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«WHO INSTRUCTED OUR TROOPS ON HOW TO REACH  
NOVGOROD»: IVAN ŠVAL´ IN CONTEMPORARY  
SWEDISH SOURCES<sup>1</sup>

Among the Novgorodians who firmly chose the Swedish party during and after the Swedish-Novgorodian alliance 1611–1617, Ivan Šval´, serf of the metropolitan steward I. Z. Lutochin<sup>2</sup> and generally believed to have helped the Swedish forces to find and exploit a weak spot in the city defence (having himself been made a captive some time earlier), is probably best known to the general reader today. One reason for this is the fact that his actions were mentioned in Solov´ev's *History of Russia from the Earliest Times*<sup>3</sup>, but it can also arguably be linked to a certain proclivity in modern Russian societal discourse for explaining adversities as resulting from the acts of 'traitors'<sup>4</sup>. Yet, in careful scholarship, there has often remained some healthy scepticism as to Ivan's rôle, since his name has been completely missing from known Swedish sources. However, newly discovered documents in Swedish archives throw new light on the situation and turn out to support the local Novgorodian tradition as apparently formed in 1611 or soon thereafter.

The only even roughly contemporary Russian source mentioning Šval´ in connection with the reduction of Novgorod is the so-called *New Chronicle* («Новый летописец»), which was composed in the 1620s or 1630s and was to enjoy considerable popularity in the seventeenth century. In the

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<sup>1</sup> The research for this paper has been graciously supported by the Magn. Bergvall Foundation and the Lars Hierta Memorial Foundation, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>2</sup> On Lutochin, who had, or had had, property on Ćudinceva Street, see *Селин А. А.* Дьяк Семен Лутохин и его родственники, at: <http://nwae.spbu.ru/pdf/314/p2.pdf>. С. 7 (accessed on 20 April 2015).

<sup>3</sup> *Соловьев С. М.* История России с древнейших времен в пятнадцати книгах. 1960. Кн. IV. Т. 8. М. С. 649.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, we find an entry on Šval´ in, for example, *Каравашкин В. В.* Кто предавал Россию. М., 2008. The man is probably also immortalised in the Russian word "шваль", originally signifying 'tailor' but now exclusively carrying the pejorative meaning 'riff-raff', which, partly using Novgorodian 19<sup>th</sup>-century oral tradition, A. I. Semenov derives from the subject of our paper and his 1611 moment of glory (*Семенов А. И.* О новгородском происхождении современного значения слова «шваль». ТОДРЛ. 1958. Т. XIV. С. 595–596; cf. O. N. Trubačëv's note in: *Фасмер М.* Этимологический словарь русского языка. М., 1973. Т. IV. С. 417).

younger of the two main textual branches of the *Chronicler*, to which all published recensions belong we read: «Въ то же время бысть у Нѣмецъ въ полону Ивановъ человекъ Лутохина Ивашко Шваль и обѣцая имъ, что вести ихъ въ городъ. Во градѣ же въ тѣ поры по стѣнамъ стража худа. Той же Ивашко приведе ихъ ноцію въ городъ въ Чюдинцовскія ворота, и въ городъ внидоша, никто ихъ не видалъ»<sup>5</sup>. In the theologically and literarily more developed long redaction of the *Tale of the Siege of the Monastery of Tichvin by the Swedes in 1613* («Сказание о осаде Тихвинского монастыря шведами в 1613 г.»), written in 1658<sup>6</sup>, we learn how an anonymous «злый рабъ», identifiable with the *Chronicler's* Ivaško Šval', «отбѣгаетъ изъ града къ сему злодѣивому Нѣмецкому воеводѣ Якову Пунтосову въ полки, и обѣцается ему безъ кровопролитыя брани отворити градныя врата, самъ же отъ него проситъ еже свободитися ему отъ господина своего и отъ его работнаго ига; и тако ноцію приведе ихъ къ Чюдинцовскимъ вратомъ, и подползъ подъ врата и отвори

<sup>5</sup> Thus ПСРЛ. 1910. Т. XIV. 1-ая половина. СПб. С. 113–114. Cf. in the Obolenskij copy: «Прилучижеся тогда у Нѣмецъ въ плѣнъ человекъ Ивана Лутохина Ивашка Шваль, той обѣцая Нѣмцовъ вести въ Новградъ, и приведе ихъ ноцію въ Чудовскіе ворота, и тайно шведши начаша побивати стражей на стѣнѣ и на вратѣхъ» (Новый летописец, составленный в царствование Михаила Феодоровича, издан по списку Князя Оболенского. М., 1853. С. 140), and in the *Chronicle of Many Turmoils* («Летопись о многих мятежах»): «Въ тожь время бысть у Нѣмецъ въ полону Ивановъ человекъ Лутохина Ивашко Шваль [sic – А.Р.-М.], и обѣцая имъ вести ихъ въ городъ. Во градѣхъ въ тѣ поры бысть по стѣнамъ стража худа; той Ивашка приведе ихъ ноцію въ городъ въ Чудинцовскія ворота, и въ Новъ городъ внидоша, никто бы ихъ не слыша; послышашажъ въ тѣ поры, какъ начашу сѣщи стражи по городу и по дворамъ.» (Летопись о многих мятежах и о разорении Московскаго государства от внутренних и внешних неприятелей и от прочих тогдашних времен многих случаев по преставлении Царя Иоанна Васильевича; а паче о между-государствовании по кончине Царя Феодора Иоанновича, и о учиненном исправлении книг в царствовании Благовернаго Государя Царя Алексея Михайловича в 7163 (1655) году. Собрано из древних тех времен описаний. 2-е изд. СПб., 1788. С. 227.). These three recensions all belong to the Undol'skij redaction («редакция Ундольского» – V. G. Vovina-Lebedeva's term), whereas all copies belonging to the earlier Academic redaction («Академическая редакция» – V. G. Vovina-Lebedeva's term), which, generally, appears to retain many primary readings, remain unpublished. Cf. *Вовина-Лебедева В. Г. Новый летописец: история текста*. СПб., 2004. С. 39, 195 (*stemma codicum*). It should be pointed out that some of the data on Novgorod under the Swedes may, in Vovina-Lebedeva's hypothesis (Ibidem. С. 312–315, 333–335, cf. 289–290), derive from Сyprian (Киприан), at the time archimandrite of the Monastery of the Transfiguration at Chutyn', later metropolitan of Novgorod. On Сyprian's development, in Zamjatin's analysis, from being a supporter of the Swedish cause at his arrival at Novgorod in 1612 until late 1614, when he gradually turns into a central figure in the city's pro-Muscovite party, see A. Odinkov's electronical edition of Zamjatin's doctoral dissertation: *Замятин Г. А. Очерки по истории шведской интервенции в Московском государстве начала XVII века*. Молотов, 1942 (Очерк II. Л. 41–42) at: <http://www.proza.ru/2013/02/16/930> (accessed on 12 May 2015).

<sup>6</sup> On which, see *Енин Г. П. Сказание о осаде Тихвинского монастыря шведами в 1613 г.* // *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси*. Вып. 3 (XVII в.). Ч. 3. СПб., 1998. С. 425–428.

ихъ; они же врази, вшедше во градъ»<sup>7</sup>. Even in the *Annals* («Временник») traditionally ascribed to Ivan Timofeev and possibly predating the *New Chronicle* we learn how the Swede, «не о Бозе, но льстивне стену прелез, вшед в мя [i.e. Новгород /A.P.-M.]»<sup>8</sup>, in which words a scholar has, quite reasonably, identified an allusion to treason<sup>9</sup>.

The problem with the exclusively Russian sources for Šval's rôle in 1611 has remained, however; the more so since they appear to contradict the eyewitness testimony of M. Schaum from the storming of the city<sup>10</sup>. As an explanation it has been suggested that the plan based on information from this Novgorodian serf was kept a secret from mercenaries such as Schaum, whereas his actions became known in the city after it was taken<sup>11</sup>. Furthermore, a confirmation of sorts has been sought and found in the perceived fact that Šval received three quarters (четверти) of rye by the Swedes in September 1612, which might then have been a kind of remuneration for his treason<sup>12</sup>. However, A. A. Selin has since pointed out that the receptor in question was the under-secretary (*подьячий*) Ivan Prokof'ev, not Ivan Šval',

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<sup>7</sup> Quoted from the appendix to the *Third Novgorod Chronicle*: ПСРЛ. 1841. Т. III. С. 284–285. Cf. Семенов А. И. О новгородском происхождении. С. 595–596; Седов П. В. Интриги Смутного времени, или Как холоп Шваль предал новгородцев // Военно-исторический журнал. 1996. № 2. С. 84–89, at С. 87. (For the miniatures depicting Šval' in this episode, see Енин Г. П. Шведская оккупация Новгородской земли в русской книжной миниатюре // Чело. 2008. № 1 (41). С. 54–60, esp. С. 56). Welcome as any new data would have been, it must be remembered that accreting details in a late, tendentious work by no means necessarily add to our knowledge of what actually took place, and the *Tale* appears to make an attempt at creating a more clear-cut image of a traitor (cf., in particular: «бысть у Нѣмецъ въ полоу» vs «отбѣзаетъ изъ града къ сему злодѣйному Немецкому воеводѣ»). It is a curious fact that a family tradition makes the French interpreter (previously?) in Muscovite service, Važen Ivanov / Benjamin Barohn, present himself to De la Gardie during the siege in a somewhat similar fashion to that of Šval' in the *Tale*, having somehow escaped from the city (*Pereswetoff-Morath A. I. Straddling Cultural and Political Borders in Swedish Ingria. The Case of Benjamin Barohn (Važen Ivanov) // Исторические биографии в контексте региональных и имперских границ Северной Европы: материалы Международного научного семинара*. СПб., 2013. С. 64–68, at 64).

<sup>8</sup> Временник Ивана Тимофеева. СПб., 2004. С. 78; the title translated thus by К. М. Cook–Норуѣ.

<sup>9</sup> Седов П. В. Интриги Смутного времени. С. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Schaum M. Tragoedia Demetrio-Moscovitica. Rostock, 1614. F. eijj verso. Cf., for example, Седов П. В. Захват Новгорода шведами в 1611 г. // Новгородский исторический сборник. 1994. Вып. 4 (14). Новгород. С. 116–127, at С. 122. In Swedish *historiography* the Russian version is not entirely unknown, however; cf., for example, *Almquist H. Sverige och Ryssland. Tvisten om Estland, förbundet mot Polen, de ryska gränsländens eröfring och den stora dynastiska planen*. Uppsala, 1907. S. 247; *Sveriges krig 1611–1632*. Bd 1. Stockholm, 1936. S. 370.

<sup>11</sup> Седов П. В. Шваль Иван. // Великий Новгород. История и культура IX–XVII веков. Энциклопедический словарь. СПб., 2007. С. 536; cf. Idem. Интриги Смутного времени. С. 87–88.

<sup>12</sup> Седов П. В. Захват Новгорода шведами. С. 122; cf. G. M. Kovalenko's commentary in: *Видекинд Ю. История десятилетней шведско-московитской войны* / Пер. С. А. Аннинского, А. М. Александрова; под ред. В. Л. Янина, А. Л. Хорошкевич. М., 2000. С. 594.

and likewise it was the former who, in 1614, was beaten up by peasants as he was inspecting the harvest at Těsovo<sup>13</sup>. Selin suggests that the mere two actual mentions of Šval' in the Novgorod Occupation Archives at Stockholm, both in the second half of 1616, may indicate that he was not, as a rule, in Novgorod at all<sup>14</sup>.

Ivan's pro-Swedish position is confirmed when he is mentioned among the Novgorodians pledging fidelity to king Gustavus Adolphus, and not merely his younger brother, in 1615<sup>15</sup>. In G. A. Zamjatin's 1942 doctoral dissertation, we find in this context a curious remark to the effect that Šval' was ennobled as a result of his pledge (*"За присягу королю Ивашико Шваль стал дворянином"*)<sup>16</sup>. A possible interpretation of so very unlikely a scenario is presented below. Whatever privileges Šval' enjoyed, however, he was struck by severe misfortune when, in September 1616, or shortly thereafter, he was judged negligent in connection with a major horse theft where his servant was culpable, and condemned to pay an indemnity to M. A. Peresvĕtov, who had lost two horses in the event<sup>17</sup>. (We note in this connection that the former

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<sup>13</sup> Селин А. А. Новгородское общество в эпоху Смуты. СПб., 2008. С. 188 (notwithstanding the commentary in: Видекин Ю. История десятилетней шведско-московитской войны. М., 2000. С. 594).

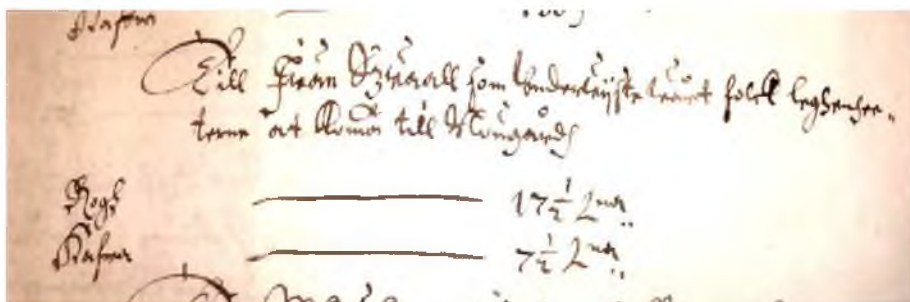
<sup>14</sup> Ibidem. С. 187. The first of these occasions has Šval' as head of the guard on the Slavenskij gate in July 1616. We note that in the document we read of an Ivan Prokof'ev (Riksarkivet, Stockholm (henceforth: RA), Ockupationsarkivet från Novgorod (henceforth: NOA). II: 42. Bl. 9v). In recent literature Šval' is generally given this patronymicon, but I am not aware of which archival source this goes back to. On the second of the two occasions, however, concerning a horse theft in September 1616 (cf. below), where Šval' has had the specific charge to *«стоят на ставе и Новагорода остерегают ото всякого дурна, и он того не уберег»* (see Ibidem. С. 564; the quotation is from RA. NOA. II: 165. Bl. 13), we also read more specifically: *«А Иванов члвкъ Шваля [over the line: Харка] стоял з гсдрем своимъ с Ываном у Славенскихъ дорог на заставе»* (RA. NOA. II: 165. Bl. 5), which is suggestive of the two men's being one. We might add a third mention of him from when, in 1613/14, he actually *has* been allocated rye, namely in the village of Korolĕvo (RA. NOA. Serie 2: 85. Bl. 1: *«опрочѣ того что дано Ивану Швалю на полвѣтити ржи»*; cf. Ibidem. Bl. 6; cf. also RA. NOA. Serie 2: 273. Bl. 5; Löfstrand E, Nordquist L. Accounts of an Occupied City: Catalogue of the Novgorod Occupation Archives 1611–1617. [Series 2]. Stockholm, 2009. S. 139, 328). Notwithstanding Löfstrand & Nordquist's reference to the *«under-secretary Ivan Šval'»* in connection with the Korolĕvo rye (Op. cit. S. 139; also in the index), no title is given in the original document. Probably, the identification of the *pod'jačij* Ivan Prokof'ev as Šval', current in the 2000s, is to blame here, suggesting itself the more insistently because the reference to Šval' is preceded in the document by the mention of several *d'jaki*.

<sup>15</sup> Селин А. А. Новгородское общество... С. 384.

<sup>16</sup> Замятин Г. А. Очерки по истории шведской интервенции (Очерк II. Л. 89), at <http://www.proza.ru/2013/02/16/930> and (endnote): <http://www.proza.ru/2013/02/16/946> (accessed on 12 May 2015). The probable source for this particular piece of information is РГАДА. Ф. 96. Шведские дела 1616 г. № 7. Unfortunately, a cursory study of the micro-filmed act (Zamjatin supplies no folio number) did not reveal the information in question (RA. Mikrofilm FO35–31044).

<sup>17</sup> RA. NOA. Serie 2: 165; see Селин А. А. Новгородское общество. С. 564; Löfstrand E., Nordquist L. Accounts of an Occupied City. S. 82, 220–221; cf. Löfstrand E. En häststöld i Novgorod 1616 // Fjortonde nordiska slavistmötet, Helsingfors, 17–23 augusti 1997. Program och resuméer [Parallell Russian title]. [Helsinki], 1997 [unpaginated].

serf Ivaško now has his own servants.) To what further extent this had any effect on his career has remained unknown. In fact, only a single possible piece of information on Ivan's life prior or posterior to the years 1611–16 has been identified, namely the mention of one Ivanko Šval' in 1577, who might possibly be identified with the subject of this paper<sup>18</sup>. This would make the «traitor» of 1611 rather an elderly man as the *Tale of the Siege of the Monastery of Tichvin* sends him crawling under the city gate.



'J. De la Gardie's attestation of payment to I. Šval' for helping the Swedish troops "reach Novgorod" (Riksarkivet, Stockholm. M1287(:1): Ang. arméns proviantering m.m).'

Despite problems with the Russian sources, however, recently discovered documents in Swedish and German in Swedish archives allow us not only partly to confirm the rôle of Ivan Šval' in the capture of Novgorod but also further to trace some aspects of Swedish attitudes towards him. The Swedish military accounts from the operations in Russia in 1609–17 contain a section in which Jacob De la Gardie with a stroke of the pen confirms the payment of several sums of money for which there are, in 1617, no receipts or vouchers. Even though, in this specific file, we mainly expect expenses from the years 1615–17, there are several posts in the section that pertain to an earlier period. Thus, we find an undated disbursement to do with Stepan Tatiščev's embassy to Novgorod, which is known to have taken place in May 1612<sup>19</sup> (this is the entry immediately following the one to be discussed below, but chronology has not been a main concern for the compiler of the list), but also, e.g., expenses for two series of wages from the timespans December 1611 – January 1613 and October 1611 – 8 May 1613. Among the expenses thus signed by De la Gardie, we recently identified an undated entry, specifying the substantial payment of 17.5 barrels of rye (probably ca. 2.5 cubic meters) and 7.5 barrels of oats «*Till Iwan Szwaall som wnderwijste värt folck legghenheeterne at komma till Nougårdh*» (i.e. «*For Ivan Šval' who instructed*

<sup>18</sup> *Селин А. А.* Новгородское общество... С. 187–188.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem.* С. 476.

our troops on how to reach Novgorod»)<sup>20</sup>. The vagueness of the wording and the brevity of the entry render a more exact translation impossible or at least undesirable; the Swedish «legghenheeterne» may signify both the geographical facts on the ground and more general circumstances, possibilities and contingencies<sup>21</sup>. The vagueness in combination with the silence of Swedish narrative sources unfortunately still prevent us from gauging precisely how crucial was the rôle of Šval´ in the reduction of the city. The Swedish entry, which was for internal accounting use and would not have had to embellish the skill and prowess of the Swedes during the storming by way of downplaying any rôle of Šval´'s, meshes reasonably well with the earliest Russian source («объясая имъ, что ввести ихъ въ городъ ... приведе ихъ ноцию въ городъ въ Чюдинцовскія ворота, и въ городъ внидоша», where we particularly note the juxtaposition of «*he led*» and «*they entered*»), no matter their complete mutual independence. (We should note here once again that the *New Chronicler* is preferable as a source to the later *Tale*, whose details smack with apocrypha.) The silence on Šval´ in other Swedish sources on the siege and capture might mean that he was *not* thought to have been indispensable. Nonetheless, as we shall see soon, nor was he hid away or his services unrewarded.

Regardless of what Zamjatin's source may have said, the humble Ivan Šval´, who may have started out as a tailor, never became – and never could have become – a Swedish nobleman, the more so without there being a documentary trace in Swedish archives. His Novgorod contemporaries may, however, have noticed that for a short while he did become a landholder, a *pomeščik* of sorts. Among the Novgorodians – broadly defined – who during these years received such land in Ingria as was to be confirmed in 1617 or later, we find not only nobles (the so-called *bayors*, *ryssebajjorerne*<sup>22</sup>), Tatar servitors, and *zemcy* or «half bayors» (*halbajjorer*, *полубаяре*), but also meaner officials, under-secretaries and scribes<sup>23</sup>, some townsmen, and even

<sup>20</sup> Desse effter: *ne* vthgifter äre effter H: N: *dz* Fältherrens Befalning på åthskillighe tijdher leffwereradhe, och är inge quitentzier vpå etc. Bl. 5v. // RA. M1287(:1): Ang. arméns proviantering m.m.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ordbok över svenska språket utgiven av Svenska Akademien. Bd 16. Lund, 1942. Kol. 1522–7.

<sup>22</sup> On whom, e.g., *Lind J. H.* De Ingermanlandske «Ryss-Bajorer». Deres sociale og genalogiske baggrund // *Gentes Finlandiae*. 1984. Vol. 6. Helsingfors. S. 7–76; *Пересветов–Мурат А. И.* Из Ростова в Ингерманландию: М. А. Пересветов и другие русские байгор'ы // *Новгородский исторический сборник*. 1999. Вып. 7 (17). С. 366–378. We await a Swedish-language study commissioned by the Aminoff family in Finland from the young Finnish historian Dr Kasper Kepsu. On the word and concept(s) «ba(i)jor» in early modern Swedish, see now: *Толстиков А. В.* Русские социально-политические реалии в зеркале шведского языка XVI–XVII вв.: бояре и bajorer // *Университеты в образовательном пространстве региона: опыт, традиции, инновации: Материалы научно-методической конференции (16–17 февраля 2010 г.)*. Петрозаводск, 2010. Ч. II. (Л–Я). С. 241–245, a planned expanded version of which is eagerly awaited.

<sup>23</sup> One Russian *pod'jačij* was kept in each Ingrian town even decades after 1617 (*Pereswetoff–Morath A. I.* Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländsk *diak* // *Novgorodiana Stockholmiensia*. Stockholm; Novgorod, 2012. S. 80–110, with a Russian translation).

Orthodox priests and monks<sup>24</sup>. The allocation (*förläning*) of Ingrian hamlets and villages – temporary ones from the field marshal («fältmarskalken»; Evert Horn af Kanckas, † 30 July 1615) or the commander-in-chief («fältherren»; Jacob De la Gardie), or (more) permanent ones from the king himself<sup>25</sup> – became particularly common from ca. 1615, probably as a consequence of a growing understanding that this part of Novgorodia was very likely to become Swedish (cf., e. g., the revision of Ingria – with Gdovia and the Sumro *pogost* – of 1615, mainly aimed at analysing the state of various kinds of land and at identifying sources of income, which was carried out together with two Russian audit officers from among the future *bayors*)<sup>26</sup>, but also, it seems reasonable to assume, because several of the above-mentioned pledges to the king and actions ensuing from them needed to be rewarded<sup>27</sup>.

In an undated list of allocations in Caporie (Копорье) *län* from 1615, or possibly 1616, we learn that Ivan Švalin («*Iuann Šualin*») possesses a deed of allocation from De la Gardie for the villages «*Buura*» ([Старая] Бу-ря; 4 *obžas*) and «*Klesina*» (Клясино; 11 *obžas*) in the Zamoš'e *pogost*<sup>28</sup>. Similarly, we find him as Ivan Švalev («*Ifuan Swalhoff*») among the landholders of the Caporie *län* in 1616, in a list specifying that his villages,

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<sup>24</sup> *Pereswetoff-Morath A. I.* 'Otiosorum hominum receptacula'. Orthodox Religious Houses in Ingria, 1615–52 // *Scando-Slavica*. 2003. Vol. 49:1. P. 105–129; *Пересветов-Мурат А. И.* Тимофей Селивестров, поп Орешский // *Inkeri*. Inkerin Liiton julkaisu. 2008. № 4 (69). С. 7. In particular, the priests of Nöteborg (Орехов) *län* were guaranteed their lands by De la Gardie. As for townsmen, those two Ivangorod merchants who had helped convince their brethren to stay on the Swedish side in 1617, Ž. Nasonov and A. Babin, were rewarded with small lands, but more was to come later on to a few wealthy Ivangorod merchants. Cf. also the allocations to the interpreters from the days of the alliance, F. V. Lugvenev (in Swedish always Lugmenoff) and Bažen Ivanov / Benjamin Barohn, both accorded (near-) *bayor* status (on the latter, see *Pereswetoff-Morath A. I.* Straddling Cultural and Political Borders).

<sup>25</sup> Or, more properly, the allocation of Crown revenues from villages and hamlets. In general, the Swedish financial situation these years was bad indeed, and the allocation of revenues (*förläningar*) one of few methods at hand for remunerating servants of the state (*Roberts M.* Gustavus Adolphus. A History of Sweden 1611–1632. 1953. Vol. 1. London, New York, Toronto. P. 122–124). It must, in addition, have seemed the most rational form of compensation for local mercenaries or servitors in a time of war, being at the same time, in Novgorod, analogous to the local system of temporary allocation of *pomest'ja*. In most of these particular Ingrian cases, however, we have no reason to believe that representatives of the Russian side of the alliance were involved, only commanders Horn af Kanckas or De la Gardie. In cases where the king himself ruled on the allocation or, the more often, confirmed allocations made by the commanders, this seems quite certain. Although Gustavus Adolphus signs allocations of land in Novgorod as early as January 1612 (*Södergren G.* Om Gustaf II Adolfs plan att blifva rysk czar. Wexjö, 1868. S. 13–14), mere weeks after his ascension, this is mainly done, before Stolbova, during his two spells on the war theatre in 1614 and 1615.

<sup>26</sup> [*Hallenberg J.*] Svea Rikes historia under Konung Gustaf Adolf den Stores regering. 1793. Bd. 3. Stockholm. S. 415; *Pereswetoff-Morath A. I.* 'Otiosorum hominum receptacula'. P. 108–109. The *bayors* in question were the ones the most trusted by the Swedish authorities, F. G., Aminev and M. I. Kalitin.

<sup>27</sup> I intend to return to an analysis of the Ingrian allocations/"enfeoffments" of 1614–18.

<sup>28</sup> Deße effter:ne Baijorer haffue förleningar vdi Coporie Lähnn // RA. Livonica II. Vol. 375: Strödda handlingar ang. Ingermanland.

«Bura» and «Clesina», have five peasants each<sup>29</sup>. There are frequent notes in the margin, defining each landholder in a couple of words, and at times it is tempting to interpret these definitions as part of the reasons for his holding his lands. For Šval' we read only: «*hoos felthern*» («*with the commander-in-chief*»; i. e. De la Gardie). To all appearances, then, he has been doing Swedish service independent of his being employed in the city guard (on which, see above). However, when the boyar son Šum (Andrej [or Vasilij]<sup>30</sup>) Ivanov syn Chomutov, shortly after the treaty of Stolbovo was concluded, i.e. some time in the spring of 1617, asks for royal confirmation for the village of «Buria» in Caporie län, which he has been granted by De la Gardie as a reward for six years' of service to the commander, but also as compensation for estates east of the border lost with the treaty, it is specified that this very village has previously belonged to Ivan Šval' («*das dorff Buria, das Iwan Schwale gehabeth*»)<sup>31</sup>. Incidentally, a 1618 survey of granted and revoked villages in Ingria, specifies that, besides Staraja Burja («*Stara[?]ja Bura*», now 12 *obžas*) – the undefined Burja is, then, *Staraja* Burja, not *Novaja*<sup>32</sup> – Chomutov has had Klesino, too, but this village – which, as we now know, also recently belonged to Šval' – has been revoked by that time<sup>33</sup>. The chronology is of some importance here for our understanding of Ivan's destiny: the royal confirmation of Chomutov's hereditary possession of Staraja Burja is granted in letters patent dated Stockholm, 27 November 1617<sup>34</sup>. By this date, then, but apparently after 17 February 1617<sup>35</sup>, Chomutov has been

<sup>29</sup> Kurtz forslack auff Caporische Lehns auffborth, van ein Jeder Pogost, van Johanni angangde Ao 1616, bis auff Johannj Ao 1617 // RA. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper. Vol. 183:8.

<sup>30</sup> After his death, Šum Chomutov is referred to several times in various accounts, as well as by younger relatives, as «Wasili» (e.g. in the terrier for 1638: Riksarkivet/Kansallisarkisto (Helsinki). 9648. Bl. 61 recto; J. Apolloff and C. Rubzoff to the Reduction commission, [1680] (undated and unpaginated) // RA. Livonica II. Vol. 493), but we must give preference to the signature on the 1636 supplication of his widow «*Euphrosina Calilauna, Andreæ Chämutof efter lätne enkie vti Ingermanne Landh*» (i. e. «Efrosinija Kalinovna [Opalëva], forsaken widow of Andrej Chomutov in Ingria» (RA. Livonica II. Vol. 212) from very soon after his death, and to the patronymic of «Daria Andreofna Homutoff» (i. e. Dar'ja Andreevna Chomutova; in: J. Apolloff and others, probably to the Narva Consistorium. 19 November, 1682 // RA. Livonica II. Vol. 203), wife of the *bayor* Peter Kalitin and presumably Šum's daughter. When his relatives mention him as «Wasili» in supplications concerning *förläningar* fifty years later, they have most probably made use of records registering the wrong name; they would anyhow had known him – if at all – not by his Christian name but as «Šum». Cf. also on Chomutov: *Селин А. А. Новгородское общество*. С. 650–651.

<sup>31</sup> Extract auß dem supplicationen derr Reussischenn vnderThanen [Paragraph 9] // RA. Diplomatica Muscovitica. Vol. 545.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also Jordeböcker öfver Ingermanland. Писцовые книги Ижорской земли. 1859. Т. I. Годы 1618–1623. Отд. 1. СПб. P. 85, where this identity is confirmed, as is Kljasino's (there: «*Klässina*») status as a crown village (Ibidem. P. 82–83).

<sup>33</sup> B. Rosen to A. Oxenstierna, 14 October, 1620. Bilaga A // RA. E696.

<sup>34</sup> There is no copy in the Riksregistratur at the Swedish National Archives (RA), but see the copy at Riksarkivet / Kansallisarkisto (Helsinki). 6977b. Bl. 63.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. «Schum Chomutow hat bei ·6· jharen gedienet vnt̄ den H. Veldhern, **Nach dem getroffenn friedens Vortrage**, hat Er bei der Moschowisch. herschafft uorlaßn alle seinne haab vnd güdter, **dahero der Veldher ihm gegeben** in Vorlehnung im Copurrisch, das dorff



given Ivan's village by De la Gardie *and* supplicated the king for confirmation; furthermore, this supplication has already been processed in Stockholm. The wording of these acts seems to exclude any such holding of these hamlets in common by Šval' and Chomutov as is possible in the case of the likewise meaner Novgorodian G. M. Sobakin and the *bayor* M. F. Klement'ev during the latter's second spell of Swedish service<sup>36</sup>.

It may then be concluded that Ivan's possession of Ingrian *pomest'ja*, which may have been occasioned by his pledge of fidelity to Gustavus Adolphus in 1615, but which may also have been influenced by the memory of his services in 1611<sup>37</sup>, came to a very sudden end somewhere between an undefinable point in 1616 and February 1617 (and a date somewhat earlier than February 1617 is likely). The reasons for this are not known. He may have died in his bed (cf. above on his possibly mature age) or in the field, or he may have defected of his own volition and left his villages. The latter alternative does not seem likely, however. A new dynasty and a new era were coming to Novgorod, and we may suppose that Šval' was not overly loved in town, no matter the pertinent observations on a comparatively lenient view in post-1617 Muscovy of those who had served the Swedish cause<sup>38</sup>. This would have made even a small Ingrian hamlet very alluring. If he had not died, it is probable that his misconduct in the autumn of 1616 – and perhaps other events of which we have no record – made an indelible stain on his reputation and led to the revocation of his recent grant. It is also probable that he would, by now, have appeared useless and had little to recommend himself to the king. (We remember that even earlier he appears to have been promoted only by De la Gardie, and the commander's protection, too, is over now.) In the 1618 list, which probably reflects the situation in 1617, among supplicants *not* rewarded with confirmed allocations by the king, we do not find Ivan Šval' together with the monks of Our Saviour's monastery of Jamgorod<sup>39</sup>, G. K. Opal'ev (the brother, possibly half-brother, of V. S. Čebotaev, who will, however, with time succeed his brother-in-law Šum Chomutov as possessor of Staraja Burja and become ancestor of the Swedish Apolloffs),

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Burja, *das Jwan Schwale gehabeth*». (Extract auß dem supplicationen derr Reussischenn vnderThanen. Paragraph 9 // RA. Diplomatica Muscovitica. Vol. 545 [my emphasis in bold /A. P.–M.]) and the later margin note in a survey of crown villages in Caporie län in, arguably, late 1616 to the effect that Chomutov received Staraja Bura in 1617 (Beholdenn Schatt Lengdhe Im Caporischem gebiethe Ao 1616 vnd Ao 1617 // RA. Baltiska fogderäkenskaper. Vol. 183:7. My emphasis). When this survey was first compiled, Burja appeared among the crown villages. As a consequence, it may have been revoked from Šval' even some time before it was given over to Chomutov if it was not partitioned into several lots.

<sup>36</sup> To this I intend to return in the near future.

<sup>37</sup> We do not have any information on the villages of Staraburja and Kljasino from the years 1611–15 and therefore cannot date the allocation of these hamlets to Šval' exactly. The generally most likely scenario for an allocation of this kind, however, is in 1615, or possibly 1614 or very early 1616. This is the more probable because no reference to Šval' has been identified in other pre-1615 Caporie accounts either.

<sup>38</sup> Сенин А. А. Новгородское общество. С. 455–466.

<sup>39</sup> Pereswetoff–Morath A. I. Isaak Torčakov: en ingermanländisk *diak*. S. 85–86.

and L. Šablykin, in-law of the *bayors* Aminev, and others<sup>40</sup>. He does not seem to have made any attempt – at least no attempt which the authorities have taken seriously – at keeping any Ingrian property. Just as we watched him rise to fame, this silence now gives eloquent witness to his fall.

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<sup>40</sup> B. Rosen to A. Oxenstierna. 14 October, 1620. Bilaga A// RA. E696.