

*B. Nilsson (Linköping, Sweden)***AN UNKNOWN ARCHIVE: GENERAL
LEWENHAUPT AND LITHUANIA IN 1706–1707**

In March 1708 General Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt (1659–1719) left Riga to meet Charles XII in the army headquarters in the small Belarusian town of Radashkovichy. In the General's memoirs, written several years later while he was a prisoner of war, he describes an unexpected intermezzo during this journey. In Vilnius he happened to come across King Stanisław I of Poland, who asked Lewenhaupt to promote the interests of Prince Michał Wiśniowiecki during his visit in Radashkovichy. The General politely declined, he writes, because he did not want to get involved in the struggle between the Sapieha family and Wiśniowiecki, but he did promise to inform the Charles XII of the important services the latter had done Lewenhaupt during the preceding months¹. One day the opportunity presented itself during a conference with Charles XII. The General started to speak highly of Prince Wiśniowiecki and eventually suggested that the King could perhaps find a way of rewarding him. According to Lewenhaupt's description of the event Charles XII got red in the face and replied: «We wish to support the Sapieha family» (*Vi vilja soutinera det Sapihiske huset*). This incident was, according to Lewenhaupt, later used by the General's enemies to tarnish his reputation².

The Royal chaplain Jöran Nordberg (1677–1744) in 1740 published an officially supported history of Charles XII. According to Nordberg Lewenhaupt was the initiator of the reconciliation between the Sapieha family and Prince Wiśniowiecki. Upon hearing of the Altranstadt peace treaty, Nordberg claims, Lewenhaupt published a manifesto exhorting those still opposing Stanisław Leszczyński to switch sides. This caused Wiśniowiecki to make contact with Lewenhaupt and after the latter

had received the King's instructions he set up a meeting with the Prince and Hetman Sapieha in early 1707 and brokered an agreement between the two parties³. It is probably fair to say that Swedish historians have left the topic undisturbed since then, even though Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand in 1936 suggested that the transition of the Prince to the Swedish side would be worth a separate study⁴.

The Polish historian Jozef Feldman gave a fairly detailed description of the circumstances surrounding Prince Wiśniowiecki's transition to the Swedish side in his work *Polska w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej 1704–1709*. Feldman used a source called *Kroniczka literowska, Pis'ma i bumagi*, the Zawisza memoirs and some contemporary letters as well as Nordberg's work, but he did not have access to Swedish archives. Subsequent treatments of the issue by Polish historians share the same weakness⁵. So while Swedish historians have neglected the issue, Polish historians have not used all available sources.

General Lewenhaupt's papers are spread over a wide geographical area. A copy of his memoirs and some letters to him are preserved in Uppsala University Library, there is another collection in the National Archives (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm and there are substantial amount of official papers from his time in Livonia and Courland in the Latvian State Historical Archives (*Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs*) in Riga. A significant, but rather overlooked collection is in the Linköping city library.

The Linköping city library has nowadays a very modern profile, but at its center remains the old ecclesiastical library with medieval roots. The book collection was rebuilt in the 18th century by bishops such as Erik Benzelius the younger (1675–1743), whose vast correspondence forms the nucleus of the manuscript collection⁶. Among its treasures are also five huge volumes of letters and documents emanating from Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt⁷. The content is very mixed and it is bound together in a totally haphazard way. Documents belonging together can be found spread through the volumes and some have even been divided into two parts. The collection must have been given to the library some time before the mid-19th century⁸. From the content it is obvious that the documents remained in Riga when Lewenhaupt left in late July 1708, but their fate between then and the arrival in Linköping is unclear. Very few Swedish historians have used these papers⁹. Outside of Sweden they are probably totally unknown. The content covers mostly the period 1700–1708, but there are some documents from Lewenhaupt's service

in the Netherlands before the Great Northern War. A minor part of the collection comes from the archives of other persons, such as the well-known diplomat Mauritz Vellingk (1651–1727).

As far as the political and military events in Lithuania after the Altranstadt treaty are concerned the most important items are probably the following: About 20 letters from Wiśniowiecki to Lewenhaupt, dated between March and September 1707.

1. About 10 drafts of letter from Lewenhaupt to Wiśniowiecki, dated between April and August 1707.

2. 3–4 letters from the Lithuanian General Kazimierz Sieniński to Lewenhaupt, written during the siege of Bykhow. There is also a plan of the siege.

3. A list of letters from Charles XII to Lewenhaupt during the period 7 September 1706–5 July 1707.

4. The draft of a letter from Lewenhaupt to Charles XII dated 24 January 1707, which is accompanied by letters to Wiśniowiecki from the Russian general Hallart in Polotsk.

In the collection there is also a substantial number of letters from other important Lithuanian figures such as the Michai and Antoni Eperyaszy, the Minsk starosta Krzysztof Zawisza and Hetman Kazimierz Jan Sapieha. An occasional letter in Russian has also found its way into the Lewenhaupt collection.

From this material some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The first time Wiśniowiecki's switch to the Swedish side is mentioned is on 19 January, 1707. Charles XII informs Lewenhaupt that a reconciliation has been effected between the Sapieha family and Wiśniowiecki and that the general should act accordingly as soon as the latter separates himself from the enemy. The 14 February the King tells Lewenhaupt that the Treasurer Benedykt Sapieha will travel to Lithuania and sign an agreement with Wiśniowiecki¹⁰. This information supports Feldman's description of the chain of events and suggests that Nordberg was influenced by sources which exaggerated the role of General Lewenhaupt – perhaps information coming from the general's family.

The letters from Lewenhaupt to Charles XII paint a similar picture. On 7 December 1706 the General reports that the forces of Oginski and Wiśniowiecki continue to harass the Swedish units, but he gives no indication of contacts with any of the Lithuanian commanders. However, on 24 January 1707 Lewenhaupt sent a coded letter to Charles XII (the draft is in the Linköping collection). He informs the King that Prince

Wiśniowiecki has presented him with some letters from general Hallart and has declared himself for King Stanisław, although still only in secret. The message from the Prince was delivered through the «younger Eperiaszy», which should mean Antoni Eperyaszy (1689–1747). This places the firm contacts between Lewenhaupt and the Wiśniowiecki camp well after the mission of Alexander Przeszdziecki to Saxony and the discussions which resulted in a reconciliation between the Sapieha family and Wiśniowiecki at some point before mid-January 1707¹¹.

The Linköping collection is difficult to use because of the lack of chronological order, but it should be able to contribute considerable additional information about the military and political events in Courland and Lithuania during the first half of the Great Northern War.

¹ Lewenhaupt A. Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupts berättelse. Stockholm, 1952. P. 130–131.

² *Ibid.* P. 137–139.

³ Nordberg J. Konung Carl XII: tes historia. T. 1. Stockholm, 1740. P. 767–768.

⁴ Hildebrand K-G. Polen 1704–1709 // Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok. 1936. P. 176.

⁵ For example: Czamańska I. Wisniowieccy: Monografia rodu. Poznań, 2007. P. 417–418.

⁶ Benzelius had a large net of foreign contacts. Among them were the Russian statesman Vasily Tatishchev. Three letters from him are preserved among the Benzelius papers.

⁷ Linköpings Stiftsbibliotek, II 79. There are about 1650 documents totaling 5000 pages.

⁸ Hallendorff C. Karl XII och Lewenhaupt år 1708. Uppsala, 1902. P. 12.

⁹ Besides Hallendorff only Hugo Uddgren, who wrote a biography of Lewenhaupt, but neither of them was interested in political issues.

¹⁰ Linköpings Stiftsbibliotek, II 79:2, no 477.

¹¹ Riksarkivet. Livonica II. Vol. 122; Feldman J. Polska w dobie wielkiej wojny północnej 1704–1709. Kraków, 1925. P. 225–226.