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Livonian and Courlander nobility in Samogitia in the 17th and 18th century

Summary: The main issue of this paper is Livonian nobles' immigration to Lithuania. This topic is very difficult to investigate, because of significant deficiency in sources presenting a registration of estates and real estate transactions from Livonia and Courland. There are no registers of owners, tenants, or pledgees of estates from Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 16th to the 18th century and therefore primary sources for research presented in the paper are military and tax registers from 1567, 1621, 1667, 1690 and 1765. Unfortunately those registers have many disadvantages, which need to be highlighted. The author of the article analysed transformations of nobles' surnames. The findings of this analysis show that in the above mentioned period of time several dozens of Livonian and Courland noble families settled in Samogitia. Those families were forced to leave Livonia as they remained loyal to the Polish king, although they also wanted to improve their economic status.

Keywords: Samogitia, Livonia, Courland

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The problem of the influx of the Livonian nobility into Lithuanian lands has been addressed a number of times in the German literature: in 1984, Percy von Schroeders published information about such persons on the basis of German sources; several years ago, Klas Lackschewitz, with the help of Andrzej Prus-Niewiadomski, complemented the body of the available data using most recent Polish source editions, authored mainly by myself. They comprised household (Pl. *podymne*) tax registers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and lists of officials and deputies to the Tribunal.¹ Nevertheless, it is difficult to compare these studies with rich – but still far from comprehensive – literature on the influx of the Polish nobility to Lithuania (including Samogitia) and its role there.² The problem of various nations' migrations to Samogitia was also addressed by Lithuanian scholars – Vacys Vaivada, Eugenijus Saviščevas, Rita Regina Trimonienė, Jolanta Skurdauskienė – who, admittedly, focused on the dominant Polish nobility, but included also some information on other nationalities, including natives of Livonia.³ Finally, some very useful source data are in-

¹ P. von Schroeders, *Nachrichten über Kurländer in Litauen*, München 1984; A. Prus-Niewiadomski, K. Lackschewitz (eds), *Kurländer in Litauen: Ergänzungen zu Dr. von Percy von Schroeders, Nachrichten über Kurländer in Litauen*, 1984, "Sonderausgabe" 2009, vol. 1.

² M. Kosman, *Polacy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim. Z badań nad mobilnością społeczeństwa w dobie unii Jagiellońskiej 1386–1569*, in: *Spółczesność Polski Średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, ed. S. K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1981, vol. 1, pp. 347–377; J. Jurkiewicz, *Osadnictwo polskie w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w świetle badań historycznych*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica" 1994, vol. 22, pp. 237–255; B. M. Topolska, *Polacy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII wieku (Przyczynek do dziejów polskiej emigracji na Wschód w okresie staropolskim)*, "Litvano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica" 1987, vol. 2, pp. 166–185; G. Błaszczuk, *Żmudź w XVII i XVIII wieku. Zaludnienie i struktura społeczna*, Poznań 1985.

³ V. Vaivada, *Katalikų bažnyčia ir Reformacija Žemaitijoje XVI a. esminiai raidos bruožai*, Vilnius 2004; E. Saviščevas, *XVI a. pirmos pusės Žemaičių valdžios elitai: kilmė ir tapatybė*, in: *Žemaičių istorijos viršmas*, Vilnius 2004, pp. 179–180; id., *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitai 1409–1566 metais*, Vilnius 2010; R.R. Trimonienė, *Ewangeliccy przybyśce z Polski i innych krajów i ich społeczno-ekonomiczna integracja ze społeczeństwem lokalnym na Żmudzi w 2. połowie XVI w.*, in: *Studia nad Reformacją*, eds E. Bagińska, P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, Białystok 2010, pp. 99–110; eadem, *Socialiniai pokyčiai žemaičių politiniame elite XVI a. antroje pusėje*, "Lietuvos Bajoras" 2005, vol. 10, kop. 2–8; eadem, *Svetimšalių*

cluded in the *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej* (*Book of heraldry of the Samogitian nobility*) prepared by Grzegorz Błaszczyk, largely on the basis of the same sources that I am using.⁴ Information included in these publications does not exhaust the problem posed in the title, however. This problem is difficult to tackle due to several reasons; firstly, due to the lack of appropriate sources from the territories of Livonia and Courland which would register property and money transactions (court and land books [Pl. *księgi grodzkie i ziemskie*]). Fortunately, quite many court books have survived from the territories of Samogitia (Pl. *Żmudź*), Upytė (Pl. *Upita*) and Ukmergė (Pl. *Witkomierz*), which are neighbours to Livonia in a broad sense (mainland Livonia, Duchy of Courland and Semigallia). Unfortunately, even though there are many registers of Livonian nobility – both handwritten and printed – in reality, there is no register of all the families from this area for the second half of the 16th century, which more often than not leaves us with guesswork as to the interpretation of the German surnames of landowners in Lithuania. Furthermore, there are no registers of all the owners, lessees and pledgees of estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16–18th centuries. It is known (and quite surprising in this context) that the Polish nobility, so mindful of their prerogatives, did not register their representatives to control the ‘purity’ of the group and prevent plebeians from penetrating it. The latter eagerly took advantage of this fact and sometimes did so under the pretence of being a Livonian.⁵ For Courland, whose nobility protected the ‘purity of citizenship’, there are registers

ir svetimtaucijų bajorų migracija į Žemaitiją XVII a. pirmoje pusėje. Imigracijos kultūriniai veiksniai ir įtakos Žemaičių visuomenei, in: *Rytų Europos kultura migracijos kontekste. Tarpdalykiniai tyrimai*, ed. I.R. Merkienė, Vilnius 2007, pp. 491–514; eadem, *Žemaitijos bajorų etninio tapatumo problema XVI a. pabaigoje–XVII a. pradžioje, imigraciniai procesai*, in *Tiltai. Priedas: Mokslo darbai: Krikščioniškosios vertybės kultūros ir istorijos kontekste*, eds A. Ramonas, S. Vaitekūnas, Klaipėda 2012, no. 43, pp. 217–236; eadem, *Livonijas muižnieku dzimtu iecelošana Žemaitijā 16. gadsimta otrajā pusē–17. gadsimta sākumā, “Ventspils muzeja raksti”* 2006, vol. 5, pp. 61–69; J. Skurdauskienė, *Kształtowanie się posiadłości ewangelickich przybyszów (fundatorów kościołów) na Żmudzi w drugiej połowie XVI wieku i na początku XVII wieku*, in: *Studia nad Reformacją*, pp. 75–98.

⁴ G. Błaszczyk, *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej*, vol. 1–6, Warszawa 2015–2017.

⁵ T. Ciesielski, A. Filipczak-Kocur (eds), *Udział “Inflantczyków” i oficerów cudzoziemskiego pochodzenia w życiu publicznym Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach*

of persons (families) recorded in the so-called Ritterbank, but they refer to the first half of the 17th century only, starting from 1620. Furthermore, not all of the noble families who lived there were able and managed to register on time.⁶

On 28 November 1561, a Livonian deputation pledged loyalty to Sigismund Augustus in Vilnius and on 25 December 1566 the formal union of Livonia with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed. Lands located north of the Daugava river were amalgamated into the Daugavan Duchy, while the lands of Courland and Semigallia were given to Gothard Kettler as a fiefdom.⁷ Theoretically, the possibility for Livonians to move to Lithuania was established at that time, although the law (the so-called Statutes – the First in 1528, the Second in 1566, and the Third in 1588) did not make it easy for potential migrants. For a long time, foreigners were not allowed to purchase land and hold offices. The Second Statute (Article 9) forbade the ruler from giving estates or offices to foreigners, both ‘from abroad’

1569–1732, in: *Rzeczpospolita państwem wielu narodowości i wyznań XVI–XVIII wiek*, Warszawa–Opole 2008, pp. 431–442.

⁶ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (hereinafter: AGAD), Metryka Koronna, no. 404, sheets 200–210v; Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Sanguszków, manuscript 48; Latvijas nacionālā bibliotēka w Rydze, manuscript R x/100K, 1, 78; Rossijskaja gosudarstwiennaja bibliotēka w Moskwie, Otdel rukopisiej, collection 68, no. 340, sheets 106–107v; H. J. v. Lieven, *Materialien zu einer liefländischen Adelsgeschichte*, “Nordische Miscellaneen”, Riga 1788, pp. 11–732; E. von Fircks, *Kurländisches Ritterbuch*, Mitau 1893; idem, *Die Ritterbanken in Kurland nach dem Original-Protokolle von 1618–1648*, “Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik” 1895, Mitau 1896, pp. 1–109; G. A. Muelverstedt, *Der Preussische Adel unter der alten Kurländischen Ritterschaft*, “Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik 1897”, Mitau 1898, pp. 35–44; *Die Baltischen Ritterschaften. Uebersicht ueber die in den Matrikeln der Ritterschaften von Livland, Estland, Kurland und Oesel verzeichneten Geschlechter*, Limburg/Lahn 1973.

⁷ E. Kunze, *Organizacja Inflant w czasach polskich*, in: *Polska a Inflanty*, ed. J. Borowik, Gdynia 1939, pp. 1–12; E. Tarvel, *Stosunek prawno państwowy Inflant do Rzeczypospolitej oraz ich ustroj administracyjny w l. 1561–1621*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 1969, vol. 34 (1), pp. 49–77; A. Tyla, *Lietuva ir Livonija XVI a. pabaigoje – XVII a. pradzije*, Vilnius 1986; B. Dybaś, *Inflanty – unijny „poligon” Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Unia Lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, eds T. Kempa, K. Mikulski, Toruń 2011, pp. 101–110.

and ‘neighbours’; furthermore, it included the reservation that if in spite of the foregoing someone acquired estate in Lithuania by means of a ruler’s bestowal or in any other way, he would be obliged to offer military service (to the land) and would still be forbidden from holding any office.⁸ The Third Statute confirmed these restrictions, adding that such a foreigner had to pledge loyalty and goodwill to Lithuania⁹ in front of the municipal court of the district (Pl. *powiat*) in which he had settled. After the union, Livonians were treated not so much as total foreigners, but still as persons ‘from abroad’ or as ‘neighbours’ at best (although it appears that the latter term was applied chiefly to Poles). What is more, in Samogitia, even Lithuanians were sometimes considered ‘foreigners’, so this had to apply to Poles and Germans from Livonia even more. However, already during the coronation sejm in 1574, King Henry undertook to bestow Samogitian offices and estates upon ‘natives of Lithuania whose ancestors had settled and lived here long’, which did not exclude non-Samogitians, although required them to have settled there a long time ago.¹⁰ Still, we can conjecture that this co-existence brought about closer personal contacts between citizens of Livonia and Lithuania, including first mixed marriages and financial contracts (purchase/sale, lease, pledge). The period of Livonian wars definitely did not contribute to the development of such contacts, although, on the other hand, it sometimes forced the people of Livonia to run from Moscovian hordes behind the Daugava river – to Courland, Semigallia and Lithuania. As of now, however, we do not have much specific information on this topic, apart from some individual cases. Thus, already in 1566, Sigismund Augustus bestowed 15 populated and 5 empty voloks of land upon his ‘servant’ Razmus Szylink (Schilling) to use for farming in the

⁸ F. Piekosiński (ed.), *Pomniki prawa litewskiego z XVI wieku*, in: *Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej*, vol. 7, Kraków 1900, p. 48; P. Dąbkowski, *Stanowisko cudzoziemców w prawie litewskim w drugiej połowie XV i w XVI wieku (1447–1588)*, Lwów 1912 (*Studia nad historią prawa polskiego*, vol. 5 (2)); K. Avišonis, *Rinktiniai raštai*, vol. 1, Roma 1975; M. Jučas, *LDK – lietuviams, arba bajorų pastangos XVI–XVIII a. neleisti svetimšaliams įsigyti Lietuvoje žemių*, „Kultūros barai” 1998, vol. 12, pp. 84–86.

⁹ *Statut Wialikaga kniastwa Litouskaga 1588. Téksty. Dawiednik. Kamientaryi*, eds I. P. Szamiakin et al., Minsk 1989, pp. 118–119 (chapter 3, articles 12, 21).

¹⁰ R. R. Trimonienė, *Ewangeliccy przybysze z Polski*, p. 102.

estate of Vilkija. Most likely, the bestowal included also the farming vil-
lage of Gučzkumpis, later known as Gučzkompie (Gučkampis).¹¹ In 1568,
Aleksander von Korff (died in 1591) became the administrator of the estate
of Gruście (Grūstė), which at that time belonged to Jan Hieronimowicz
Chodkiewicz – the Grand Marshal of Lithuania, the Starost of Samogitia,
the Administrator and the Hetman of Livonia; the position was later (in
1575) taken up by Bartosz von Korff.¹² Most likely, it was already during
that period that this branch of the well-known Livonian family acquired
some land in Samogitia. In 1577, Jan von Taube with his wife Gertruda née
“Kirtman” purchased an unspecified estate in Samogitia. After his escape
from Moscovian captivity in 1571, he was granted the enormous starostwo
(a low-level administration unit in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth)
of Telsze (Telšiai) by Sigismund Augustus, and one year later – he received
the title of Baron.¹³ Already in 1590, the starostwo was in the possession
of his son Wilhelm, who in 1596 accepted a pledge of 6 voloks of the
Tiszkowszczyzna land located in the estate of Telsze. Two years later, Wil-
helm Friedrich von Taube, the lord of Durben in the Duchy of Courland,
pledged 2 villages in the estate of Telsze: Sestawczy and Kałnele (Kalnalis);
in 1598, he purchased the land of Greżołowki (later Greże/Griežė) in the
estate of Telsze.¹⁴ The land books of Samogitia from the years 1575–1600
do not record many financial transactions involving Livonians, which does
not mean that there were none.¹⁵ The truce of Yam-Zapolsky of 15 January
1582 restored the common Polish-Lithuanian (the Commonwealth’s) rule
over Livonia in what should factually be considered extended borders; this
period of tumult resulted in a wave of migration of Livonians to the Grand
Duchy of Lithuania, including Samogitia. Perhaps the most spectacular
example concerns the Wedyk family, of which one named Klaus moved to
the district of Braslaw and was nominated by the king for the high land
office of Captain (Pl. *wojski*) for that district. The local nobility, however,

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 107; G. Błaszczuk, *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej*, vol. 3, p. 208.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Ibidem, vol. 4.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ *Opis dokumentow Wilenskago Centralnago Archiwa driewnich aktowych knig*,
vol. 1–5, Wilno 1901–1907.

considered this gross abuse and did not let Wedyk assume the office, so ultimately he had to resign. Nevertheless, the whole family started to use the Polonized form of the name – Wedykowski – and remained in the district of Braslaw.¹⁶ This example draws our attention to the fact that Livonian Germans started to Polonize their surnames early on, which poses yet another problem in their identification in the source materials. Our data are largely based on the form of surnames in the existing registers. We compare those of German origin with the registers of the Livonian-Courlander nobility. However, if a name was changed (Polonised) and we are not aware of that, we cannot correctly identify the individual. Now, in the 17th century, the Gerstenzweig family used the name Jęczmieński,¹⁷ the Giec family are in fact von Guetsche,¹⁸ the wife of Jerzy Giec was Anna Dalińska – or von Dahlen,¹⁹ and Gotard Niżyński was named a Livonian in 1631,²⁰ but we do not know his German surname. Most likely, in the same period when Wedyk settled down in the land of Braslaw, the Druw (von Druwe, Druf) and Dymler (Duemler) families arrived in Samogitia, but they never altered their names significantly. So, the ancestor of the Druws – Jodok Druwon – was a Courlander ‘knight’, who in 1586, by virtue of the feudal law, received the estate of Schibarte from King Stephen Báthory. The

¹⁶ Nacyjanalny gistoryczny archiu Bielarusi w Mińsku (hereinafter: NGABM), collection 1747, inv. 1, no. 1, sheets 55–56; cf. A. Rachuba (prepared), *Rejestry popisowe pospolitego ruszenia szlachty Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego z 1621 r.*, Warszawa 2015, p. 30; A. Rachuba (ed.), *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 1, *Województwo wileńskie XIV–XVIII wiek* prepared by H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, P. Romaniuk with the help of U. Jemielińczyk and A. Macuk, Warszawa 2004, no. 4748.

¹⁷ The family descended from the famous Antoni Gerstenzweig, the head of the arsenal in Tartu in 1589 (Rossijskij Gosudarstwiennyj archiw driewnich aktow w Moskwie – hereinafter: RGADA – collection – hereinafter: collection. – 389, no. 80, sheet 16v), who in 1613 received the estates of Kawer, Krist, Foer and Lovin (in Tartu pallatinate). His son was Tomasz, who was father to the rotmistrz [head of ‘rota’, a cavalry or infantry unit of varied size] Ezajasz Jęczmieński (ibidem, no. 124, sheets 136–137).

¹⁸ AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów (hereinafter: AR), department XXIII, vol. 49, file 15.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie (hereinafter: Jag.), manuscript 906, pp. 272–274.

estate was located right on the border between Lithuania and Courland.²¹ In 1613, Otto Druw purchased the villages called Rymkuny, Bubile and Drawdzole (or Drowidzile) from Jan Michniewicz and his wife Zofia née Narbut.²² The Druw family assimilated quickly, marrying members of the local nobility; whereas the said Otto married Adelheida Schelking, their first son Aleksander married already Elżbieta Kęszortówna [née Kęszort] (and later Zofia Eygirdówna [née Eygird]), their second son Jerzy – her sister Helena, and their daughter Anna Dorota – Gedeon Białkowski.²³ The aforesaid Jerzy became the Guardian (Pl. *strażnik*) of Samogitia²⁴ in 1656, and the family functioned seamlessly within the nobility.

The Dymler family appeared in Samogitia quite early, because already in 1597, Jan Dymbler [sic!] accepted the pledge of 3 villages located in the Telsze estate: Kurmajcze, Konradze and Kudze, and in 1598, of two more: Sestawcze and Kałnele along with with the subjects of the Kietuny manor in Gawry in the Telsze estate.²⁵ Finally, in 1601, Engelbracht Klodt von Heidenfeld settled down in Samogitia, where he received the estate of Mi-cajcie.²⁶ Let us note that this Livonian-Courlander avant-garde of settlers were minor knights, who most likely found it hard to make a living in their motherland, which prompted them to migrate to the neighbouring land of Samogitia. The history of Livonia and Courland were very different and so were their legal statuses. Livonia was incorporated in the Commonwealth; Courland was its fiefdom, but the district of Piltene located within its borders was also incorporated into the Commonwealth as an autonomous unit under the auspices of the king represented by the leaseholders

²¹ G. Błaszczuk, *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej*, vol. 1, p. 585.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Lietuvos valstybes istorijos archyvas (hereinafter: LVIA), Senieji Aktai (hereinafter: SA): 14664, sheets 36–37v, 49v; 15198, sheets 257–259; Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (hereinafter: VUB): collection no. 7: Upytes žemes teismo knyga 1633–34, sheet 784; Žemaičiu žemes teismo knyga 1640–1649, sheets 734–735v; collection no. 8, no. 4203, sheet 301v, regestr.

²⁴ A. Rachuba (ed.), H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, P. P. Romaniuk, A. Haratym (prepared), *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, vol. 3: *Księstwo Żmudzkie XV–XVIII wiek*, Warszawa 2015, no. 1305.

²⁵ G. Błaszczuk, *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej*, vol. 1, p. 600.

²⁶ Ibidem, vol. 3, p. 132.

of the Crown's land.²⁷ Still, in my present argument, I shall treat the nobility of Piltene, small in numbers as they were, along with the nobility of Courland-Semigallia (under the term 'Courlanders'). Even though the statuses of Livonia and Courland were different, for a longer period of time, the nobility from the two lands were perceived similarly in the Commonwealth. As already indicated, the German-speaking nobility and nobility of German descent from these areas were considered foreigners in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, therefore formally they were not allowed to purchase estates and hold offices. The situation of Livonians changed only in 1607, when the sejm (aiming to encourage them to remain loyal), formally equated their rights with those of the nobility of the Commonwealth (so-called Polish nobility) and in the face of the major part of Livonia being captured by Sweden, agreed to granting them estates in the Commonwealth. Courlanders were consistently treated as foreigners, however. It was (and still is) a problem to decide who was a Courlander, because families with the same names lived on both sides of the Daugava. Citing the Ritterbank of Mitawa (Jelgava) does not solve the problem either, because – as noticed by scholars a long time ago – many important families who lived in Courland or held estates there never registered in the Ritterbank and their legal status was not

²⁷ The Piltene district was an object of comprehensive studies carried out by B. Dybaś (*Powiat piltyński w XVII w. – jego geneza i status w Rzeczypospolitej*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 2003, vol. 55 (1), pp. 201–215; *Problemy integracji terytoriów inflanckich z Rzeczpospolitą w drugiej połowie XVII wieku. Przypadek piltyński*, in: B. Dybaś, D. Makiła (eds), *Prusy i Inflanty między średniowieczem a nowożytnością. Państwo-społeczeństwo-kultura. Zbiór studiów*, Toruń 2003, pp. 169–180; *Na obrzeżach Rzeczypospolitej. Sejmik piltyński w latach 1617–1717 (z dziejów instytucji stanowej)*, Toruń 2004; *Wokół przywilejów piltyńskich. Przyczynek do pozycji szlachty inflanckiej w Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Społeczeństwo staropolskie. Seria nowa*, vol. I: *Społeczeństwo a polityka*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 115–132; *Dominium piltyńskie czy powiat piltyński? Przyczynek do polityki konfesyjnej państwa polsko-litewskiego w Inflantach w XVII wieku*, in: *Studia z dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (XVI–XVIII wieku)*, eds S. Górczyński, M. Nagielski, Warszawa 2014, pp. 131–146; *Wasale, baronowie, panowie bracia. Szlachta inflancka, kurlandzka i piltyńska wobec Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII w.*, in: *My i oni. Społeczeństwo nowożytnej Rzeczypospolitej wobec państwa*, ed. W. Kriegseisen, Warszawa 2016, pp. 99–129.

questioned.²⁸ The Polish-Lithuanian nobility tried to remain vigilant in this respect, differentiating between Courlanders and Livonians (which, in fact, was not always possible) and to make sure that the former did not pose as the latter, who were already enjoying a collective ‘indygenat’ (naturalisation) in the Commonwealth. So, for example, when in 1646, Władysław IV granted his favourite Gotard Wilhelm Buttler the starostwo of Preny in Lithuania, the nobility protested during that year’s sejm, pointing out that as a Courlander he was not covered by the Livonian naturalisation.²⁹ The king, however, did not give up; in fact, both his father and he himself had already bestowed land in the Smoleńsk estate upon distinguished Courlander knights, for example Henryk von Ramm³⁰ (of an old Livonian family, not included in the Courland’s Ritterbank, though!), Jan and Filip von Buchholz,³¹ Otto von Mengden,³² Werner von Engelhardt,³³ Krzysztof von Rutenberg³⁴ or Arendt together with his sons Fryderyk, Włodzimierz (Wolmer) and Aleksander von Mohl,³⁵ etc. Furthermore, Courlanders were active in the public life of Livonia, as recorded by Bartosz Ważyński in an account of the session of the Livonian sejmik in Riga on 13 January 1615: “few of them came – several Germans and a dozen or so Courlanders”.³⁶ During the election sejm of 1648, representatives of the Courlander states filed a petition requesting that their naturalisation be no longer questioned or considered invalid in the Commonwealth, however they obtained no

²⁸ A. W. Hupel, *Statistisch-Topographische Nachrichten von den Herzogthuemern Kurland und Semgalln*, Riga 1785; idem, *Materialen zu einer liefländischen Adelsgeschichte*, Riga 1788; E. v. Fircks, *Die Ritterbanken in Kurland*, pp. 1–109.

²⁹ A. S. Radziwiłł, *Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia 1632–1656*, vol. 3: 1640–1647, Wrocław 1972, p. 261 (in the Polish translation – vol. 2, p. 509 – the situation has been reversed, which does not make sense at all!).

³⁰ Jag., manuscript 906, p. 284.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 286–287, 295–296.

³² RGADA, collection no. 389, no. 108, sheets 53–54.

³³ Ibidem, sheets 55–55v.

³⁴ Ibidem, sheets 101–101v.

³⁵ Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs w Rydze (hereinafter: LVVA), collection no. 712, inv. 1, no. 110, sheets 176–176v.

³⁶ Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (hereinafter: LMAB), collection no. 139, no. 652.

answer.³⁷ It is known that in 1649, the field hetman Janusz Radziwiłł made a promise to Courlander officers that during the sejm he would support the postulate of Prince Jakub Kettler to extend the Commonwealth's nobility rights to the nobility of fiefdoms, but this was never completed.³⁸ Nevertheless, in practice the Courlander nobility had no problems crossing the border with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, purchasing, leasing or accepting pledges of smaller or bigger estates, either using cash or offering service to magnates and the Commonwealth as soldiers (usually, officers).³⁹ Occasionally, they faced opposition from Lithuanians when they tried to assume offices of central (the post of Artillery General for Wahl) or district rank, starostwos, attractive administration of magnates' manors, high and well-paid officer ranks.⁴⁰ A detailed investigation of the scale, territorial range, intensity and methods of acquiring land in the Grand Duchy by Courlanders and Livonians still remains to be conducted. There are, however, some observations which make it possible to draw generalised conclusions. In my opinion, this is important, because this community – small in numbers as it was – after settlement in the Grand Duchy, was subjected to the processes of Polonization (in respect of culture) and Lithuanization (in respect of state affiliation). This allowed one of its distinguished representatives, Gustaw Manteuffel, to formulate the conclusion: “this part [of Livonia] which [the Commonwealth] kept after the peace of Oliwa was more fit to integrate with the organism of the Commonwealth than Pomerania or Western Prussia, which it did. The process of unification and gradual assimilation does not even show as much resistance as that put up against the Polish influences by the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility

³⁷ A. S. Radziwiłł, *Memoriale rerum*, vol. 4, p. 70.

³⁸ A. Rachuba, *Oficerowie cudzoziemskiego autoramentu w armii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach 1648–1667*, in: *Od armii komputowej do narodowej (XVI–XX w.)*, eds Z. Karpus, W. Rezmer, Toruń 1998, p. 60.

³⁹ A. Rachuba, *Udział „Inflantczyków” i oficerów cudzoziemskiego pochodzenia w życiu publicznym Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach 1569–1732*, in: *Rzeczpospolita państwem wielu narodowości i wyznań. XVI–XVIII wiek*, eds T. Ciesielski, A. Filipczak-Kocur, Warszawa–Opole 2008, pp. 431–442.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 433, 435.

prior to the union of Lublin or such tumult and dilemmas as were breaking out every now and then in Gdańsk and other Prussian towns".⁴¹

What is more, many of these Livionians played a very important role in the political, economic and cultural life of their new homeland. Such family names as Borch, Buchholz, Buttler, Denhoff, Freytag, Grotthus, Hahn, Hylzen, Korff, Lansberg, Manteuffel-Schoege, Osten-Sacken, Plater, Puttkamer, Roemer, Rottermund, Rummel, Wolff, Zyberk, etc. went down in the history of Lithuania and Commonwealth thanks to positive and significant activities carried out by their members on various fields. Unfortunately, for various reasons – rather independent of them – they did not become the catalyst or *spiritus movens* of changes on a scale comparable to the 18th century Russia, which took advantage of the competences of Baltic Germans, among others, to build its military power. The basis of my research are registers of common levies and household taxes from the years 1567, 1621, 1667, 1690 and 1765. Unfortunately, they are fallible sources with well-known shortages and they can reflect the population of the country only to a certain extent, but – apart from very fragmented registers of personal taxes (Pl. *pogłównie*) from 1676, 1784 and 1792 – we do not have others to work with. Chronologically, the first source to mention the influx of Livonians and Courlanders to Samogitia is the census of nobility obliged to provide land defence in 1567, which was attended by 2887 soldiers. It appears that among those obliged to provide defence by virtue of owning land, there were no Livonians yet; the only foreign-sounding names were Hanskopowicz (in the edition in the erroneous form: ГАИСЬ СКОП)⁴² and Jakub Zinkgiel.⁴³ However, the former was a well-known member of a bourgeois family from Königsberg (descendants of the royal agent Hans Kopf). The pedigree of the latter soldier is problematic. It is not impossible that the proper form of his surname was Singiel, which

⁴¹ G. Manteuffel, *Nieco z dziejów dawnego księstwa inflanckiego i wybitniejszych postaci tego województwa od XVII do XIX st.*, in: *Z okolic Dźwiny. Księga zbiorowa na dochód czytelnicy polskiej w Witebsku*, Witebsk 1912, p. 2.

⁴² *Russkaja istoriczeskaja biblioteka*, vol. 33: *Litowska kaja metrika, otdiel pierwuj, Czast' trietja: Knigi Publicznych Dieł. Pieriepisy wojska Litowskago*, Pietrogard 1915, column no. 1257.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, column no. 1332.

can indicate German origin. Nevertheless, he certainly was not a Livonian. In the subsequent years, the situation changed slightly, as evidenced by the Samogitian common levy census of 1621. The census was attended by nearly 1400 noblemen, a vast majority of whom did not use surnames yet. In this group, there were 4 Livonians: Dawid Rajmer, who presented 3 hussars (he himself was absent due to illness),⁴⁴ which suggests considerable wealth; Aswerus Dymler, who presented 1 hussar from Gawry – the estate of his wife, Katarzyna Orwidówna – and from Grzeże, the estate of his father Jan,⁴⁵ Jan Ulryk Szweryn (Schwerin), who presented 5 hussars and 2 cossack riders,⁴⁶ and finally Jerzy Renne (Renno), who – himself ill – presented 1 reiter and 2 cossack riders.⁴⁷ This suggests that all the Livonians were rich people, but their number in Samogitia was small, even if we accept that some failed to show up for the registration because the war waged at that time in Livonia against Swedes involved them in another place.⁴⁸ The register of the Samogitian household tax of 1667⁴⁹ records many more Courlanders and Livonians as estate owners, lessees or pledgees. Most likely, there were as many as 48, including 3 representatives of each of the families: Butler, Korrf and Sacken families, 2 representatives of each of the families: Druw, Dymler, Hewel, Plater, Reymer, Solderbach and Vietinghoff.⁵⁰ Apart from one pastor family (the Rejmers should not be confused

⁴⁴ *Rejstry popisowe pospolitego*, p. 101.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

⁴⁸ H. Wisner, *Wojna polsko-szwedzka w Inflantach 1621–1622*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 1991, vol. 56 (4), pp. 45–69.

⁴⁹ LVIA, SA 3234.

⁵⁰ Eberhard Fryderyk von der Alten gen. Bockum (Altenbockum); Krystyna Mokrzecka, wife of Wilhelm Berg (von Berg, Berkowa); Małgorzata von Thorhack, wife of Wilhelm Jan von Bolschwing Bolswing); [Unknown] wife of Borch *vel* Bergowa; Elżbieta Zofia née von Ropp, wife of Gotthard von Buddenbrock; Fryderyk Buttlar (Butler); Andrzej and his father Eudzich (Eberhard?) Buttlar (Butler); Salomon Butmann with his son Hieronim; Gerhard Doenhoff, the Steward (Pl. *podstoli*) of Lithuania, the Leaseholder of the Crown's land of Telsze; Aleksander Druw (Druwe); Jerzy Druw (Druwe), the Guardian of Samogitia; Jerzy von Düsterlohe; the Dymler (von Duemler) family; Jan Dymler (von Duemler); Jan Karol Dymler (von Duemler); Herbert von

with the Roemers), the majority of them were well-known, mainly thanks to their service in the Lithuanian army, and already held some land offices in Samogitia (the Druws), Livonia, Courland or even Lithuania (Gerhard Doenhoff). Admittedly, many of these estate were held by virtue of a pledge or lease (27, some of them also from Livonians), but as many as 28 were already truly owned by them. Of course, they acquired some of them thanks to marriages with Samogitian women,⁵¹ but the majority were probably purchased, sometimes for large sums of money.⁵² Nevertheless, the register of 1667 did not record all of the local estate owners, including Livonians and Courlanders. For example, we know that in this year the large

Elmendorff; Wilhelm Gadon (von Gaden); Otto Wilhelm von Grothaus; Jerzy von Hahn, HRM Lieutenant Colonel (Pl. *oberszterlejtnant*); Andrzej von Hoeweln (Hewel); Melchior Aleksander von Hoeweln (Hewel), the Standard-Bearer (Pl. *chorąży*) of Parnawa; Walentyn Kessler (Kiesler), HRM Rotmistrz [*'rota'* was a unit of cavalry or infantry of varied size]; Krystian von Korff; Mikołaj von Korff; Wilhelm von Korff (wife – Maria née Borch); Ernest von Nolde; Krzysztof Paszkow (Paskaw, Paskau); Andrzej Wilhelm Plater; Daniel Gotard Plater; Bogusław Reymer (in the place of his father Jerzy, preacher); Elżbieta née Żukowski, wife of Jerzy Reymer; Jerzy von Roenne (Ren); Dionizy von Sacken; Jan von Sacken; Jerzy von Sacken; Jan Solderbach (Zolderbach), HRM Lieutenant Colonel; Krzysztof Solderbach (Zolderbach); [Unknown] von Stromberg (Sztrumperk); Krystian von Stromberg (Sztrumperk); Jerzy Jakub Schweryn (von Schwerin), the Deputy Chamberlain (Pl. *podkomorzy*) of Tartu, HRM ourtier and valet; Włodzimierz (Wolmar) von Taube; Barbara née Erner, wife of Karol von Thorhack; Wilhelm Teodor von Tranckwitz (Drankwic); Teodor Tyzenhaus; Mikołaj Jerzy von Vietinghoff (Fitinghof), HRM Rotmistrz; Otto von Vietinghoff (Fitinghof); Eleonora née Woyniłłowicz, wife of Mikołaj von Zarenden (Żarden), HRM Lieutenant Colonel.

⁵¹ So, apart from the aforementioned Mokrzecka and Woyniłłowicz, wife of Eberhard Altenbockum was Elżbieta Szemiotówna [née Szemiot], Aleksander Druw married Zofia Eygirdówna [née Eygird], Gadon married Barbara Stankiewiczówna [née Stankiewicz], Malcher Hewel married Justyna Kulmińska, Mikołaj Korff married Katarzyna Billewiczówna [née Billewicz], Jerzy Rejmer married Elżbieta Żukowska, Otto Vietinghoff married Elżbieta Bittowtówna [née Bittow], etc.

⁵² For example, on 29 September 1653, the livestock of Poszuszwie *alias* Borkiszki Masiuniszki with 3 agricultural enterprises (Pl. *folwark*) (District of Jaśwojnie) sold by brothers Elias and Samuel Przystanowski to Otto Fitinghof (Vietinghoff), HRM colonel for 88 thousand Polish zlotys (LVIA, SA 14680, sheets 755–760v, 761v–766).

wójtostwo (Lat. *advocatia*) of Tuginy (22 households) was owned by General Ernest Jan Korff,⁵³ but the census shows no record of this fact.

In 1690, the situation changed only slightly; the census listed merely 41 Livonians and Courlanders,⁵⁴ however their position in Samogitia was definitely stronger. Not only thanks to the possession of many estates on the basis of the land law (32 persons), but also because a majority of them already held central and district offices, not only in Livonia (14 persons). Furthermore, there were professional soldiers among them, which was a typical feature of the Lithuanian military model of that period.⁵⁵ In terms of the number of representatives, the Druw and Grothus families ranked first (3 representatives from each), followed by the Hahn, Klodt, Reymer, Sacken and Vietinghoff families (2 representatives from each).

The census of the Samogitian common levy of 1765,⁵⁶ which was attended by 3965 persons, gave the names of only 37 Livonians and Courland-

⁵³ VUB, collection no. 7, Trakų pilies teismo knyga 1662–90, sheet 624v.

⁵⁴ G. Błaszczuk (prep.), *Metryka Litewska. Rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Księstwo Żmudzkie 1690 r.*, Warszawa 2009; they were Władysław Franciszek Berg (Berk), the Castellan of Livonia; Krzysztof Ewald Bistram (Bystram); Fryderyk Butler; Ernest Denhof, the son of the Steward of Lithuania; Baltazar Druw; Jan Druw; Jerzy Druw, the Guardian of Samogitia; Herbert Elmendorff (Helmondors); Jerzy Firks, HRM Colonel; Wilhelm Gadon, the Treasurer of Brześć; Jan Giec, the Steward of Rzeczyca; Jan Goss, the Pantler of Livonia; Stefan Karol Grothus (Grotuz), the son of the Castellan of Samogitia; Wilhelm Eustachy Grothus (Grotuz), the Castellan of Samogitia; Wolter Hilbrand Grothus (Grotuz), the Pantler of Olsza; Ernest Hahn; Jerzy Hahn, the Captain of Livonia; Bogusław Hewel (Hoeweln), the Steward of Vitebsk, Olszer, Jan Olbrycht Klodt, the Pantler of Brasław; Jerzy Klodt, HRM Captain, Aleksander Wilhelm Korff, the Carver (Pl. *krajczy*) of Samogitia; Gerhard Friedrich Koskull (Koszkuel), HRM Colonel; Andrzej Merterbuch; Fryderyk Jan von Maydell, the Leaseholder of the Crown's land of Piltene and HRM Colonel; Andrzej Wilhelm Plater, the Horodniczy [honorary title derived from the function of urban administrator] of Lithuania; Andrzej Reymer; Bogusław Reymer; Ernest Roenne (Renno); Dionizy von Sacken; Edward Szudzyn? (Sacken?); Wilhelm Jan Solderbach, HRM Major; Krzysztof Stromberg; Jan Szmil; a woman married to someone from the Szweryn family, unknown by her first name; Michał Szumann; Gotard Szylling; Włodzimierz Taube (Towba); Konrad von Thorhack (Torak, Torhak); Otto Vietinghoff, the Steward of Livonia; Luiza née Berch, wife of Mikołaj Jerzy Vietinghoff.

⁵⁵ A. Rachuba, *Oficerowie cudzoziemskiego autoramentu*, pp. 57–71.

⁵⁶ The Samogitian census of 30 September 1765 (LVIA, SA 14562, sheets 446–468).

ers, although there are also several foreign-sounding names which cannot unequivocally be categorised as representatives of the two nations. In terms of numbers, the most numerous were the Butlers (3 representatives),⁵⁷ followed by the families: Torak (von Thorack),⁵⁸ Renn,⁵⁹ Szkultyn (von Schulte),⁶⁰ Puttkamer,⁶¹ Szwarcoch (Schwarzhoff),⁶² and Arens⁶³ (2 representatives from each). There were also single representatives of the families: Grotthuz, Bockum von Alten, Roemer, Schilling, Korff, Ganzhoff, Klodt, Druw, Medem, Moeller, Rozen, Wiegandt, Brueggen, Wichert, Plater, Gadon, Mirbach, Nold, Haudryng, Bystram, Wedberg and Budda (von Budde). It is clearly visible in comparison with 1690 that many families recorded back then no longer had representatives in 1765. These families either died out (for example, the Bergs of Carmel, the Doenhoffs) or disposed of their estates in Samogitia for various reasons. However, new ones arrived in their place, so the aggregate number remained similar. In general, it is easy to notice that Samogitia – which lies in the closest vicinity of Courland – was quite naturally and eagerly used by the Courlander nobility for the investment of funds by means of purchasing, leasing or accepting pledges of local estates. Now, if we recall that in the Commonwealth, Courlander nobility were treated as foreigners and had to apply for naturalisation, the fact that they frequently purchased land in the Grand Duchy suggests that the law was not obeyed very strictly. Theoretically, the nobility of Livonia enjoyed a different legal situation, but most likely in the 18th century no one distinguished them from Courlanders. As far as the number of migrant Livonian-Courlander nobility is concerned, there was only one Lithuanian region to compete with Samogitia, namely, the Upytė district in the pallatinate of Troki (Pl. *województwo*, often anglicized as

⁵⁷ They were Hieronim, the Standard-Bearer of Wielkie Dyrwiany [Dirvonėnai], Antoni and a widow of another one, unknown by the first name.

⁵⁸ Mateusz in the district of Ejragoła [Ariogala] and an unknown owner of Judkajci.

⁵⁹ Colonel of the Wielona [Veliuona] district from Światoszyn [Paežerėliai] and a widow of another colonel from Renowo.

⁶⁰ Henryk, Colonel of the Lauda tract, and Bazyli, HRM Standard-Bearer.

⁶¹ Jacek and the owner of Łuby (written: Wawrzyniec).

⁶² The owners of Szarki and Iwaniszki.

⁶³ Ignacy, the Leaseholder of the Crown's land of Ruki and the owner of Gawry.

‘voivodeship’), which also neighboured Courland – along a shorter border, though. In comparison with Samogitia, the Upytė district was very small, inhabited mainly by minor nobility, which definitely played a role in in the purchasing of lands in this region by its northern neighbours. Unfortunately, we are not able to recreate the process of their immigration, but we can state their number in 1690. The census from that year offers what can be considered the fullest list of landowners,⁶⁴ with as many as 65 Livonians and Courlanders from 41 families. Estates (most often, small ones!) were owned by 5 persons from the Grotthus family, 4 persons from the Schult (Szkultyn) family; 3 persons from each of the families – Bystram and Szylling, as well as 2 persons from each of the families – Berk, Blomberg, Brunnow, Dewen, Druw, Ganzkau, Meier, Mirbach, Roemer, Szreders and Tyzenhauz. Many Livonian-Courlander families which are either scarcely encountered in other districts of the Grand Duchy or not encountered at all are represented here, for example the Wiegandts, Wechmans, Otts, Mirbachs, Medems, Koenigs, Jęczmieński *vel* Gerstenzweigs, Hoyne gen. Huehnes, Grewinghoffs, Poghs, etc.⁶⁵ It appears that the district of Upytė

⁶⁴ H. Lulewicz (prep.), *Metryka Litewska. Rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo trockie 1690 r.*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 16, 18.

⁶⁵ Jan Bekler; Ernest Berk (von Bercken?, von Berg?); Samuel Krzysztof Berk (von Berg), the Cup-Bearer (Pl. *częśnik*) and Borough Judge of Upytė; Władysław Franciszek of Karmel Berg, the Castellan of Livonia; Jan Blumberk (von Blomberg), HRM Lieutenant; Mikołaj Blumberk (von Blomberg), HRM Captain; Elżbieta Plater, wife of Gedeon Aleksander von der Borch, Land Judge of Livonia; Adolf Brunof (von Brunnow); Krzysztof Brunof (von Brunnow); Bartłomiej Fryderyk [von] Brygin; Wilhelm Fryderyk Bucholc (von Buchholz), the Pantler of Livonia; Gotthard Budembroch (von Buddenbrock); Aleksander Bystram; Jan Bystram; Jan Ewald Bystram, the Cup-Bearer of Livonia; Fryderych Frachfelt (von Drachenfels); Aleksander Druw; Krzysztof Druw; Małgorzata Barbara Schwarzhoffówna [née Schwarzhoff], wife of Ewald Franck von Pfeilitzer, the Landmaster of Courland; Ganskof (von Ganzkau, Gantzkow); Hermann Ganskof (von Ganzkau, Gantzkow); Jan Greninghoff (von Grewinghoff); Jan Rejnhold Grotuz (von Grotthuss), the Deputy Cup-Bearer (Pl. *podczaszy*) of Livonia; Otto Jan Grotuz (von Grotthuss); Maria Elżbieta née Grotuz, wife of Grotuz (von Grotthuss), the Pantler of Minsk; Ul[d]rych Grotuz (von Grotthuss), HRM Lieutenant; Wilhelm Eustachy Grotuz (von Grotthuss), the Castellan of Samogitia, Andrzej Jan Han (von Hahn), the Steward (Pl. *podstoli*) of Livonia; Konstancja Łukiańska, wife of Otmer Heykin (von Heykingk); Jerzy Hyn (von Hoyne [Hoyngen] gen. Huehne [Hühn]); Bogusław

was unlike any other in Lithuania; it was an unparalleled phenomenon. Turning back to Samogitia, it must be stressed that the number of Livonians and Courlanders, even though clearly visible in both registers (1667 and 1765), never impacted the general composition of its society. As a tiny fraction of the Duchy's nobility, they did not count for much on the global scale. Be that as it may, these censuses surely did not reflect the real presence of Livonians and Courlanders in this area. Putting aside the problem of the completeness of the household tax and common levy censuses (undoubtedly, both groups were not fully represented in them), there is another reason why their true number in Samogitia has not been recorded. These registers include owners of estates as well as their lessees and pledgees, but not their administrators. We know that many magnates who owned large estate complexes in Samogitia (for example the Chodkiewicz, Radziwiłł, Sapieha families) eagerly employed Livonians and Courlanders in this capacity; the latter brought their fellowmen (relatives, especially) as help. This was also true of larger nobility estates, however the phenomenon is traceable only for large estates – of magnates or bishops, of starostwos and the royal estate

Jaspers; Eliaz Jęczmieński (von Gerstenzweig) with his brothers; Jerzy and Aleksander Kienik (von Koenig); Jan Lansberch (von Landsberg); Jerzy Lansberch (von Landsberg); Rajnhold Liw (von Lieven), the Chamberlain of Gulbin; Frydrych Liw (von Lieven); Mikołaj [Manteuffel] Sey, HRM Lieutenant, the Pantler of Minsk; Jan Medun (von Medem); Jan Meier of Wolda, the Sword-Bearer (Pl. *miecznik*) of Mozyrz; Krzysztof Meier, HRM Major; Herbert Merbach (von Mirbach, Mehrbach); Jan Ewald Merbach (von Mirbach, Mehrbach), HRM Major; Aleksander Otta Hasenkampf; Jan Andrzej Plater, the Mayor (Pl. *starosta*) of Dyneburg; Andrzej Pogh (Pok) with his brothers, inheriting from [heritors of] Paweł Pok; Jan Butkamer (von Puttkamer); Andrzej Remer (von Roemer), HRM Colonel Lieutenant; Stefan Remer (von Roemer), HRM Major; Jerzy Krzysztof Rozen (von Rosen), HRM Captain; Wolter Teodor Szkultyn (von Schulte), HRM Captain; Ernest Szkultyn (von Schulte); Ludwik Szkultyn (von Schulte); Mikołaj Szkultyn (von Schulte); Magnus Frydrych Szlipenbach (von Schlippenbach); Jerzy Szrzeders (von Szreders), HRM Captain; Otto Szrederz (von Szreders); Katarzyna, née Drehling, wife of Mikołaj Sztrumberg (von Stromberg), the Deputy Mayor (Pl. *podstarości*) of Ukmergė; Aleksander Jan Szyling (von Schilling); Ludwik Szyling (von Schilling); Mikołaj Szyling (von Schilling); Adolf Treydan (von Trotta gen. Treyden); Krzysztof Treydan (von Trotta gen. Treyden); Jan Tyzenhauz (von Tiesenhausen); Kacper Jan Tyzenhauz (von Tiesenhausen); Krzysztof Wechman, HRM Captain; Krzysztof Wigant (von Hohenastenberg gen. Wiegandt); Ernest Witau (von Witten).

of Szawle (Šiauliai).⁶⁶ What was the reason for employing ‘foreigners’? This I cannot tell. The phenomenon is all the more so interesting, because there were mainly Lutherans and Calvinists chosen for this function. Likely, they were considered more diligent, better organised, more reliable, more honest and more convenient due to their ‘alienation’.

We should also pay attention to the frequent rotation of Livonian-Courlander families among the landowners of Samogitia, which cannot be accounted for by dying out only, but also likely by smaller attachment to the land and treating employment as short-term opportunity to earn money and return home. Obviously, this applied to Courlanders in the first place. Families of Livonian emigrants formed lasting connections to their new homeland. Let us examine some examples of this process in Samogitia. One way to measure the permanence of settlement was the ‘acquisition’ of citizenship, i.e. becoming socially accepted, which opened the way to participation in the public life of this land and its offices. Let us begin by looking at the offices. The very small number of Livonians (and even fewer Courlanders, if they can be distinguished at all) holding Samogitian offices indicates that only a few families wanted to assimilate with the local society. This was the case with the Druw, Gadon, Grotthus, Korff, Klodt and Puttkamer families. One factor were definitely their marriages with noblewomen from influential local families (Billewicz, Gružewski, Szukszta, Iwanowicz, Chrzastowski). Other examples of Livonians and Courlanders holding Samogitian offices were scarce. In total, we have been able to record only 33 persons holding Samogitian offices; the most successful individual was Eustachy Wilhelm Grotthus, who achieved the position of Castellan of Samogitia (1685–1710), while the majority became active only during the reign of Stanisław Augustus. The first Samogitian office was bestowed upon a ‘foreigner’ as late as in 1644, when Jan Fryderyk Denhoff became the Tivunus (Pl. *ciwun*) of Berżany (Berżenai). Four years

⁶⁶ E.g. in 1690, the lessee of the royal estates of Giegrany [Gegrenai], Skrodze and Vilnius was Gerhard Roenne with his wife Marta von Blomberg, not listed in the census (VUB, collection no. 59, no. 2 i 16); Werner von Behr leased Kretynga [Kretinga] from Aleksander Sapieha, the Grand Lithuanian Marshal in 1720 (LVIA, SA 14506, sheet 752); in 1722, Gedeon Kliczner (von Kluechtzner) administered Kukuciszki [Kuktiškės] for Maciej Józef Ancuta, the Suffragan Bishop of Vilnius (LVIA, SA 4738, sheet 118).

later, he transferred this office (mainly, the large estate – consisting of 261 households⁶⁷ – being the *tivunus*'s emoluments) to Fryderyk Jan Wolff von Luedinghausen. Roughly at the same time, another Wolff – Ferdynand – received the position of the *Tivunus* of Biržyniany (Biržuvėnai), which was subsequently entrusted to Jan von Toedtwen. Putting aside these specific bestowals (all of which concerned military officers, favourites of John Casimir Vasa), the first true Samogitian official of Livonian origin was Otto Tyzenhauz, who in 1651 received the high position of Captain; noteworthy, he was husband of Jadwiga Grużewska, daughter of a Samogitian land judge, and he came from a senatorial family which had been very well-known in Lithuania, although he himself came from its Courlander branch. En passant, I have touched here upon the important element of relationships between the Livonian-Courlander and Samogitian nobility; in fact, this issue applies to the entire Grand Duchy. When it comes to mixed marriages, it appears that Lithuanian men married Livonian and Courlander women much more frequently than the other way round. The reason for this was probably of financial nature. Nowadays it is impossible to trace this process in its entirety, however hundreds of examples known to us indicate that this was a common practice. In extreme cases, such 'German' marriages of Lithuanians resulted in the Germanization of their families, settlement in Courland and change of denomination from Catholicism to Lutheranism.⁶⁸ Of course, as indicated above, Baltic Germans also married Lithuanian women or Livonian/Courlander widows of Lithuanians, thereby acquiring property in the Grand Duchy.⁶⁹

The case of the fiefdom of Giegrany (Gegrėnai) located in the *tivunus*'s estate of Wieszwiany (Viešvėnai) offers a good illustration of the processes of acquisition of estates by Courlanders in Samogitia. On 3 May 1636, the

⁶⁷ VUB, collection no. 7, *Žemaičių pilies teismo knyga 1653–1654*, no. 60.

⁶⁸ This was the case for one line of the Karp family, cf. S. Karp, *Karpiowie z Rykijowa na Żmudzi do końca XVIII wieku. Dzieje linii litewskiej i kurlandzkiej* (in print).

⁶⁹ E.g., on 23 July 1711, Marianna Brabenderówna [née Brabender], a landed noblewoman of the Duchy of Samogitia and Courland first married to Jerzy Tyszkiewicz, bequeathed the estate of Okmiany (in the Berżany [Berzenai] district), worthy of 1200 *tynf*s, to her second husband, Jan Ernest Schreder (LVIA, SA 14508, sheet 472–477).

fiefdom was sold by Tomasz Wolan, the Marshal of Oszmiany (Belarusian: *Ashmyany*), to Ernest Bandemer, Colonel Lieutenant in the Lithuanian army.⁷⁰ In 1645,⁷¹ after the death of the latter, his widow – Anna von Sacken – transferred it to her daughter Anna Dorota and her husband Michał Szostowicki, who – in turn – sold it to Mikołaj von Blomberg and Weronika von Trotta gennant Treyden,⁷² in 1677, these two transferred it to their daughter Marta and her husband Gerhard von Renne.⁷³ The aforementioned Szostowicki family sold another estate in Samogitia – Derkinie – in 1649 to their brother-in-law Jerzy Jan von Bandemer and his wife Gertruda Kęszortówna [née Kęszort].⁷⁴ Many operations on property of this type have been recorded.

Finally, let us turn to the presence of Livonians and Courlanders at Samogitian sejmiks – dietines [T/N:‘sejmik’ is the diminutive form of ‘sejm’, which means a political gathering], although due to the lack of sources, we cannot reconstruct every such event. In this context, Baltic Germans emerged quite late. The first representative of this nation has been identified only for the year 1641, when HRM courtier Jerzy Szweryn⁷⁵ (from a Prussian family settled in Courland) was elected deputy to the sejm; the next ones were identified for the year 1652, when the pre-sejm sejmik was attended by the aforementioned Otto Tyzenhauz, the Captain of Samogitia, and Malcher Aleksander Hewel (von Hoeweln).⁷⁶

In the subsequent years, Livonians and Courlanders took part in several dozen sejmiks; in some of them, there was only one person from this group, in some others – several. The list shows that most frequently, Samogitian sejmiks were attended by the members of the first family to settle here – the Druws (Jerzy, the Guardian of Samogitia, attended 10, Hieronim – 1), the Grotuzes (Eustachy Wilhelm, the Steward and ultimately

⁷⁰ VUB, collection no. 59, no. 9.

⁷¹ RGADA, collection no. 389, no. 114, sheets 803–804.

⁷² Ibidem, no. 127, sheets 475–475v.

⁷³ VUB, collection no. 59, no. 16.

⁷⁴ RGADA, collection no. 1473, inv. 1, no. 759, sheet 27.

⁷⁵ Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie (hereinafter: Czart.), manuscript 378, pp. 220–227.

⁷⁶ VUB, collection no. 7, *Žemaičių pilies teismo knyga 1652–53*, sheets 392–397.

the Castellan of Samogitia, attended 14 and his son Stefan 2, while Wolter Hilbrand, Jan, Hieronim and Adam – 1 each); 5 sejmiks were attended by Malcher Aleksander Hewel, Jan Kazimierz Gadon, Mikołaj and Aleksander Korff, and one by Stefan Kazimierz, Jerzy, Otto Magnus, Magnus Ernest and father Stefan Korff. The following persons attended more than one sejmik: Otto Tyzenhauz, the Captain of Samogitia (3), Jerzy Hahn (2), Jan Gos (2), Krzysztof Rozen (3), Chryzostom and Stefan Renn (2), Kazimierz Puttkamer (2), while the following persons attended one only: representatives of the Fitinghoff family (two of them), the Butlers (3), Szweryns (3), Nolds, Reymers, Hoppens, Holtschuers, Sackens, Klats (3), Knofs, Gieces (2), Meyers of Wolda, Treydens (2), Hoewelts, Plettenbergs, Krojers, Szrederses, Doppelkirchs, Mirbachs, Weymans, Szylings and Kretschmans. In general, only some families felt a deeper attachment to Samogitia, specifically the Druws, Grotthuses, Korffs, Szweryns, Renns and Gadons as well as Malcher Hewel. Such a connection is rather evident in the case of those individuals who were elected deputies to sejms: Jerzy (1641),⁷⁷ Krzysztof – the Standard-Bearer of Parnawa (1674 – election), Jerzy (1674 – election) and Jan Aleksander (1674 – election) of the Szweryn family,⁷⁸ Jerzy Druw, the Guardian of Samogitia (election sejms in 1669, 1674),⁷⁹ Mikołaj Korff (election – 1669, 1674),⁸⁰ Eustachy Wilhelm (1669 – election, 1674 – convocation, 1674 – election),⁸¹ Stefan Karol (coronation sejms in 1697,⁸² 1699⁸³), Adam, the Mayor of Wilkija (Vilkija) (1733 – election) and Jan, son of the Mayor of Wilkija (1733 – election) of the Grotthus family,⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Czart., manuscript 378, pp. 220–227.

⁷⁸ VUB, collection no. 7, *Žemaičių pilies teismo knyga 1673–1674*, sheets 73–73v and 76–82v.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*; Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (hereinafter: APGd.), manuscript 300.29/258, pp. 157–167.

⁸⁰ See above.

⁸¹ APGd., manuscript 300,29/258, pp. 157–167; VUB, collection no. 7, *Žemaičių pilies teismo knyga 1673–1674*, sheets 73–73v and 76–82v; RGADA, collection no. 1603, inv. 4, no. 3189, sheet 6.

⁸² *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721)*, published by J. Bartoszewicz, Warszawa 1862, pp. 190–191.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, pp. 203–204; LVIA, SA 2419, sheet 740v.

⁸⁴ LVIA, SA 14529, sheets 68–69v, 74v–76.

Aleksander Korff, the Tivunus of Korsze (1710),⁸⁵ Stanisław Ernest Denhoff, the Lithuanian Field Hetman (1718–1720),⁸⁶ Stefan, the Tivunus of Užwenty [Užventis] (1733 – election)⁸⁷ and Feliks, HRM Chamberlain (1782)⁸⁸ of the Renn family, Kazimierz Puttkamer, HRM Colonel Lieutenant (1733 – election),⁸⁹ Jan, HRM Colonel (1733 – election), Ludwik Antoni (1733 – election) and Jan Antoni (1733 – election) of the Klott family,⁹⁰ Antoni, the Leaseholder of the Crown's land of Giełdziany (1776)⁹¹ and Józef, son of the Captain of Livonia (1784,⁹² 1788⁹³) of the Plater family, Jacek Antoni Puttkamer, the Land Judge of the repartition of Rosienie [Raseiniai] (1778,⁹⁴ 1780⁹⁵).

Even more rarely were Livonians and Courlanders elected deputies to the Lithuanian Tribunal. The first such occurrence dates back to 1668, when Mikołaj Korff (the Leaseholder of the Crown's land of of Orle)⁹⁶ was elected; he was then elected deputy in 1670 and 1677 as well.⁹⁷ Other deputies of the Korff family were Andrzej, the Carver of Samogitia – in 1691,⁹⁸ and Aleksander, the Tivunus of Korsze – in 1695.⁹⁹ There were also five deputies elected from the Grotthus family (in 1695 – Stefan, the Mayor of Vilkija,¹⁰⁰ in 1699 – Hieronim Antoni, son of the Castellan

⁸⁵ LVIA, SA 14502, sheets 1–6v.

⁸⁶ LVIA, SA 14514, sheets 437–448v; U. Kosińska, *Sejm 1719–1720 a sprawa ratyfikacji traktatu wiedeńskiego*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 273–274.

⁸⁷ LVIA, SA 14529, sheets 68–69v, 74v–76.

⁸⁸ LVIA, SA 14567, sheets 799–801v.

⁸⁹ LVIA, SA 14529, sheets 68–69v, 74v–76.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ LVIA, SA 14565, sheets 418–419v.

⁹² LVIA, SA 14568, sheets 605–606v.

⁹³ LVIA, SA 14570, sheets 201.

⁹⁴ Czart. 721, pp. 677–679; LVIA, SA 14566, sheets 453–459v, 461–462v.

⁹⁵ LVIA, SA 14567, sheets 197.

⁹⁶ A. Rachuba (ed.), H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba (prep), *Deputaci Trybunału Głównego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1582–1696. Spis*, Warszawa 2007, p. 305.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 309, 333.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, p. 381.

⁹⁹ Ibidem, p. 395.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem.

of Samogitia,¹⁰¹ in 1727 – Adam, the Mayor of Vilkija,¹⁰² in 1740 – Jan, the Mayor of Vilkija,¹⁰³ in 1767/68 – Antoni, HRM Standard-Bearer¹⁰⁴), three from the Puttkamer family (in 1728 – Kazimierz,¹⁰⁵ in 1769/70, 1777/78 and 1789/90 Jerzy, the Bridge-Keeper (Pl. *mostowniczy*) and later the Borough Judge of Samogitia,¹⁰⁶ in 1787/88 Jacek, the Land Judge of Samogitia¹⁰⁷), two of the Renn family (in 1716 – Jan Ernest, HRM Colonel and Mayor of Kandava,¹⁰⁸ in 1756 – Mikołaj, Colonel of HRM and the district of Vilkija¹⁰⁹), as well as Bogusław Hewell, the Steward of Vitebsk (1684),¹¹⁰ Jan Kazimierz Gadon, the Sword-Bearer (1712),¹¹¹ and Wilhelm Jan Plater, the Captain of Livonia (1766/67)¹¹² – each of them once.

To sum up, in the 16th, 17th and 18th century, several dozen Livonian and Courlander families settled in Samogitia; they were forced to flee from Livonia, as they did not accept the Swedish rule and remained loyal to the Polish kings; but others moved to Lithuania to find an easier life, opportunities to get rich, to increase their wealth and invest their capital profitably. Not all of them were active in public life, but the process – manifested mainly in marriages – whereby they assimilated with the local society and assumed offices as well as public functions started quite early. The process of cultural and linguistic assimilation proceeded differently in each of the families; in the case of persons of German origin, men were more prone to Polonization than women. This was natural, as only male representatives of the families functioned in the public sphere, which since the beginning

¹⁰¹ A. Rachuba (ed.), A. Rachuba, P.P. Romaniuk, A. Macuk, J. Aniszczenko (prep), *Deputaci Trybunatu Głównego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1697–1794. Spis*, Warszawa 2004, p. 33.

¹⁰² Ibidem, p. 137.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 185.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, p. 293.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, p. 141.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, pp. 301, 333, 385.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 376.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, p. 98.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 248.

¹¹⁰ A. Rachuba (ed.), *Deputaci Trybunatu [...] 1582–1696...*, p. 356.

¹¹¹ A. Rachuba (ed.), *Deputaci Trybunatu [...] 1697–1794...*, p. 84.

¹¹² Ibidem, p. 288.

of the 17th century had been dominated by the Polish language. However, the process was a long one, and we have sources to support both early Polonization of some Livonians and Courlanders and long attachment to the German language and marriages within their nationality group. This was caused by various factors and, to a large extent determined, their participation in the public life – attending a sejmik required knowledge of the Polish or Ruthenian language; military service – not necessarily. This allows us to conclude that all the participants of the aforementioned Samogitian sejmiks had to know Polish, which at the same time facilitated assimilation with the Samogitian nobility and permanent settlement. So, for example, in Samogitia, in 1683, Mikołaj Korff, the Treasurer of Livonia, signed an act of pledge of an estate in Livonia in Polish, while his wife – Dorota Małgorzata Korff – in German; Ernst von Vietinghoff-Scheel also signed it in German, while Wolter Kliczner (von Kluechtzner) – in Polish.¹¹³ The last nobleman wrote his will in 1708 in German, though; his wife was a Courlander and he also wished to be buried in Courland.¹¹⁴ The act of pledge of the estate of Łosza was signed: in Polish by Wawrzyniec Offenberg, HRM Lieutenant, and in German by his wife Anna Elżbieta Hahnówna [née Hahn].¹¹⁵ The ‘Provisions of last will’ by Dorota Helena née Zass (von Sass), wife of Jakub Ernest Korff, HRM Standard-Bearer, dated 31 August 1737, were ‘written down by her own hand in German’,¹¹⁶ but the last will of Zofia von Budde dated 20 August 1737 was drawn up in Polish and she signed it in Polish, too.¹¹⁷ In 1742, Jan Franciszek von der Mohl, the Deputy Cup-Bearer of Parnawa, wrote a private letter to the Russian army captain Gothard Baltazar von Freyman in Polish.¹¹⁸ The process of the acquisition of the Polish culture and Lithuanian state affiliation was slow, but it was a fact. It appears that this phenomenon and settlement in Lithuania (including Samogitia) were mutually related.

¹¹³ LVVA, collection no. 712, no. 68, sheets 1–3v.

¹¹⁴ LVIA, SA 14202, sheets 649–650v: recorded in the municipality of Ukmergė 3 November 1731.

¹¹⁵ LVVA, collection no. 712, no. 66, sheet 198v.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, nr 71, sheets 102–103v.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, no. 87, sheets 199–200v.

¹¹⁸ Ibidem, no. 89, sheets 133–134.

