



THE ARCHIVES OF THE LIVONIAN NOBILITY AND JOHANN REINHOLD PATKUL, FROM 1694 TO 1695.

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In treating the last year of the political struggle between Johann Reinhold Patkul and the nobility with the Swedish King, Charles XI, there does not come under our observation the silence of the archives, their scientific investigation, the arrangement of the documents or the making of them into bundles, etc. The archives in question in those times were weapons of public life and politics. This was a time when about "parchment and paper" there went on the same bitter fight as about the landed properties affected by the big reductions of the estates ¹).

It is impossible to say that the Livonian nobility was sufficiently well-informed and knew the value of the preservation of its archival documents, especially in collections or in whole archives, even some years before the reduction of the estates. But the experience got from actual life was so valuable, that immediately at the end of the Swedish era the nobility tried to add to its archives documents from collections and offices which did not belong to them. Documents and charters had begun to be kept already from the middle of the XVII century, either in private hands, or in the care of the Secretaries of the Noble's Association who were sometimes acutely interested in the arrangement of archives and sometimes composed plans on a large scale, as for instance did David von Wieken, Secretary of the Noble's Association, who planned to form a special "corpus" for the departments of law and administration, though he did not succeed in achieving anything except the plan. The archives in his care came into great danger of destruction when, in 1656 during the

¹) In hitherto existing literature Ant. Buchholtz has touched upon this question in connection with Patkul, "Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Reinhold Patkuls", Riga 1893, p. 101 ff. In the appendix to this work are found the corresponding protocols and copies of the letters. Concerning the history of the nobility, valuable data are given by C. Schirren's original publication, "Die Recesse der livländischen Landtage aus den Jahren 1681 bis 1711", Dorpat 1865, and in H. v. Bruiningk's article, "Das livländische Ritterschaftsarchiv zu Riga" (Arbeiten des Ersten Baltischen Historikertages zu Riga 1908, p. 274—285). Various material which has not yet appeared in print is to be found in the archives of the Governor-General of Livonia during the Swedish times, at present in the Central State Archives.

siege of Riga by the Russians, a shell fell on his house and the box with the documents was demolished. The archives of the Livonian nobility were put on a firmer basis in the year 1668 when County Councillor, Baron Gustav Mengden, gathered together the documents concerning the nobility which were still preserved and showed the result of his work to the Diet. Demonstrating to the nobles gathered the parchments with the seals attached and their silver capsules, Mengden made a speech on how he had saved these documents from lumber-rooms and rubbish heaps and stressed the point that now the documents should be better looked after, because on them were based the rights and freedom of the nobility ²).

Hardly 10 years had passed, when in imitation of Mengden, all others too had to search their collections of letters and chests to the bottom, and that not in the interests of the archives or the museum, but in defence of their rights to own land.

The proposal of the King to the Diet in 1681 also foretold a revision of the lands, for the propitious execution of which it was necessary to use all sources, especially written ones. The nobility then uttered the wish that during the revision of the documents and title-deeds their representatives should also be present. In answer to this, the governor, Robert Lichtone, stated that he did not know of what help they could be during the revision of the letters as the proper treatment would be followed at the collation and examination of each, though he wished that the nobility, for their part, would help this work in the following way, namely, to advise the owners of the corresponding lands to produce their letters and documents without delay ³).

The nobility in its answer found that there were enough reasons for their presence at the revision as many had lost documents in fires in Riga and Tartu, especially in those times when people had first to save their lives, as had happened during the wars. It was also pointed out that the charters of the nobility had already been presented at earlier revisions to royal commissions in the years 1624, 1638 and 1663—1664 ⁴).

But soon it appeared that the nobility could not be very sure of the preservation of its documents.

In the third item of the memorial presented at the Diet in 1686 the County Council mentioned also the archives of the nobility, expressing the wish to discuss the place and arrangements for the better preservation of the archive-chest of the nobility and the original documents ⁵). At the same time the place of the Secretary of the Noble's Association also fell vacant.

The Diet discussed the question and made it the task of the

²) Bruiningk, op. cit., pp. 275—276.

³) Schirren, op. cit., p. 38.

⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 75.

County Marshal to provide a box, either of iron or at least bound with iron, to preserve the original charters and copies, as well as other necessary documents and things relating to the nobility. This box was to be provided with three locks, one key to be kept by the elder County Councillor, the second by the County Marshal, and the third by the Secretary of the Noble's Association, so that the opening of the "archives" was possible only in the presence of all three ⁶⁾.

With such an archive, founded on a firmer basis, Johann Reinhold Patkul soon made a closer acquaintance.

Concerning the life and actions of J. R. Patkul, especially so far as he was considered the author of the Great Northern War, much has been written, although the last word has not yet been said. A skilful and experienced litigant and moreover a good writer, he advanced quickly during the stormy period of the reduction referred to, raising himself to a leading position by his temperament and skill in dialectics. In 1690 they even desired to appoint him County Marshal, which place he refused. At the same time he was working on the commission which was to collect the title deeds of the nobility of Livonia, to present to King Charles XI a petition to stop the threatening land reduction. Working on this commission Patkul got more closely acquainted with the archives of the nobility of Livonia, using his knowledge quite dexterously in his defence later when the King started legal proceedings against him and other County Councillors.

In 1690 the formation of the *corpus privilegiorum* came under discussion by the Diet. This had been demanded by Governor-General Hastfer in his letter; the *corpus privilegiorum* was to be presented to the King by two envoys and at the same time explanations were to be given by word of mouth. Naturally all eyes turned to Patkul. Although the nobility had already once presented its collection of charters during the time of Governor Fersen, there had accrued new juridical problems in the matter of landowning which demanded the composition of a new "corpus". The Governor of Riga, E. Soop, was to revise and compare it with the originals. In case anybody had still other documents privately, such as precedents, confirmations of successions to legacies, contracts of division and sale, etc., then those too were to be produced at the office of the Governor-General. In the judicial examination of the charters of Archbishop Silvester Stodevescher especially there arose questions for the solution of which it was necessary to investigate private documents of the years 1681 and 1682 which comprised 8 volumes. Ceumern, Clodt, Patkul and the Secretary of the Noble's Association were appointed to this commission. It was found necessary also to use the Curonia archives in the composition of the *corpus privile-*

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 75—76.

giorum⁷⁾. There even arose a dispute on the method of doing it. Some suggested getting the documents privately, some again wished for this purpose to obtain the Governor's permission. The latter gained the upper hand and there was sent to Governor Soop a letter on this subject⁸⁾.

Thus, after getting acquainted with the official and private archives obtainable locally, Patkul could start his journey to Sweden as the envoy of the nobility. Ingeniously and inflexibly defending the interests of the nobility of Livonia, he tried to get acquainted also with the materials of the Swedish state archives. Already he had written a petition to the King to be permitted entrance to the state archives to investigate the documents concerning Livonia. The petition was not presented, as Count Bengt Oxenstierna offered himself as an intermediary to obtain the personal permission of the King, which was soon obtained, though Patkul was not given a real opportunity of carrying out his intention of getting acquainted with the archives⁹⁾.

At the same famous Diet in Vönnu in 1692, where Patkul reported the outcome of his activities in Sweden, the question of the archives of the nobility came again under discussion. The decisions of the Diet in 1668 were remembered, that the leaders of the nobility of that time had taken measures for the arrangement of the office, but which nevertheless had been left unfinished, as so many other "things useful to the fatherland" had been left unfinished; that, notwithstanding these facts, it was necessary to recognise that the arrangement of the office and archives should not be forgotten and that the question should be considered in full earnest so that coming generations would have no grounds to reproach them for the neglect of this treasure-chest, where "all the values of our precious privileges and liberties together with all the dispositions and acts are preserved as a remembrance and a store of information for the future". At all events, there were defects and disorder in quite many things and it was urgently necessary to instal firm, and at the same time good, order in the office¹⁰⁾.

It was altogether in the interests of the nobility that the conduct and management of the office should be the care of Patkul, who was already irreplaceable in knowledge of the material and explanation of the charters. Thus the archives of the nobility of Livonia came under Patkul's direct disposal.

But the abovementioned Diet in Vönnu (1692) had in the meantime come to the conclusion that the height of the conflict

⁷⁾ In the letter of the Diet to the Governor the following motives for its necessity were given, viz., "bey voriger Regentenzeit mit dieser Ritterschaft unter einem Rechte gestanden, auch die Cantzeley bey dahmahliger Veränderung des Landes dorthin nacher Churland transportiert..."

⁸⁾ Schirren, op. cit., pp. 130—131, 133—134.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

between the King and the nobility had already been passed. At this Diet, where a specially sharp tone was used in referring to the King, a committee of representatives of the nobility had been chosen arbitrarily, instructions for its activity had been drawn up and finally a reply had been sent to the King in a sufficiently sharp tone.

The King let things take their course and in the letters of the 2nd and 7th Nov. 1693 the County Councillors Vietinghoff and Budberg, the resident envoys Patkul and Baron Mengden, as well as the Secretary of the Noble's Association, Georg Friedrich Reutz, were ordered to go to Sweden. The County Marshal, Streiff von Lauenstein, was ordered to do the same. At the same time the King commanded the Governor-General to give orders that the following documents should be sent with them: 1) the report made by County Councillors Budberg and Captain Patkul to the Diet in Vönnu; 2) the *deliberanda* composed by the same Patkul; 3) the agreement come to at the Diet in Vönnu; 4) the so-called constitution of the money in the treasury, and 5) the plenary power given to the resident representative. The King demanded the originals of all these letters ¹¹⁾.

Governor-General Hastfer, who at this time was not in Livonia, sent the orders of the King for execution to Governor E. Soop, who, on the 27th November of the same year, sent the orders on to the abovementioned persons ¹²⁾, especially reminding the Secretary of the Noble's Association, Reutz (who, as the Secretary of the Noble's Association had the office at his disposal) and J. R. Patkul, the latter especially for the reason that the nobility had entrusted to him the management and preservation of the office ¹³⁾, meaning thereby, of course, the care of the archives, to take the papers with them.

The letter to Patkul with those demands could not be delivered to him any more in Livonia, because he had escaped already to Kuramaa. Nevertheless, Governor Soop sent the letter after him by a special messenger.

Patkul, after receiving the letter from the Governor, answered that he was ready to go to Sweden, but on condition that the King would grant him a safeconduct, as he had sufficient reasons to fear unjust treatment, especially from his personal enemy Governor-General Hastfer. But he flatly refused to obey the order to take the documents with him because, so far as concerns the office of the nobility, although he had been appointed its stew-

¹¹⁾ The archives of the Governor-General of Livonia of the Swedish times (= LRKkA), V — 17, the letters of the King in the years 1682—1693, the letters of Charles XI to Gov.-Gen. Hastfer on the 2nd and 7th Nov. 1693.

¹²⁾ LRKkA, IV — 30, Concepts of the year 1693. Concepts from the letters to Patkul, Reutz and others on the 27th Nov. 1693. — Buchholtz, op. cit., p. 101.

¹³⁾ "...weiln E. E. Ritterschaft Ihm die Direction und Verwarnung Ihrer Cancelley anvertrauet, und unter Händen gegeben..."

ard, he had no power "to dispose of the originals". Besides, he had already made arrangements to resign from his duties, so that now the Governor could, at his own discretion, address himself to those persons who had more right to decide about office affairs than he, Patkul¹⁴).

As regards "the disposal of the originals", we see that Patkul had more than disposed of them; at the beginning he had had them completely removed to some unknown place.

In the meantime these documents, which had been demanded of the accused and should have come under discussion as evidence of their guilt, were being expected in Sweden in vain. The King had appointed a commission with Bengt Oxenstierna as president and Johann Bergenhielm as prosecutor to examine this case. This commission repeatedly applied to the Governor-General to obtain the documents of the nobility for the court, and finally got the data about the disappearance of the archives of the nobility.

On the 31st of March 1694 the commission advised him that the letter presented to the commission by Bergenhielm demanded *pro impetranda citatione* that the County Councillors and County Marshals should present all public documents which, according to the letter of the King, they would be obliged to take with them. The Governor-General was to see to it that they presented those documents at the King's chancellery, the sooner the better¹⁵).

The County Councillors obviously had not all the documents which were demanded of them. On the 14th of May, 1694, the commission addressed Hastfer, communicating to him Bergenhielm's demands to Patkul to surrender to the King's chancellery the original of the report which was read to the nobility of Livonia at the Diet in Vönnu and also other letters, acts and documents taken by Patkul from the office of the nobility. Hastfer had to deliver these demands to Patkul¹⁶).

About the same time the commission ascertained the reasons

¹⁴) Gründliche jedoch bescheidene Deduction der Unschuld Joh. Reinhold von Patkul... Nebst denen völligen wider Ihn in Schweden Anno 1694 Ergangenen Acten, und zweyen rechtlichen Teutschen und Lateinischen Responsis, auch angefügten Collectaneis Livonicis.... (Leipzig. 1701), Allerhand andere Beylagen zu den Patkul. Acten, pp. 25—26. Copy of Patkul's answer to Soop, dated Erwahlen, the 8th (18) of December 1693.

¹⁵) LRKkA, VI — 14, Letter of the commission to Hastfer of the 31st of March 1684, Stockholm.

¹⁶) LRKkA, VI — 14, Letter of the commission to Hastfer of the 14th May 1684, Stockholm. — The so-called "relation" or report of the deputation had an interesting fate itself. Its original had been hidden by the merchant Gustav Russ, who was arrested and called to account in June 1695. Russ had also in other respects helped Patkul to hide and remove documents. (Buchholtz, op. cit., p. 111). During the sitting of the Diet where this "relation" originally was kept, it was removed, so that C. Schirren in publishing the proceedings of the Livonian Diet, could take this report not from the original but from a copy made in Leipzig in the year 1841. (Schirren, op. cit., p. 152.).

for the difficulties in obtaining the necessary documents — data were obtained of the actual removal of the archives, or, as the commission expressed itself, “att Ridderskapetz i Lyfland Cantzly skall wara mycket förskingrat”. Part of the acts, letters and protocols of these archives should have been found hidden in Livonia and the town of Riga¹⁷⁾, but part of them in Curonia. The commission stressed the fact that it was in the interests of the nobility to put their archive office into its original order, and that the documents in private hands should be restored to their former places. Instructions were given to Governor E. Soop to give orders at once after reception of the letter (on the 6th of June 1684 in Riga) to seal, with the government seal, all the rooms in which the documents of the nobility might be found, especially keeping in view Plater’s quarters and the house of Lindenstern, the Superintendent of Revenue. The Governor was to make it known that all people instrumental in hiding the acts and documents of the nobility would be considered as accomplices of the County Councillors brought up for trial. Later on when the inspection of the sealed rooms was being made, it was to be conducted by the Assessors, Schultz and Sternfelt, who, as former Secretaries of the Noble’s Association and therefore sufficiently informed about the documents belonging to the nobility, should be able to recognize and classify them. At first those documents, enumerated in a list attached to the letter of the commission, that is, those which were needed for the court proceedings, were to be looked for. Finally the commission wrote that County Marshal Streiff von Lauenstein had declared¹⁸⁾, that he had given the greater part of the archives of the nobility, according to an inventory prepared by him, to Patkul against his receipt. The commission wanted Streiff von Lauenstein to produce this receipt, but got only the information that the said receipt was among his papers either in Riga or in the country on his estate. Unresistingly he agreed to give up the receipt and wrote the corresponding instructions to his wife, which letter was sent to the Governor with the order to send the document immediately to Sweden¹⁹⁾.

¹⁷⁾ We know, that in Riga the removal of the documents was assisted by Major Gerhard Johann von Loewenwolde of Hastfer’s regiment who removed part of the papers to the house of von Lindenstern, the Superintendent of Revenue, and concealed a part in the fortress. O. Sjögren, Hist. Bibliotek 1880, p. 382.

¹⁸⁾ Altogether Streiff von Lauenstein had tried to be helpful and conciliatory. It is clear that we do not find his name in vain in the list composed by Michael von Segebade in 1693, “Specification der Wohlgesinnten aus den alten Geschlechtern”. (A. Buchholtz, op. cit., p. 220.).

¹⁹⁾ LRRkA, VI — 14, Letter of the commission (triplet) to Governor E. Soop dated 18th May 1694. This letter has been insufficiently discussed by A. Buchholtz, op. cit., p. 103. As the list of archives, added to the letter, which the commission needed first of all has not been mentioned or published by Buchholtz, we give it in original herewith, “Effterfölliande Acter och handlingar desidereras ännu till uplysning och efterrättelse utj den påbegynte Actionen emoot H. LandtRåden och de så kallade Re-

Governor E. Soop received this letter in Riga as already mentioned on the 6th of June and entered immediately upon the execution of his task. On the very same day he sent for Assessor Wilken and the Office-Notary Fauljoch and gave them instructions to go to the house of the Superintendent of the Revenue, Lindenstern, where Patkul had lived and after showing their orders to Lindenstern or to his wife, to search Patkul's rooms. They were especially to search for everything which might belong to the office of the nobility and to gather the corresponding material all into one room. All entrances to this room were to be sealed with the Governor-General's seal. The Superintendent of the Revenue and his family were to be warned that, in case anything was abstracted from the room, they would have to bear the responsibility. The same was to be done with Plater's flat, but as he was living with some citizen of the town, the mayor was to be informed also. All these arrangements were made so quickly that there was no time left even to give written orders to the officials. But still how the fulfilment of these tasks was attempted is fully described in the protocols. The officials went at once to Lindenstern's house where they were received by the members of his family. They went into Patkul's room, looked it over, found 2 open cupboards with drawers which were mostly empty, a bookshelf in the corner and on it mixed up bundles of paper and unbound books. Near the door was a fairly big black box, which Miss Lindenstern declared belonged to her father. During the time that the letters and bundles of paper were gathered together into one cupboard, it was noticed that the Lindensterns had removed the box from the room, but at the demand of Assessor Wilken it was brought back at once. Once the correspondence and other loose things were put into the cupboard, the windows of the room, the doors and the locks were sealed. After that a search of *Plater's* flat should have followed, but on arrival there it was discovered that during his stay in town he had been living with some citizen without having had a room for himself, and had always taken all his things with him on leaving. After hearing the results of the search Soop gave orders to examine the rooms of the office of the nobility as well. But these rooms proved to be the emptiest, as no documents could be found at all. The old caretaker explained that really he never had seen any chests with documents in the office. Only once a big box mounted with iron had been brought there to be removed again very soon — where

siderande i Lyffland". 1) Den Edelige Reversen, som uthskättet af Ridderskapet with Landtdagen i Dorpt underskif wit, angående deras sammanbindelse och förtygande af det wyd Landtdagen utj uthskättet passerat. 2) Alle LandDagars Recesser håldne ifrån A^o 1680 till 1693 inclusive. 3) Dhe Deputerades A^o 1690 eller 1691 till Ridderskapet om deras förättning öfwerskickade Bref och skriwelser. 4) Dhe Residerandes håldne Protocoller widh deras Instruction, den så kallade Constitutionen och det hårda till Kongl. Ma^{tt} A^o 1692 öfwerskickade brefwet conciperan- och uppsättiande.

he did not know. One cupboard for files was found in the office, but its shelves were empty. Thus the archives of the nobility of Livonia had disappeared from Riga and only the list of the archives was found at the County Marshal's ²⁰).

As only the list of the documents had been found and the deeds demanded by the commission were still missing, Governor Soop as a last resort could only suppose that they might be found in Patkul's flat among the sealed papers and books. On the 16th of June 1694 he gave instructions to Assessors Schultze ²¹) and Sternfelt to go, together with the representative of the nobility, Lieutenant Colonel Albedyl, into Patkul's room, to open the seals and in the presence of the Superintendent of the Revenue, Lindenster, to examine especially the box, the contents of which were not yet known. The Governor gave them a list of the records especially wanted, though he impressed upon them that it was their duty to look also for other documents belonging to the nobility. All deeds, not demanded by the King's commission as well as private papers, etc., were to be left there sealed as before. In case the documents wanted could not be found in the sealed chest and cupboards, Superintendent Lindenster was to swear under oath if he knew where the archives of the office of the nobility were hidden, whether they were in his hands, or somewhere else in the town, or on some estate in the country, or even quite outside Livonia. Orders were given to caution the Superintendent of the Revenue before taking his oath that in case of any concealment he would be regarded as an accomplice.

The Assessors could not on the same day execute the tasks put upon them because the Superintendent of Revenue had gone away over the Dvina. On the next day towards evening he was at home and now they could start opening Patkul's room. Although Lindenster went with them, yet he declared before entering that he was not in any way connected with this matter.

The seals were found intact and the room was opened. The first thing to do now was to search the mysterious box. Lindenster declared that, although the box was his, the things in it belonged to Patkul. The key of the box could not be found and the lock had to be opened by a locksmith. In the mean time the assessors examined the papers in the cupboard and saw that there was really nothing in them which might belong to the office of the nobility, except perhaps some certified copies of charters confirmed by the King.

In the meantime the locksmith had opened the box. It was found to be full of books. The Assessors were even doubtful whether it would be worth while to look the box through, though finally they did do it all the same. The results were not much to speak of; besides books there were only some private letters and

²⁰) Buchholtz, op. cit., pp. 197—202.

²¹) LRKkA, II, 14 (a. 1694), fol. 165—166.

files of court cases. Of the latter some very likely did not belong to Patkul, because as we see later on, there were found among Patkul's archives also material belonging to the Livonian Land Court.

At the end of the search Lindenstern had to swear that he had concealed nothing and then, after Patkul's books and boxes had been sealed as before, the room was again put at Lindenstern's disposal²²⁾.

Thus another hope of finding the archives of the nobility of Livonia was lost²³⁾.

In the meantime a secret search went on also outside the frontiers of Livonia. Governor Soop had heard from a book-keeper, Rehberg, formerly employed by the nobility, that in Curo-nia, on Lindenstern's mortgaged estate Lammingen, he had seen a box containing the archives of the nobility. When later Rehberg was sent by Lindenstern to Lammingen, he received secret instructions concerning this box. But already on the 7th July 1694 Rehberg was able to report that the box was not there any more.

Before going to Sweden Patkul had given instructions to send this box to the estate of Dorsuppen, to the care of Senior Captain von Bockum's wife. There two more boxes with unknown contents were supposed to be²⁴⁾.

Although at first it seemed that the disappearance of the archives was complete and nothing more could be done, after some weeks quite new and surprising circumstances came to light.

Governor Soop was informed that Pastor Ludecus of Papendorf (who had been in office only since 1691) had received a letter from Patkul during Christmas 1693 and one in February 1694. In these letters Patkul asked the pastor to go to his, Patkul's, estate, Waidau and bring from there some documents, books and clothes, and send them to him by Lindenstern. Ludecus had done so. Still later, in June 1694, Patkul had again written to him, asking him to bring from Brinkenhof the mortgaged estate of his brother-in-law, regimental quartermaster von Dannenfeld, from his, Patkul's, things some pages rolled up and tied with a string and to throw them into the fire without reading them.

That also Ludecus had done immediately on the following day, even engaging the help of a locksmith to obtain the papers wanted. It is clear from this that Patkul kept the most secret part of the archives in Brinkenhof, where probably the really

²²⁾ Buchholtz, op. cit., pp. 203—205.

²³⁾ The results of the search at Patkul's flat were communicated by Gov. E. Soop to the King's commission on the 18th of June 1694, awaiting new instructions for the continuation of the search and on his side, too, keeping a look out.

²⁴⁾ Buchholtz, op. cit., pp. 103—107. LRKkA, III, 7, fol. 94—95.

compromising evidence about his supposedly far-reaching plans was to be found.

In Waidau it seems were kept most of the official archives of the nobility and Patkul did not succeed in doing anything more to "save" them. But he succeeded in removing his whole archives from Brinkenhof. A few days after the burning of the above-mentioned documents there came to the parsonage Gustav Russ, a merchant from Riga, and asked Ludecus to hand over to him all Patkul's papers which could be found in Brinkenhof. Ludecus did so; it appeared that among these materials there was also the original of Patkul's report on his trip to Sweden which he had read at the Diet in Vönnu and which was wanted by the Governor and the commission. Russ sent these documents to Major Vietinghoff in Curonia.

All this happened at the time when organized searches were being made in Riga to find Patkul's and the Livonian nobility's archives.

Hitherto everything had been kept secret. On the 14th August, 1694, Pastor Ludecus arrived again at Waidau and there found Patkul's brother, Charles Patkul, to whom he read a letter and asked to be permitted to force open the lock of a store-room where Joh. Reinhold Patkul's archives were kept and to take them away and send them on to their owner. Charles Patkul did not permit this, on the grounds that as the latter might be of great importance, investigations on their account might be made by the authorities, and if then he was proved to be an accessory to their removal, he might be accused of being disloyal to the state and his life and honour might be endangered.

What did the parson suppose would become of him and his family if such intrigues became public? On the contrary, he was happy that hitherto, thank God, he had had no suspicion of the existence of such dangerous documents, to say nothing of their being hidden in Waidau.

To make quite sure, Charles Patkul sealed all the corresponding cupboards and chests until official notice was taken of the materials to be found in them. Thus Ludecus did not attain his object, but he remained further in Waidau, drank together with Charles Patkul and Evert von Dannenfeld, till finally they quarrelled.

The last circumstance made the whole story known because each of them complained to the administration of the province.

Pastor Ludecus did not say a word about documents in his suit, but complained that he had been beaten for no reason whatever. As Ludecus wrote to his colleague, Myle, the parson of Dickeln, Charles Patkul had treated him as the Jews had treated Christ and finally had wanted to shoot him; Dannenfeld again had beaten him like a Turk.

At the trial in the Land Court in Tartu it was disclosed that both men, Charles Patkul and Evert Dannenfeld, really had treated

their pastor badly. Immediately on the pastor's entering the house, in answer to his greetings, they had shot from two big guns. They themselves at this time were walking about the room singing and bawling. After a short while the parson wanted to return home under the pretence of wanting to post one more letter, but they at once brought him paper and ink and made him write it there. Dannenfeld especially tried to quarrel with him and when he wanted to leave on account of being made to drink, Dannenfeld started to beat him. Charles Patkul once feigned sympathy in helping him up from the floor, but later Dannenfeld chased him round the house with a naked sword. At last the pastor escaped into the cart of a peasant and wanted to drive away, but the men came after him, pulled him off the cart crying "arrest, arrest!", carried him into the room, and put him on a chair near the stove, but from there they lifted him with the chair on to the table, insulted him by calling him a conspirator, a traitor, etc. On jumping down from the chair, he tried to escape, but they pulled him back by his hair and threw him on the floor, struck him in the face and continued to insult him, forced him to dance and sing, and when he refused to do so they beat him again. "Drink, pastor!" they shouted at him and by threatening him with a stick forced him to sing and dance. Only late at night did he manage to escape to his parsonage, though he was followed there and frightened by their shooting round the house.

At the trial many of the details were found to be true and the culprits were punished, but Ludecus did not succeed in concealing the fact that he wanted to remove Patkul's papers. Charles Patkul had already complained to the government that Ludecus had arbitrarily forced open the lock of a cupboard and removed from there some suspicious documents.

Later Charles Patkul himself came to town and gave more detailed particulars of the events.

Afraid that in thus working against his brother he might be attacked, he asked for protection, but the governor thought that the prevailing order was protection enough for him.

After having found new traces of the lost documents, Governor Soop gave orders to the notary of the Võnnu County Court, Martin ²⁵), to seal up all archives found in Waidaus and to interrogate Pastor Ludecus. The notary, Jacob Martin, was to demand from Ludecus all Patkul's letters and documents in his possession and order him to disclose everything known to him about Patkul's archives.

Without waiting for the results of the investigation and examination, Soop informed Governor-General Hastfer ²⁶), who at the time was in Sweden on account of the court proceedings

²⁵) LRKkA, II, 14, fol. 218—219.

²⁶) LRKkA, III, 7, fol. 149—151.

against Patkul, of as much as hitherto was known of the whole story.

The interrogation of Ludecus by notary Martin gave no results, because the pastor had no papers whatever any more, though the notary acted according to the instructions of the governor, sealed up the cupboards and, when he got detailed orders about their despatch to Riga executed them with the help of the proper officials²⁷⁾.

Patkul in Sweden had heard of the happenings from Pastor Ludecus and entered a vehement protest to Count Oxenstierna on the 2nd October 1694. He had hurried so fast from Curonia via Riga that he had had no time to put his things in the country into order, so he had left them in the care of Pastor Ludecus, who, afraid that through the carelessness of servants or other people, they might get lost, had sent them to Curonia to his other things. Some old useless concepts and letters he had burned, but those sent to Curonia were only materials concerning his estate.

Further he protested against Dannenfeld and his brother's treatment of Pastor Ludecus, as well as the sealing and removal to Riga of the archives found on his estates²⁸⁾.

Really in those cupboards, too, there was nothing incriminating as might have been seen from the useless examination of his room in Riga. —

Nevertheless it is clear that Patkul did not tell the truth in this letter. The Vönnu report which had been removed by Ludecus was no original document concerning his lands, but just one of those documents which were wanted. Of the burned letters anything might have been said afterwards.

Later in his public answer to Bergenhielm, which was printed in 1701 Patkul described the confiscation of his and the nobility's archives as an arbitrary act.

It was said that the arrest of the Secretary of the Noble's Association and the confiscation of the documents and property of the nobility prophesied a most unfortunate ending. In the same answer once more are recorded Ludecus's adventures in Waidau, and the subsequent sealing of the cupboards with the files and their confiscation are described as characteristic of the arbitrary acts of the Swedish administration²⁹⁾.

In Riga the documents which had been obtained with such great trouble by the government were looked through and among them were found a good many which were wanted by the Royal Commission.

At this time there had already arrived the order to arrest Gustav Russ and Pastor Ludecus. This was done without any

²⁷⁾ LRKkA, II, 14, fol. 254—259.

²⁸⁾ Gründliche iedoch bescheidene Deduction ... Allerhand andere Beylagen zu der Patkul. Acten p. 34 ff.

²⁹⁾ Gründlich iedoch bescheidene Deduction ... Rechtliches Responsum, pp. 49—50, 135—136.

difficulty. As we know already from Kelch's chronicles, Pastor Ludecus was sent in irons through Estonia and Finland to Sweden. Together with him were also sent the documents which were necessary as incriminating evidence. The archives concerning Patkul had been already sent earlier directly over the sea ³⁰).

In Sweden, Ludecus was accused of concealing the papers and was found guilty, though by a special decision of the King he was pardoned. But the pastor was fated never to put his foot again on the soil of Livonia, as on the way back to Riga he died on the ship just on arrival in the harbour.

At the end of the year 1694 yet another small part of Patkul's letters and other belongings, which his local postmaster Bruns had brought with him from Stockholm, was recovered. Soop had heard of this privately and given instructions to hand over the box intact to the Governor-General's office ³¹).

In Waidau in the meantime the archives discovered had been sorted out. Instructions from Sweden were awaited as to their further disposal.

After the conclusion of the legal proceedings it was found most natural and proper to return all the archives which had no connection with the case to the corresponding institutions. Thus there were returned to the Livonian Land Court, from among Patkul's documents, the records of the law suit between him and the tailor Foss, which for some unexplained reasons had come into his hands ³²).

A whole series of Patkul's papers which were considered necessary in the proceedings in insolvency of the creditors were given back by the governor-general at the request of the plaintiffs, Lindernstern, Ihnken and others, to the correspondending County Courts ³³).

Finally there was left the bigger part of the nobility's office documents. This too it was decided to return to their rightful owners.

In the proposals to the Diet convened in the autumn of 1695 Hastfer provided a special pragraph ³⁴) and stated that the nobility could not be ignorant of the fact that on account of one person (here, of course, Patkul was meant) to whom they had entrusted the care of their office, the archives had in the meantime fallen into the hands of strangers, and now had been recovered owing to the special care and pains taken by the government. Now he was in a position to return, on the most gracious order of his royal majesty, the archives together with the charters, deeds, recesses and documents. Hastfer demanded the appointment by

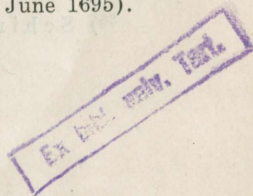
³⁰) LRKkA, I, 19, fol. 120.

³¹) LRKkA, II, 14, fol. 348.

³²) LRKkA, IV, 33, concept of a letter to the Land Court of the 18th June 1695.

³³) LRKkA, I, 20, Prot. 1695. (protocols of the 8th of June 1695).

³⁴) Schirren, op. cit., p. 251.



the nobility of representatives who could receive from him the archives against a proper receipt and transfer them to the office of the nobility for better care.

The end of Patkul's law suit and his further adventures and fate are sufficiently known to us on general lines, but so far as single questions and the final synthesis are concerned, the valuation and the disclosure of his real part are still dark in spite of the accumulation of a great number of writings.

Having escaped from Sweden, Patkul passed many years abroad and wrote for his justification and protection voluminous works full of refutations which are richly provided with historical material concerning his own person as well as the rights and privileges of the Livonian nobility. For that he obviously was able to use the documents in his hands as well as those which he had succeeded in removing from Livonia during the law suit. Though these documents were not the most important part of the archives of the nobility, yet they left a void.

It must be noted that the preservation of the documents in the governmental institutions also had not been too good and at about the same time, when the question of Patkul's archives was on the order of the day and correspondence with Patkul was forbidden, the King had to publish a national warning, prohibiting the preservation of state documents in private hands and their transfer to others. This order was not the first nor the last of its kind.

On the capitulation of Riga to the Russians the nobility tried to use the occasion to complete their archives from the LRKkA collections.

In the conditions of the capitulation in 1710 the transfer of the LRKkA archives to Sweden was provided for. But even before the departure of Governor-General Niels Stromberg from Riga, the nobility addressed themselves to him with the supplication to leave and hand over to the nobility the *corpus privilegiorum* of the nobility as well as other docketts and files from the archives of the Governor-General. According to the register of the Governor-General their removal should have been accomplished easily and the former Secretary, Michael von Segebade, had already given permission for their delivery. But Stromberg in his resolution refused this petition, because otherwise he would have been acting against the conditions of the capitulation if he had left behind part of the materials of his office³⁵).

But later, as is well known, on the order of the Russian authorities the whole archives of the LRKkA were left behind in Riga. It is not known whether the nobility obtained materials to complete their archives, though at present there are in the LRKkA very few things which directly concern the nobility.

³⁵) Schirren, op. cit., pp. 327—328.

So what Patkul in 1692 and Hastfer in 1695 used to urge upon the nobles finally came true: the nobility of Livonia looked after its archives better. But Patkul's private collection was ruined and scattered in different directions.

Johann Reinhold Patkuli ja Liivimaa rüütelkonna arhiivist a-il 1694—1695.

Arhivaalide tähtsus õigusliku ja poliitilise relvana esineb kujukalt Balti ajaloos tuntud Johann Reinhold Patkuli afääris. Sattudes kuningaga vastuollu, püüdis Patkul igal viisil hankida enesele dokumente, eriti 1692. a. Võnnu maapäevaga seoses olevaid, millistest selgesti nähtus Liivimaa mõisnike ässitamine Rootsi kuninga vastu Patkuli poolt.

Kui Rootsi võimud hiljem nõudsid Võnnu maapäevaga seoses olevaid dokumente Patkulil asja kohtulikul juurdlusel, siis selgus, et olulised ja Patkulit kompromiteerivad materjalid olid kadunud. Pandi toime läbiotsimisi Patkuli elukohtades Riias ja Kuramaal, kust saadi kätte mõningaid tähtsuseta dokumente. Väärtuslikuma osa oma arhiivist oli Patkul toimetanud juba kindlamasse kohta. Patkulile mõningate dokumentide hankimist, kuid ka nende hävitamist toimis Papendorfi pastor Ludecus, kes hiljem asja ilmsiks tulles vangistati võimude poolt ja saadeti Rootsi.

Rootsi saabunud arhivaalide hulgas leidis palju ka Liivimaa rüütelkonnale ja õuekohtule kuuluvaid materjale, mis hiljem, protsessi lõppedes tagasi saadeti vastavaile asutistele. Liivimaa rüütelkonna 1695. a. maapäevalt võeti aga kohustus, et privileegid, retsessid ja muud ametlikud aktid ei satuks tulevikus enam eraisikute kätte.

Rootsis vahepeal surma mõistetud Patkulil õnnestus põgenemisel välismaale kaasa võtta hulk ära kirju ta protsesside toimikuist ja rüütelkonna dokumentidest. Neid kasutas ta hiljem mitmes oma teoses oma teguviisi õigustamiseks. Kuninga poolt keelati kõigil Rootsi alamail kirjavahetus Patkuliga ja nõuti veel kord, et erakätes olevad riiklikud dokumendid antaks kohe tagasi vasta-vaile asutistele.