelser från Narva, Ivangorod, Jama och Nyen
———, vol. 209: Tjänstemäns och enskildas brev och suppliker från Ingermanland och Kexholms län
———, vol. 361: Ståthållarnas resp. guvernörernas i Narva registratur, januari–augusti 1636
———, vol. 723: Strödda rättegångshandlingar och fragment 1590–1647
Ockupationsarkivet från Novgorod, series 2, vol. 50, 63
Oxenstiernska samlingen, vol. E601: Furstars, ämbetsmäns och enskilda personers brev och ansökningar
Oxenstiernska samlingen, vol. E787: Städers, orters och däri varande lokala institutioners eller korporationers brev

RGADA = Российский государственный архив древних актов (Moscow)

fund 141: Приказные дела старых лет [Prikaz acts from older times]

Primary Sources

Alfabetum Rutenorum (Stockholm: Vanselaw, [n. d.])

Fredzfördragh Emillan Swerige och Ryßland, Oprättadh åhr 1617 (Stockholm: Keyser, [1633–1663])

Sverges traktater med främmande magter jämte andra dit hörande handlingar, V.1: *1572–1632*, ed. by Olof Simon Rydberg and Carl Hallendorff (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1903)

Акты, собранные в библиотеках и архивах Российской Империи Археографическою экспедициею Императорской академии наук [*Documents Collected in the Libraries and Archives of the Russian Empire by the Archaeographical Expedition of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*], IV: *1645–1700* (St Petersburg: Tipografija II Otdelenija Sobstvennoj Ego Imperatorskogo Veličestva Kanceljarii, 1836)

Катηχήσις си есть грѣческое слово. Апорѳски именѳетсѧ кр[и]стьѧнское оученїе перечнем, что ч[е]л[овѣ]кѳ подобает прежевсего оучитисѧ ивѣдати осп[а]сенїи д[ѳ]ши своеи [*Catechesis. This is a Greek Word, and in Russian it is Called a Christian Instruction in the Form of an Enumeration of What Man Must First Learn and Know for the Salvation of his Soul*] (Stockholm: van Selow, 1628)

Роман Вилимович в гостях у Петра Игнатьевича: Псковский архив английского купца 1680-х годов, подгот. П. С. Стефанович & Б. Н. Морозов [*Roman Vilimovič at Petr Ignat'evič's: The Pskov Archive of an English Merchant in the 1680s*, ed. by P. S. Stefanovič and B. N. Morozov] (Moscow: Indrik, 2009)

'Таможенная книга Невского устья 1616–1618 гг.', подгот. А. А. Селин ['Customs Book of the Neva Estuary 1616–1618', ed. by A. A. Selin], *Новгородский исторический сборник* [*Novgorod Historical Miscellany*], 10 (20) (2005), 475–82

Secondary Studies

Abel, Ulf, and Vera Moore, *Icons* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002)

Birgegård, Ulla, 'Ryska', in *Från Nyens skans till Nya Sverige. Språken i det svenska riket under 1600-talet*, ed. by Bo Andersson and Raimo Raag, Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, Konferenser, 78 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, 2012), pp. 296–314

Ďurovič, Ľubomír, 'Kyrkslaviskan — svenskt missionsspråk på 1600-talet', in *Språkets speglingar. Festskrift till Birger Bergh*, ed. by Arne Jönsson and Anders Piltz (Lund: Klassiska institutionen, 2000), pp. 358–67

Forsström, Oskar Adolf, *Kuvaus Inkerinmaan oloista Ruotsinvallan aikana I* (Sortavala: Sortavalan Kirjapaino-yhtiö, 1890)

Hornborg, Eirik, *Karolinen Armfelt och kampen om Finland under Stora nordiska kriget* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1953)

Isberg, Alvin, *Svensk segregations- och konversionspolitik i Ingermanland 1617–1704*, Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia, 23 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1973)

Kepsu, Kasper, *Mellan Moskva och Stockholm. De svenska ryssbajorerna i Ingermanland 1478–1722* (Helsingfors: Otava, 2015)

Kirkinen, Heikki, 'Inkerin keskiaika ja uuden ajan alku vuoteen 1617', in *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri*, ed. by Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia, 547 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1991), pp. 35–66

Köppen, Peter von, *Erklärender Text zu der ethnographischen Karte des St Petersburger Gouvernements* (St Petersburg: Eggers & Co., 1867)

Kujala, Antti, 'Sweden's Russian Lands, Ingria and Kexholm Province, 1617–*c.* 1670: The Interaction of the Crown with Its New Subjects', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 64 (2016), 545–74

Lind, John H., 'De Ingermanlandske "Ryss-Bajorer". Deres sociale og genealogiske baggrund', *Gentes Finlandiae*, 6 (1984), 7–74

Luther, Georg, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland*, I: *De finska och svenska församlingarna och deras prästerskap 1704–1940*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 620 (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2000)

Maier, Ingrid,'Wer war der Autor von *Alfabetum Rutenorum* (Stockholm ohne Jahr)?', in *Schnittpunkt Slavistik. Ost und West im wissenschaftlichen Dialog. Festgabe für Helmut Keipert zum 70. Geburtstag*, III: *Vom Wort zum Text*, ed. by Irina Podtergera (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2012), pp. 333–57

Öhlander, Carl, *Bidrag till kännedom om Ingermanlands historia och förvaltning*, I: *1617–1645* (Uppsala: [n. pub.], 1898)

Paloposki, Toivo J., *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte Finlands*, Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München. Reihe: Geschichte, 55 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988)

Pavlenko, Aneta, 'Linguistic Russification in the Russian Empire: Peasants into Russians?', *Russian Linguistics*, 35 (2011), 331–50

Pereswetoff-Morath, Alexander I., '"Chantries where no clerks sing": On the Russianness of the Bayors of Ingria, 1617–1704', unpubl. paper accepted for publication by *Slavistica Vilnensis* in 2008

———, '*Cui cognitionem Elementorum Linguæ Moscoviticæ debeo*: Om ryska församlingar och präster i det svenska Ingermanland och några av Bergius' sagesmän', unpubl. paper read at the symposium 'Nicolaus Bergius, Baltikum och den ryska kyrkan', Uppsala University Library, 20 November 2014

———, 'Den siste munken i Ingermanland: fantasten Lëvuška Lemboinen från Wanhimala by', in *Да веселится Новъградъ* [*May Novgorod Revel*]. *Må Novgorod fröjda sig. Hyllningsskrift till Elisabeth Löfstrand*, ed. by Per Ambrosiani, Per-Arne Bodin, and Nadezjda Zorikhina Nilsson, Stockholm Slavic Papers, 26 (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2016), pp. 143–66

———, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', in *Novgorodiana Stockholmiensia*, ed. by Gennadij Kovalenko and Elisabeth Löfstrand, Stockholm Slavic Papers, 19 (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2012), pp. 80–110

———, '"Otiosorum hominum receptacula": Orthodox Religious Houses in Ingria, 1615–52', *Scando-Slavica*, 49 (2003), 105–29

———, 'Ryska köpmän och diktare i stormaktstidens Stockholm: kring författaren till "Оплачъ наровескъ"', in *The Arts in Dialogue. Essays in Honour of Fiona Björling*, ed. by Johanna Lindbladh, Terho Paulsson, Karin Sarsenov, Miloslava Slavíčková, and Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, Slavica Lundensia, 24 (Lund: Lund University, 2009), pp. 199–234

———, 'Straddling Cultural and Political Borders in Swedish Ingria: The Case of Benjamin Barohn (Bažen Ivanov)', in *Материалы Международного научного семинара 'Исторические биографии в контексте региональных и имперских границ Северной Европы'* [*Proceedings of the International Scholarly Seminar 'Historical Biographies in the Context of Regional and Imperial Borders in Northern Europe'*] (St Petersburg: NIU VShE, 2013), pp. 64–68

———, 'Ulwichius' lista och rösterna från Caporie län: Nya källor om ingriska, votiska och ryska i svenska Ingermanland', in *Slavica antiqua et hodierna. En hyllningsskrift till Per Ambrosiani*, ed. by Elisabeth Löfstrand, Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath, and Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman, Stockholm Slavic Papers, 28 (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2019), pp. 79–106

Saloheimo, Veijo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus ja väestö 1618–1700', in *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri*, ed. by Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia, 547 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1991), pp. 67–82

Sepp, Hendrik, 'Bidrag till Ingermanlands historia under 1600-talet. Militärvägar och kolonisation', *Svio-Estonica*, 1 (1934), 68–87

Sivonen, Mika, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko Ruotsin vallan kautena 1611–1702', in *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa. Kansa, kulttuuri, identiteetti*, ed. by Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Kirjokansi, 95 (Helsinki: SKS Kirjat, 2015), pp. 17–70

———, *'Me inkerikot, vatjalaiset ja karjalaiset'. Uskonnollinen integrointi ja ortodoksisen vähemmistön identiteetin rakentuminen Ruotsin Inkerissä 1680–1702*, Bibliotheca Historica, 111 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007)

Sjöberg, Anders, 'Hans Flörich och Isak Torcakov, två "svenska" rusister i början av 1600-talet', in *Äldre svensk slavistik. Bidrag till ett symposium hållet i Uppsala 3–4 februari 1983*, ed. by Sven Gustavsson and Lennart Lönngren, Uppsala Slavic Papers, 9 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1984), pp. 25–35

Soom, Arnold, 'De ingermanländska städerna och freden i Stolbova 1617', *Svio-Estonica*, 3 (1936), 34–45

———, 'Ivangorod als selbständige Stadt 1617–1649', *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat* (1935), 215–315

Tarkiainen, Kari 'Rysstolkarna som yrkeskår 1595–1661', *Historisk tidskrift*, 92 (1972), 490–522

———, 'Venäjäntulkit ja slavistiikan harrastus Ruotsin valtakunnassa vv. 1595–1661'. *Historiallinen Arkisto*, 64 (1969), 5–136

Väänänen, Kyösti, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland*, I: *Lutherska stiftsstyrelsen, församlingarnas prästerskap och skollärare i Ingermanland under svenska tiden*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 538 (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1987)

Богословский, Михаил Михайлович, *Земское самоуправление на русском севере в XVII в.*, I: *Областное деление Поморья. Землевладение и общественный строй. Органы самоуправления* [Bogoslovskij, Michail Michajlovič, *Local Self-Government in the Russian North in the Seventeenth Century*, I: *The Division of the Pomor'e into Provinces. Land-Owning and Social Organisation. Organs of Self-Government*] (Moscow: Imperatorskoe Obščestvo Istorii i Drevnostej Rossijskich pri Moskovskom Universitete, 1909)

Демидова, Наталья Федоровна, *Служилая бюрократия в России XVII века (1625–1700). Биографический справочник* [Demidova, Natal´ja Fedorovna, *The Russian Service Class Bureaucracy in the Seventeenth Century (1625–1700). A Biographical Dictionary*] (Moscow: Pamiatniki istoričeskoj mysli, 2011)

Дмитриев, Александр Владиславович, 'Административно-территориальное деление Ингерманландии и смежных с нею территорий в 1583–1590 годы в контексте новых данных топонимики' [Dmitriev, Aleksandr Vladislavovič, 'The Administrative and Territorial Division of Ingria and Adjacent Territories in 1583–1590 in the Context of New Toponymic Data], *Scando-Slavica*, 61 (2015), 180–206

Жуков, Константин Сергеевич, '"Еретики и отметчики". Отношение московских властей к православным жителям земель отошедших к Швеции по Столбовскому договору' [Žukov, Konstantin Sergeevič, '"Heretics and apostates". The Attitude of the Muscovite Authorities towards the Orthodox in the Lands Ceded to Sweden in Accordance with the Treaty of Stolbovo'], in *Археологическое наследие Санкт-Петербурга*, IV: *400 лет основанию Ниеншанца*, сост. П. Е. Сорокин [*The Archaeological Heritage of Saint Petersburg*, IV: *400 Years Since the Foundation of Nyenschantz*, ed. by P. E. Sorokin] (St Petersburg: Naučno-issledovatel´skij institut kulturnogo i prirodnogo nasledija, 2014), pp. 76–93

Исаков, Сергей Геннадьевич, *Путь длиною в тысячу лет. Русские в Эстонии. История культуры*, I [Isakov, Sergej Gennad´evič, *A Journey of a Thousand Years. The Russians in Estonia. A Cultural History*, I] (Talinn: INGRI, 2008)

Историко-статистические сведения о С.-Петербургской епархии. Издание С.-Петербургского епархиального историко-статистического комитета, X [*Historico-Statistical Information on the Diocese of St Petersburg. A Publication from the Historico-Statistical Committee of the Diocese of St Petersburg*, X] (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskij eparchial´nyj statističeskij komitet, 1885)

Кобзарева, Елена Игоревна, 'Отсвет Смуты: отношение в Новгороде к "изменникам" в первые годы после заключения Столбовского мира (1617 г.)' [Kobzareva, Elena Igorevna, 'A Reflection of the Time of Troubles: Novgorod Attitudes towards 'Traitors' in the First Years after the Conclusion of the Treaty of Stolbovo (1617)'], in *Смутное время в России: Конфликт и диалог культур. Материалы научной конференции, Санкт-Петербург, 12–14 октября 2012 года*, науч. ред. А. И. Филюшкин [*The Time of Troubles in Russia. Conflict and dialogue of cultures. Proceedings of a scholarly conference, Saint Petersburg, 12–14 October 2012*, ed. by A. I. Filjuškin] (St Petersburg: Istoričeskij fakul´tet SPbGU, 2012), pp. 84–87

Кузьмин, Андрей Валентинович, *На пути в Москву. Очерки генеалогии военно-служилой знати Северо-Восточной Руси в XIII–середине XV в.*, II [Kuz´min, Andrej Valentinovič, *En Route to Moscow. Essays on the Genealogy of the Serving Military Aristocracy of North-Eastern Rus' in the Thirteenth–Mid-Fifteenth Century*, II] (Moscow: Yazyki slavianskoi kul´tury, 2015)

Кюнг, Энн, 'Русские купцы и граждане Нарвы во второй половине 17 века' [Küng, Enn, 'Russian Merchants and Citizens of Narva in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century'], in *Сборник Нарвского музея* [*Miscellany of the Narva Museum*] (Narva: Narvskij muzej, 2002), pp. 7–44

Лихачев, Дмитрий Сергеевич, 'Плач о реке Нарове 1665 г.' [Lichačev, Dmitrij Sergeevič, 'A 1665 Lament over the River Narova'], *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* [*Proceedings of the Department of Old Russian Literature*], 6 (1948), 333–38

Пересветов-Мурат, Александр Иванович, '"Епископ Ингомерлянский и всего помория полунощного океана": великие комбинации Анфиногена Крыжановского' [Pereswetoff-Morath, Aleksandr Ivanovič, '"Bishop of Ingomerlandia and all the seaboard of the septentrional ocean". The Great Combinations of Athenogenes Kryžanoŭski'], *Scando-Slavica*, 56 (2010), 48–83

———, 'Из Ростова в Ингерманландию: М. А. Пересветов и другие русские baijor'ы' ['From Rostov to Ingria: M. A. Peresvetov and Other Russian *bayors*'], *Новгородский исторический сборник* [*Novgorod Historical Miscellany*], 7 (17) (1999), 366–78

———, 'Ингерманландский криминал, XVII век' ['An Ingrian Crime Story of the Seventeenth Century'], *Inkeri (Pietarin ja Inkerinmaan kuulumisia)*, 67 (2008), 8–9

———, 'Урбан Йерне как нюенец и ингерманландец' ['Urban Hiärne as a Nyener and Ingrian'], in *Археологическое наследие Санкт-Петербурга*, IV: *400 лет основанию Ниеншанца*, сост. П. Е. Сорокин [*The Archaeological Heritage of Saint Petersburg*, IV: *400 Years Since the Foundation of Nyenschantz*, ed. by P. E. Sorokin] (St Petersburg: Naučno-issledovatel'skij institut kulturnogo i prirodnogo nasledija, 2014), pp. 105–39

Рабинович, Яков Николаевич, 'Крепость Копорье и помещики Дягиленского погоста Копорского уезда в Смутное время (лето 1612 г. – весна 1617 г.)' [Rabinovič, Jakov Nikolaevič, 'The Fortress of Kopor´e and the Landowners of Djagilenskij *pogost* of the Kopor´e *uezd* in the Time of Troubles (Summer 1612–Spring 1617)'], *Новгородский исторический сборник* [*Novgorod Historical Miscellany*], 14 (24) (2014), 180–92

Селин, Адриан Александрович, 'Балтийские писцовые книги — часть Каммар-архива в Государственном архиве Швеции' [Selin, Adrian Aleksandrovič, 'The Baltic Cadastres: A Part of the Kammararkiv at the Swedish National Archives'], in *Скандинавские чтения 2004 года. Этнографические и культурно-исторические аспекты* [*Scandinavian Readings for 2004. Ethnographical and Cultural-Historical Aspects*] (St Petersburg: Kunstkamera, 2006), pp. 437–49

———, 'К изучению персонального состава землевладельцев Северо-Запада Новгородской земли конца XV века' ['A Contribution to the Study of Who Made Up the Landowning Class in Northwest Novgorodia at the End of the Fifteenth Century'], *Rossica antiqua*, 14 (2017), 122–43

———, *Новгородские судьбы Смутного времени* [*Novgorodian Fates in the Time of Troubles*] (Novgorod: [n. pub.], 2009)

———, *Русско-шведская граница (1617–1700 гг.). Формирование, функционирование, наследие. Исторические очерки* [*The Russian–Swedish Border (1617–1700). Formation, Functioning, and Legacy. Historical Essays*] (St Petersburg: BLITs, 2016)

———, *Смута на Северо-Западе в начале XVII века. Очерки из жизни новгородского общества* [*The Time of Trouble in the North-West at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century. Essays on the Life of Novgorodian Society*] (St Petersburg: BLITs, 2017)

Сергий (архим.), *Черты церковно-приходского и монастырского быта в писцовой книге Водской пятины 1500 года (в связи с общими условиями жизни)* [Sergij (archim.), *Features of Everyday Parochial and Monastic Life in the Cadastres of the Vodskaia Piatina for the Year 1500 (In Relation to the General Conditions of Life)*] (St Peterburg: Akinfiev, 1905)

Суслова, Евгения Дмитриевна, *Церковно-приходская система в Карелии конца XV – начала XVIII века* [Suslova, Evgenija Dmitrievna, *The System of Parishes in Carelia from the End of the Fifteenth to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*] (Petrozavodsk: Izdatel'stvo PetrGU, 2013)

Толстиков, Александр Владимирович, 'Бояре по-шведски: Понятие bajor в шведском языке XVI–XVII вв.' [Tolstikov, Aleksandr Vladimirovič, 'Boyars in Swedish: The Concept of *bajor* in Sixteenth–Seventeenth-Century Swedish'], in *Финно-угорская мозаика. Сборник статей к юбилею Ирмы Ивановны Муллонен*, отв. ред. О. П. Илюха [*A Fenno-Ugric Mosaic. A Collection of Articles for the Anniversary of Irma Ivanovna Mullonen*, ed. by O. P. Iljucha], Studia Nordica, 1 (Petrozavodsk: Federal'nyj issledovatel'skij centr Karel'skij naučnyj centr Rossijskoj akademii nauk, 2016), pp. 33–42

Appendix A. Russian Chancery Secretaries (*pod´jačie*) in Swedish Ingria, 1617–1656

IVANGOROD

Semen Budynskoj, probably *c.* 1616–1627 (1616: NAS. Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper 167:3, unfoliated; 1627: EAA.278.1.XXV-187, fol. 8^{v}; numerous deeds between these dates);

Fedor Larionov, 1627/8–? (1628: NAF. 428a, pp. 43, 278);

Stepan Semenov syn Ryžkov, *c.* 1635/6(?)–46 (see, e.g.: EAA.278.1.XXIV-76, fol. 39^{r}; his letter of discharge for old age of 30 January 1646 with leave to Muscovy in Russian translation at the Russian State Archive of Early Documents, F. 141. Приказные дела старых лет [Prikaz acts from older times]. 1646 г. No. 113-a, fols 1–28, at fol. 7 (? unfoliated)). Ryžkov had previously served as a scribe at Jamgorod (cf. below).

Note: Some tasks as a Russian secretary at Ivangorod/Narva are later performed by the school teacher and former monastery *d´jačok, Isa(a)k Sergeev syn Torčakov*, prob. † 1653–4 (see: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 101–03; EAA.278.1. XXIV-83, fol. 740).

JAMGOROD

Uvar Pjatin, 1617–1621 (?). It is not clear whether Pjatin, who, unlike his colleague and relative Stepan Ryžkov, received no royal confirmation for his minor wartime fief in 1618, did actual service after that date. Absconded to Muscovy with his family during Lent 1621 (see: Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 87–88);[1]

Stepan Semenov syn Ryžkov, 1617–1627. In 1627/8 apparently demoted (?) to a corn scribe at Jamgorod and later removed to Ivangorod (exact year uncertain but apparently by 1633) (Pereswetoff-Morath, 'Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak*', pp. 87–88, 94; cf. on him: Селин, *Смута на Северо-Западе* [Selin, *The Time of Troubles in the North-West*], pp. 441–42; cf. above). He claims to have been sent with his father and brothers from Moscow to Jamgorod to be *pod´jačie* in 1606/7 (RGADA. F. 141. Приказные дела старых лет [Prikaz acts from older times]. 1646 г. No. 113-a, fols 1–28, at fol. 3 (? unfoliated); cf. Демидова, *Служилая бюрократия в России XVII века* [Demidova, *The Service Class Bureaucracy of Seventeenth-Century Russia*], p. 488).

CAPORIE (KOPOR´E)

Petr Budynskoj, serving at least since 1613/14, see: NAS. Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper, vol. 183. Specialredovisningar 1612–1615, fols 40^{r}, 60^{v}; last referred to

1 Onanej Pjatin, the only other known *pod´jačej* of that family, who served in Moscow from 1623, was a cousin of the Ryžkov brothers (Селин, 'К изучению персонального состава землевладельцев Северо-Запада Новгородской земли' [Selin, 'A Contribution to the Study of Who Made Up the Landowning Class in North-West'], p. 134; Демидова, *Служилая бюрократия в России XVII века* [Demidova, *The Serving Bureaucracy of Seventeenth-Century Russia*], p. 472). The Pjatins were a Jamgorod family, and it is tempting to surmise that Onanej and U(v)ar is the same person, even though the fact that both names are calendrical speaks against such a straight-forward identification.

when, in 1618, his peasants in Duderov *pogost* (Nöteborg *län*) are mentioned [vol. 187:4, under 'Joutzinoua by']). We cannot exclude the possibility that he is the anonymous Russian scribe known at Caporie in 1625, see below on Vlasej Kornil´ev, and/or the 'minor scribe Petruška' (*Små skrifueren Petruska*) mentioned in the Caporie borough in 1628–1629 (NAF. 428a, pp. 536, 539, 541), but he might also be identical with the *pod´jačej* Petr Ivanov doing seasonal service at Nyenskans/Nevskoe ust´e in 1616–1618 (cf. below), and may then, like Tarasej Ivanov, have been temporarily transferred from Caporie to Nöteborg. As we have seen, his son Jakov is later made use of as a *pogost* scribe but it is uncertain when this service begins, as it is unknown at what point he is drawn into church service.

The scribe *Vlas(ej) Kornil´ev* may also best be mentioned here. He enjoyed a small freehold near Caporie for his services as a scribe and courier at least 1634–1640 (see, e.g.: NAF. 9641, fol. 32^{v}; EAA.278.1.XXIV-80, fol. 778^{r}; in 1643 he and his wife are both *in extremis*, see: NAF. 9658, fol. 663^{r}). He may have been the 'Russian scribe at Caporie' who is mentioned as early as 1625 (NAS. Kammararkivet. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper, vol. 183:9. Afkortningen opå 1625 Åhrs Ränta vthi Caporie Lähn), but this may also have been the *pod´jačej* P. Budynskoj (cf. above), or a third person otherwise unknown to us.

NÖTEBORG (OREŠEK)

? *Ivan Stepanov syn Věrin*, † 1639–1642, is mentioned in August 1617 as 'a Russian scribe [*schriffuare*] […] in service here at the fortress [of Nöteborg]' (NAS. Diplomatica Muscovitica, vol. 26. Letter from the Swedish legates to the King. 7 August 1617), but is is unclear for how long he served and, in fact, doubtful whether we might call him a chancery secretary. His handwriting in extant documents is somewhat crude. As a rule he is called a '*diak*' in Swedish (e.g. Lund University Library. De la Gardieska arkivet. Topographica. Ingermanland och Kexholms län, vol. 7. 1619. Jaroselskoi Pågost. Lesia Bÿ Conitz);

Taras(ej) Ivanov, † aft. 1651, previously a corn scribe at Caporie, is known as sole Russian scribe at Nöteborg around 1620 (Lund University Library. De la Gardieska arkivet. Topographica. Ingermanland och Kexholms län, vol. 3. Förslag på Nöteborgs befästning 1619), but it is unknown for how long he may have served in this capacity. His fairly large estate near Pulkovo (see, e.g., the royal grant in: NAF. 6826, no. 190) may have been held in part for his service and he may therefore have remained invisible in official payrolls. Circa 1650 he claims — impossibly — to have served Gustavus Adolphus as a chamber scribe (*cammarskriffuare*) for twenty-three years (NAS. Livonica II, vol. 209. Skrivelser om gods). This is probably the title he himself (?) translates as *dvorcovyi pod´jačei* in 1636 (see the source publication in: Селин. *Русско-шведская граница* [Selin, *The Russian-Swedish Border*], p. 790). On him, see also Appendix C.

In 1637, the Nöteborg scribe *Timofej Timofeev syn Popov*, who is usually known in Swedish as a *'diak'* (see footnote 81), signs a court testimonial as '*orechovskoi* [i.e. 'Nöteborg'] *pod´jačei*' (Пересветов-Мурат, 'Ингерманландский криминал, XVII век' [Pereswetoff-Morath, 'An Ingrian Crime Story of the Seventeenth Century'], p. 9). At present, this is the only known instance of him using this title, and it is difficult to say whether this was a contextual decision or if it reflects a position as a chancery scribe which

he held at the time. We know of other, later, cases where he did judiciary service, but have no relevant documents in Russian confirming a title in that language.

OTHER

There are also single mentions of the *pod´jačei Petr Ivanov* at the toll-station at Nyenskans/Nevskoe ust´e in the first year after Stolbovo ('Таможенная книга Невского устья 1616–1618 гг.' ['Customs Book of the Neva Estuary 1616–1618']), who cannot be identified with any certainty with other Ingrian scribes or secretaries (but see above on Petr Budynskoj), and of *Petr (Semenov syn) Ryžkov* as a Russian 'barn bailiff' at the Cattilla (Kotly/Kotel) Crown demesne (*kungsladugård*) in Toldoskoj *pogost* in 1627 (NAS. Kammararkivet. Strödda äldre räkenskaper. Ny serie. Fogdarnas förslag, vol. 29:6. Förslag på Caporie befästning, september–december 1627). Ryžkov, the brother of Stepan R., is otherwise known as a corn scribe at Ivangorod but designates himself a *pod´jačei* (NAF. 428a, pp. 43, 280).

Appendix B. Orthodox Churches in Swedish Ingria, 1617–1704[2]

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES FUNCTIONING IN INGRIA FOR THE BETTER PART OF THE PERIOD 1617–1704[3]

Ivangorod County

Ivangorod & Narva (a minimum of two functioning churches for most of the seventeenth century)[4]

Jamgorod County

Opolie/Opol´e (1701?)

See also Ragwitza below.

Caporie County

Caporie borough/Kopor´e (1702; still two churches in 1647 but possibly no resident priests in the 1640s and 1650s)
Gorka/Gorki (1697/8, but the same priest under Muscovite rule in 1719)
Soikinagåra/Sojkino (1702; for almost the entire Swedish era served only by a *d´jačok*)
Ratzina/Ratčino (1702)
Cattilla/Kotly (1702)
Ilies/Il´eši (1700)
Udasalo/Udosolovo (1696; no firmly documented activity 1642–1672)
Dätelitz/Djatlicy (1691)

Nöteborg County

Spasski [now in St Petersburg, near Smol´nyj] (1700)
Cuiwas/Kujvozi (1689)

THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL CHURCHES HAD FALLEN INTO DISUSE IN THE 1640S–1650S

Jamgorod County

Jamgorod borough/Kingisepp (*d´jačok* 1652, still two churches *c.* 1647 but no priest documented after 1629)[5]
Ragwitza/Ragovicy (chapel with *d´jačok* 1647, possibly 1656, again for some time around 1675)

---

2 Full references for this appendix cannot be given here. I am preparing a monograph on the Orthodox priests and parishes of Swedish Ingria where the complex source material is analysed.

3 That is, at least with a resident *d´jačok*. Present-day or historical Russian name after the solidus. The year after the church/parish name is the last year in which a church/priest or, if so specified, resident *d´jačok* is documented before the Muscovite occupation of Ingria in 1703/4.

4 It is uncertain whether any Orthodox churches survived the Russian invasion of 1700 and the burning of the Ivangorod and Narva suburbs, but in 1703 there were still two Orthodox priests in 'Narva'.

5 The status of a Russian priest captured by the Muscovites in the Jamgorod borough in 1657 is unclear.

Jablonitza/Jablonicy (*d´jačok* 1647, possibly 1648; possibly a chapel)
See also **Wruda** below.

Caporie County
Kipina/Kipen´ (1656)

Nöteborg County
Nöteborg borough/Šeremet´evka (priest last mentioned in 1637; parish still known in 1647; church burnt in 1656)
Ingris/Jam-Ižora (1656 – the last decade before that served only by a *d´jačok*, who, *c.* 1655, was ordained a priest in Muscovy)
Mikola/Nikol´skoe in Loppis/Lopskoi *pogost* (1650/1, still a *d´jačok* in 1656)
Poritz/Poreč´e (1646/7, still a *d´jačok* in 1656)
Keltis/Koltuši [† Russkaja Kirka?] (1644/5, still an old *d´jačok* in 1656)
Tråitza/Troickoe in Loppis/Lopskoi *pogost* (1644/5, still a *d´jačok* in 1654)

ADDITIONALLY, FUNCTIONING ONLY UNTIL THE 1620S OR 1630S
Ivangorod County
Kusemkina / [**Bol´šoe**] **Kuzemkino** (1618; later the Orthodox visit Ivangorod churches)

Jamgorod County
Jasterbina/Jastrebino (1623; possibly early 1630s)
Wruda/[Bol´šaja] Vruda (1622; again a *d´jačok* 1651–5)

Caporie County
Worontkino/Voronkino (1626)
Fzdilitzky/Zdylicy (1624)
Glaschkowitza/Laškovicy (1623)
Orlina/Orlino (1618?)

Nöteborg County
Korboselski/Korbosel´ki (1631, still an old *d´jačok* in 1638)
Jechoritz/Egor´evskoe (priest 1620; a *d´jačok* in 1638 and possibly somewhat later)
Duder/Dudergof (1623)
Rjabino/Levduzi? (1619)
Woronia/Voron´e (1618; signs of activity in the early 1630s, possibly to do with the Poritz priest)
Wystawka [= Willola?] /**Veleevo** (possibly abandoned by 1617)

I include neither the few monastery churches nor the fortress churches of Caporie, Jamgorod, and Nöteborg (for security reasons, these had all been closed for the Orthodox by 1621) or the communities of Muscovite Old Believers (*starověry*) established in Caporie county in the last third of the seventeenth century. There is some evidence that otherwise abandoned churches, chapels, and monasteries could be visited — and, possibly, some

kind of services performed — on the feastdays of their saints. From a Muscovite point of view, some churches that had been rebuilt after the 1650s (e.g. Spasski and Cuiwas), may have been regarded, canonically, as mere chapels, but this was probably not the local attitude.

Appendix C. *Bayors* whose Families Remained in the Province *c.* 1630[6]

1 F. G. Aminev (*Aminoff*, † 1628) with several adult children;
2 M. I. Kalitin (*Callentin*, *Kalitin*, † *c.* 1635) with several adult children;
3 V. S. Čebotaev (*Sabotaioff*, *Zebotaioff*, † 1652) probably with wife and adult (half-?)sisters and with his (half-?)brother, namely:
4 G. K. Opalev (*Apolloff*, † *c.* 1654);
5 M. A. Klement´ev (*Clementeoff*, † 1624–1631) with several adult children;
6 Š. (A.?) I. Chomutov (*Homutoff*, † *c.* 1635?)
7 M. P. Karpovskoj (*Carpofschoi*, † 1640)
8 M. A. Peresvětov (*Pereswetoff*, † 1641);
9 F. V. Lugvenev (*Lugmenoff*, † 1626–1634) with adult children, and, possibly,
10 L. Šablykin (*Sabluikin*), who died without issue, however, shortly before or after 1630.

Nos 7, 8, and 10 (probably *not* no. 2 despite suggestions in the genealogical literature) married daughters of no. 1; nos 5 and 6 married sisters of no. 3; nos 6 and 7, and probably no. 10, died without male issue no later than 1640. No. 7 did *not* return to Muscovy, *pace* Lind. 'De Ingermanlandske "Ryss-Bajorer"', p. 54. No. 3 had a recognized natural son with issue — who is usually referred to as 'well-born' — but the noble family is formally continued with a new family name but an unchanged coat of arms (*pace* various armorials) by no. 4 and his children.

To these *bayors* may be added the Polish/Lithuanian gentrymen:

11 J./I. Kukaszewicz (*Kuckisieff*, *Kuckowitz*, etc., † 1626–1632);
12 Ch. Konarski (*Kanarski*, † 1634).

Both of these died without male issue; no. 11 some time before 1632. He was married to a daughter of no. 5.

Furthermore, we may add the tatar servicemen:

13 I. Muraléev;
14 P. Alabardiev;
15 I. Isupov.

No. 15 dies by 1634 and shortly thereafter his son will enter Muscovite service. No. 14 attempts to return to Muscovy in 1631 with his family and, when returned by the Russians, finds himself deprived of his Ingrian estates and is heard of no more. No. 13 is dead or has disappeared with no known issue by *c.* 1632.

---

6 Considerations of space do not allow full sources to be given for this appendix, and the interested reader must await the monograph on the *bayors* for which I have collected data for some twenty-five years. Cf., however, the literature given in n. 26 above, where some aspects are addressed.

The Russian Nobleman

16 V. Buturlin (*Butterlin*, † 1665), who served in Sweden from an early age and died with no known issue, only received Ingrian lands in 1641 and probably never lived there.

Other gentrymen entering Swedish service in Ingria *c.* 1617 (representatives of the families Abramov, Bulatov, Tyrtov, and others) pass away or move by the mid-1620s. In the periphery of the Russian gentry, but never referred to as a *bayor*, we find the landowning Nöteborg *pod´jačej* Tarasej Ivanov († aft. 1651), mentioned above, whose son, however, appears to have married a daughter of no. 2.

Occasionally mentioned as *bayors* is, however, the family of the landowning translator:

17 B. Barohn († 1650–1651), an ethnic Frenchman from the Holy Roman Empire who had served in Moscow.

To the *bayors* was added, in 1630, the Smolensk non-noble

18 A. (L.) D. Rubcov (*Rubzoff*, † *c.* 1648), who would soon marry a grand-daughter of no. 1.

Russian gentrymen who had entered Swedish service in the 1580s–90s and had lost all connections with Ingria are not included in this survey. An adopted (?) member of one of those families,

19 Colonel F. P. Razladin (*Rosladin*, † 1628), b. *c.* 1600, did receive a substantial fief in Saretzschoi *pogost* in 1623. However, he was killed in the line of duty in 1628 with no male issue and it is doubtful whether he or his family ever took up residence in Ingria.