

## BETWEEN WILNA AND KÖNIGSBERG: A HISTORY OF ONE FLIGHT, AUGUST 1655\*

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In the seventeenth century, Sweden and Muscovia were among Europe's strongest military powers. The Russian-Polish War that continued from 1654 through 1667 and the war between Sweden and Poland of 1655 through 1660 did not just change state borders and destroy towns and villages. They also disrupted the lives of many people. Many European scholars have researched and described the military and social history of the period widely known as "The Deluge".<sup>1</sup> I am interested in the social history of this time or, to be more exact, in just one little-known episode and the destinies of the residents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter referred to as just Lithuania) who fled their captured and ravaged hometowns "flooded" by Russians and ran to Royal Prussia which was controlled by Swedes.

The focus of the paper is the history of the Wilna citizens' escape to Prussia and the lives of the refugees at the time of Muscovite occupation of Lithuania's capital city. This topic has never been paid any special attention in historiography, although the historians of Wilna repeatedly mentioned the merchants' escape in their works.<sup>2</sup> The study of the topic was

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<sup>1</sup> Robert I. Frost, *After the deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655–1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 211; Andrej Kotlarčuk, *In the shadows of Poland and Russia: The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Sweden in the European crisis of the mid-17th century* (Huddinge: Södertörn högskola, 2006), 347; Krzysztof Kossarzewski, *Kampania roku 1660 na Litwie* (Zabrze: Wydawnictwo infort editions, 2005), 461; Henadz' M Sahanovič, *Nevjadomaja vajna: 1654–1667* (Minsk: Navuka i tehnika, 1995), 143; Lev Zaborovskii, *Velikoe knyazhestvo Litovskoe i Rossiya vo vremya Pol'skogo Potopa (1655–1656): dokumenty, issledovanie* (Moskva: Nauka, 1994), 180; Elena I. Kobzareva, *Diplomaticheskaya bor'ba Rossii za v'ykhod k Baltiiskomu moryu v 1655–1661 godakh* (Moskva: Institut rossiiskoï istorii RAN, 1998), 299; Boris N. Floria, "Ot Potopa do Vil'na: Russkaya politika po otnosheniyu k Rechi Pospolitoi v 1655–1656 gg", *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 2 (2003), 25–49.

<sup>2</sup> Vasilii G. Vasil'evskii, "Ocherk istorii goroda Viln'ny", *Pamyatniki russkoï stariny v zapadnykh gubernyakh imperii, izdavaemye po vysochaishemu povelenyu P. N. Batyushkovym*, 6 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya A. Transhelya, 1874), 50; Jan Kurczewski,

impossible, most likely, because of an insufficient number of period documents pertaining to the citizenry and their lives in Königsberg, Tilsit, and other parts of Royal Prussia. The goal of the article is to discuss the topic as far as the sources allow. Certain data were found in archives related to the Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage (Berlin-Dalem), the Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents in Moscow, and the books of the Wilna town council found in the Lithuanian Historical Archives of Lithuanian State in Vilnius.

### *A history of the escape*

According to local rumors, before Wilna was captured in 1655, its residents considered fleeing to Prussia as the best way to find temporary asylum. This information came to the Russians about to besiege the town from a certain Petrov from Smolensk who had just escaped from Lithuanian captivity. He wrote: "In Poland, they have no towns and no interests. Those who won't beg our czar for his royal protection have no ways but to flee to the Prussian or Swedish lands."<sup>3</sup>

These people's flight was allowed by Janusz Radziwiłł, the Grand Hetman<sup>4</sup> of Lithuania who, not long before Wilna was besieged, had collected 100,000 zloty from Wilna residents in order to hire soldiers and told the Wilna people to take their families and run for Kowna (Kaunas).<sup>5</sup> Janusz first went to Kowna and Keydani (Kėdainiai) and then to Prussia, followed by clergy and residents from all over Lithuania. Prince Mikhail Semyonovich Shakhovskoy, Wilna's voevode<sup>6</sup> during the occupation, wrote in his documents about one citizen, Martin von Hövel, "This Martin lived in Wilna and ran to Königsberg [Korolevets], following Radziwiłł"<sup>7</sup>. Later the Lithuanian Hetman swore allegiance to Charles X Gustav, the King of

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*Kosciol zamkowy czyli katedra Wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*, 1 (Wilno: Nakład i druk Jozefa Zawadzkiego, 1908), 136; Michał Brensztejn, *Biblioteka Ubiwersytecka w Wilnie do roku 1832* (Wilno: J. Zawadzki, 1925), 11; Elmantas Mejlus. "Apie rastą lobį, paslėpta žemėje ar kitoje vietoje, arba 1655–1661 m. Vilnuje paslėptų lobių ieškotojų pradžiamokslis", *Istorijos akiračiai, straipsnių rinkinys skirtas prof. Antano Tylos jubiliejui*, ed. by E. Rimša (Vilnius, 2004), 241–254 (253).

<sup>3</sup> Alexander N. Maltzev, *Rossiya i Belorussiya v seredine XVII veka* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1974), 93.

<sup>4</sup> The second highest military commander, after the monarch.

<sup>5</sup> Maltzev, *Rossiya i Belorussiya v seredine XVII veka*, 93.

<sup>6</sup> A high military rank in old Russia. A voevode was simultaneously the governor of some province or town and the most important military officer in it.

<sup>7</sup> Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov [RGADA], f. 210 (Razrjadnõi prikaz), op. 1, d. 270, fol. 667r.

Sweden. This event took place on 20 October 1655 in Keydani and is known in history as the Keydani Union.

Boyar V. N. Likharev, who was sent to Keydani to try and persuade Janusz Radziwiłł to give an oath of allegiance to the Russian czar, described the refuge camp and people in it. Janusz Radziwiłł, Field Hetman of Lithuania Wincenty Gosiewski, the troops, and the civilians stayed in a settlement located two versts away from Keydani. "When riding through that settlement, one can see colonels and other officers and also infantry with muskets who stand there crowding. There are roughly about 1000 or 2000 infantrymen. At the end of that village, Radziwiłł's two tents stand among about 500 or more Polish gentry and Germans"<sup>8</sup>.

It was not incidental that the boyar saw a lot of "Germans" (Protestants) around the Lithuanian Hetman's tents. Janusz Radziwiłł belonged to the Protestant creed and was the guardian of the Wilna Calvinist parish. The birth register of the parish also confirms the information about the departure of civilians. Over the first half of the seventeenth century, the families of wealthy Wilna merchants of German descent and Polish gentry were the core of the parish. The last entry in the birth register was dated 14 July 1655, showing that the baptismal sacrament for the daughter of pastor Jan Khalefius performed by pastor Jan Anderson had taken place before the family left Wilna.<sup>9</sup>

The record mentions Halszka Desausowa Biekierowa, who was a steady parishioner. The families of Beckers and de Sauxes, invariable members of the church community, were closely related. The de Saxe family, especially Jan de Saxe, the merchant, maintained a close connection with Janusz Radziwiłł, so early in 1655 the Hetman appointed Jan to manage his properties in Wilna and Birzhai.<sup>10</sup> On 24 July, several days before Wilna was captured, Janusz Radziwiłł, realizing the threat and wishing to support his client, gave Jan a universal pass enabling his family to reach safe territories. The family, including Jan's wife, children, and sisters were allowed to take their movables and go to reside in Willopol (Vilijampolè), Czerwony Dwor, or other places owned by the Hetman, situated away from the zone of hostilities.<sup>11</sup> The merchant remained in Wilna in order to defend it together

<sup>8</sup> Zaborovskii, *Velikoe knyazhestvo Litovskoe*, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas [LVIA], f. 606, op. 1, No. 102, fol. 16v. (14.7.1655).

<sup>10</sup> RGADA, f. 210, op.1, d. 270, fol. 281r-284r. (It may be dated no earlier than 12.11.1655). Published in *Aktj Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, 2, 457-458.

<sup>11</sup> Das Geheime Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz [GstA] PK, EM 111k, No. 104, fol. 199r-199v. (14.7.1655).

with other residents and Radziwiłł's gentry. After Wilna was captured, Jan de Sauxe may have followed his protector to Keydani.

Some of the people who had fled with Janusz Radziwiłł turned around before reaching Prussia. At the end of November, Józef Jakimow's son Ozierski, the black deacon of the Svyato-Dukhov Orthodox monastery, and his nephews who had fled with Janusz Radziwiłł came back to Wilna.<sup>12</sup> At the inquest that followed, Józef told the interrogators about the way he had lived for four months, from August through November, and what news he had heard about Polish King Jan Kazimierz and Lithuanian Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł.

Józef and his nephews lived in the Yevie Svyato-Dukhov Orthodox monastery not far from Wilna, on the property of Prince Andrzej Oginski. Maria Lupu, the wife of Janusz Radziwiłł, also stayed there. In August, when the Russians had captured Wilna, they left the monastery heading for the land of Samogitia and later often changed places until they came to Keydani. In November, Józef Ozierski left Keydani heading back for Wilna. On 30 October, Janusz Radziwiłł, Konstantin Poklonski of the Polish gentry, and fifteen hundred troops left heading for Warsaw. Wincenty Gosiewski had left for Warsaw three weeks earlier. Later, as Prince Oginski told the interrogators, Janusz Radziwiłł's troops had deserted him. Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, Governor-General of Livland, did not take the Hetman to Warsaw with him, so there was no telling where the latter was at the time<sup>13</sup>. Prince Oginski, who left Janusz Radziwiłł, was followed by Polish troops – headed by colonel Jakub Theodor Kuncewicz – from three districts, Lidski, Gorodelski, and Volkovitski.<sup>14</sup> In January 1656, these people swore allegiance to Russian czar Alexei Mikhailovich.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the refugees from Lithuanian towns, about 6000 in all, reached Prussia by early 1656.<sup>16</sup> After the agreement was signed on 17 January between the Elector of Brandenburg and the King of Sweden concerning the submission of the Royal Prussia to the latter, the Lithuanians were told to go to Königsberg to swear allegiance to the two authorities at once.

<sup>12</sup> RGADA, f. 210, op. 1, d. 270, fol. 281r–284r.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 283r.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 291r–292r (6.12.1655).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 391r–392r (It may be dated no earlier than January, 1656). The beginning and the end of the document were lost.

<sup>16</sup> Henadz Sahanowicz, "Wychodźcy z Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w Prusach 1656 roku", *Litvano-slavica Poznaniensia. Studia historica*, IX (Poznań, 2003), 240–245 (244).

*Wilna residents in the materials of “Commissio wegen Untersuchung und Versicherung der fremden Leuten”*

The file containing the materials of the commission on refugees from Grand Duchy of Lithuania that looked into the case of the refugees who signed the oath of allegiance in Königsberg in February 1656 was preserved in the Archives of Prussian Cultural Heritage.<sup>17</sup> This allowed me to find out the last names and the approximate number of Wilna residents who found themselves in Prussia and Samogitia within the jurisdiction of the King of Sweden.

Researchers often refer to these documents. The functioning of the commission appointed, in 1656, by the Elector of Brandenburg Frederick William to look into the case of the refugees and the materials pertaining to the case were described in an article by Henadz Saganovich.<sup>18</sup> The last names of the Kowna and Wilna Germans who, in February 1656, swore allegiance to the Swedish and Prussian authorities were published by Paul Karge early in the twentieth century.<sup>19</sup> Besides the Germans, other Wilna residents, clergy and laymen, who belonged to various ethnic and confessional groups also found themselves in territories controlled by Sweden. Their signatures have not yet been specially considered.

The oath of allegiance to the King of Sweden and Elector of Brandenburg was a standard text in either Latin or Polish. Those swearing signed underneath the text, either applying their seals or not. In addition, at the end of the file, the penmen of the Elector of Brandenburg added the list of all the signatories.

The signatures of Wilna residents are found in several documents contained in the file:

- The oath given by the Wilna and Grodno residents of German descent (fol. 83r–90r);
- The oath given by the Wilna residents of Polish descent (fol. 91r–97r);
- The oaths given by the members of Wilna elite (fol. 99r–101r);
- The oath given by the members of the retinue of Wilna Bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz (fol. 61r–65r);
- The oath given by the members of the Greek Catholic Order of Basil the Great (fol. 66r–68r);

<sup>17</sup> Untersuchungskommission wegen der Fremden im Herzogum Preussen: GStA PK, EM 111k, No. 104, 239 fol. (February–March, 1656).

<sup>18</sup> Sahanowicz, “Wychodźcy z Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego”, 240–245.

<sup>19</sup> Paul Karge, “Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Wilna und Kaunen”, *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 54 (Königsberg, 1917), 35–94 (69–73).

— The oaths sent by the members of Lithuania from Tilsit (fol. 141r-143r, 145r-146r).

I would like to note that the division, by the Elector's penmen, of the signatories of the first and second oath texts into German and Polish was rather relative and, in a number of cases, did not correctly indicate the ethnic backgrounds of the residents. Some signatories indicated as Germans were actually Dutch, such as Frau von Hövel, or French, such as Jacob de Saxe and Jan de la Marche, and even Polish, such as Michael Baranowicz. Some "Polish" signatories had German names, like Augustin Zeligmacher. Probably, this was the reaction of the penmen to the languages spoken by the signatories. Entries the signatories made under the "German" oath were made in German. The Wilna residents who were mostly Catholic, Uniate, or Orthodox signed a common document on behalf of the Wilna "Polish". Yet these signatories also included some Protestants of Polish descent, such as goldsmith Paweł Żeczyński, a Calvinist. "Polish" residents signed in either Polish or Russian. Educated residents who knew Latin signed the Latin oath texts, regardless of their ethnic and confessional backgrounds.

The names of Wilna refugees of German descent published by Paul Karge were those of 140 heads of households. Wives, children, and servants were not counted. Karge gives an approximate number of Wilna Germans and their household members, presuming that each household must have included at least five persons. Fifty of the Germans had no families. This means that the Wilna residents of German descent that found themselves in Prussia in February 1656 numbered about 750.<sup>20</sup>

The "Polish" residents' signatures inscribed under the Polish text of the oath were dated from 14 February to 18 March 1656. The signatories included Wilna magistrates – such as burgomasters Stefan Rzepnicki, Stefan Żeczyński, and Jan Minkiewicz – and members of the Rada – such as Jan and Gregorz Kostrowicki, Jan Ogurcewicz, Samuel Fillipowicz, or bancher Paweł Siencyło. Some of the resident signatories indicated their occupations – eleven merchants, ten craftsmen, four shop keepers, and two students.

There is no way to determine the exact number of the Wilna refugees; many signatories did not indicate the numbers of their children and servants. The Polish text of the oath was signed by sixty-five heads of households who signed for all the members of their households. There were fifty-six single signatories. Besides signatures, there were forty-three entries made by the Brandenburg penmen for the reason, obviously, of the illiter-

<sup>20</sup> Karge, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Wilna und Kaunen".

acy of the refugees they concerned. The penmen's handwriting was small-lettered and hard to read. Only names were written in large letters, so it is hard to determine the family statuses of the registered persons. The total of 164 persons, not counting household members, either signed by themselves or were assisted.

The Latin-language text of the oath was signed by members of the Wilna elite, such as consuls, lawyers, notaries, and wealthy merchants. These included the signature of merchant Bartolomeus Cinacchi, an Italian, a Wilna mayor-to-be. The Latin-language text of the oath was signed by forty-two persons, thirty-five of whom had families.

Two texts of the oath, in Polish and Latin, already signed, were sent in from Tilsit, where refugees from Lithuania stayed. These signatures included forty of Wilna residents, thirty of whom had families with them and ten were single.

The documents of the commission include a letter from Jan Lenski dated 23 February, containing information about there being list of Wilna Lutherans who found themselves in Tilsit.<sup>21</sup> Jan Lenski wrote that the list in question had been sent by Hans Naugard to his wife, who was in Königsberg, so as for her to pass it onto the commission. Lenski's letter was sent to the Prussian commissioners through Paul Möller, a Wilna doctor who resided in Königsberg.

The text of the oath signed by members of the Wilna Lutheran community was not found in the file. Yet it contains a text of it signed, in Tilsit, by Lithuanian residents of German descent on the same date as that of the letter, 23 February 1656.<sup>22</sup>

Jan Lenski may have written about this exact text. Some of its signatories were from Wilna. The family names of Germans who stayed in Tilsit and Königsberg were published by P. Karge in the mentioned article of his. Beside the signatures of the Germans, there was a list of a small group of Wilna residents of Polish descent, made in a single handwriting. The group included two persons with wives and two single men.

Wilna residents are also mentioned in other documents pertaining to this case. The list of the signatories who came from Kowno also contained the names of refugees from Wilna – namely, three men with wives, three single male residents, and two widows.<sup>23</sup> Lithuanian Lutheran pas-

<sup>21</sup> GStA PK, EM 111k, No. 104, fol. 133r–133v.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 145r–146r.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, 138r–139r.



tors signed a special oath. Two of them, Otto Mattheus and Jan Malina, were from Wilna.<sup>24</sup>

Andreas Gross, a Wilna surgeon staying in Königsberg, sent a letter to the commissioners requesting that his son's signature be accepted in place of his own.<sup>25</sup> After the capture of Wilna, he went blind and could not write his signature. The letter described the resident's misery: "God visited me: I have stayed in bed for 14 weeks, cannot read or write, having gone blind, have become extremely poor and know not what to do."<sup>26</sup>

Let us consider the signatures of the members of the retinue of Catholic bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz, who died in Domnau on 17 January 1656, not long before the oath was given. They signed the oath on 16, 18, and 21 February. Some of the names are duplicated on differently dated lists.

The list of the retinue members and their signatures were divided in two parts, representing the ecclesiastic staff and secular persons. The former category included four canons, two chaplains, one altarista (an old priest), a teacher of the Wilna Jesuit academy, monks, and their servants. The servants of the dead bishop, the children of the servants, and craftsmen belong to the latter category that was described by the penmen as "Seculares ex familia J[ego] M[iłos]ci olim Episcopi Vilnenses".

Names of the second category included those of eight musicians from the bishop's chapel: two organ players, three singers, two instrumentalists, and one unspecified musician. Chapel master Stefan Gosiecki was listed among the ecclesiastic persons. The name of trumpeter Jakob Kolczinski is missing from the list. Several days before Wilna was captured in August 1655, he delivered letters from Bishop Tyszkiewicz to Russian boyars. We know about the trumpeter because of the record of his interrogation by the Russians. Also, for about two miles he was escorted by the bishop's people. Then Russians heard "that Polish man blow his trumpet on the way to the camp and then saw him taken".<sup>27</sup>

The final list of the members of the Wilna bishop's retinue compiled by Prussian penmen on the bases of signatures includes sixty-five persons.<sup>28</sup> Yet this number is not conclusive because it excludes the wives and, in some cases, children. Not all the servants reported by their masters were included in it either. For instance, Jerzy Barszczewski, a servant of Canon

<sup>24</sup> GStA PK, EM 111k, No. 104, fol. 106r.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 207r.

<sup>26</sup> "Naywiszy ciężko nawiedził: od niedziel czternastu łożka się trzymam dotąd. Na oczy upadłem, czytać i pisać już nie mogę, wyniszczyłem się, dalej nie wiem, co czynić."

<sup>27</sup> Zaborovskii, *Velikoe knyazhestvo Litovskoe*, 8.

<sup>28</sup> GStA PK, EM 111k, No. 104, fol. 154r–155v.



Nicolaus Słupski, when giving the oath, mentioned two of his helpers. Yet just one of them was included in the final list. At the same time, the list was supplemented by five servants' names that were not mentioned in the preliminary documents. This all means that the total number of the members of Bishop Tyszkiewicz' retinue was from seventy-five to eighty.

The members of the Uniate Church, from the Wilna Holy Trinity monastery of the Order of Basil the Great headed by the Mstislav Archimandrite Paul Korsak, compiled the text of the oath listing all of them who came to Königsberg. All nineteen names are written by the same hand in Latin. The text of the oath is followed by the names of celibate priests ("paters"): the vicar of the Holy Trinity monastery Theophanus Bieda and Longinus Smolski. The archimandrite was followed by three children, six nuns, and four "Virdini secularis" – supposedly lay nuns of the monastery. Also, the record mentions three monks from the monastery, namely, Mitrophanus Paszinski, Hillarius Bobrowski, and Tarasus Prokopowicz.

Having examined all the oath texts with the signatures and lists of Wilna residents, one may try and make a preliminary count of all the Wilna residents who fled to Prussia. Following Paul Karge, I presumed that the residents' households included an average of five members. These were a wife, two children, and a servant.<sup>29</sup> Based on this, the number of Wilna residents entered in the lists as having families with them had to be multiplied by five and the number of residents who entered just themselves added to the product. Persons whose family statuses remained unclear were considered single. This makes the number of residents who fled from Wilna and later swore allegiance to the King of Sweden equal to at least 1640. Thus, the number of Wilna residents was about one quarter of all the residents of Lithuania who found themselves in Prussia.

### *The material values taken from Wilna to Prussia*

Leaving their homes, Wilna residents, clergy and gentry, carried away objects of material value. Ludwik Kubała wrote that fleeing from the Russians, Janusz Radziwiłł took everything of value he had in his palaces and houses in Wilna and Byrzas and followed the troops to Keydani.<sup>30</sup> The lists of things Janusz left in the Tykotino castle after his death, which occurred

<sup>29</sup> Karge, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums", 75.

<sup>30</sup> Ludwik Kubała, *Wojna moskiewska r. 1654–1655* (Kraków: Gebethner i Wolff, 1910), 288.

on 26 July, 1656 confirm this.<sup>31</sup> Besides the lists that were published, there is a “List of valuables, fancies and old small arms contained in the chest” in Radziwiłł’s home made in the year 1657.<sup>32</sup> It is mostly a list of pictures found in Radziwiłł’s castles. There being portraits of Janusz Radziwiłł himself, his father Krzysztof, and the Moldavian father of Maria Lupu, and Radziwiłł’s second wife indicates that the collection was owned by Janusz Radziwiłł. The list of paintings was made after the death of Janusz, possibly by his cousin Bogusław Radziwiłł.

The families of Wilna Lutherans took the church archive and valuables to Gdansk, Smolensk and, may be, Königsberg.<sup>33</sup> A Novogrudok castellan named Mikoła Judycki transported the properties of the Wilna Catholic Chapter, over the rivers of Vilia and Neman, to Königsberg. St. Kazimierz relics, Wilna’s principal Catholic sacred objects, were hidden in the Wilna Hall in the place called Ruzhany.<sup>34</sup>

Jesuits also carried away the most valuable portion of the library of the Wilna University considered the richest collection of books in Lithuania.<sup>35</sup> While in transport, the books were partially plundered by Swedes. When, according to the Oliva peace treaty signed between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) and Sweden in 1660, the valuables taken out of the country had to be given back, a number of these books remained in Sweden and eventually were discovered in Swedish libraries.<sup>36</sup>

During the wartime, the Mother of God icon that belonged to the Uniate Church was taken from one town to another and from one country to another. According to the church legend, the icon was painted by St. Apostle Luke, the evangelist. After Wilna had been captured in 1655, Uniate monks from the Holy Trinity monastery took the icon to Königsberg where it was left with Jury Sieledczik, an Uniate Wilna resident<sup>37</sup>. The icon was then placed on a pram that was transporting goods from Wilna,

<sup>31</sup> Edward Kotłubaj, *Życie Janusza Radziwiłła, Ś. Państwa Rzymskiego xiążęcia na Birżach i Dubinkach, hrabi na Newlu i Siebieżu [...] (Wilno-Witebsk: M. Mindelsohn, 1859)*, 420–436.

<sup>32</sup> Nacyanalny Dziarshauny Arkhiu Belarusi (henceforth NDAB), f. 164 (Radziwiłł’s fund), No. 34 (1657).

<sup>33</sup> Adam F. Adamowicz, *Kościół Augsburski w Wilnie (Wilno: J. Zawadzki, 1855)*, 31.

<sup>34</sup> Jan Kurczewki, *Kosciol zamkowy czyli katedra Wileńska*, 1, 136.

<sup>35</sup> Michał Brensztejn, *Biblioteka Ubiwersytecka w Wilnie*, 11.

<sup>36</sup> E. Barwiński, L. Birkenmajer, J. Łos, *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w Szwecyi dokonanych z ramienia Akademii Umiejętności (Kraków: G. Gebethner, 1914)*, IX–X.

<sup>37</sup> *Akty istoricheskije, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi Komissieyu, 1645–1676*, 4 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya ekspeditzii zagotovleniya gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1842), 269–270.

over the rivers of Vilia and Neman, to Königsberg. In 1656, Jury Siedeczik returned to Wilna and then, in 1656 or 1657, hiding from the Russians, fled back to Königsberg. There, Uniate monks took the icon from him and carried it in an unknown direction.

The Wilna resident told this to his interrogators during the inquest conducted by Voevode Shakhovskoy. Russian Czar Alexei Mikhailovich wanted to know what happened to the famous miracle-working item that he wanted to obtain. When searching Jury Siedeczik's property, the pram and the house, Captain Omeliaqn Tyapkin found only church adornments and icon ornaments that were then given to the Orthodox Holy Spirit monastery. Siedeczik named some places in Novogrudok, the Slonimsky Hall, Zhuravichi, Uteni, and Podlyashie where the Uniate monks that had taken the icon could be hiding. Obeying the czar's directions, Voevode Shakhovskoy sent soldiers to search for the lost icon in those places.

Later, the Wilna Mother of God icon was mentioned in the documents of the Arms Chamber (*Oruzheinaia palata*) of the Moscow Kremlin. According to these documents, the Wilna voevode managed to find the icon and then sent it to Moscow. During the 1660s, the artists who worked in the Arms Chamber made a copy of it for the Don Cossacks.<sup>38</sup> After a truce was achieved in Andrusovo in 1667, the Lithuanian ambassador was supposed to take the icon, fitted with new "Moscow" lining and placed in a new case, back to Wilna.<sup>39</sup>

### *Wilna residents between Prussia and Lithuania (1656–1661)*

So far, no information is available about the day-to-day life of the refugees who remained in Prussia. Probably, the craftsmen had no orders and, therefore, could not work. They could not be admitted to professional corporations because, due to the war, Königsberg craftsmen themselves did not have enough work. No period documents mentioning Lithuanian craftsmen could be found in the document pool of Königsberg professional corporations preserved in the Prussian Cultural Heritage Archives.<sup>40</sup> Lazarus Siemionowski, a Polotsk resident, was mentioned as an "ausländische Schneider" in those documents pertaining to as late as 1674.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> RGADA, f. 396 (Oruzheïnaya palata), op. 1, No. 8940, fol. 5 (29.2.1664).

<sup>39</sup> RGADA, f. 396, op. 9, No. 11466, fol. 2 (7.12.1668).

<sup>40</sup> GstA PK, EM 81 c2, Königsberg.

<sup>41</sup> GstA PK, EM 81 c2, No. 567, fol. 2–4v.

There is information about just one Wilna resident who managed to settle in the new place. Pastor Jan Malina came to Tilsit with the Wilna Lutheran community in 1655 and remained with a local church for the rest of his life.<sup>42</sup>

The documents of the Razriadnyi Office preserved in the Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents include a letter containing the then-latest news, translated from German. Its author, Martin von Hövel<sup>43</sup>, a Wilna merchant of Dutch descent, sent it from Königsberg, Prussia, where he lived temporarily, to his nephew, Colonel Yury de Fromm stationed in Wilna. The nephew, then in the service of Wilna voevode Shakhovskoy, being a senior officer of the Russian force of the years 1655–61, in the regiment commanded by Yury Angler, was, nevertheless, characteristically able to communicate with his relative. Soon after the letter had been received by the addressee, it was translated into Russian and the information it contained became known to Russian Czar Alexei Mikhailovich.

A reader of the letter may deduce that von Hövel was a prosperous merchant. Aside from political news, there were instructions in it referring to the preservation of potash ash (a plant alkali widely used by soap boilers and dyers) piled in the uncle's courtyard. This may give us some idea as to the specialization of the Dutch merchant. In the seventeenth century, Holland was among the largest consumers of potash ash produced, at the time, mostly in Moscow, Russia. The end product – potash – was delivered to Narva and Archangelsk, where it was sold to foreigners, Hollanders and Flemings<sup>44</sup>. Just as that from Sweden, Russian potash was considered a high-quality product.<sup>45</sup> Von Hövel must have been a potash dealer, which may account for his expertise in Moscow's bureaucratic system. In the letter, the merchant instructed his nephew to obtain a travel order (*proezzhaia hramota*). These orders were used as foreign travel passports by foreigners, mostly merchants for traveling throughout Russia. "Why

<sup>42</sup> *Die Kartei Quassowski. Buchstabe M/Zusammengestellt von H. Zipplies* (Hamburg: Im Selbstverlag des Vereins, 1983), 347.

<sup>43</sup> RGADA, f. 210, op. 1, d. 270, fol. 667r–668r (it may be dated no earlier than 22.6.1656). Published with an arbitrary unification of characters and the erroneously deciphered text: *Aktj Moskovskogo gosudarstva, izdannye imperatorskoyu Akademiyu nauk. Razryadnyj prikaz. Moskovskij stol (1635–1659)*, 2 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1894), 511–512.

<sup>44</sup> İosif M. Kulisher, *Istoriya russkogo narodnogo khozaystva* (Chelyabinsk: Sotzium, 2004), 394–295.

<sup>45</sup> Pavel F. Simson, "Potashnoe delo v Moskovskom gosudarstve na poroge XVIII v", *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya*, new series XLV (1913, May), 120–158 (120).

don't you ask your Wilna voevode for a travel order to make me safe, while traveling, from Russian soldiers.<sup>46</sup>

Von Hövel's worrying about the safety of his merchandise was, probably, the reason of his cooperation with the Russian authorities in Wilna. "I would like to see my household safe with you and I expect you to stay there and not leave too soon; I would like you to stay there until I send an employee of mine to you so that my potash ash remains intact as it has been."<sup>47</sup> Martin was not alone in worrying about the safety of his wares. His wife also lived in Königsberg with their children and servants. Documents of Prussian commission on refugees from Lithuania contain her words to the effect that when leaving, "vor dem allergrausamsten unchristlicher Feinde, dem Moskowiter", that is, she complained of having had to abandon her Wilna household.<sup>48</sup>

For Wilna voevode Shakhovskoy, Martin von Hövel was far from the only source of intelligence. Letters containing news, written by fugitive merchants and gentry, were sent to his office from Prussia. Their authors, Wilna's refugees wishing to remain on friendly terms with the Russians so as to assure themselves safe return in the future to their abandoned homes. These letters Wilna townsmen wrote from Königsberg illustrated their difficult situations.

The Wilna bishop's retinue did not stay long in Königsberg. Chapters kept functioning through the wartime, its members traveling from place to place looking for a safe refuge. They first settled in the village of Brashevichi of the Brest province and later, after the capture of the village by Cossacks in 1657, moved to Rozhany.<sup>49</sup> Canon Jan Nevelski, who in Königsberg had sworn allegiance to the King of Sweden, remained in Brashevichi to safeguard church properties left there. Another canon from the retinue of Bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz, Mikołaj Słupski, was in Rozhany late in 1658.<sup>50</sup>

Running from the war, Wilna residents traveled through Prussian towns, Samogitia and other places in the Great Princedom of Lithuania with permission of Russian voevodes, repeatedly going back to Wilna. For instance, Mayor Stefan Krasowski, having given an oath in Königsberg, moved to Samogitia in 1656. As soon as the situation in Lithuania had become quieter, he returned to Wilna.<sup>51</sup> We know that some residents

<sup>46</sup> RGADA, f. 210, op. 1, d. 270, fol. 667r.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> Karge, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums", 72.

<sup>49</sup> Kurczewki: *Kościół zamkowy czyli katedra Wileńska* 1, 138.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, 139.

<sup>51</sup> LVIA, SA, No. 5097, fol. 62r, 94r (1664).

returned from Prussia by 1657 because the Wilna city hall resumed functioning.<sup>52</sup> Russian documents of the Wilna chancellery pertaining to the beginning of 1657 mention resident Mikoła Kostrowicki and councilor Prokop Dorofiejewicz from the Holy Spirit monastery as having returned from Prussia.<sup>53</sup> A number of professors and students of the Wilna Jesuit Academy also returned and, for a short while, resumed academic activities.<sup>54</sup>

Being nostalgic for their homeland, men returned to find out what was going on, first leaving their families behind. Their later reunion with the families might have run into certain difficulties though. Some examples of that may be found in documents of the Wilna chancellery. Twenty gentry members of the Wilna province returned home from lands controlled by the Swedes and sided with the Russian Czar.<sup>55</sup> Upon their attempt to go back to Samogitia to take their families, Swedish troops would not let them through. They appealed to Russian Voevode Mikhail Shakhovskoy, asking him for assistance. Shakhovskoy, however, did not risk writing to the King of Sweden and the Hetman of Lithuania without the Russian Czar's permission. There is no information about the outcome of the matter. Another case happened with Wilna resident merchant Samuel Fiedorowicz. He took his family from Keydani but was robbed on the way back to Wilna.<sup>56</sup>

Residents who returned to Wilna and swore allegiance to the Russian Czar were not allowed to leave the city without permission from Russian authorities, especially when their destinations were Samogitia and Prussia. In April 1657, Wilna sword maker Lazar Alekseev denounced Paweł Sosnowski as wishing to defect to Keydani with his family.<sup>57</sup> The denunciation remained without result, Paweł Sosnowski denying everything.<sup>58</sup> Also, Wilna residents vouched for him.<sup>59</sup>

In May 1657, when plague visited Wilna, residents headed by burgo-master Józef Petrow gave a written promise to Wilna voevode that they would not leave for Keydani, Samogitia, Prussian towns, or anyplace else

<sup>52</sup> Rossiiskaya natsional'naya biblioteka [RNB], Osnovnoe sobranie drevnerusskikh khramot [OSRK], f. II. 85, fol. 47r–47v (a copy from the end of the XVIIIth century).

<sup>53</sup> RGADA, f. 210, d. 272, fol. 414r–419r (6.3.1657).

<sup>54</sup> Anrzej Rachuba, "Wilno pod okupacją moskiewską w latach 1655–1661", *Lithuania*, 2–3 (1994), 62–72 (67).

<sup>55</sup> RGADA, f. 210, d. 272, fol. 207r–207v (it cannot be earlier than 18.3.1656).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 417r.

<sup>57</sup> Rossiiskaya gosudarstvennaya biblioteka [RGB], f. 178 (Museum collection), No. 6916, file 24, fol. 1r. (15.4.1657).

<sup>58</sup> RGB, f. 178, No. 6916, file 24, fol. 2r.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 3r.

not under Russian czar.<sup>60</sup> Wilnian citizen Józef Kojrielewicz (he had run in Königsberg and he went back to the own city) and a group of residents, notwithstanding plague, stayed in Wilna to watch over the homes and properties of other Wilna residents.<sup>61</sup>

The plague epidemic over, Wilna merchants resumed their business trips to Königsberg, maintaining connections with Wilna residents staying there. The documents of the court chancellery of Voevode Shakhovskoy include fourteen requests from merchants humbly asking to allow them to go, by the river of Vilia, to Königsberg to purchase goods.<sup>62</sup> For the most part, these people had sworn allegiance to the King of Sweden in Königsberg early in 1656 but later come back. They were burgomasters Stefan Krasowski, Stefan Rzepnicki, representative Jan Ogurcewicz, and merchants Jerzy Pawłowicz, Simon Konstantynowicz, Afanas Tosznicki, Piotr Procewicz, and Jan Bielmaczewicz.

It is significant that at the same time, in April 1658, a list was compiled of Uniates who, under the czar's direction, had joined the Orthodox creed in Wilna.<sup>63</sup> The list contains the names of the same merchants and magistrates who wanted to go to Königsberg: Stephan Rzepnicki, Jan Ogurcewicz, Jerzy Pawłowicz, etc. Possibly, the permission for them to go to Königsberg depended directly on their consent to become Orthodox Christians. Burgomaster Stephan Krasowski, who asked for leave to go to Königsberg, also went there on business during the following year of 1659. On his way back, he stopped in Tilsit and died there in the home of resident (Krzysztof?) Kotzer.<sup>64</sup>

In Königsberg, besides doing their own business, the merchants did errands for Russian voevodes. "Reliable" merchants were given a commission of finding, in Königsberg, little bells for the Czar Alexey Mikhailovich's hunting falcons.<sup>65</sup> In 1660, information from Samogitia was brought to Russian Voevode Danila Myshetski by Wilna merchants doing their business trips.<sup>66</sup>

Late in 1661, Wilna was recaptured by the troops of Pawel Sapiega, and its former residents began returning to the city from everywhere. In 1661,

<sup>60</sup> *Aktý Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, 2, 575–576.

<sup>61</sup> Vasil'evskii, "Ocherk istorii goroda Vilnŷ", 6, 57.

<sup>62</sup> RGB, f. 178, No. 6916, file 191, fol. 1r–14r. (April, 1658).

<sup>63</sup> RGB, f. 178, No. 6916, file 186.

<sup>64</sup> LVIA, SA, No. 5097, fol. 62r, 94r.

<sup>65</sup> *Aktý istoricheskie*, 4, 267–268.

<sup>66</sup> *Aktý Moskovskogo gosudarstva, izdannŷe imperatorskoyu Akademiiyu nauk. Razriadnŷi prikaz. Moskovskŷi stol (1660–1664)*, 3 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk, 1894), 62.



during St. Michael's Day, ninety-two persons came to communion.<sup>67</sup> Early in 1662, the members of the Wilna Chapter returned following the people they had sent ahead to clean the Castle Catholic Church that was the bishop's residence. During the previous months, Russian soldiers headed by Voevode Danila Myshetski had used the church as their shelter and all its territory was covered by dead bodies and various cargos.<sup>68</sup> During the years 1662 and 1663, residents kept coming back to their badly damaged city, intending to stay in it for the rest of their lives.

### *Conclusions*

After Wilna was captured in 1655, hundreds of its residents found a temporary refuge in Prussia, though they never lost their connection with their hometown. Despite the ongoing hostilities, the transit of goods between Königsberg and Wilna continued. Compatriots living in the occupied city and lands under Swedish control never stopped exchanging information.

Importantly, Wilna citizens, staying in touch, though dispersed, never lost their identity. Over the six years, attachments and affections between Wilna people remained intact. Although not everyone who had left came back, the Wilna city community was still there. As soon as it was at all possible, Wilna residents rushed back home. Cultural and religious attachments proved significant factors in the preservation of the Wilna environment.

The story shows the Baltic area of Europe as a tightly interconnected region. Wilnian citizens had the opportunity to move within the region, regardless of the ongoing war. This is an interesting page of European history illustrating not the history of states but the history of people and individual persons within it whose destinies often reached across state borders. In this episode, the levels of micro- and macro-history intersect: the history of the city community on the micro-level, and the history of the peoples of the Baltic region spreading beyond state borders on the macro-level. Hopefully, new findings will be made in the future that will add to this fragmented picture of the life of Wilna residents in Prussia in the mid-seventeenth century.

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<sup>67</sup> LVIA, f. 606, op. 1, No. 102, fol. 26r. (1661).

<sup>68</sup> Kurczewki, *Kosciol zamkowy czyli katedra Wileńska* 1, 141.

## KOKKUVÕTE: *Vilniuse ja Königsbergi vahel: ühe põgenemise lugu*

Artikkel keskendub Vene-Poola sõja (1654–67) ühele episoodile, mil sajad 1655. aastal Vene vägede poolt vallutatud ja purustatud Leedu suurvürstiriigi pealinna Vilniuse elanikud olid sunnitud põgenema sõja eest Königsbergi ja teistesse Preisi linnadesse. Vaatluse all on pagulaste saatus ning probleemid ja konfliktid, millega Vilniuse elanikud Vene okupatsiooni ajal toime pidid tulema. Kodust lahkudes viis Vilniuse aadelkond kaasa ka oma väärtuslikuma vara, vaimulikud evakueerusid koos kirikuarhiivide ja väärismetallidega. Analüüsisid Vilniuse elanike nimekirju, kes olid ümber asunud Preisi aladele ning andsid seal truudusvande Rootsi kuningale ja Preisi kuurvürstile, saame teada nende umbkaudse hulga.

Artikkel käsitleb pagulaste elu Preisi linnades ning arutleb Königsbergi ja Vilniuse vahelise suhtluse üle Moskva okupatsiooni ajal. Kuigi puudub informatsioon põgenike igapäevase elu-olu kohta, näitab ajaloo uurimine, et üle maa laiali paisatud Vilniuse kaupmehed hoidsid üksteisega sidet ega kaotanud oma identiteeti. Kuue aasta jooksul ei katkenud omavaheline kokkukuuluvustunne ning esimesel võimalusel püüti kodulinna tagasi pöörduda. Seejuures jääti mitmel puhul pered turvalisuse kaalutlusel esialgu Preisimaale maha, hilisemad püüded taas kokku saada olid aga seotud suurte raskustega. Elanikel, kes olid naasenud ning Vene tsaarile truudust vandunud, ei lubatud enam linnast ilma ametivõimude loata lahkuda, eriti kui nende sihtkohtadeks olid Preisimaa või Žemaitia.

1661. aastal, kui Pawel Sapiega väed Vilniuse tagasi võitsid, algas massiline elanike tagasipöördumine oma rüüstatud kodudesse, mis jätkus 1662. ja 1663. aastal. Kuigi mitte kõik lahkunud ei tulnud tagasi, võib väita, et linnakogukond jäi ka pagulasaastatel püsima.