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Foreign Drums Beating

Transnational Experiences in Early Modern Europe

Edited by Björn Forsén and Mika Hakkarainen



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Transnational Experiences in Early Modern Europe

Edited by Björn Forsén and Mika Hakkarainen

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Integrating Russian Bayors in the Swedish Nobility

Kasper Kepsu

In the early seventeenth century a group of Russian noble families entered Swedish service in connection with the power struggle between Sweden and Russia in northeastern Europe. Most of these families entered service during the Time of Troubles and were called *Russian bayors* ("ryssbajorer") by the Swedish authorities.[1] They settled in the province of Ingria (sw. *Ingermanland*) at the far end of the Gulf of Finland. Ingria was ceded to Sweden in the Peace Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617 together with Kexholm County, and these provinces came to form a strategic buffer zone against the east. In this article I first discuss why the Russian bayors chose to enter Swedish service, before going on to examine the actions and position of the bayors in the province of Ingria in the seventeenth century. It is of special interest to examine what kind of relations they had with the Swedish Crown and how they integrated into the Swedish Kingdom and the Swedish Nobility. It is also important to analyse what possible new influences the bayors brought to the region.

Ingria and the Swedish-Russian border

Ingria was a part of the Swedish Kingdom from 1617 until 1704 when it was conquered by Russia (de jure ceded in 1721). Ingria was not part of the

1 "Bajor"/ "ryssbajor" is a Swedish transmogrification of the Russian "boyar". The term is a bit misleading, as the noblemen that entered Swedish service were generally part of the lower gentry. In other words, they were not boyars, which referred to the high aristocracy. This article is based on Kepsu 2015a. For a Finnish translation, see Kepsu 2015b.



Fig. 1. Ingria in the seventeenth century.

realm but was instead governed as a province. Nonetheless, the rights of Ingria in the Swedish conglomerate state were quite similar to those of the actual realm, at least when compared to the German and Baltic provinces. The inhabitants of Ingria were under Swedish law, but on the other hand they were not represented in the Swedish Diet. Every now and then, the Crown attempted to integrate Ingria more closely to the realm. However, Ingria was treated as a province throughout Swedish rule, since the Crown was simply not strong enough to carry out a coherent integration process.[2]

While under Swedish rule, Ingria was a turbulent region with great ethnic and cultural diversity. The population spoke different languages and consisted of several ethnic groups. The indigenous Izhorians, Votes and Russians belonged to the Orthodox Church, but a significant influx of Lutheran Finns during the seventeenth century changed the ethnic structure of the population. In addition, the towns and manors comprised of noblemen, officers, officials and burghers of Swedish, German or Baltic-German, English, Scottish and Dutch origin. Altogether, the Ingrian population was characterised by its great mobility, which made it very difficult for the authorities to control the region. Indeed, they continuously ran up against different kinds of problems in Ingria, hence it was often described as a "troublesome" province by the governor-generals.[3]

Although the Swedish-Russian border was carefully demarcated after the Peace Treaty of Stolbovo, it was, like many borders between early modern states, still highly permeable. People on both sides of the border could move across it without great difficulty. In fact, Ingrian peasants used borders in a very tactical manner in order to avoid various obligations from both the Crown and the manors. Ingria was a borderland, but also a region of transition characterised by a gradual movement from one cultural norm to another.[4] The Swedish authorities, therefore, had hopes that the Russian bayors would ease the problems arising from the area's ethnic and cultural

2 Kepsu 2014.
3 Kepsu 2014; Sivonen 2007.
4 Kepsu 2014, 48, 83-90, 301-302; Katajala 2006, 104-105.

diversity. They were supposed to function as mediators, especially between the Crown and the peasants who belonged to the Orthodox Church.

Entering Swedish service

The Russian bayors that settled in Ingria during the seventeenth century consisted of the families Aminoff, Apolloff/Zebotaioff, Kalitin, Clementeoff, Pereswetoff-Morath and Rubzoff.[5] All of them were incorporated into the Swedish House of Nobility. The Russian noble families Baranoff, Buturlin, Golawitz, Nassokin and Rosladin were also incorporated into the Swedish House of Nobility, but were not active in Ingria. Originally, the bayor group had included the families Carpofski, Luhmenoff (Lugvenev) and Homutoff, but their male lines quickly died out and they were consequently never immatriculated.[6] After the Great Northern War (1700-1721) and the Swedish loss of Ingria, the bayor families stayed in Swedish service and moved to Sweden or Finland.[7]

Most of the Russian bayor families belonged to the Muscovite middle service class gentry (with the ranks *dvoriane* or *deti boiarskie*) in the Novgorod region of the Muscovite state during the sixteenth century. Many members of the families can be found among the noblemen in the Vodskaia province (*Vodskaya pyatina*), which roughly comprised of the area north of the city of Novgorod including Ingria and parts of Karelia.[8] In other words, this area functioned as the borderland against the Swedish Kingdom before the Peace Treaty of Stolbovo. The gentry in the Muscovite state

5 The Russian bayors have primarily been studied from a genealogical perspective, see Pereswetoff-Morath 1999; Lind 1984; Aminoff 1978.

6 Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 366; Lind 1984, 9-18, 66. The families Baranoff, Golawitz, Nassokin and Rosladin entered Swedish service already earlier, not in connection with the Time of Troubles. Alexander Rubzoff entered Swedish service in 1626. The family Barohn was sometimes counted among the bayor families, although it was of French origin.

7 Elgenstierna 1925-36.

8 Hammond 2009, 202-279.

possessed grants of land (*pomestie*) that they (the pomeschiks) could keep so long as they or their heirs performed military service for the state. The pomestie system was established by Ivan III after the Muscovite State annexed the Republic of Novgorod in 1478. In order to create a military force to defend the expanding frontier against Poland and Sweden he deported the Novgorodian boyars and replaced them with loyal middle service class gentry from the central parts of Russia. Consequently, he was able to form a loyal defensive force without investing money in an expensive standing army.[9]

In 1598 the Rurik dynasty, which had ruled Russia since ancient times, died out and a period of great disorder began. During the *Time of Troubles* (1598-1613), an unusually apposite name for an era, Russia was beset with dynastic struggles, uprisings, invading enemy armies and famine. Many foreign powers and political adventurers tried to usurp the throne, most spectacularly three different false Dmitrys, but finally Michael Romanov was elected tsar in 1613.[10] This period is central to understanding the transition of a number of noble families from Russian to Swedish service.

Neighbouring powers naturally tried to take advantage of the chaotic situation in Russia, in particular Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Both of them aspired to dynastic influence and territorial expansion. Sweden's territorial claims extended to the Novgorod region and as far as the Arctic Ocean in the north. Charles IX also had ideas of re-establishing an independent and Swedish-friendly Novgorod.[11] Perhaps the most important objective was to gain control of the chain of fortresses in northwestern Russia near the Swedish-Russian border, including Nöteborg (*Orešek*), Yama, Koporye and especially Kexholm and Ivangorod.

In February 1609, the Swedes signed the Treaty of Viborg with the tsar, Vasili Šujskij, promising him military assistance against the threats of his

9 Hammond 2009, 1-2; Hellie 1971, 24-28.
10 For the Time of Troubles, see for example Dunning 2001.
11 Löfstrand and Nordquist 2005, 27-28. The chapter on the Time of Troubles is written by Gennadij Kovalenko.



Fig. 2. Parts of northwestern Russia. After Sveriges krig 1936.

enemies. A month later, a Swedish army entered Russia under the command of Jacob De la Gardie. This expeditionary corps faced both success and setbacks. In March 1610 De la Gardie marched into Moscow, but a couple of months later the Russo-Swedish forces were defeated by Polish forces in the battle of Klushino. However, a year later, in July 1611, De la Gardie conquered Novgorod, which remained under Swedish occupation until the Treaty of Stolbovo 1617.[12] Meanwhile, new plans for a dynastic agreement were drawn up, under which one of the Swedish princes, Gustavus Adolphus or Charles Philip, was to be elected tsar. When Gustavus Adolphus took over the Swedish throne, upon the death of Charles IX, Charles Philip looked set for tsardom. However, some groups in Russia, particularly the Cossacks, were against foreign intervention; as a result, a grand council (*zemsky sobor*) elected Michael Romanov as tsar. In spite of this, Gustavus Adolphus and Jacob De la Gardie still hoped to reach a dynastical union with Novgorod. The

12 It is under debate whether the Swedish presence in Novgorod should be regarded as an occupation. Some historians consider Sweden and Novgorod as allies. For the discussion, see Löfstrand 2011, 297-306.

12-year-old Charles Philip was sent to Viborg in July 1613 and was elected Grand Prince of Novgorod. However, Charles Philip never set foot on Russian soil and the people of Novgorod started to sympathize with Michael Romanov, which eventually encouraged Gustavus Adolphus to abandon his dynastic policy for the sake of his territorial gains.[13]

The history of the Russian bayors in Swedish service is closely linked to the fate of Feodor Aminoff (Aminev), an experienced soldier taken prisoner by the Swedes in February 1609. During the following three years he acted as a negotiator on those occasions when Swedish forces tried to persuade fortresses to surrender. In other words, Aminoff chose to work for the Swedes to regain his freedom. After a couple of failed negotiations he finally succeeded in July 1612, when he persuade the garrison in the besieged town of Gdov to capitulate to Swedish forces. Soon afterwards, Aminoff was ordered to Ivangorod, this time not only as a negotiator, but also as the commander of a force consisting of noblemen and militia from the Swedish-occupied areas. Like in Gdov, he convinced the army under siege in Ivangorod to surrender. During the rest of the campaign, Feodor Aminoff was given mainly administrative assignments, most significantly as governor (*voevoda*) in Gdov and Ivangorod.[14]

Other Russian noblemen who entered Swedish service during the years of occupation were Mikita (Nikita) Kalitin, Vasili Semenov Zebotaioff, Murat Alexeyevich Peresvetov, Michail Afanasyevich Funikov Clementeoff (Klementjev), Vasili Buturlin, Feodor Vladimirovich Luhmenoff (Lugvenev), Maksim Carpofski and Sum (Sunemo) Homutoff. Additionally, the sons of Feodor Aminoff, Esaias (Isaij) and Stefan (Stepan) Aminoff entered Swedish service. All of them were allocated more or less important assignments in the occupation administration, as can be seen from documents in the Novgorod Occupation Archives, held at the Swedish National Archives

13 Löfstrand and Nordquist 2005, 30-37; Sveriges krig 1936, 318-572.
14 Selin 2008, 254-259, 433; Aminoff 1978, 23-24; Almquist 1907a, 164-167, 207-210, 230.

in Stockholm.[15] Interestingly, many of the border fortresses were governed by members of the Russian bayor group. At the end of the occupation, Feodor Aminoff was governor in Ivangorod, Mikita Kalitin in Yama, Vasili Zebotaioff in Koporye and Esaias Aminoff in Gdov.[16] Another interesting observation is that most of the noblemen who entered Swedish service were tied together by marriage. Notably Mikita Kalitin, Murat Peresvetov and Maksim Carpofski were all married to daughters of Feodor Aminoff. One could say that it was actually the "Aminoff clan" who were integral to the assimilation of Russian bayors into Swedish service.[17]

Switching loyalties in early modern Europe

On the one hand, it was not especially out of the ordinary for a nobleman to enter the service of a foreign state. Indeed, in early modern Europe there were lots of noblemen who looked for career opportunities abroad. On the other hand, it was a grave requirement to break an oath of loyalty.[18] At first sight, this switch of loyalties by the Russian bayors might seem to have been political, but the issue is not that simple, since it has recently been debated how involved they were in the dynastic policy which advocated for the election of a Swedish prince as tsar. In some earlier studies the bayors are said to have been active in a "Swedish party" during the Time of Troubles,[19] however the Russian scholar Adrian Selin stresses that it is misleading to talk of a party, because their actions were not so well organized. In addition, nothing proves that the nobility in Novgorod initiated

15 The documents from the Novgorod Occupation Archives have been translated and published in English, see Löfstrand and Nordquist 2005; Löfstrand and Nordquist 2009.
16 Löfstrand and Nordquist 2009, 394; Selin 2008, 254, 433-434; Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 368; Aminoff 1978, 24-30. The activity of some of the other bayors is, unfortunately, quite unknown.
17 Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 371; Aminoff 1978, 27-29. According to Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath, the families Zebotaioff, Klementjev and Homutoff were all tied together by marriages.
18 Villstrand 2011, 306; Mączak 1996, 203-204.
19 Lind 1984, 73.

the election of Charles Philip; they just swore an oath for him.[20] Still, it is evident that Feodor Aminoff, Mikita Kalitin and Murat Peresvetov were the most supportive bayors of the Swedish prince. Mikita Kalitin, for example, was part of the Novgorodian delegation that travelled to Stockholm to discuss the dynastic union. Kalitin was also one of the representatives of Novgorod who signed the document in which Charles Philip was elected Grand Prince of Novgorod.[21]

During the early modern period it was perfectly normal for princes to try to bind local elites to the state. Especially in the early stages of the state building process, it was important that princes either eliminated, subjugated or won over local elites, who often controlled the local tax collection and were therefore needed to support the state apparatus. As a matter of fact, it was almost impossible for a centralized power to rule without state servants who were familiar with local conditions, particularly in peripheral border regions. This indicates that states were not yet strong enough to govern without local rulers. In other words, local elites were at once the most important allies of the prince and the biggest threat to the growth of his state. As such, grants of land and titles were a reasonable price to pay in order to win over the local elites.[22]

The Russian noblemen who entered Swedish service were generously rewarded. They were donated grants of land already during the occupation of Novgorod, and were given even more grants by the Swedish Crown after the Treaty of Stolbovo, which were, little by little, confirmed by Gustavus Adolphus. The principle was simple: the greater the contribution of a nobleman, the larger the grant he received. Consequently, the families of Aminoff, Kalitin, Zebotaioff and Pereswetoff-Morath received the largest grants. During Swedish rule in Ingria the Aminoffs possessed approxi-

20 Selin 2008, 213-215.

21 The estates of Novgorod to Gustavus Adolphus 4.7.1613, Muscovitica 17, SRA; Almquist 1907b, 55.

22 Kepsu 2014, 60-61; Norrby 2011, 28-31; Haikari 2009, 179; Lappalainen 2005, 17-20; Baud and van Schendel 1997, 217-218; Reinhard 1996, 6-7; Mączak 1996, 189, 198-206.

mately 100 obses, while the other three families possessed around 40 obses each.[23] The Crown also hoped that by donating large grants to Russian noblemen they would prevent the migration of Orthodox peasants to Russia, since the bayors were thought to be acquainted with the latter's language and habits.[24] On a more symbolic level, the Russian noblemen in Swedish service were incorporated into the Swedish nobility. Some families were immatriculated in the years immediately after the Treaty of Stolbovo, but in many cases it happened several decades later.[25]

The Russian bayors were expected to raise their sons as Lutherans, which was surely problematic for many representatives of the Russian nobility. As a consequence, the decision to enter Swedish service became an important part of the bayor families' identities for many years to come. When their manors were under threat, for example during the reduction of the estates in the 1680s, the bayors emphasized their sacrifices in entering Swedish service, above all that they had had to renounce their religion and leave their family estates.[26] In conclusion, the decision to enter Swedish service was, up to a point, made for political reasons, but the bayors also hoped for economic benefits. It is also important to stress that they were tied together by marriages, so the actions of relatives was clearly a contributing factor in some of their decisions.

23 One obs = approx. 14 hectares.

24 Fief letters from Ingria, Livonica II: 718, SRA; Östersjöprovinsernas räkenskaper 77, 59-133, SRA; Account book for Ingria 1674, 294-492, RA 9723; Account book for Ingria 1683, 455-478, RA 9743; Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 370-371.

25 The Russian bayor families active in Ingria were immatriculated in the following years: Aminoff (1618), Kalitin (1620), Zebotaioff (1631), Pereswetoff-Morath (1652), Nassokin (1668), Klementioff (1680) and Rubzoff (1723). The Zebotaioff family changed their name during the seventeenth century to Apolloff, and immatriculated anew in 1680 at the Swedish House of Nobility.

26 Deputation for the Ingrian Noble Corporation to Charles XI (undated), Livonica II: 204, SRA.

The bayors' relations with the Swedish Crown and their integration in the Swedish Nobility

When war-torn Ingria was rebuilt in the years immediately after the Treaty of Stolbovo, the Russian bayors had various assignments. The Swedish Crown used their knowledge of the local environment to resolve questions concerning land ownership, colonization, negotiations with Russia, religious matters and border issues.[27] Despite the many intermediary assignments, the authorities still regarded the bayors with suspicion after they entered Swedish service. The Governor of Ingria, Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, half-brother of Gustavus Adolphus, was not convinced that the bayors were reliable, and warned Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna against employing them in Swedish service. Although Gyllenhielm did stress that Feodor Aminoff and Mikita Kalitin were reliable and steadfast, he did not have anything positive to say about the others.[28] This kind of attitude was not unusual among the Swedish authorities; Russians, as well as the Orthodox faith in general, were regarded with suspicion. This negative attitude towards the Orthodox Church had eased at the beginning of the seventeenth century because of political factors, but Swedish mistrust returned when Michael Romanov was elected tsar.[29]

In earlier studies it has often been claimed that the nobility in Ingria could not oppose the Swedish central government when it undertook different kinds of integrating actions in the region after the Treaty of Stolbova. Some historians have even argued that a local elite did not exist at all in the province.[30] However, these arguments are misleading because they fail to take the Russian bayors into consideration.[31] Firstly, even though the bayors were

27 Kepsu 2014, 60; Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 371-376; Aminoff 1978, 333-334; Hainari and Grotenfelt 1922, 445-446; Melander 1887, 4-8.
28 Governor Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm to Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna 22.7.1617, Oxenstiernas skrifter, 31-33.
29 Tarkiainen 1970, 98-99.
30 See for example Taimre 2009, 50-52; Villstrand 2005, 48; Gustafsson 2003, 34; Nordin 2000, 73; Rosén 1946, 238-239, 249.
31 For a more thorough discussion, see Kepsu 2014, 58-63, 300-301.

few in number and relatively unorganized, they formed part of what was indisputably a local elite in Ingria. Secondly, the bayors did oppose some of the central government's actions, for example when the authorities wanted to transfer their manors in order to yield more land to the German colonists. Finally, the actions of the Swedish central government were neither that forceful nor that consistent, as its objective was not to unify the province with Sweden, rather to organize the administration of Ingria as easily as possible.[32]

The Russian bayors were not as powerful as the Noble Corporations (*Ritterschaft*) in Estonia and Livonia. In fact, relations between the Russian bayors and the Swedish Crown was slightly different from the standard one between local elites and central governments in newly conquered territories. Ordinarily, the local elite tried to remain as independent as possible and opposed every integrating effort from the central government. The bayors had, however, already entered Swedish service before Ingria was annexed to Sweden in 1617. In addition, their grants had been donated by the King of Sweden, which meant that they owed him a debt of gratitude and that they were consequently dependent on the Swedish central government.

The bayors tried to improve the position of the Orthodox peasants by encouraging more Orthodox priests to Ingria. They insisted that priests could be ordained in Novgorod, but the Swedish authorities, led by the King, thought that this would be too politically dangerous. Even though they had to raise their sons as Lutherans, the Russian nobility in the province was clearly concerned about the religious environment for the Orthodox peasants. Naturally, they also feared that these peasants would flee to Russia and leave their estates with a shortage of labour.[33] In spite of the bayors' efforts, the lack of Orthodox priests in Ingria remained an unresolved issue during the whole period of Swedish rule.

In the mid seventeenth century the nobility became a more and more established force in Ingria. Some of the bayors had leading positions in the

32 Kepsu 2014, 107-110.
33 Kujala 2010, 253-254, 276-277, 380-381; Öhlander 1898, 166-173; Melander 1887, 203-204.

Ingrian nobility. Johan Apolloff and Captain Gregori Aminoff were amongst the most active participants in the Ingrian "Landtag", which were held once or twice a year in Narva or Nyen.[34] The Ingrian nobility also sent deputations to Stockholm every now and again to raise a variety of issues with the monarch and the central government. The bayors often acted as deputies on these petitioning visits, like Esaias Aminoff did in 1651.[35] They also continued to receive intermediary assignments during the second half of the seventeenth century. For example, Captain Zacharias Aminoff and Cavalry Captain (later Colonel) Johan Apolloff took part in border commissions during the 1660s.[36]

In the last decades of Swedish rule in Ingria Johan Apolloff was at the forefront of the Ingrian nobility, even though the Ingrian Noble Corporation was suppressed by the Crown at the beginning of the 1680s. This crackdown was connected to the reduction of the estates in the 1670s and 1680s. It began in Ingria in 1675, when a commission was formed to recapture the region's fiefs for the Crown. This first phase was actually part of an earlier reduction – the so-called "fjärdepartsreduktionen". However, the Ingrian nobility resisted the reduction, and once again sent a deputation to Stockholm. Johan Apolloff was one of the three representatives of the Ingrian Noble Corporation who made the journey. Despite a huge amount of complaints from the Ingrian nobility, Charles XI and the central government refused to cancel the reduction; instead, they decided to greatly decrease the political power of the Ingrian Noble Corporation.[37]

Johan Apolloff's high standing in Ingrian society is also demonstrated by the fact that his name and seal is the very first on an oath to Charles XI that every nobleman, priest and burgher of the region had to sign in 1688.[38] Apolloff was also the last commandant of the Nyenskans fortress,

34 See Fond 1656, Ingerimaa rüütelkond, Fond 1656.1.27, EAA.
35 Christina's decree in response to the complaint of the Ingrian Noble Corporation 30.4.1651, Livonica II: 657, SRA.
36 Governor-general Simon Grundell-Helmfelt to Charles XI 12.3 and 2.12.1664, Livonica II: 177, mf; Syrjö 2003, 344; Hainari and Grotenfelt 1922, 445-446.
37 Kepsu 2014, 111-132.
38 Oaths in Ingria 1688, Livonica II: 213, SRA; Kepsu 2014, 292-293.

where he and his Swedish troops fought courageously against a superior force in 1703. Although they were eventually forced to surrender, Apolloff was granted the right to march his troops out of the fortress without being captured.[39] Paradoxically, it was this nobleman of Russian origin who, on a symbolic level, was the one to turn off the lights in Swedish Ingria. The loss of Nyen and Nyenskans proved to be pivotal for the Swedish forces, since Peter I decided to build Saint Petersburg in their place. In any case, Johan Apolloff actually occupied a similar position to that of Feodor Aminoff during the first decades of Swedish rule: both were leading men for the bayor group and for the local elite in Ingria in general.

Even though the Russian bayors became more closely integrated into the local, mostly Baltic-German, nobility during the second half of the seventeenth century, they were still regarded as a more or less separate group. This becomes very clear when the reduction process is considered. The Great Reduction was implemented in Sweden in 1680; it reached Ingria in 1683, only a few years after the "fjärdepartsreduktionen" was completed. Soon after two thirds of the region's land had been confiscated by the Crown. However, the Russian bayors managed to avoid the reduction of their estates, for Charles XI declared, in a royal letter from 1683, that they were permitted to keep their grants under the same conditions as before.[40] Such a practice was very unusual during the reductions under Charles XI's reign.

In fact, the king's exceptional treatment of the Russian bayors is closely linked to the actions of the deputation of the Ingrian Noble Corporation in Stockholm around 1680, which was sent to complain about the "fjärdepartsreduktionen". According to the sources, it was Johan Apolloff who managed to preserve the estates of the "Russian families" ("Ryske familier"), as the bayors were labelled by the central government on this occasion. Even though, as previously noted, the deputation did not succeed in

39 Syrjö 2003, 344.

40 Charles XI's open letter 13.10.1683; Charles XI's decree on the fiefs of the Russian families in Ingria 11.7.1681, Livländska donationskontoret D Ic:4, SRA; Kepsu 2014, 157-158.

cancelling the reduction process in Ingria in general, Johan Apolloff – as one of the representatives – succeeded in protecting the interests of the bayor families. While in Stockholm he had apparently submitted documents to the Reduction Commission which listed the grants of land of the bayors; in other words, he had applied for an exemption on the bayors' behalf. Actually, Charles XI confirmed their fiefs already in a resolution in 1681, even though earlier research has stated that the exemption decision was made in 1683 through the aforementioned royal letter. It was no coincidence that, at this earlier date, the deputation of the Ingrian nobility, including Apolloff, was still present in Stockholm.[41]

So, after the reduction process in Ingria was concluded in the late 1680s, the Russian bayors still possessed their grants under the same conditions as before. A major part of the land in Ingria thereby continued to be in the hands of the bayors, some 240 obses altogether. In the county of Koporye they possessed approximately 15 percent of the land, and in the province as a whole they held around 8 percent.[42] Although the bayors had undoubtedly benefited from the exemption, the Crown also had a political motive behind its generosity. It wanted to keep the bayors from joining the fifth column in the event of a possible conflict with Russia, as they would have been a great asset for the Russians and a major security risk for the Swedes. With hindsight, the tactics of the Swedish central government proved to be successful since the Russian bayors remained loyal to the Crown during the Great Northern War.

The Russian bayors continued to have military assignments for the Swedish army after the Time of Troubles. They were above all important at a local level, for the defense of Ingria. There were no regular detachments in Ingria, instead its defensive system relied on fortress garrisons containing mostly Finnish conscripts. However, all holders of fiefs in Ingria were

41 Charles XI's open letter 13.10.1683; Charles XI's decree on the fiefs of the Russian families in Ingria 11.7.1681; The Reduction Commission to Charles XI 4.7.1681, Livländska donationskontoret D Ic:4, SRA. The exemption has been earlier discussed in Aminoff 1987, 8-14; Aminoff 1978, 27, 39.

42 Account book for Ingria 1683, 455-478, RA 9743.

obligated to engage in military service and belonged to a unit called "Ingermanländska adelsfanan".[43] It is not known if the unit took part in the numerous wars that Sweden was involved in during the seventeenth century, but many representatives of the bayor families did at least fight in the Russo-Swedish War 1656-1658. In addition, some bayors served as officers in other Swedish units; several members of the Aminoff family, whose lineage is the most well researched of the Russian bayors, were active soldiers in different regiments. For example, Michael Aminoff took part in the war against Poland, while Henrik and Andreas Aminoff fought in the Scanian War 1675-1679. Perhaps the most remarkable military career was that of Zacharias Aminoff. He took part in the wars against Polish and Russian forces during Charles X Gustav's reign in the 1650s; in the Scanian War he was, at one point, the commandant of the Bohus fortress; and during the Great Northern War he was commander of Viborg, but had to give up his post due to illness and old age. Shortly after Viborg surrendered in 1710 Colonel Zacharias Aminoff died, having had a military career that lasted almost 60 years.[44]

More or less all the male representatives of the Russian bayor families fought in the Great Northern War as officers. The total number was about 60 men, not including bayor families who did not reside in Ingria. Most of the bayor officers served as lieutenants or captains, but a few had higher positions. Interestingly, as in the Time of Troubles, many border fortresses were commanded by bayors. As mentioned above, Zacharias Aminoff was commandant of Viborg and Johan Apolloff was commandant of Nyenskans. In addition, Captain Vasili Apolloff, a brother of Johan Apolloff, was commandant of the fortress of Koporye, and both Colonel Carl Pereswetoff-Morath and Colonel Lieutenant Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath had relatively high positions as well. Many of the bayors were captured during the war, especially after the (second) battle of Narva in 1704. Likewise, in

43 Laidre 1996, 34-36; Öhlander 1898, 57; Forsström 1890, 138. Literally translated, the name of the unit would be "Ingrian Banner of Nobles".

44 Aminoff 1978, 38-39, 273-276, 323-324.

the battle of Pultava in 1709, many bayors were killed in action or taken prisoner. By the time the siege of Viborg ended in 1710, most of the bayor officers had either been slain or imprisoned.[45]

From Russian Orthodox to Lutheran and Baltic-German culture

During the first half of the seventeenth century the bayors regularly tried to build bridges between the Crown and the Orthodox Ingrian peasants. At the same time, they still maintained much of their own Orthodox traditions during their first decades in Swedish service, at least domestically. For example, Vasili Zebotaioff left money in his will to a number of Orthodox institutions in Ingria and also ensured that his wife could enter a convent.[46] Indeed, Russian culture seems to have persisted, with many documents, like petitions or wills, written or signed in Cyrillic script.[47] This cultural continuity was aided by the fact that the bayors were, in the first half of the seventeenth century at least, a close-knit group tied together by marriages. Only two members of the Aminoff family were married to spouses outside of the bayor group during the period 1611-1650.[48]

In the middle of the century a relatively swift cultural change occurred as the number of noblemen in Ingria increased, especially those of Baltic-German descent. This was a result of the enfeoffment policy adopted during Queen Christina's reign. In the 1640s she donated grants in Ingria almost non-stop, which ultimately had a knock-on effect on the bayors' marriage networks. Marriages inside the bayor group became more and more uncommon during the second half of the century. Furthermore, the nobility in Ingria became more organized: the Ingrian Noble Corporation

45 Kujala 2010, 460; Aminoff 1987, 21; Aminoff 1978, 275; Lewenhaupt 1920-1921.
46 Pereswetoff-Morath 2003, 125.
47 The Ingrian Noble Corporation to Christina (undated) and 29.4.1653, Livonica II: 204, SRA. See also Pereswetoff-Morath 2012, 96-105; Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 372.
48 Aminoff 1978, 27-36, 93-94, 285-286, 324-325; Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 372, 378.

(*Ritter und Landschafft*), including the noblemen from Kexholm County, was founded in 1642. An indication of its Baltic-German character is that it operated in German.[49] Another reason for the bayor's fairly rapid alienation from Russian Orthodox culture in Ingria was the change in the region's demographic structure following the Russo-Swedish War, 1656-1658. The thousands of Orthodox peasants who had fled from Ingria to Russia during the fighting were replaced by Lutheran Finns, and the Orthodox population thus became a minority in the province.[50] The bayors no longer had to take care of the religious needs of Orthodox peasants as before and consequently lost some of their old cultural ties, becoming more closely integrated into the local nobility at large. In fact, as the first generation of Russian noblemen passed away and the Orthodox influence in Ingria slowly faded, the bayors started to discard their Russian characteristics and became both more lutheranised and more Germanised.

The active participation of the bayors in the Swedish army during the Great Northern War shows that they were closely integrated into Sweden and the Swedish nobility by this point, especially since no-one from their families entered Russian service during the conflict. This is all the more remarkable given that the bayor officers who lived in captivity in Russia until the early 1720s were subject to both tempting offers and pressure to join the Russian forces. It is possible that the captive bayors feared that the Russians would treat them as traitors.[51] At the same time, their loyalty to Sweden had probably been bolstered by the fact that they were allowed to keep their estates in the reduction. Their allegiance to Sweden was in marked contrast to the actions of the Livonian nobility during the war; the reduction had hit most of them hard, and resulted in some of them plotting against the Swedes. In general, the noblemen of Baltic-German descent welcomed Russian rule with open arms.[52] However, the nobility in Livonia

49 Kepsu 2014, 70-71, 97-99, 109-110.
50 Kepsu 2014, 52-55; Sivonen 2007, 46-47.
51 Aminoff 1987, 11-12, 21.
52 Zetterberg 2007, 258-266; Niitemaa and Hovi 1991, 267-268.

and Estonia had traditional privileges, which meant that they were in a stronger position to negotiate with the Russians than the Ingrian noblemen. Overall, there would have been more risks and uncertainty involved if the bayors would have once again changed sides.

Most of the civilian members of the bayor families fled to Finland or Sweden during the war, as the Ingrian elite and burghers did in general. In addition, some women and children were captured. In the Treaty of Nystad in 1721, the Swedish loss of Ingria was ratified. Of the bayor families, the Aminoffs, Apolloffs, Kalitins, Clementoffs and Rubzoffs mainly settled in Finland, while the members of the family Pereswetoff-Morath settled in Sweden. The military traditions lived on in these families: over the coming centuries, most of male kin served as officers. By the late nineteenth century five bayor families still had surviving blood lines. Today, the Aminoff family has a substantial number of members, while the male line of the other families has died out.[53]

When the Russian bayors left Ingria they were more or less dispersed as a group. However, the bayor families applied for compensation for their lost estates after the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. Interestingly, they emphasized their loyalism, especially during the Great Northern War. The process concluded in 1738, when the authorities, although rejecting the demands related to the loss of land, agreed to grant financial compensation for the loyalism shown by the bayors.

Conclusion – cultural influences from the bayors

One of the most difficult problems for Swedish authorities in seventeenth century Ingria was how to integrate the Orthodox peasants; in fact, it remained unsolved throughout the period of Swedish rule. However, Sweden was more successful in integrating the Russian noble families who entered

53 Elgenstierna 1925-36. An adopted branch of the Pereswetoff-Morath family still exists.

Swedish service. These Russian bayors were treated well by the Swedish Crown and continually received a variety of benefits, the most evident one being their exemption from the reduction process.

The Russian bayors comprised a distinct group within the local elite in Ingria, tied together by marriages. During the first half of the seventeenth century the elite was often specifically denominated bayors ("baijorer"). As a local elite, they had an intermediary role, especially during the Time of Troubles and the first decades of Swedish rule. This role appears in their support of a Swedish candidate for tsar and in different kinds of intermediary assignments, for example in border issues and religious matters. The bayors tried to act as bridge-builders between the Orthodox Ingrian peasants and the Crown, the latter of which had a suspicious and strict attitude towards the Russian Orthodox culture. In the second half of the seventeenth century the bayors became more and more integrated with the local, mostly Baltic-German, nobility. At this point, the bayor families operated between three cultures: Russian, Baltic-German and Finnish-Swedish. The bayors lost some of their distinctiveness and started to give up their Russian characteristics. The notion of the bayors as a separate group faded but did not disappear entirely, and nor did their intermediary assignments.

In the early modern period it was not out of the ordinary for a nobleman to enter the service of a foreign state. The Russian bayors are an example of soldiers who crossed the border between the eastern and the western world. For the Russian noblemen, it was apparently a big step, since they had to give up their religion. The bayors who entered Swedish service did not bring a great deal of new cultural influences with them, because Ingria was already a province dominated by Russian Orthodox cultural norms. However, they were active in maintaining elements of Russian culture during the first decades of Swedish rule. During the second half of the seventeenth century, these efforts declined little by little and the bayors became ever more integrated into both the Baltic-German and the Swedish culture of the region.

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