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## LIEBE LESERINNEN & LESER,

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in ihrem dreizehnten Jahr hat unsere Zeitschrift etwas abgespeckt, was allerdings nicht an der ominösen Zahl liegt. Die 466 Seiten der letztjährigen Ausgabe stellen die obere Grenze des Machbaren dar, sowohl für die Buchbinderei als auch für die Kapazitäten der Redaktion. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten vergleichbaren Periodika kommen wir ja weiterhin ohne eine mindestens halbe Redakteursstelle aus, auch wenn das von Jahr zu Jahr schwieriger wird.

Dieses Jahr steht im Zeichen der Hundertjahrfeiern der drei baltischen Republiken. Unser ältestes Redaktionsmitglied erinnert sich noch an seine erste Hundertjahrfeier, als 1970 die ganze „progressive Menschheit“ den 100. Geburtstag des „Führers aller Werktätigen“ Vladimir – nicht Putin, sondern Uljanov-Lenin – beging. Niemand konnte sagen, was dieser Teil der Menschheit über Lenin dachte, aber die umfangreichen Vorbereitungen für das Lenin-Jubiläum dauerten mindestens drei Jahre. Am lang erwarteten Tag war das Wetter jedoch besonders kalt und widerlich. Ein 14-jähriger Junge begann ernstlich zu zweifeln, ob all diese pompösen Vorbereitungen es wirklich wert waren. Am 24. Februar 2018 ging das Jubiläum in Estland ohne überflüssige Pauken und Trompeten vonstatten, und die dicken Schneeflocken aus sonnigem Himmel (!) waren geradezu miraculös erfrischend.

Lettland erlebte aus dem Anlass des stolzen Jubiläums eine nie dagewesene Großzügigkeit an staatlichen Geldern für Kultur und Wissenschaft. Im Januar 2018 hatte der Film „Nameja gredzens“ (Der Ring von Namejs bzw. *The Pagan King*) Premiere. Diese bislang teuerste Produktion des lettischen Kinos soll die Gegenwart mit den Heldentaten der mittelalterlichen Vergangenheit schmücken, als reiner Mannesmut und Liebe zum Vaterland genügten, um sich dem böse lachenden Feind, in diesem Fall dem „vaticanischen Kreuzritter“, zu widersetzen. Der Filmproduzent erklärte bedeutsam, die Historiker wüssten von dieser Zeit doch gar nichts, nachdem diese dem Film Geschichtsverfälschung vorgehalten hatten. Der Film ist dem alten nationalromantischen Zerrbild von den „lettischen Königen“ und ihren „Staaten“ im 13. Jahrhundert verhaftet, das die junge Nation schon in den 1930er Jahren im Geiste der „Wahrheit“ und des Nationalismus erziehen sollte, und zeigt doch nur das armselige Geschichts- und Weltbild seiner Macher. Dieses Geschenk zum Staatsgründungstag stellt somit eine eher bizarre Art der Rückbesinnung auf das Jahr 1918 dar. Der ganze Ernst der Sache diskreditiert sich dabei nur selbst – auf Kosten der Steuerzahler.

Auch in Estland klingt es eher nach einem Aprilscherz, dass die estnische Regierung 10 000 Euro für die Suche nach dem Schädel des estnischen Ältesten Lembitu aus der Henricus-de-Lettis-Zeit bereitgestellt

hat. Die Suche in polnischen Museen hat schon begonnen, und wenn alles ordnungsgemäß verläuft, können wir schon in unserer nächsten Nummer über die gewiss bahnbrechenden Resultate berichten.

Es liegt nicht an der unfreiwilligen Komik dieses staatlichen Ernstes bei der Finanzierung abstrus anmutender Projekte, dass unsere Nummer (fast) ohne Artikel zu den Jahren 1918/19 auskommt. Selbst der einzige Text, der diese Zeit behandelt – Petr Mazharas Beitrag zu Fürst Anatol Lieven –, ist über einen anderen Aspekt mit den übrigen Beiträgen der Nummer verbunden: dem biografischen Ansatz. David Hilchen, Anatol und Christoph Heinrich von Lieven, Emanuel Reger, Alfred Rosenberg und die Münzmeisterfamilie Wulff sind die Helden dieser Nummer. Die Kollegen Päts, Smetona, Ulmanis & Co werden aber sicher in einer der nächsten Nummern ihren Auftritt haben. Und hoffentlich spielen auch Frauen in der Zukunft eine größere Rolle in den Beiträgen unserer Zeitschrift (und das nicht nur als Opfer von Vergewaltigungen wie im vorliegenden Heft).

Noch immer können wir Gott sei Dank auf die willkommene finanzielle Unterstützung aus Tallinn, Tartu, Riga, Lüneburg und Berlin zählen, ohne dass uns irgendjemand inhaltliche Vorschriften macht (schlimm genug, dass es wieder notwendig erscheint, das zu erwähnen). Wie stets sind wir unseren Übersetzerinnen ANU AIBEL-JÜRGENSON, MAIJA LEVANE, KAI TAFENAU und HELI RAHKEMA dankbar, ohne die auch diese Nummer nicht hätte erscheinen können. Die englischen Texte und Zusammenfassungen las SIOBHAN KATTAGO gewohnt gründlich Korrektur. Die optische Gestaltung lag auch im 13. Jahr in den Händen von MEELIS FRIEDENTHAL und IRINA TAMMIS.

Damit wünschen wir dem geneigten Publikum angeregte Lektüre der dreizehnten „Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte“.

Ostern 2018

KARSTEN BRÜGGEMANN  
MATI LAUR  
ANDRIS LEVANS

## ORTSNAMENKONKORDANZ

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Aahof – Āne	Lennewarden – Lielvārde
Absenau – Ozolmuiža	Libau – Liepāja
Adlehn, Alt – Vecaduliena	Lindenhof – Liepa
Adsel-Schwarzhof – Zvārtava	Marienburg – Alūksne
Bellenhof – Bukulti	St. Matthias – Harju-Madise
Bersohn – Bērzaune	Mitau – Jelgava
Bischofshof – Piiskopimōis	Mohn – Muhu
Blomdahl – Mazjumprava	Mustel – Mustjala
Bresemoise – Brieži	Nüggen – Nõo
Dickeln – Dikļi	Oberpahlen – Põlsamaa
Dorpat – Tartu	Odenpäh – Otepää
Düna – Daugava	Ösel – Saaremaa
Dünaburg – Daugavpils	Ogershof – Ogre
Dünamünde – Daugavgrīva	Oknist – Aknīste
Eckengraf – Eķengrāve	Pawassern – Pavasari
Embach – Emajõgi	Pebalg, Neu – Jaunpiebalga
Endenhof – Galamuiža	Peddast – Pädaste
Ermes – lett. Ērgeme, estn. Hārg- mäe	Pernau – Pärnu
Forbushof – Vorbuse	Pillistfer – Pilstvere
Goldingen – Kuldīga	Pilten – Piltene
Harrien – Harjumaa	Rembate – Rembate
Haselau – Haaslava	Reval – Tallinn
Illuxt – Ilūkste	Rewold – Reola
Jerwen – Jārvamaa	Ringen – Rõngu
Jörden – Juuru	Römershof – Skrīveri
St. Johannis (Jerwen) – Jārva-Jaani	Rositten – Rēzekne
St. Johannis, Klein – Kolga-Jaani	Schlampen – Slampe
Jürgensburg – Jaunpils	Sellie – Seli
Jungfernhoff, Klein – Mazjum- prava	Sessau – Sesava
Kamby – Kambja	Sonorm – Roosna
St. Katharinen – Kadrina	Stürzenhof – Starti
Kawelecht – Puhja	Theal-Fölk – Sangaste-Laatre
Kokenberg – Brenti	Tootzen – Toce
Kreuz – (Harju-)Risti	Torma – Torma
Lais – Laiuse	Tuckum – Tukums
Leal – Lihula	Turkaln – Tūrkalne
Lemburg – Mālpils	Urbs – Urvaste
Lemsal – Limbaži	Walk – estn. Valga, lett. Valka
	Weißenstein – Paide
	Wenden – Cēsis

Wiek – Läänemaa  
Wierland – Virumaa

Wilna – Vilnius  
Wolmar – Valmiera

# Serving the Empire, Serving the Nation: Prince Lieven's Crusade against the Bolsheviks

BY PETR IU. MAZHARA

The Russian revolutions of 1917 and the civil war provided many individuals with the opportunity to prove themselves as leaders since old hierarchies had been challenged and subsequently destroyed. During the revolutionary situation people could make a fast and dizzying career which proved to be quite seductive for those who desired glory and power. On both sides, the “white” as the “red” ones, effective army units were formed around charismatic leaders who were capable of commanding.<sup>1</sup> A kind of “squad”, ready to follow its leader anywhere, was often formed around such kind of warlord. One of the charismatic and popular leaders of the White movement in the Baltic region was Prince Anatole Leonid Pavlovich Lieven (1872–1937). During the years of turmoil, Lieven was to prove that he possessed the authority to demand loyal submission in times of damaged authority. Lieven was a representative of a Baltic German noble family that for generations had faithfully served the Russian Empire.<sup>2</sup> During the civil war, however, as a military leader, he in fact served to foster the independence of the new Baltic states and their separation from Russia. Interestingly, among the White emigration, Lieven later became one of the most eminent and respectful figures who showed remarkable activity as a journalist and public figure. No doubt, he firmly believed in the possibility of the future liberation of Russia from the Bolsheviks.

This story about a military leader and prominent exile figure allows readers to reflect on how the disintegration of the empire influenced the minds

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. for interesting reflections KIRILL B. NAZARENKO: *Flot, revoliutsiia i vlast' v Rossii: 1917–1921* [The Fleet, the Revolution and Power in Russia: 1917–1921], Moscow 2011, pp. 33–38. Prince Lieven was called “bat’ka” and “ataman” by his soldiers, which was a proof of his authority as a war-lord at that time. Letter from A. Lieven to K. Dydorov, 10.4.1920, in: *Dom Russkogo Zarubezh’ia imeni Aleksandra Solzhenitsyna* [Archive of the Alexander Solzhenitsyn–House of Russian Diaspora] (DRZ) fond 39, opis’ 1, karton 1, delo 44, p. 20; letter from K. Dydorov to A. Lieven, 7.7.1920, in: *ibid.*, d. 46, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> His great-grandmother, Charlotte Lieven, was a governess of Nicholas I. After his coronation, she was raised to the rank of Princess. See LEONID E SHEPELEV: *Tituly, mundiry i ordena Rossiiskoi imperii* [Titles, Uniforms and Decorations of the Russian Empire], Moscow 2004, p. 70.

and hearts of its former loyal servants.<sup>3</sup> Once unified behind the formula “For Faith, Tsar and (multinational) Fatherland” the national identity of many officers of the imperial army who survived the trauma of the revolutions and the civil war was aggravated in emigration. In this hotbed of political utopias, the phenomenon of Russian nationalism dreaming of the empire gained some prominence. In this context, Prince Lieven’s path and the evolution of his ideas and ideals seem to be quite indicative and thus interesting to explore.

So far, Prince Lieven was never the main hero of texts written by historians, though he is a well-known figure for specialists of the history of the Russian civil war in the Northwest of the former empire resp. the Baltic wars of independence. He also figures in some accounts of the Russian emigration in Germany. A short and quite informative biography has been published recently in a volume devoted to the life-stories of Russian officers.<sup>4</sup> Lieven’s political activities in exile were studied closely by Petr Bazanov in his book about the secret organisation “The Brotherhood of Russian Truth”.<sup>5</sup> Some interesting documents concerning Lieven can be found in Eleonora Ioffe’s monograph on Carl Gustav Mannerheim and his ties with Russia.<sup>6</sup> No doubt, Lieven’s heritage including his archives need further research, especially because archival collections of Russian émigrés have become more accessible lately.

Our article is largely based on the archives of Leonid F. Zurov (1902–1971), one of Lieven’s closest collaborators in Riga. Zurov owned a large collection of documents related to the history of the North-Western Army which partly is preserved nowadays in the archives of Solzhenitsyn’s House of the Russian Diaspora in Moscow (*fond* 3: “L.F. Zurov”; *fond* 39: “The North-Western army”). The latter contains also a special inventory (No. 2) with the documents of the editorial board of the well-known series “Beloe delo” (7 vols., Berlin 1926–1933) including protocols of the editorial board’s meetings, manuscripts of some memoirs sent to the editor, list of addresses of authors and the correspondence of Lieven and Zurov.

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<sup>3</sup> One of Lieven’s collaborators in exile, General Aleksei von Lampe, claimed much later that “Russian *faithful* fighters” never give up the spirit of resistance “against the Red enemy” (*italics* – von Lampe). Their children and grandchildren he called “future fighters for the sake of *National* Russia”. ALEKSEI A. VON LAMPE: *Puti vernykh* [Ways of the Faithful], Paris 1960, p. 66 (*italics* – P.M.).

<sup>4</sup> NIKOLAI N. RUTICH [RUTCHEŃKO]: *Belyi front generala Iudenicha: Biografii chinov Severo-Zapadnoi armii* [The White Front of General Iudenich: Biographies of Officials of the North-Western Army Officials], Moscow 2002, pp. 254–267.

<sup>5</sup> PETR N. BAZANOV: *Bratstvo Russkoi Pravdy – samaia zagadochnaia organizatsiia Russkogo Zarubezh’ia* [The Brotherhood of Russian Truth – the most Mysterious Organisation of the Russia Abroad], Moscow 2013.

<sup>6</sup> ELEONORA IOFFE: *Linii Mannergeima: Pis’ma i dokumenty. Tainy i otkrytiia* [The Lines of Mannerheim: Letters and Documents. Secrets and Discoveries], St Petersburg 2017.

\* \* \*

His Serene Highness Prince Anatole P. Lieven was a well-educated man who graduated from Classical High School and in 1895 from the Law Faculty of St. Petersburg University. On 4 September 1895, he enrolled in the Cavalry Regiment as a volunteer of the 1<sup>st</sup> category. After successful passing of the examination at the Nicholas Cavalry School, he was promoted to cornet on 7 September 1896. In 1898, he went to the reserve, and in 1908 he resigned, taking care of the affairs of his family estate in Courland.<sup>7</sup>

In 1914, due to the outbreak of World War I, Lieven voluntarily returned to his regiment. During the war, he fought bravely which can be proven by his many awards: The Order of St. George 4<sup>th</sup> Class (for his deeds during the battle for Vilna),<sup>8</sup> the Order of St. Stanislaus 3<sup>rd</sup> Class with Swords, the Order of St. Anne 4<sup>th</sup> Class with the inscription “For Bravery” and the British Military Cross Victoria.<sup>9</sup> At the end of 1917, he returned after demobilization to his manor house in Mežotne, where he had lived before the war.

On 18 February 1918, one day before the German offensive towards Pskov and Narva started, Lieven was arrested along with his family by the Bolsheviks in Cēsis. Being ethnic Germans, they had been taken prisoners as hostages and thus, after the signing of the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, his family was transferred to German officials in Orsha. After returning, they resided in Riga.

After the German collapse, in mid-December 1918, Lieven together with General Alexander P. Rodzianko, the nephew of the last Chairman of the State Duma Mikhail V. Rodzianko, went to Liepāja in order to meet Rear-Admiral Edwin Alexander Sinclair, the commander of the 6<sup>th</sup> Cruiser Squadron of the British Navy that had been sent to the Eastern Baltic by the British government.<sup>10</sup> After that meeting Rodzianko went to Tallinn to join the Russian Northern Corps, a military unit initially organised by the Germans in Pskov that had been largely disbanded after the Red Army retook Pskov in late November. Lieven, on his part, started to form the “Liepāja Volunteer Rifle Squad”, better known as the *Liventsy*. It was formed by 15 January 1919, and in early March 1919, joined by the units of Captain Kliment I. Dydorov and Captain Vladimir V. Esholts. In organising the unit, Lieven could use German supplies and equipment; initially

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<sup>7</sup> RUTICH, *Belyi front* (fn. 4), p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> VLADIMIR. N. ZVEGINTSOV: *Kavalergardy v Velikuiu i Grazhdanskuiu voinu: 1914–1920 g.* [The Chevalier Guards during the Great and the Civil War: 1914–1920], Paris 1938, p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> RUTICH, *Belyi front* (fn. 4), p. 255.

<sup>10</sup> In 1919, Sinclair was replaced by Rear-admiral Walter Cowan. Cf. GEOFFREY BENNETT: *Cowan's War. The Story of British Naval Operations in the Baltic, 1918–1920*, London 1964.

the *Liventsy* were acting as a unit of the *Baltische Landeswehr*.<sup>11</sup> At the end of April, Lieven went to Berlin in order to procure reinforcements in the form of Russian prisoners of war who still were in the German camps.<sup>12</sup> On 22 May the *Liventsy* participated in the *Landeswehr's* successful operation against Riga and continued its offensive towards the northeast. On 24 May Prince Lieven was seriously wounded in a fight near the station Garkalne and the command was taken over by Captain Dydorov.

Meanwhile, on 2 July, despite the seriousness of his wounds, Lieven was discharged from the hospital in Riga and arrived in Jelgava at the headquarters of the *Landeswehr*. It was decided that the *Liventsy* were to lead the offensive along the Daugava. However, on 9 July, Lieven received the order to join General Nicholai Iudenich, the commander of the North-Western front of the Russian Whites. Iudenich had just taken command of the former Russian Northern Corps, renamed into North-Western Army, and had received recognition by the White's Supreme Commander Admiral Aleksandr V. Kolchak and subsequently by the Entente. Colonel Lieven<sup>13</sup> obeyed and his troops moved to Estonia, whereas other Russian troops in Latvia refused this order and became the core of the Western Volunteer Army led by the adventurer Colonel Pavel R. Bermond-Avalov.<sup>14</sup>

On the Narva front, the *Liventsy* were reorganised into the 5<sup>th</sup> Division of the North-Western Army and incorporated in the 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Corps commanded by Major General Count Aleksei-Friedrich-Leonid von der Pahlen. However, Lieven's condition still required constant medical support, and he was evacuated in early autumn for medical treatment to London and Paris.<sup>15</sup> The unit remained under Dydorov's command. During Iudenich's attack on Petrograd in October and November 1919, the *Liventsy* proved to be a reliable unit that took Krasnoe Selo, a suburb of the old imperial capital on 16 October. After Iudenich's defeat the North-Western Army was liquidated on Estonian territory.

Many soldiers of the *Liventsy* tried to begin a new life in Estonia or Latvia, whereas Prince Lieven never fully recovered from his injuries. He tried to

<sup>11</sup> Boi v Pribaltike. 1919 god [The Battles in the Baltic. 1919], Moscow 2017, p. 51. This is a Russian translation of the official German publication "Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfen deutscher Truppen und Freikorps" (Vol. 2-3, Berlin 1937-1938) with comments by LEONTII V. LANNIK.

<sup>12</sup> RUTICH, Belyi front (fn. 4), p. 257.

<sup>13</sup> Prince Lieven was promoted to colonel by Iudenich. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Still a valuable source: NIKOLAI P. BEREŽANSKIĬ: Bermond v Pribaltike v 1919 g.: iz zapisok byvshego redaktora [Bermond in the Baltics in 1919. From the notes of a previous editor], in: Istorik i sovremennik, Vol. 1, Berlin 1922, pp. 5-87 (reprint in Belaia bor'ba na Severo-Zapade Rossii [The White Struggle in the Northwest of Russia], ed. by SERGEI V. VOLKOV, Moscow 2003, pp. 104-177).

<sup>15</sup> In Paris and London, Lieven held a series of meetings with representatives of the Allies, whom he was trying to convince to help Russian Whites more actively. Additionally, he was trying to organise a press campaign supporting the attack on Petrograd. Cf. Lieven's letter to K. Dydorov, 21.10.1919, in: DRZ, f. 39, op. 1, k. 1, d. 45, p. 26; Lieven's report to Iudenich [autumn 1919], in: ibid, d. 47, pp. 10-12.

continue the anti-Bolshevik struggle by all means possible in his condition, taking care at the same time of his small farm in Mežotne that had been left from his estate after agrarian reform.<sup>16</sup> More generally, he earned himself the reputation of always being helpful to former White soldiers if they were in need.<sup>17</sup> In May 1920 he began to think about a project to organise a system of mutual help for his former soldiers. In a letter to Dydorov, he developed the idea of organising a timber-industry company with his former officers as managers. According to Lieven, a certain share of the company's profits should go to the mutual support fund for the former *Liventsy*. Although this idea remained only on paper,<sup>18</sup> it shows how serious he was in taking responsibility for his former subordinates even after the war.

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Lieven became a member of an “activist” anti-Communist organisation called “The Brotherhood of Russian Truth” (*Bratstvo Russkoi Pravdy*, BRP). The ideology behind this so-called “activism” demanded an active struggle with bolshevism not only by means of propaganda, but also by the organisation of terrorist acts against representatives of the Bolshevik state or illegal penetration into the territory of the USSR for sabotage and intelligence purposes. For example, the Estonian branch of BRP was working on organising the assassination of Fedor F. Raskol'nikov (Il'in), who was a Soviet representative in Estonia.<sup>19</sup> They worked out the plan to kill him during his visit of the famous Pskovo-Pecherskii Monastery in Petseri where he was expected together with the Estonian State Elder Konstantin Päts. Plans like this one remained unfulfilled; however, and Raskol'nikov himself became an emigrant during the 1930s. Yet terrorist acts were organised by Russian emigrants against Soviet representatives throughout the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Lieven also owned a brick factory for some time. ВИКТОР А. ВОЙКОВ: *Kratkii biograficheskii slovar' ofitserov, chinovnikov i sluzhashchikh beloi Severo-Zapadnoi armii (1918–1920 gg.)* [A Short Biographical Dictionary of Officers, Officials and Employees of the White North-Western Army (1918–1920)], Tallinn 2009, p. 197.

<sup>17</sup> Letters from different persons to Lieven with requests of help, 1919, 1920, 1928, in: DRZ f. 39, op. 1, k. 1, d. 40–51.

<sup>18</sup> Lieven's letter to K. Dydorov, 1.5.1920, in: DRZ f. 39, op. 1, k. 1. d. 46, pp. 5–5r.

<sup>19</sup> BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 140.

<sup>20</sup> Oleg Budnitskii argues that the BRP was more like a literature project of the Russian writer in exile Sergei Sokolov (pen-name: Serguei Krechetov) than a real acting organisation. OLEG V. BUDNITSKII: *Bratstvo Russkoi Pravdy – poslednii literaturnyi proekt S. A. Sokolova-Krechetova* [The Brotherhood of Russian Truth – the Last Literary Project of S. A. Sokolov-Krechetov], in: *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* 2003, No. 64, pp. 114–143. The author of this article gives preference to the assessments in BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5).

Anatole Lieven was the head of the Baltic division of BRP, and from 1932–1934 he was even in charge of the entire organisation.<sup>21</sup> In fact, BRP was a secret society, acting half-legally. For example, Lieven's successor as commander of the *Liventsy*, Kliment Dydorov, who was also a member of the BRP, was arrested by the Latvian police in 1933. He was, however, soon set free, but he had to sign a paper confirming that he had no intentions to work for Russian monarchist organisations.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time, Lieven was the head of the Latvian branch of the Russian All-Military Union (*Russkii Obsbche-Voinskii Soiuz*, ROVS).<sup>23</sup> Apart from that, he held also other positions among the monarchist Russians in Latvia: he was chairman of the Society for Mutual Assistance of Servicemen in Latvia, a member of the Committee for the Publication of the History of the Reign of the Emperor Nicholas II. Moreover, he served as plenipotentiary of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich in Riga, and he was a board member of Theodor Ober's International League for the Struggle with the Third International.<sup>24</sup> Lieven additionally controlled the Russian *Sokol* organisations (youth sports organisations) in Latvia with the help of those at the top who were loyal to him.<sup>25</sup>

In a letter written to Carl Gustav Mannerheim, the Finnish public official, whom he had known since their service in the imperial army, Lieven in 1931 explained his idea behind this activity in this network of right-wing organisations. Propaganda was for him the “cornerstone” in the struggle with the Third International. As an example of successful propaganda work, he named Ober's League in Geneva whose task was the “ideological struggle against Bolshevism outside the boundaries of former Russia”. To carry propaganda into the USSR was one of the tasks of the BRP, whose activities were hampered “unfortunately” because of “insufficient resources”. He described the Brotherhood's work as “secret since it is exclusively confined to the territory of the USSR”, but it was the only organisation whose literature actually reached “Russian cities”. According to him, this “literature” should prepare the people, the “peasantry and partly the proletariat”, for the “liberation of Russia with means of propaganda and local terror”. Moreover, this literature was “accepted willingly among the peasants” and “secret cells of the organisation” were formed locally. The ROVS was described in this letter as serving the “task of keeping qualified people fit for military service

<sup>21</sup> LEV A. RAR, VALERIAN A. OBOLENSKII: *Rannye gody (1924–1948). Ocherk istorii Narodno-Trudovogo Soiuz* [The Early Years (1924–1948). A Study on the History of *Narodno-Trudovoi Soiuz*], Moscow 2003, p. 20; BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), pp. 242–252.

<sup>22</sup> BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 148. One of the memoirists in emigration supposed that the reason for the arrest was pressure from the Soviet side. ROSTISLAV V. POLCHANINOV: *Russkie sokola. BRP i NTSNP v Rezhitse* [Russian *Sokols*. BRP and NTSNP in Rezekne], in: *Novyi Zhurnal* 2002, No. 227, pp. 268–275, here p. 271.

<sup>23</sup> BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), pp. 146–147.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146, 220.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

and for serving the idea of the homeland in general". This he regarded also to be his "personal task" concerning the cadres of the *Liventsy* that should be kept ready "for fighting the Bolsheviks" at any time. "For this purpose, we try to prepare young people as well," he added, making the reservation that it was very difficult under the conditions in the newly created Baltic states.<sup>26</sup>

Lieven regarded the publication of historical documents and memoirs concerning the White movement as an important part of his anti-Bolshevist struggle. He was one of the most active members of the editorial board of the publication series "Beloe delo" (The White Cause) where the reader could find memoirs of White soldiers and anti-Bolshevik ideological texts. The idea to create this series belongs not only to Lieven but also to Colonel Alexei von Lampe, who served as representative of Piotr Wrangel (Wrangel) in Denmark, Hungary and finally in Germany, and was to become the leader of ROVS in the 1950s and 1960s. From 1922 onwards, Lieven and von Lampe realised this project: the first had secured financial support and the latter the support of Wrangel and of Duke George of Leuchtenberg (Georg de Beauharnais), who contributed also to the reputation of "Beloe Delo" among the émigrés.<sup>27</sup> On request of Wrangel and von Lampe, the series was published in Berlin by the publishing house "Med'nii Vsadnik" (Bronze Horseman). Actually, "Med'nii Vsadnik" was a cover for the BRP. Thus, the representative offices of the publishing house in the areas close to the Soviet border were in fact special branches of the BRP used for the work on Soviet territory.<sup>28</sup>

One of the closest associates of Lieven's in publishing "Beloe Delo" was a young Russian writer called Leonid F. Zurov, who was also a veteran of the North-Western Army. Zurov did a lot of work in collecting memoirs and preparing them for publication; he also corresponded with potential authors for "Beloe Delo". Thus, for instance, the almanac published the memoirs of Colonel Aleksei Danilov, leader of a partisan detachment that later was transformed into the 12<sup>th</sup> Temnitskii regiment of the North-Western Army. These memoirs were dictated to Zurov by Danilov, a peasant from the Pskov region, who had become a popular commander in Iudenich's army. As a matter of fact, Danilov was also an active member of BRP.<sup>29</sup> The writing of a history of the *Liventsy* was commissioned to its veteran

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in IOFFE, *Linii Mennergeima* (fn. 6), p. 259.

<sup>27</sup> BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), pp. 101-104. – See also LEONID K. ŠKARENKOV: *Eine Chronik der russischen Emigration in Deutschland. Die Materialien des Generals Aleksei von Lampe [A Chronicle of the Russian Emigration in Germany. The Materials of General Aleksei von Lampe]*, in: *Die russische Emigration in Deutschland 1918–1941*, ed. by KARL SCHLÖGEL, Berlin 1995, pp. 39-75 (added by the editors).

<sup>28</sup> The publishing house was owned by the Duke of Leuchtenberg. BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 102.

<sup>29</sup> Danilov even penetrated the Soviet territory illegally. The Soviet authorities arrested him in 1940 in Riga and sentenced him to death. BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 153.

Anatole Ensh, who got access to the archives of Lieven, Dydorov, Zurov and others. He collected materials till his early death in 1936.<sup>30</sup>

In 1929, Zurov was invited by Ivan Bunin to France. His work as a representative of “Beloe delo” in Riga came to an end.<sup>31</sup> In the same year, on the tenth anniversary of Iudenich’s offensive against Petrograd, Lieven issued a book “Pamiatka Liventsa” (In Memory of the *Livenets*) containing his own memoirs as well as the writings of Dydorov and many other participants of the White movement in Russia’s northwest.<sup>32</sup> The texts, written by the veterans of the *Liventsy*, had actually been collected by Zurov for publication in “Beloe delo”.<sup>33</sup> There were so many memoirs that Lieven decided to make this special publication on his unit. The same year Lieven and his associates started publishing the periodical “Sluzhba sviazi liventsev” (“Intercommunication Service for Liventsy”, later “Sluzhba sviazi liventsev i Severozapadnikov”, finally “Sluzhba sviazi”). The head of the new edition was Lieven himself, though the association of *Liventsy* in Gdansk<sup>34</sup> was responsible for the technical side of the matter (Lieutenant Iurii Kovalenko). The main purpose of this periodical was clearly stated in the title: to keep the White community united in emigration “up to the day when

<sup>30</sup> Copies of the documents are kept today in Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow, GARF), f. R-6054, op. 1, d. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Zurov didn’t lose his interest in the history of the North-Western Army. He wanted to write the history of the Ostrov regiment of the North-Western Army, where he himself had served, but he didn’t succeed. During the 1930s, he often visited Estonia as a participant of archaeological and ethnographic expeditions organised by the *Musée de l’Homme* in Paris with financial support of Russian emigrants. He even was an initiator and participant in the restoration works in the belfry of St. Nicholas Church in the Petseri Monastery. In the Baltics, Zurov collected historical evidence on the history of the North-Western Army and recorded interviews, among others with former soldiers and officers. Zurov wrote down the stories told by his respondents, his handwriting is often hardly readable. The memories are mainly devoted to events in Pskov and its neighbourhood, where the Northern Corps was formed. Zurov led at least 97 interviews: 62 with veterans, mostly lower ranks, 35 with other witnesses (among them eleven women). These records (almost 1,485 sheets) are now kept in DRZ, f. 39, op. 1, k. 2, d. 129-135. Zurov wrote also an essay about the formation of the Northern Corps, which is also kept in this collection. It was published as LEONID F. ZUROV: Formirovanie Severnoi armii [Formation of the Northern army], in: *Beloe dvizhenie na Severo-Zapade Rossii*, ed. by VASILII ZH. TSVETKOV, Moscow 2003, pp. 17-29. See the critical account by NIKOLAI I. BOGOMAZOV: *Nachal’nyi etap Belogo dvizheniia na Severo-Zapade Rossii*. 1918 g [First Phase of the White Movement in the Northwest of Russia. 1918], Diss. na soisk. uch. st. kand. ist. nauk, St Petersburg 2011. – Cf. on Zurov and his connections with Estonia IRINA BELOBROVTSEVA: *Leonid Zurov Eestis* [Leonid Zurov in Estonia], in: *Keel ja Kirjandus* 2011, No. 3, pp. 190-205 (added by the editors).

<sup>32</sup> *Pamiatka Liventsa* [In Memory of the *Livenets*]. 1919–1929, Riga 1929.

<sup>33</sup> DRZ f. 39, op. 2, d. 7-9 and 30.

<sup>34</sup> Danzig was named always as the place of publication for the books and leaflets published by BRP. The real place of publishing, however, was Riga. Danzig was just part of the conspiracy. BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 150.

resurgent Russia will demand again the sacrificial service of all its faithful sons”<sup>35</sup>. Lieven and his companions continued to believe in a final victory over Communism. From 1929 to 1936, eight numbers of the periodical were issued. Initially, there should have been two issues per year, though financial difficulties made this goal impossible to meet. In any case, this periodical continued the communication between the former *Liventsy* and created their own historical tradition.

Each issue of the journal offered the reader a political review, written by Lieven himself. From the beginning the journal established itself as a forum for memoirs and documents on the history of the White movement. Its authors included Russian writers connected with the Whites such as Aleksandr I. Kuprin<sup>36</sup> and Zurov, but what was even more important, Lieven also offered the opportunity to publish memoirs to men of lower ranks. Moreover, the journal followed closely the events of emigrant life, participated in the celebration of General Iudenich’s seventieth birthday in 1932 and published materials on the association of *Liventsy* and on the Latvian Society of Former Russian Soldiers. A decent tribute to the memory of the dead was also an important mission of the publication: it printed lists of the fallen in combat and obituaries on those who died in exile. Letters from readers were as significant as the section introduced in the fourth number “For young people”.

It was Lieven himself who directly approached the youth in this rubric, the future of the anti-Bolshevik struggle. Here he expressed his monarchist views even if the journal itself never openly propagated monarchy. Thus, also Lieven never advocated the restoration of monarchy in Russia as part of his political program. In his political reviews, however, he constantly criticised European democracies for the weakness and incoherency of their actions against the Bolsheviks. According to him, European “democratic parliamentarism” wasn’t capable of resisting the “red danger”.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, he approved of the decisive actions of far-right politicians. Thus, he regarded Mussolini’s Italy as an exemplary anti-communist state. He praised the “draconian measures” of the Italian fascist government “against its internal Bolsheviks” and claimed that Rome got on with them well.<sup>38</sup> In order to save the situation in Europe, only a “right dictatorship” could oppose the one of the proletariat, he wrote. The “energetic and talented” *Duce* who “without unnecessary bloodshed” had cracked down the political parties “that brought Italy to the brink of death”, took the “burden of rule” and was doing well “to the benefit of the whole country”.<sup>39</sup> Mussolini’s new model of autocracy was idolised by Lieven. He did not hide his enthusiasm

<sup>35</sup> Sluzhba Sviazi Liventsev i Severozapadnikov, no. 2 (May 1930), p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Kuprin together with Petr N. Krasnov edited the newspaper “Prinevskii kraj” in autumn 1919.

<sup>37</sup> Sluzhba Sviazi Liventsev i Severozapadnikov, no. 3 (November 1930), p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2 (May 1930), p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 3 (November 1930), p. 13.

that this “leader” not only “introduced order” but also “managed to satisfy the legitimate demands of the working class” and “managed to raise the ardour of national patriotism”. Moreover, Mussolini “showed his people a way of rebuilding the Empire, based on the unity of the whole people” and supported by a “well-armed army and a mighty fleet”.<sup>40</sup> Restoration of the empire was something he obviously also wanted in the Russian case.

In the quoted article from 1932, Lieven went on to offer the reader a detailed analysis of Adolf Hitler, whom he regarded as Mussolini’s “imitator”. And this imitation, in his opinion, was much worse than the original. Lieven harshly criticised Hitler for the lack of resoluteness in his actions and the inconsistency of his political doctrine. Two years later, when the next issue of the journal was published, few would have called Hitler indecisive, though Lieven stayed true to his criticism. Now he was dreaming of some kind of National-Socialism “revived by True Christianity and cleared of maleficent chauvinism”.<sup>41</sup> Herein he imagined a salvific alternative to communism.

Fascism as an antithesis to communism seduced Russian emigre circles with an outward simplicity and effectiveness of responses to modern challenges. This fascination also spread to Estonia where several Russian fascist organisations were active.<sup>42</sup> Thus we might perceive the ideological evolution of Prince Lieven as quite indicative for the whole movement. The traumatic experience of the destruction of the traditional life of pre-revolutionary Russia was a trigger to search for new modes of political organisation. At the end of the 1920s Vasilii V. Shul’gin, one of the well-known conservative émigrés, declared that “in the century of tanks it is impossible to fight riding on the back of a medieval mare, even if the last one is decorated with bright feathers”.<sup>43</sup> Fascism and National-Socialism, with their double hostility both to the Soviet state and Western democracies seemed to many as a simple and effective solution to all problems. Lieven, however, did not fall in this trap that would be so attractive for so many of his comrades. In 1934, in a private letter to the Russian writer Aleksandr Amfiteatrov he confirmed his strong criticism of Hitler as an enemy of Russia; any kind of alliance with Hitler would be unacceptable for those who cared about Russian interests: “Stalin is the enemy No. 1,

<sup>40</sup> Sluzhba Sviazi, no. 6 (1932), p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Sluzhba Sviazi, no. 7 (1934), p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> SERGEI G. ISAKOV, VIKTOR A. BOIKOV: *Russkii fashizm v Estonii v 1920–1930-e gody* [Russian Fascism in Estonia in the 1920s and 1930s], in: *Ruskaia emigratsiia i fashizm: stat’i i vospominaniia*, ed. by VADIM. IU. ZHUKOV, St Petersburg 2011, pp. 49–65. A fascist Russian magazine “Klich” (Watchword) was distributed with the help of the BRP. BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 142.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in RAFAIL Š. GANELIN: *SSSR i Germaniia pered voinoi: Otnosheniia vozhdiei i kanaly politicheskoi sviazi* [USSR and Germany before the War: The Relations of Leaders and Political Communication Channels], St Petersburg 2010, p. 40.

Hitler – No. 2”.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, as has been argued by Russian historian Piotr Bazanov, Lieven was a firm supporter of the authoritarian rule established in Latvia by Kārlis Ulmanis because he saw it as the most appropriate state organisation for the current moment.<sup>45</sup>

The representation of Soviet life on the pages of the journal “Sluzhba sviazi” is another interesting subject that needs special consideration. The political and economic situation inside the USSR was thoroughly analysed because Lieven tried to find the Soviet state’s Achilles’ heel that might lead to the latter’s defeat sooner or later. In an article written in 1930, Lieven noted the following weak points of the USSR: atheism, the kolkhoz-system and the problems in organising trade relations with the outside world.<sup>46</sup> Lieven hoped that the violent policy of the Bolsheviks – forced collectivisation, persecution of the Church and Orthodox believers, significant grain exports while the country starved – would lead to a large-scale uprising. However, Lieven’s information about Soviet life was not quite correct, his sources were tendentious and sometimes misleading.<sup>47</sup> Hence the permanent readjustment of the potential to mobilise a major uprising was a characteristic feature of Lieven’s perception of the current situation.

From his analysis of social-economic policy of the Soviet government, Lieven concluded that the USSR prepared for a great war to enforce world revolution. Information on inner-party struggles, forced collectivisation and industrialisation had informed his analysis. Obviously, at the same time, the Prince was himself dreaming about a future war as a way to finally crush the Soviet state.<sup>48</sup>

The last issue of “Sluzhba sviazi” appeared in 1936. At the same time, Lieven suffered from a serious heart disease. On 3 April 1937, after returning home from Kemeru resort, he suddenly died. Thus, the history of “Sluzhba sviazi” had also come to an end. The activity of the BRP survived a bit longer. After several crises, it ceased to exist by the time of World War II.

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We already have seen that Lieven was complaining to Mannerheim how difficult it was to work for the sake of a liberated future Russia under the

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in BAZANOV, *Bratstvo* (fn. 5), p. 250.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Sluzhba Sviazi Liventsev i Severozapadnikov*, no. 3 (November 1930), pp. 10-13.

<sup>47</sup> Today we know, however, that there was unrest even in the Soviet military forces, apparently because of the social-economic policy of the USSR. About such an event that led to an anti-government demonstration in August 1934, see LUBIANKA: *Stalin i VChK-GPU-OGPU-NKVD. Janvar' 1922 – dekabr' 1936* [Lubianka: Stalin and VChK-GPU-OGPU-NKVD. January 1922 – December 1936], ed. by VLADIMIR I. KHAUSTOV, VLADIMIR P. NAUMOV and N. S. PLOTNIKOVA, Moscow 2003, pp. 550, 818-819. See also SERGEI T. MINAKOV: *Stalin i zagovor generalov* [Stalin and the General's Plot], Moscow 2005; NAZARENKO, *Flot* (fn. 1), pp. 45-46.

<sup>48</sup> *Sluzhba Sviazi Liventsev i Severozapadnikov*, no. 4 (April 1931), p. 7-11.

jurisdiction of the newly founded Baltic states. For many Whites, it was unthinkable to recognise the independence of the Baltic states during the civil war. Thus, the question of the relationship of the Whites to the former imperial borderlands became the “Achilles heel”<sup>49</sup> for the anti-Bolshevik cause advocating the vision of Russia One and Indivisible in a region where non-Russian people were opposing the Red army in order to stay independent from Moscow (or St Petersburg, for that matter). After the end of the civil war, many Russian memoirists in their attempts to comprehend the reasons of their defeat found a consensus in the argument that the inflexible position of the White leadership in this issue had seriously undermined the success of a common fight against the Reds.

In his memoirs, published in late 1920, General Aleksandr Rodzianko, the deputy commander of the North-Western Army, did not hide his critique of Iudenich claiming that the commander-in-chief lacked the necessary will to succeed against the Red Army. Considering the problem of recognition, he stated that the formula “One and Indivisible” had only enlarged the gap between the Russians and the Estonians even though the White cause depended upon them; “thus, the army was deprived of a solid base”.<sup>50</sup> However, he also blamed the Estonian people and their government for not having appreciated “the service rendered to Estonia by the North-Western Army and the necessity of a common united struggle against the Bolsheviks”.<sup>51</sup> Even before Rodzianko’s book was published, a brochure appeared anonymously in Helsinki with the promising title “The October Offensive on Petrograd and the Reasons for the Failure of the Campaign: Notes of a White Officer”.<sup>52</sup> Its author was Captain Dmitrii D. Kuz’min-Karavaev who shortly afterwards left for Vrangeli’s army on the Crimea, which might be seen as a reason for hiding his name since he felt no need in additional fuss around his figure.<sup>53</sup> In analysing the reasons of Iudenich’s failure, Kuz’min-Karavaev was rather categorical in his assessment of the political miscalculations of the White leaders:

“The indisputable fact of the temporary separation from Russia of its former borderlands and the persistent desire of the latter to dissoci-

<sup>49</sup> Cf. KARSTEN BRÜGGEMANN: National and Social Revolution in the Empire’s West: Estonian Independence and the Russian Civil War, 1917–20, in: *Russia’s Home Front in War and Revolution 1914–22*, Book 1: *Russia’s Revolution in Regional Perspective*, ed. by SARAH BADCOCK, LIUDMILA G. NOVIKOVA and AARON B. RETISH, Bloomington 2015 (*Russia’s Great War and Revolution*, 3.1), pp. 143–174.

<sup>50</sup> ALEKSANDR P. RODZIANKO: *Vospominaniia o Severo-Zapadnoi armii* [Memoirs about the North-Western Army], in: *Belaia bor’ba* (fn. 14), pp. 188–315, here p. 311.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>52</sup> [DMITRII D. KUZ’MIN-KARAVAEV:] *Oktiabr’skoe nastuplenie na Petrograd i prichiny neudachi pokhoda: Zapiski belogo ofitsera* [The October Attack on Petrograd and the Reason for the Failure of the Operation. Notes of a White Officer], Helsingfors 1920.

<sup>53</sup> Moreover, his father, a general of the Artillery, served at that time as so-called military specialist in the Red Army.

ate forever and exist separately from Russia found no sympathy among those who were the responsible leaders of the White movement. On behalf of a future Russia, Generals (...) treated her former borderlands as vassal states”.<sup>54</sup>

The author argued that this policy towards Estonia was erroneous. He emphasised that this approach also harmed the negotiation process with Finland. It was common sense at that time, shared by Iudenich, that any offensive on Petrograd would have been more effective if Finland would participate. But Iudenich could not convince then regent of Finland, Mannerheim,<sup>55</sup> to join his attack because the Finns demanded the recognition of their independence. Iudenich, on his part, was bound to the decision of Supreme Ruler Kolchak who, much like his Foreign Minister Sergei D. Sazonov, repeatedly referred to the future Russian Constituent Assembly as the only source of authority to make any concessions in terms of the country's borders.

Today, historians still argue about this issue. Some of them claim that the White movement would have been senseless without the idea of Russia One and Indivisible;<sup>56</sup> others complain that the policy of Kolchak and Sazonov was much too “pre-revolutionary”.<sup>57</sup> In that situation, the cooperation between the Russian Whites and the new states was quite fruitless (at least for the Russian cause). There were armed clashes between minor units of the North-Western Army and the Estonians even before the defeat of Iudenich's troops.<sup>58</sup> Of course, Estonian political and military leaders understood pretty well that the probability of recognising Estonia and its southern neighbours was much smaller than the probability of recognising Finland.<sup>59</sup>

And Prince Lieven? What was his point of view in that matter? In his memoirs, published in 1927, he stated that the *Liventsy* had “never declared monarchical slogans”. They cherished a “definite belief that a Russia broken, despoiled and torn into pieces by strives of political parties couldn't be restored in the future without the establishment of a strong power”. This, however, should not be read as if he and his men dreamt of “any return to the mistakes of the tsarist regime in general and in the issue of the national

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<sup>54</sup> [KUZ'MIN-KARAVAEV,] *Oktiabr'skoe nastuplenie* (fn. 52), pp. 54-55.

<sup>55</sup> The position of Mannerheim was weakened because he lost the presidential elections in summer 1919. See IOFFE, *Linii Mannergeima* (fn. 6), pp. 201-202.

<sup>56</sup> ANATOLII V. SMOLIN: *U zakrytykh dverei Versal'skogo dvortsa: Parizhskaia mirnaia konferentsiia i russkaia diplomatiia v 1919 godu* [At the Closed Doors of Versailles Palace: Paris Peace Conference and Russian Diplomacy in 1919], St Petersburg 2017, p. 212.

<sup>57</sup> ANATOLII V. SHMELEV: *Vneshnaia politika pravitel'stva admirala Kolchaka (1918-1919 gg.)* [Foreign Policy of Admiral Kolchak's Government (1918-1919)], St Petersburg 2017, p. 222.

<sup>58</sup> KARSTEN BRÜGGEMANN: *Defending National Sovereignty against two Russias: Estonia in the Russian Civil War, 1918-1920*, in: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 34 (2003), pp. 22-51, here 35.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-43.

peripheries in particular.”<sup>60</sup> Lieven was a citizen of Latvia during the 1920s and 1930s. For obvious reasons, he couldn't express any objections concerning the independence of the Baltic states officially. But we may have a closer look at his anonymous article “Iz sekretnogo doklada” (From a Secret Report) published in 1922 in the series “Archive of the Russian Revolution”. Here, he is outspokenly clear in stating the obvious – the loss Russia had to suffer because of the revolution. According to him, the “result of the failed struggle with the Bolsheviks” means Russia's “future partition”, the “strengthening of new states along the border” and the “spread of Soviet power to the whole Russian territory from the White and Baltic Seas to the Black and Caspian Seas”. All of that leads to an “utter exhaustion” of the whole country.<sup>61</sup>

However, this is no answer to the question of what Lieven thought about Baltic independence. Based on the analysis of his texts, we might suggest that eventually the establishment of Bolshevik power in Russia was the greater evil for him than the loss of the territorial integrity of the empire, even though this also meant for him the loss of his family estate.<sup>62</sup> During the civil war resp. the Baltic wars of independence, the *Liventsy* objectively strengthened Latvian and Estonian independence regardless of what Lieven and his subordinates were thinking at that time<sup>63</sup> (the same is true, by the way, of the North-Western Army that ultimately shed the blood of its soldiers for the sake of Estonian independence). And Lieven personally? It seems that he was quite sincere when he supported the press campaign for Ulmanis' measures against the political opposition in Latvia in spring 1934.<sup>64</sup>

German General von der Goltz in his memoirs called the *Liventsy* a kind of “Freikorps”.<sup>65</sup> His point of view is of course quite understandable – Germans were supporting Lieven's soldiers, thus they considered them as a part

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<sup>60</sup> ANATOL P. LIVEN: V iuzhnoi Pribaltike [In the Southern Baltics], in: Beloe delo. Letopis' beloi bor'by: Materialy, sobrannye i razobrannye baronom P. N. Vrangelem, gertsogom G. N. Leikhtenbergским i svetl. kniazem A. P. Lievenom, vol. 3, Berlin 1927, pp. 180-208, here p. 194.

<sup>61</sup> [ANATOL P. LIVEN:] Iz sekretnogo doklada [From a Secret Report], in: Arkhiv Russkoi Revolutsii, vol. 2, Berlin 1921, pp. 143-169 (reprint Moscow 1991), here p. 169.

<sup>62</sup> In June 1921, Russian monarchists organised a congress in the Bavarian city of Bad Reichenhall, which Lieven attended. Aleksandr M. Maslennikov, a former deputy of the State Duma, declared that the former borderlands had struggled insistently with the Bolsheviks and had thus “proved the necessity of recognizing their independence”. Dvuglavyi Orel, no. 8, 15 (28) May 1921, p. 8. In fact, Maslennikov's statement was not approved by the whole audience and caused a discussion. Ibid., no. 18, 12 (25) October 1921, p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> While in Latvia, Lieven didn't proclaim officially what he was fighting for. “Against Bolsheviks” was the only official slogan he used. See PĒTERIS BĒRZIŅŠ: Latvijas brīvības cīņas 1918–1920 [Latvia's War of Freedom 1918–1920], Riga 1928, p. 20.

<sup>64</sup> TAT'IANA FEIGMANE: Russkie v dovoennoi Latvii: Na puti k integratsii [Russians in Prewar Latvia: On the Way to Integration], Riga 2000, p. 131.

<sup>65</sup> RÜDIGER VON DER GOLTZ: Meine Sendung in Finnland und im Baltikum, Leipzig 1920, p. 181.

of their “Freikorps” project.<sup>66</sup> For von der Goltz, Lieven’s decision to follow Iudenich’s call to Estonia was typical for an officer’s discipline,<sup>67</sup> but at the same time he was reproaching Lieven with tricks with the Entente.<sup>68</sup> For the latter, this change of foreign political orientation from the Germans to the Entente-supported Iudenich was a forced step.<sup>69</sup> Lieven, however, never supported the pro-German actions of Bermond-Avalov against Riga in autumn 1919, as we can see from his private conversations and his articles. In the already quoted “Secret Report,” he criticised Bermond for having acted “consciously or unconsciously (what is the difference?) (...) in the interests of German policy against those of Russia”.<sup>70</sup>

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Lieven’s monarchism and his imperial loyalty over time transformed into a specific kind of nationalism, which can be described even as a kind of Russian fascism (or at least authoritarianism) inspired by Mussolini. At the same time, support for Italian fascism didn’t automatically lead to admiration for Hitler. Lieven’s desire for a strong anti-Bolshevist power for Russia<sup>71</sup> led him rather close to the simplest political answers offered in Europe at that time. St Petersburg based historian Rafail Š. Ganelin wrote that “the majority of the Russian emigration and its military wing did not want to have anything in common with fascism”,<sup>72</sup> though at the same time we shouldn’t ignore, for example, General Evgenii K. Miller’s declaration as head of the ROVS that the members of this organisation are natural fascists who must know and study the theory and practice of this doctrine.<sup>73</sup> Miller, however, soon was kidnapped by Soviet agents, delivered to Moscow and put to death. The lure of the European radical right was attractive for many who were looking for alternatives to Soviet Communism.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Boi v Pribaltike (fn. 11), pp. 172-189.

<sup>67</sup> GOLTZ, Meine Sendung (fn. 65), p. 222.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>69</sup> The representatives of the Entente were considering Lieven’s forces as a potential source of trouble for Latvia’s independence. See BENNETT, Cowan’s War (fn. 10), p. 142.

<sup>70</sup> [LIVEN,] Iz sekretnogo doklada (fn. 61), p. 168. See also Lieven’s letter to K. Dydorov, 21.10.1919, in: DRZ, f. 39, op. 1, k. 1, d. 45, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>72</sup> GANELIN, SSSR i Germaniia (fn 43), p. 40.

<sup>73</sup> From Miller’s order to the officers of ROVS, 2.1.1937, quot. by VLADIMIR IU. CHERNIAEV: Belye generaly [White Generals], in: Kriticheskii Slovar’ Russkoi Revolutsii 1917–1921 [A Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution], ed. by EDWARD ACTON, WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG and IDEM, St Petersburg 2014, pp. 198–210, here p. 206.

<sup>74</sup> See JOHN J. STEPHAN: The Russian Fascists. Tragedy and Farce in Exile 1925–1945, London 1978.

No doubt, the contribution of the Russian emigration to the ideology of fascism and National-Socialism cannot be limited to the publication of “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion” by Fedor Vinberg and Piotr Shabel’skii-Bork.<sup>75</sup> One of the active participants of the White movement in the Northwest of Russia, a former member of State Duma and representative of the Black Hundreds, Nikolai E. Markov II during the civil war headed a secret monarchist union – “Soiuz Vernykh” (The Union of the Faithful).<sup>76</sup> Their newspaper “Belyi Krest” (White Cross), however, was closed by order of General Rodzianko who didn’t want to provoke another conflict with the Estonians. The North-Western Army nevertheless continued to have a reputation of a rather conservative political force in the spirit of the Black Hundreds.<sup>77</sup> In emigration in Germany, Markov II belonged to the leading figures among monarchist circles and was responsible for the Congress in Bad Reichenhall in 1921. Much like Bermond-Avalov, Markov became a supporter of Hitler and the Nazis; even if he was too old to participate in political life during World War II, Nazi propagandists were still publishing his anti-Semitic writings.<sup>78</sup>

Holding true to his Christian principles, Prince Lieven obviously had understood that certain aspects of Hitler’s agenda made Nazi politics inappropriate in general, but he died before World War II and was thus not forced to take sides. Lieven’s Russian nationalism was forming at the time when the national feelings of Estonians and Latvians were canalised into their national states. The influence of these nation-building processes is not expressed directly in his texts, though further research on this interconnection seems interesting. This small contribution has reached its goal when the figure of Prince Lieven that hitherto has been reduced to the military leader he was for a short period in 1919, gets more attention because of the singular role he played among the monarchist circles of the Russian emigration in interwar Latvia.

<sup>75</sup> See GANELIN, SSSR i Germaniia (fn. 43), pp. 15-50.

<sup>76</sup> Interestingly, in creating this secret organisation, Markov II, despite all his anti-Semitic stereotypes, was actually trying to copy the structure of the Masonic lodges. Cf. ANDREI A. IVANOV: Politicheskaia deiatel’nost’ N. E. Markova v gody Grazhdanskoi voiny i emigratsii (1918–1930-e gg) [The Political Activity of N. E. Markov during the Civil War and in emigration (1918–1930s)], in: *Beloe dvizhenie na Severo-Zapade Rossii i sud’by ego uchastnikov*, ed. by NIKOLAI A. GORBACHEV, Pskov 2009, pp. 26-37, here p. 29.

<sup>77</sup> See the rather critical memoirs of VASILII L. GORN: *Grazhdanskaia voina na Severo-zapade Rossii*, Berlin 1923.

<sup>78</sup> See PETR IU. MAZHARA: *Kraine pravye politicheskie sily v Belom dvizhenii na Severo-Zapade Rossii (1918–1920)* [Extreme Right-wing Political Forces in the White Movement in Northwest Russia (1918–1920)], in: *Istoriik. Vremia. Obshchestvo: Sbornik trudov k 90-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia chl.-korr. RAN Rafaila Sholomovicha Ganelina (1926–2014)*, ed. by MARINA A. VOSKRESENSKAIA, AL’BINA S. KRYMSKAIA and EVGENII V. PETROV, Moscow 2017, pp. 405-419.